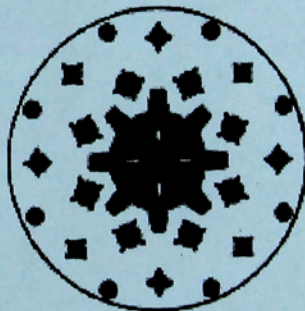


PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY



VOL. 23 NOS. 1 AND 2 * 2001

ISSN 0959-5805

PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

EDITOR

Dr Mark Clapson
Dept. of History
University of Luton
75 Castle Street
Luton
LU1 3AJ
UK

Tel: 01582 489034 / Fax: 01582 489014
E-mail: mark.clapson@luton.ac.uk

EDITORIAL BOARD

Dr Arturo Almandoz
Departamento de Planificación Urbana
Universidad Simón Bolívar
Aptdo. 89000
Caracas 1086
Venezuela
Tel: (58 2) 906 4037 / 38
E-mail: almandoz@usb.ve

Dr Halina Dunin-Woyseth
Oslo School of Architecture
Department of Urban Planning
PO Box 271 3001 Drammen
Norway
Tel: 47 22 20 83 16 / Fax: 47 22 11 19 70

Dr Gerhard Fehl
Lehrstuhl für Planungstheorie
Technische Hochschule Aachen
52062 Aachen
Schinkelstrasse 1
Germany
Tel: 0241 805029 / Fax: 0241 8888137

Dr Robert Freestone
Planning and Urban Development Program
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of New South Wales
Sydney NSW 2052
Australia
Tel: 02 9385 4836 / Fax: 02 9901 4505
E-mail: R.Freestone@unsw.edu.au

Dr Robert K. Home
Department of Surveying
University of East London
Dagenham
Essex
RM8 2AS, UK
Tel: (0)208 590 7722 x2504 / Fax: (0)208 849 3618
E-mail: r.k.home@uel.ac.uk

Dr Kiki Kafkoulas
Department of Urban and Regional Planning
School of Architecture
Aristotle University of Thessalonika
Thessalonika 54006
Greece
Tel: 3031 995495 / Fax: 3031 995576

Dr. Peter Larkham
Birmingham School of Planning
University of Central England
Perry Barr
Birmingham
B42 2SU
UK
Tel: 0121 331 5145
Email: peter.larkham@uce.ac.uk

Professor John Muller
Department of Town and Regional Planning
University of Witwatersrand
Johannesburg
PO Wits 2050
South Africa
Tel: 011 716 2654 / Fax: 011 403 2519
E-mail: 041MUJ@cosmos.wits.ac.za

Professor Georgio Piccinato
Facoltà di Architettura
Università di Roma 3
Via Madonna dei Monti 40
00184 Roma
Italy
Tel: +39 6 678 8283 / Fax: +39 6 481 8625
E-mail: piccinat@arch.uniroma3.it

Dr Pieter Uyttenhove
64 rue des Moines
F-75017
Paris
France

Professor Stephen V. Ward
School of Planning
Oxford Brookes University
Headington
Oxford
OX3 0BP
UK
Tel: 01865 483421 / Fax: 01865 483559
E-mail: svward@brookes.ac.uk

Professor Shun-ichi Watanabe
Science University of Tokyo
Yamazaki, Noda-shi
Chiba-ken 278
Japan
Tel: 81 474 24 1501 / Fax: 81 471 25 7833

PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

CONTENTS

NOTICES	Page 2
ARTICLES	13
PRACTICE	64
REVIEWS	69

PLANNING HISTORY VOL. 23 NOS. 1 AND 2 * 2001 * PAGE 1

NOTICES

The Urban History Association is pleased to announce the 2000 Awards for Scholarly Distinction

2000 Urban History Association Award for Best Book in North American History:

Peter C. Baldwin, *Domesticating the Street: The Reform of Public Space in Hartford, 1850-1930* (Ohio State University Press, 1999)

2000 Urban History Association for Best Article in Urban History:

Andrew Wiese, 'The Other Suburbanites: African American Suburbanisation in the North Before 1950', *Journal of American History*, 85/4, 1999, pp. 1495-1524

2000 Urban History Association Award for Best Dissertation in Urban History:

Michael Lerner, *Dry Manhattan: Class, Culture and Politics in Prohibition-Era New York City, 1919-1933* (New York University, 1999)

International Planning History Society Book Prize

The International Planning History Society (IPHS) endeavours to foster the study of Planning History worldwide. It seeks to advance scholarship in the fields of urbanism, history, planning and the environment, focussing particularly on cities from the late nineteenth century.

From 2002 the IPHS at its biennial conference will award a £250 prize for the most innovative book in planning history published in the previous two calendar years.

The book may be individually or joint-authored. It must be published in English and based on original new research. Anthologies and edited works are ineligible.

Nominations are invited from publishers as well as from scholars. These will comprise a 400 word statement, a short CV of the author(s), and 5 copies of the nominated book. (These materials will not be returned).

Nomination materials should be sent to:

Pd. Dr. Dirk Schubert, TU Hamburg-Harburg, 107, Woellmerstraße 1, 20173 Hamburg, Germany.

The deadline for receipt of submissions for the inaugural prize is 15 December 2001. The prize will be awarded at the 10th conference of the International Planning History Society in London/Letchworth in July 2002, with the winner also receiving complimentary conference registration.

Further information about the prize can be obtained from Dirk Schubert:

Tel. +49-40-42878-3661, FAX +49-42878-2472

E-mail: d.schubert@tu-harburg.de

NOTICES

Cities of Tomorrow:

The 10th International Conference of the International Planning History Society, 12 – 14 July, 2001:

Call for papers

The conference proceedings will take place in the University of Westminster's campus in the heart of London's West End and in Letchworth Garden City.

Key note speakers include Andres Duany, an architect and town planner whose work focuses on the creation of community. Shun-ichi J. Watanabe will give the Gordon Cherry Memorial Lecture.



ANDRES DUANY



SHUN-ICHI J. WATANABE

The conference themes will include comparison of the new and the old urbanisms. The IPHS encourages all urban scholars, practitioners, and observers to consider how their work contributes to the broader project of understanding the past, the urban conditions of the present and building better cities for the future. We encourage interdisciplinary contributions.

All offers of papers and other contributions will be considered by the Academic Committee. The Academic Committee will acknowledge receipt your proposal when it arrives, and they will let you know by 1st December 2001 if your proposal is accepted and to which of the conference tracks it has

been allocated. *The deadline for submission of completed papers is 1st May 2002.*

All participants will be expected to register for the conference. Registration will appear on www.IPHS2002.com

How to Participate: you can participate formally as:

1. Paper Presenter

If your paper proposal is accepted, the Academic Committee will group your paper with three or four others into a panel and let you know by 1st December 2001. You will be expected to send a copy of your paper to the other presenters. To participate this way: complete the paper proposal form and attach the abstract form; and send by email to IPHS2002.com

2. Roundtable Organiser

A roundtable is a structured discussion of a topic by a few selected individuals; they do not, however, present written papers. If you have an idea for a roundtable it will be your responsibility to organise the contributors. To participate this way: email the roundtable proposal form to IPHS2002.com

3. Track Organiser

You may wish to take responsibility for a group of panel sessions taking place during the conference and take responsibility for delivery of the panels. Email the Academic Committee to volunteer for Track organisation:

4. Panel Moderator

Panel moderators have many responsibilities, the core of which is establishing and maintaining an atmosphere conducive to the open and collegial exchange of ideas. To participate this way: Email the moderator:

All forms and email addresses can be found at: www.IPHS2002.com

NOTICES

The 6th International Conference on Urban History: Call for Papers

Power, Knowledge and Society in the City.

Edinburgh 5, 6 and 7 September 2002

European Association of Urban Historians

International Committee: Robert J. Morris (President/Edinburgh), Peter Clark (Treasurer/Leicester), Pim Kooij (Secretary/Groningen), Vera Bacskai (Budapest), Marc Boone (Ghent), Donatella Calabi (Venice), Sergej Karpov (Moscow), Denis Menjot (Lyon), Lars Nilsson (Stockholm), Heinz Reif (Berlin), Lydia Sapounakis-Dracakis (Athens), Adriaan Verhulst (Ghent), Clemens Wischermann (Constanza), Toshio Sakata (Tokyo)

Local Committee

Dr Graeme Morton, Dr Adam Fox, Dr Stana Nenadic, (Dept of Economic and Social History, Edinburgh University) Dr Richard McKenny, (Dept of History, Edinburgh University), Dr Pat Dennison (Scottish History, Edinburgh University), Dr Miles Glendinning (RCAMBS)

Invitation

You are invited to take part in the Sixth International Conference of the European Association of Urban Historians (EAUH) which takes place in Edinburgh from Wednesday 4th to Saturday

7th of September 2002. The conference begins with an informal reception on Wednesday evening. On Thursday morning there will be an opportunity to see some of the resources available for urban historians in Edinburgh. The central part of the conference consists of two plenary lectures and a wide variety of sessions, and round

table [see call for papers below]. You are strongly recommended to stay in the University's Pollock Halls where most of the sessions will be held [again see below for details of booking and registration for the conference.] There is also an excellent selection of hotel accommodation in the City.

The EAUH was established in 1989 with the support of the European Union. Our conference which takes place every two years is the largest and most important meeting of urban historians in Europe and is now noted for attracting urban historians from across the globe. We expect over 300 participants from a wide range of disciplines.

The title of our conference, Power, Knowledge and Society in the City, has been chosen to celebrate the fact that Edinburgh in the 18th century was home to some of the most innovative thinking of the enlightenment and that Edinburgh in the 21st century is home to the new devolved parliament of Scotland. The title also recognises both established and innovative work by urban historians. Indeed one of the merits of urban history is the manner in which it brings together such a range of methodologies, intellectual approaches, periods, places and topics. As the list of session topics indicates, there is no area of our curiosity as urban historians which is excluded from this conference.

The conference will not only appeal to academics and students but also to policy makers and a wide public interested in the heritage, evolution and problems of 21st century urban places. History is as much about the influence of the past in the present as it is about understanding the past. We are grateful to continued support from the Centre for Urban History in Leicester University and the Maison de Sciences de l'Homme in Paris as well as to the support of the British Academy, the Faculties of Arts and of Social Sciences in Edinburgh

NOTICES

University and the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

You are invited to submit proposals for papers to the session organizers and above all to come, take part and enjoy.

If you wish to present a paper at any of the sessions, please send a one page outline to the appropriate session organizers, as soon as possible and in any case before 1 October, 2001. You will be notified of acceptance by the end of November.

Accepted paper givers must send their text [max. six pages – 420 words per page – 20 minutes of speech]. This should be done before April 30, 2002. You must send one copy to the session organizer. You must send one copy to the conference organizer. You must also register for the conference.

In order to ensure maximum effective discussion we intend to place papers on the conference web site. Please send an electronic version, preferably by e mail attachment to the following by April, 2002:

UHEDIN2002@ed.ac.uk

Sessions and Organizers

Main Sessions

[3 hours /10 papers]

Who was running the cities? Elites and urban power structures, 1700-2000

Sven Beckert

Dunwalke Associate Professor
Department of History, Harvard University
210 Robinson, Cambridge, MA 02139,
USA

Tel: +01 (617) 495-0697, Fax: +01 (617) 496-3425

E-Mail: beckert@fas.harvard.edu

Marcus Gräser

Habilitand at the Zentrum für Nord-Amerika Forschung,
Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität
Frankfurt am Main
Postfach 11 19 32, D-60054 Frankfurt am
Main, Germany

Tel: +49 069 798-29007, Fax: +49 069 798-29012

E-Mail: M.Graeser@em.uni-frankfurt.de

Ralf Roth

Historisches Seminar
Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität
Gruneburgplatz 1

60323 Frankfurt am Main

Germany

Tel. 069/798-32627

Fax: 069/798-32622

Homepage: <http://www.RalfRoth.de>

Home-address: Bettinastr. 45, 63067

Offenbach a. M., Germany

Tel/Fax: +49 069 83 83 38 85

E-Mail: RalfRoth1@compuserve.com

Cities, Multiculturalism and Ethnicity: Expressions of Identity and Municipal Politics, 19th/20th century

Dr. Elfi Bendikat

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Phil Fak I, Institut für

Geschichtswissenschaften

Unter den Linden 6

D-10099 Berlin, Germany

Fax: +4930 80404570

E-Mail: elfi.bendikat@rz.hu-berlin.de

Dr. Marie-Claude Blanc-Chaléard

Université de Paris 1 / Panthéon-Sorbonne

Centre d'Histoire sociale du XXe siècle

9 rue Malher,

75181 Paris cedex 04, France

E-Mail: [Jean-](mailto:Jean-Louis.Chaleard@univ.paris1.fr)

Louis.Chaleard@univ.paris1.fr

Between Cities and Urban Areas: What Scale for Cities' History?/ Entre villes et régions urbaines: quelle échelle pour l'histoire des villes?

Michèle Dagenais

Département d'histoire, Université de

Montréal,

C.P. 6128, succursale Centre-Ville,

Montréal, Canada H3C 3J7.

E-Mail: michele.dagenais@umontreal.ca

Claire Poitras

NOTICES

Institut National de la Recherche
Scientifique — Urbanisation,
3465 rue Durocher, Montréal, Canada H2X
2C6.
E-Mail: poitras_claire@inrs-urb.quebec.ca

Imperial spaces and imperial power: urban geographies of Empire

Lynn Lees
Department of History
University of Pennsylvania,
Suite 352B, 3401 Walnut St., University of
Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, PA19104, USA
Tel: 215-898-8452, Fax 215-573-2089.
E-mail: lhlees@sas.upenn.edu

Iain Black
Department of Geography,
King's College London
Strand, London WC2R 2LS, England
Tel: 44-020-7848-2525/2632, Fax: 020-
7848-2287
E-mail: iain.black@kcl.ac.uk

The decline of industrial cities

Professor Lars Nilsson,
Institute of Urban History, Department of
History,
Stockholm University,
S- 106 91 Stockholm
lars.nilsson@historia.su.se

Professor Henk van Dijk,
Faculty of History and Arts, Erasmus
University
Rotterdam, Postbus 1738,
NL- 3000 DR Rotterdam
h.vandijk@fhk.eur.nl

European Cities, Public Sphere and Youth in the 20th Century

Axel Schildt
University of Hamburg
E-mail: schildt@fzh.uni-hamburg.de
Detlef Siegfried
University of Copenhagen,
Institut for Gernansk Filologi,
Njalsgade 80, DK 2300 Copenhagen S;

E-mail: Detlef.Siegfried@t-online.de,
detlef@hum.ku.dk

Endangered Cities: Military Powers and Urban Society in the Age of Total War

Roger Chickering
Professor of History, Georgetown
University
Center for German and European Studies
Intercultural Center 501
Washington, D.C. 20057-1022, USA
Tel.: x1-202-687-5602, Fax: x1-202-687-
8359
Email: chickerr@attglobal.net
Marcus Funck
Research Assistant
Technische Universität Berlin
Institut für Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte
Ernst-Reuter-Platz 7
10587 Berlin, Germany
Tel.: x49-(0)30-314-26982, Fax: x49-(0)30-
314-79438
Email: marcus.funck@tu-berlin.de or
marcus.funck@berlin.de

Models of urban power in European political systems: the Russian perspective

Ann Katherine Isaacs
Department of Modern and Contemporary
History
University of Pisa
Piazza Torricelli 3/A 56126 Pisa, Italy
Tel +39 050 911 422, Home +39 050
804744
Fax +39 050 501017
E-mail: isaacs@stm.unipi.it

Specialist Sessions One and a half hours (five papers).

Migration and gender in early-modern European towns

Erika Kuijpers
Department of History, University of Utrecht
Kromme Nieuwegracht 66, 3512 HL Utrecht
THE NETHERLANDS
Tel. +31 30 2537866 (Thursdays) +31 20
6187467

NOTICES

E-mail: erika.kuijpers@let.uu.nl

Professor dr. Sölvi Sogner
Department of History, University of Oslo
Box 1008 Blindern
0315 Oslo, NORWAY
Tel 47 – 22856769, Fax 47 - 22855278
E-mail: solvi.sogner@hi.uio.no

Civic Museums and Museums of Civic History in European Cities in the 20th Century

Helen Meller
Department of History
School of History and Art History
University of Nottingham
Nottingham NG7 2RD, UK
E mail helen.meller@nott.ac.uk

“Almost-cities” and small towns: Lords and their urban strategies in early modern Europe

Dr. Heleni Porfyriou
CNR
Centro di Conservazione delle Opere d'Arte
Rome, Italy
E-mail: hporfyriou@yahoo.it
Dr. Elena Svalduz
IUAV
Dipartimento di Storia dell'Architettura
Venice, Italy

E-mail: esvalduz@yahoo.it

Formal and Informal Economies in Early Modern European and Asian Cities

Professor Toshio Sakata
Keio University
E-mail: sakata@econ.keio.ac.jp
Professor Yoh Kawana
Tohoku University, Sendai
E-mail: Kawana@econ.tohoku.ac.jp

Urban Property: Society, Economy and Built Environment

Ann Ighe
Ekonomisk-historiska institutionen,
Göteborgs Universitet,
Box 720, S-405 30,
Göteborg, Sweden
E-mail: Ann.Ighe@econhist.gu.se
Jon Stobart
Geography, Natural and Environmental
Sciences
School of Sciences, Coventry University,
Priory Street, Coventry, CV1 5FB, UK
Tel. 024-76888407, Fax. 024-76888447
E-mail: j.stobart@coventry.ac.uk

Town and Crown: Political Cultures of Capital Cities

John Taylor
Department of History, Carleton University
1125 Col. By Dr.,
Ottawa, Canada K1S 5B6
Tel: 613-520-2600 x 2818, Fax: 613-520-
2819
E-mail: jtaylor@ccs.carleton.ca

La ville et l'éducation en'Europe à la fin du Moyen Age et au début de l'époque moderne.

M^a Isabel del Val Valdivieso
Departamento de Historia Medieval,
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Plaza del
Campus s/n,
Universidad de Valladolid, 47011
Valladolid, España
E-mail: delval@fyl.uva.es
Denis Menjot
UMR 5648 Histoire et archéologie des
mondes chrétiens et musulmans médiévaux
Université Lyon 2
18, quai Claude Bernard - 69365 Lyon
Cedex 07
tél. : 04 78 69 72 03 - Fax : 04 78 58 60 84
Denis.Menjot@univ-lyon2.fr

Multi-Island Cities: Urban Development, Transformation and Socio-cultural change in Venice and other towns divided by water (XIX-XX centuries)

NOTICES

Giulio Ernesti

Professor in Theories of Planning,
Istituto Universitario di Architettura di
Venezia

Guido Zuconi

Professor in History of Architecture,
Istituto Universitario di Architettura di
Venezia.

Luca Pes

Assistant Dean
Venice International University
Isola di San Servolo, Venice, Italy
Tel +39.041.2719535, Fax
+39.041.2719510
E-mail: pes@unive.it or pes@iuav.it

**The unauthorised city: Making and
breaking regulations for modern urban
space (18th-20th centuries).**

Denis Bocquet

Ecole Francaise de Rome
Palazzo Farnese, Piazza Farnese 67
00186 Roma, Italy
Fax: +39 (0)6 6874834
E-mail: denis.bocquet@ecole-francaise.it or
dbocquet@hotmail.com

Filippo De Pieri

Dipartimento di Progettazione
Architettonica
Politecnico di Torino, Viale Mattioli 39
10125 Torino (Italy)
Fax: +39 (0)11 6614876
E-mail: depieri@archi.polito.it

**The value of practice and knowledge in
building the Second Postwar city**

Cristina Bianchetti

Universite degli Studi di Pescara.
DiAnnunzio (Chieti)
Facolte di architettura
Viale pindaro n.42
65127 Pescara
fax : 085.63879

Viale delle Rimembranze di Lambrate n. 15
20134 Milano, Italy
Tel. / Fax: +39.02.26414494
E-mail: c.bianchetti@tin.it

Patrizia Bonifazio

Dipartimento di Progettazione
Politecnico di Torino
Castello del Valentino
Viale Mattioli n. 39
10124 Torino
fax: +39.011.5646599
Via Parma n. 49
10153 Torino, Italy
Tel. / Fax: +39.011.2482711
E-mail: patriziabon@yahoo.it or
patrizia.bonifazio@tin.it
Elena Cogato Lanza
Ecole Polytechnique Fédérale de Lausanne,
Département d'Architecture,
Chaire de la 1ère année
Case Postale 555
CH - 1001 Lausanne
tél. 0041 21 693 62 14
fax. 0041 21 693 62 00
E-mail: ecogato@braillard.ch

**Citizens, Money and Urban
Governments in Late Medieval and
Early Modern Europe**

Marc Boone

Universiteit Gent
E-mail: marc.boone@rug.ac.be

Karel Davids

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
E-mail: ca.davids@let.vu.nl

Paul Janssens

Katholieke Universiteit Brussel
e-mail paul.janssens3@pandora.be

**Professions médicales, magistratures de
santé et politiques sanitaires urbaines,
XIVe-XVIIIe siècle.**

Brigitte Marin

Directrice des Etudes pour l'Histoire
moderne et contemporaine,
Ecole française de Rome (Italie)
Piazza farnese, 67 - 00153 Roma, Italy
Tél. : + 39 06 68 60 12 44
E-mail: dirmod@ecole-francaise.it
Patrick Boucheron
Maître de conférences d'histoire médiévale,
Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne
(France)

NOTICES

14 rue Fabre d'Eglantine - 75012 Paris,
France
Tél. : + 33 1 43 46 78 29
E-mail: patrick.boucheron@wanadoo.fr

**Metropolis and Nationalism: The role of
the modern capital in the national
homogenisation and consciousness of the
people.**

Stavros Bozos

University of Leicester
63A Queens Road
Leicester, LE2 1TT, UK
Tel: 0(044)116-270-4018, 0(044)797-031-
5631
E-mail:
Stavros1968@turnpike8.freemove.co.uk

Graeme Morton

Department of Economic and Social
History
William Robertson Building
George Square
Edinburgh EH8 9JY
Scotland
E-mail: Graeme.Morton@ed.ac.uk

**Lost Cities/Lost Identities: Memories of
Urban Life in the Eastern
Mediterranean**

Dr. Nergis Canefe

Visiting Research Associate, LSE
The European Institute
3 Pond Cottages, Gold Hill East
Chalfont St. Peter, BUCKS SL9 9DJ, UK
Tel: (44) 01753 882686, Fax: (44) 01753
885341
E-mail: ncanefe@yorku.ca
Olga Demetriou
Social Anthropolgy, LSE, London.
10, Defkalionos Str, Apt 101,
Strovolos, 2019 Nicosia,
Cyprus

Tel: +357-2-519041
Fax: +357-2-757554
E-mail: o.m.demetriou@lse.ac.uk

**Shadows in the Enlightenment City: the
City-Image and the Rise of Romanticism**

Mark Dorrian

Department of Architecture,
University of Edinburgh,
20 Chambers Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1JZ.
Tel. +44 (0)131 650 2338. Fax. +44 (0)131
650 8019.
E mail: markd@caad.ed.ac.uk
John Lowrey
Department of Architecture,
University of Edinburgh,
20 Chambers Street, Edinburgh, EH1 1JZ.
Tel. +44 (0)131 650 2338. Fax. +44 (0)131
650 8019.
E-mail: jlowrey@caad.ed.ac.uk

Development of Modernist Planning

Dr. Ronnie Ellenblum

Department of Geography,
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem, 91905, Israel
Fax: 972-2-5820549
E-mail: mronni@mscc.huji.ac.il

**Cohabiter dans les villes Européennes de
l'époque moderne et contemporaine (18
and 19e)**

Olivier Zeller

professeur d'histoire moderne
l'Université Lyon II
trésorier de la Société française d'Histoire
urbaine
responsable de l'axe "Histoire des Villes et
de leurs Populations",
Centre Pierre Leon
E-mail: Olivier.Zeller@ish-lyon.cnrs.fr
Olivier Faron
Centre Pierre Léon ,
Université de Lyon 2,
E mail. Olivier.Faron@ish-lyon.cnrs.fr

**Knowing the City: information,
communication and understand ing in
the medieval and early modern city.**

Dr V.A. Harding

School of History, Classics, and
Archaeology,
Birkbeck College,
Malet Street, London WC1E 7HX

NOTICES

Tel: tel 020 7631 6284
office 020 7631 6299, Fax 020 7631 6552
E-mail: v.harding@bbk.ac.uk

James Amelang,
Universidad Autonoma de Madrid
E mail james.amelang@uam.es

Urban Centres in South and South East Asia: Economy and Culture

Dr.P.P.Mishra,
Dept of History,
Sambalpur University,
Burla-768019 (Dt-Sambalpur),
Orissa India.

Mailing Address

Dr.P.P.Mishra,
Near OSEB Guest House,
Burla-768017 (Dt-Sambalpur),
Orissa,
India
Telephone: 0091-663-430217
E-mail: ppmishra@dte.vsnl.net.in and/or
pp_mishra@hotmail.com

Consulting the citizen: negotiation and negation in urban policy making.

Marjaana Niemi
Department of History,
33014 University of Tampere, Finland
Tel. +358-3-215 6525; Fax. +358-3-215
6980

E-mail: himani@uta.fi or
marjaana.niemi@uta.fi

Lucy Faire
Department of Geography
Loughborough University,
Leicestershire LE11 3TU, UK
E-mail: L.J.Faire@lboro.ac.uk

Rituals Take Over

Dietrich Poeck
Eichenweg 3
D 48161 Münster-Roxel
Germany
E-mail: poeck@uni-muenster.de
**From Patrician Power to Common
Citizenship? Transformations of the city
state in the aftermath of the French
Revolution**

Maarten Prak
Chair in Economic and Social History
University of Utrecht
Utrecht, The Netherlands

E-mail: maarten.prak@let.uu.nl

Dr. Anja Victorine Hartmann,
Institute of European History
Alte Universitaetsstrasse 19
55116 Mainz
Germany
Phone: +49 (6131) 3939360
Fax: +49 (6131) 3930154
E-mail: Anja.Victorine.Hartmann@Uni-Mainz.de
Homepage: <http://www.inst-euro-history.uni-mainz.de/per/iecg-avh.htm>

Municipal Government and Administration. Position and Significance of 20th Century Urban Elites

Dr. Jürgen Priamus
Leiter des Instiuts für Stadtgeschichte
Gelsenkirchen
Wissenschaftspark
Munscheidstr. 14
D-45886 Gelsenkirchen
E-mail: dr.priamus@gelsen-net.de or
juergen.priamus@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

Dr. Stefan Goch:
Politikwissenschaftler, wissenschaftlicher
Mitarbeiter des Instituts für Stadtgeschichte
in Gelsenkirchen, Privatdozent an der
Fakultät für Sozialwissenschaft der Ruhr-
Universität Bochum
E-mail: Stefan.Goch@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

The Administrative Town: European Regional Capitals

Denise McHugh
E-mail: denise@dear.co.uk
Neil Raven
Department of History
School of Humanities, Languages and Law
Kedleston Road
Derby, DE22 1GB, UK
Fax: +44 (0)1332 622736
E-mail: n.d.raven@derby.ac.uk

NOTICES

The City as Laboratory for Landscape in the 17th and 18th Centuries;
La ville, laboratoire du paysage XVIIe /
XVIIIe siècles

Victoria Sanger, Ph.D
Instructor, Southern Methodist University
in Paris
26 Boulevard Jules Ferry
75011 Paris, FRANCE
Tel / Fax: (33.1) 48.07.83.44
E-mail: vs31@columbia.edu

Gilles-Antoine Langlois
Docteur en histoire Docteur en urbanisme
Institut d'Urbanisme de Paris
1, rue Samson
75013 Paris-FRANCE
TÈL. / fax : 33 (0)1 45 81 21 13
e.mail : gilles.a.langlois@wanadoo.fr

Civic space in 19th and 20th-century urban societies

Dr Henrik Stenius
Renvall Institute
PB 59
00014 Helsinki University
E-mail: henrik.stenius@helsinki.fi

Round Tables:

**[3 hours 10 to 14 papers
maximum]Medieval and Early Modern**

Donatella Calabi
University of Venice
CASTELLO 5878,
30122 VENEZIA (Italy)
fax 0039.041.715.449
phone 0030.041.2571433
E mail calabi@brezza.iauav.it

Industrial and Modern

Prof. Dr. Clemens Wischermann
Universität Konstanz
Fachbereich Geschichte und Soziologie
D - 78457 Konstanz
E-mail: clemens.wischermann@uni-konstanz.de

Methodology and Historiography: Studying the European City: National and Comparative Approaches

Peter Clark (Helsinki) and Donatella Calabi
(Venice)
All offers of paper to Professor Peter Clark,
Department of History
Unioninkatu 38
PO Box 59
00014 University of Helsinki
FINLAND
E mail: clark@mappi.helsinki.fi

NOTICES

Town and Country in the United Kingdom: Confrontation or Confusion?

UVHC: Universite de Valenciennes et du Hainaut – Cambresis, Faculty of Arts (FLLASH)
15 – 16 March 2002

From the Call for Papers:

'A culture in which urban life is more often than not demonised has influenced the UK's choices in terms of town planning. What is presented as the ideal city, from the *rus in urbe* dreamed up for Regent's Park to the garden cities and the new towns, seems to contradict the very notion of a city. As for the current rate of urban sprawl, not only does it raise serious questions about social cohesion and the environment, but *it tends to blur even further the borderline between town and country*. Moreover, the current drift of urban dwellers towards an 'idyllic' countryside could turn into the most serious threat to a patiently constructed landscape, and destroy the object of their desire. Participants in the conference will be invited to consider these questions and fears, which are voiced increasingly often.'

Proposals for papers, in either English or French (title and typed abstract, not exceeding one A4 page) should be sent to:

Emmanuel Roudat,
Universite de Valenciennes et du Hainaut-Cambresis,
FLLASH-departement d'anglais,
Le Mont Houy,
59313 Valenciennes Cedex 9,
France

A celebration in honour of John W. Reps: A symposium to mark the 50th anniversary of John W. Reps' association with Cornell University.

Cornell University, Barnes Hall, 14th and 15th September, 2001

Professor Emeritus John W. Reps, of Cornell University, is a National Planning Pioneer whose books include *The Making of Urban America* published in 1965. This symposium will explore the contributions of John W. Reps to planning history and education. Speakers include Professor Reps and other prominent urban historians:

The conference is sponsored by the College of Architecture, Art and Planning, The Clarence Stein Institute for Urban and Landscape Studies, The Department of City and Regional Planning, Cornell.

Phone: + 607-255-4331
Email mat4@cornell.edu or:
jns22@cornell.edu

The garrison behind the façades: the development of Potsdam as the second residence of the Prussian monarchy.

KATHERINE ARNTZ
School of Geography and Environmental Sciences,
University of Birmingham, Edgbaston,
Birmingham B15 2TT. U.K.
email: K.M.Arntz@bham.ac.uk

Introduction

The transformation of Potsdam, Germany from an isolated collection of approximately 200 houses surrounding a small, relatively unimportant town palace to the second largest town in the Marches of Brandenburg, preferred residence of many of the Hohenzollerns, popular tourist attraction, and an urban and park landscape deemed, over two hundred years later, worthy of inclusion in the world heritage list, is largely due to the actions of two monarchs: Frederick William I (1713-1740) and Frederick II (1740-1786). The process of this transformation provides an interesting and somewhat unusual example of eighteenth century authoritarian town planning, whereby an urban fabric was created according to the will and agenda of powerful individuals. As seen in Potsdam, this can lead to an urban landscape which may be greatly valued by contemporary non-residents and later generations, but one in which façadism disguised not only the nature of the buildings, but also that of the community living in them, in this case a community dominated by the bodyguard and regiment of the monarch.

The soldier king

The earliest known charter for Potsdam dates from 993, and over the following seven centuries the town survived as a crossing point of the river Havel. It did not achieve stability of wealth, structure or population until the eighteenth century. Indeed, when the town was chosen as the second seat of the Elector of the Marches of Brandenburg in 1660, war and fires had led to only 50 of the 198 houses

grouped around the castle being in good condition, 20 were damaged and the remainder abandoned (Sello, 1888). Although the change in the town's status brought with it renovation of the palace and the construction of homes for courtiers, significant development was not to occur until Frederick William I succeeded to the Prussian throne in 1713, and chose Potsdam as his second residence.

Throughout his reign Frederick William I, the Soldier King, was to give first consideration to the military, even before his accession to the throne he kept not merely the usual regiment but also his own battalion. He had no enthusiasm for the type of formal, representative and elaborate court held by his father and on his accession he cut the household budget dramatically, dismissing servants, hand-workers, artists, luxury-goods dealers and the like, and redirecting the money to the military, particularly to finance the construction of their accommodation (Kunisch, 1995, p. 74-5). One of his first priorities was to gather his scattered bodyguard into one garrison town which would also be his second residence, and his choice fell on Potsdam, a decision that was to dramatically shape the future of the town.

Potsdam had much to recommend it. Berlin was out of the question, the municipal authorities had opposed the plans of the king and, in any case, Frederick William I disliked the city, associating it with the court formality he wished to avoid. Potsdam was, however, close enough to Berlin to be practical, it was economically unimportant, and had no independent authority to represent its residents. The castle was in good condition and its

attractiveness increased by the excellent hunting lands surrounding it. In addition, the surrounding swamps and marshland made ideal natural barriers for soldiers attempting to desert.

The 750 *Lange Kerls* (tall blokes) of the king's bodyguard, all over six foot in height and collected at great cost from different parts of Europe, were transferred to Potsdam in the first months of Frederick William's reign and were gradually joined by the various companies of the king's regiment. These soldiers were, as was the usual practice, quartered in the homes of civilians. As the town's 1500 residents were living in under 200 houses the necessity of enlarging the town to accommodate the soldiers was immediately apparent: 'Potsdam is built as a large Grenadier town, and only because the soldiers should live in citizens' houses is it necessary that citizens' houses be built.' (Häckel, 1912, p. 83, my translation). Citizens also had to be attracted to the town, to which end manufacturing firms were encouraged to relocate to Potsdam providing civilian employment. Immigrants were offered freedom from taxes for one year, generous subsidies for the construction of houses, free building materials, and, in later years, were even given finished houses. Freedom from taxes and/or the supply of free building materials to attract settlers was not uncommon throughout Europe at this time, such methods were used, for example, in Versailles (Fehl, 1999, p. 14), Stuttgart (Hagel, 1996, p. 243), Karlsruhe, Ludwigsburg, Rastatt and Mannheim (Müller, 1990, p. 262-65). In Prussia the granting of subsidies for construction work was standard. However, the level of financial support available in Potsdam was exceptional, rather than the usual 4 or 8 percent of costs citizens received 10 or 15 percent plus the other benefits (Mielke, 1972, p. 142). This generous spending was in complete contrast to the usual economical tendencies of Frederick William I, as the memoirs of his daughter, the Markgräfin von Bayreuth, show: 'The meal consisted of six small, badly prepared dishes, that were supposed to be enough for 24 people, so that most people had to be satisfied with the smells. At the whole table nobody spoke of anything but economies and soldiers' (Armbruster 1910, p. 64, my translation). The king himself seems

to have felt the discrepancy in his behaviour: in the last years of his reign he ordered all records of spending on the building of the town to be burnt (Nicolai, 1786, p. 1118).

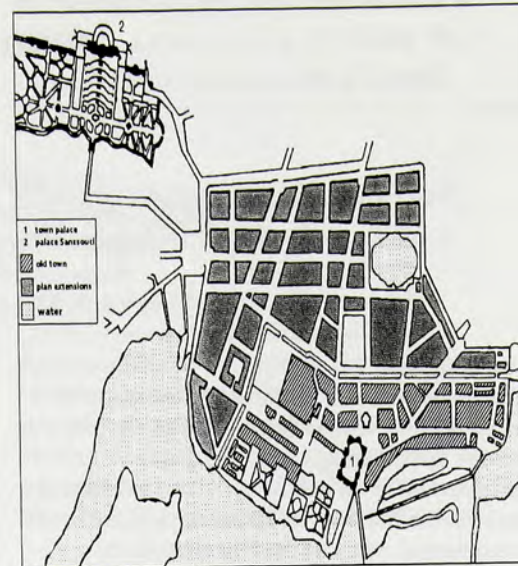


Fig 1: Plan of Potsdam showing old town, first and second extensions, and Park Sanssouci

Frederick William I provided for the growth of Potsdam with two planned extensions surrounded by town walls which further hindered the press-ganged soldiers from deserting. The street plan was influenced by existing north-south roads, which were incorporated, and the presence of extremely marshy areas which could not be built upon and thus formed open squares in the plan (Fig. 1) Indeed, the bridging of the marshland which had contained the town for over eight hundred years was perhaps the greatest challenge of the whole undertaking. It seems likely that the visit of Tsar Peter I of Russia in 1717 encouraged Frederick William I. The Tsar was at the time overcoming similar problems in the building of St Petersburg, and while it is said that whole forests were sunk in the marshes of Potsdam (Mielke, 1960, p. 10), so much stone was required to provide land which could be built upon in St. Petersburg that the construction of stone buildings throughout Russia had to be prohibited (Braunfels, 1987, p. 235-36).

Within the first planned extension, begun in 1721, simple timber-framed buildings were cheaply and quickly built. Little is known

about the precise nature of these houses as most were replaced under Frederick II. Having relieved the worst pressure on accommodation, the second extension of 1733 could be more ambitious. Under the direction of Peter v. Gayette, of French origin, terraces of two-storey plastered timber-framed houses, often with solid front walls, were constructed. The houses were built according to prescribed models, a method already used with success in Köln (1619), Düsseldorf (1669) and then later in Krefeld, Saarbrücken, and Baden. Six types can be identified, distinguishable mainly by the form of the gable. The precise details of the façade vary within each type. The various types were arranged so that the streetscape was characterised by rhythmic interchanges of particular forms. This provided a uniform and harmonious appearance further emphasised by the painting of all plastered houses in orange or ochre tones (Gegenbauer, 1991, p. 8) (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: Gutenbergstraße of the second extension (photograph from 2000)



While this streetscape was obviously influenced by international fashions, particularly by the Palladian which was increasingly popular in German-speaking Europe at this time, it has also been described as a reflection of Frederick William's delight in rows of parading soldiers: 'The eye of the king was so indulged by his continuous preoccupation with his bodyguard regiment, which consisted of the best-looking and largest men from all over the earth, that on the newly laid out streets he wanted nothing other than houses representing soldiers standing in a row, with the dormer windows above the second floor resembling the pointed Grenadier hats' (Manger, 1789, vol.1, p. 19, my translation).

Not all of the land enclosed by the customs wall built for the second extension was immediately used. In the north-west there remained in 1737 enough land for four new blocks to be built, under the specific instructions of Frederick William I, in Dutch style. The king had always shown a liking for things Dutch. All the churches he built in Potsdam displayed a Dutch influence, Manger (1789, vol. 1, p. 10) recalls that Frederick William I believed the best master builders to be Dutch, he even preferred Dutch food (Hinrichs, 1964, p. 43). The building of the Dutch quarter in Potsdam was perhaps a natural reflection of these preferences, and can certainly be directly related to a trip that Frederick William I took to Amsterdam in the spring of 1732. While there he encouraged Dutch builders to move to Potsdam. These he used for the construction of the hunting lodge Stern, built in Dutch style, and then appointed the Dutchman Johann Boumann to construct a Dutch quarter for the new residents, so that they would feel at home.

The principles of the rest of the second extension were continued in the Dutch quarter. Two models were used for the houses, a five-bay eaves house and a three-bay gable house, both built of red brick with wooden decorations around the door, visible window frames and wind shutters on the lower windows of the ground floor (Fig. 3).

Fig 3: Mittelstraße in the Dutch Quarter (photograph from 2000)



All the woodwork was painted white. These types were also used to form streetscapes which were uniform or showed a rhythmic interchange of forms. In front of the houses small gardens were laid out (Mielke, 1960).

As Frederick William I was interested only in the appearance presented by the street-side of the houses and in providing the necessary accommodation for his soldiers, all residents were expected to construct the necessary rear buildings from their own resources, and were free to build in the backyards as they pleased, restricted only by fire regulations. This resulted in a jumble of workshops, washrooms, extra accommodation and stables, and in a wide variety of plot sizes and sub-divisions, each house owner acquiring land and building according to their own needs and means.

The interior layouts of all the houses of the second extension were fairly standard, consisting of a central hallway behind which lay a steep staircase. To the right and left were one large and one small room and a kitchen. The rear rooms of the ground floor were 0.8 to 1m higher than those at the front as cellars lay under them. As the layout was repeated on the second floor each house held a maximum of four flats plus the so-called 'Grenadier's room' in the attic, lit by the dormer window. The exact division obviously depended on the number of rooms required by the owner's household, and whether rooms were used commercially, for instance for retail (Mielke, 1972, p. 23). Throughout the eighteenth century, when the military made up between a quarter and a third of the population of the town, it was usual for unmarried soldiers to occupy the front rooms of the first floor, a captain would be given two rooms, a lieutenant or a sergeant one room, while two, four or six ordinary soldiers shared a room between them (Volk, 1988, p. 18). Married soldiers (between 1713 and 1743 restricted to a third of the strength of each company, thereafter unrestricted) lived with their wives and young children in barracks, the built form of which closely resembled that of the civilian houses, although the façades tended to be extremely plain. While exact figures for the space standards per soldier are unavailable for the first half of the eighteenth century, an indication is given by an edict passed in 1787 setting the minimum size of a room for 4 men

at the equivalent of 20.5m² and that of one for 6 men at 23.64m² (Mielke, 1972, p. 115-122).

When Frederick William I succeeded to the Prussian throne in 1713, the town had only c.1500 inhabitants living in some 200 houses clustered around the palace. At his death in 1740 the population had risen to 11 708 civilians and 4294 military, resident in 1154 houses (Globisch, 1990, p. 35). The town had become, after Berlin, the second largest settlement in the Marches of Brandenburg. Yet, 'without building, and without the garrison [Potsdam would be] one of the poorest towns in the Marches' (Manger, 1789, vol. 2, p. 253, my translation). The town grew because Frederick William I wished it to, and its landscape displayed his tastes and concerns, above all his obsession with the military. In Potsdam 'the soldier counted for almost everything, the citizen for almost nothing' (Haeckel, 1916, p. 51, my translation).

Rebuilding for representation

Frederick II, like his predecessor, took Potsdam as his second seat of residence, but had quite different aims from those of his father. He did not extend the street plan any further but attempted to rebuild the existing town to create a residence worthy of his own notion of his position. As the Austrian ambassador Freiherr von Ried (1763) explained, 'His mastering passion is without doubt the desire for fame. Unsatisfied with the fame that he has won through his own talents and his fortune in war he imitates anything that will, in his opinion, increase his fame. Thus he is following the example of Louis XIV and Versailles and is building a palace that... will be even larger than the royal palace in Berlin' (Volz 1901, vol. 2, p. 209, my translation). The palace referred to here is probably the Neues Palais which was under construction at this time in parkland by Potsdam, and which was to show the world that Prussia, despite the consequences of the Seven Year War, was still to be reckoned with. However, Frederick II had already undertaken much building and rebuilding work, intended to display his consequence.

His first projects in Potsdam were the reconstruction of the town palace and the replanting of that part of the pleasure garden that his father had turned into a military exercise ground. A few years later the king

turned his attention to the town itself. He replaced most of the simple houses of the old town and first plan extension with monumental buildings. Houses on streets and squares close to or visible from the town palace were rebuilt with façades copied and adapted from villas in France, the Netherlands, England and especially Italy. Frederick II was concerned only with the appearance of the town, so the interior layouts were seldom affected by the reconstruction work and 'quite poor petty bourgeois houses with wretched stairways, hallways, and rooms' (Friedel, 1901, p. 195, my translation) were often hidden by the ornate façades. Further away from the palace, or on side streets, façade groups, in which two or three houses were hidden by one representative façade, were created rather than villa copies (Fig. 4).

Fig. 4: Façade group in Charlottenstraße (photograph from 2000)



The interior layouts of these houses corresponded to their façades while not compromising their representative nature. Façade groups were a not uncommon technique of the time used to disguise the small scale of buildings, as on the square Am Grootte Markt in Brussels and on the Place d'armes in Valenciennes (Mielke, 1972, p. 340).

Like Frederick William I, Frederick II maintained strict control over the building work. He chose the models to copy and the location of the copies in the town; he brought foreign architects (e.g. the Frenchman Jean Laurent Legeay) or those with experience abroad (e.g. K. W. von Knobelsdorff) into the town to carry out the work, and he financed the buildings. His aims were different to and his tastes more extravagant than those of Frederick

William I. Thus he spent about ten times more per house than his father, using money from various sources including a substantial annual revenue derived from his East Friesian inheritance (Mielke, 1972). Frederick's personal involvement in the building work was extreme but not unique, several of the kings of Württemberg were equally involved in the creation of their residences (Hagel, 1996). In addition to rebuilding much of the town of Potsdam, Frederick II created palaces and parks outside the town. Most well-known is the palace Sanssouci built in 1744-47 in rococo style as laid down in a sketch by the king (Fig. 5). Following the completion of this palace the gardens were extended westwards time and again, and various buildings constructed within them: the Chinese and the Japanese house, a picture gallery, a ruin, and finally the Neues Palais.

The comparison of Potsdam with Versailles made by the Austrian ambassador is an obvious one, and indeed there is little doubt that Frederick II was inspired by the work of Louis XIV, as were many German rulers (see Braunfels, 1987 and Fehl, 1999 for further examples). However, the Prussian king's objectives and tastes were somewhat different from those of the French monarch and Potsdam differed significantly from Versailles, and indeed most other European court towns. While the palace of Versailles acted as the orientation point for the whole town, Sanssouci, Frederick's preferred residence, was situated on the edge of the town, with no main driveway to provide easy access, and was kept very private. The surrounding park was developed independently of the town, and the Neues Palais was intended to house friends and relations. Frederick II, like his predecessor, disliked the formality of court life that was inevitably to be found at the centre of government. 'Most of the kings of Europe have forged for themselves a kind of chain, and often suffer under its burden. My father had the courage to break his and I am following in his footsteps and preserving that degree of freedom which was passed on to me.' (Volz, 1913, vol. 7, p. 155, my translation). Frederick II spent most of his time away from Berlin, returning only for a few weeks a year around his birthday and the Carnival festival (Kunisch, 1995, p. 78). The government of Prussia was never transferred to

Potsdam, but remained in Berlin and the nobles were not encouraged to follow Frederick II out of the city. While it was important to Frederick II to live in surroundings which he felt to be representative of his position, he did not want the society that usually came with them. Thus, although the new ornate façades gave an impression of affluence similar to that of the villas of the nobility in Berlin, manufacturing workers, builders and soldiers lived behind the façades.

Conclusion.

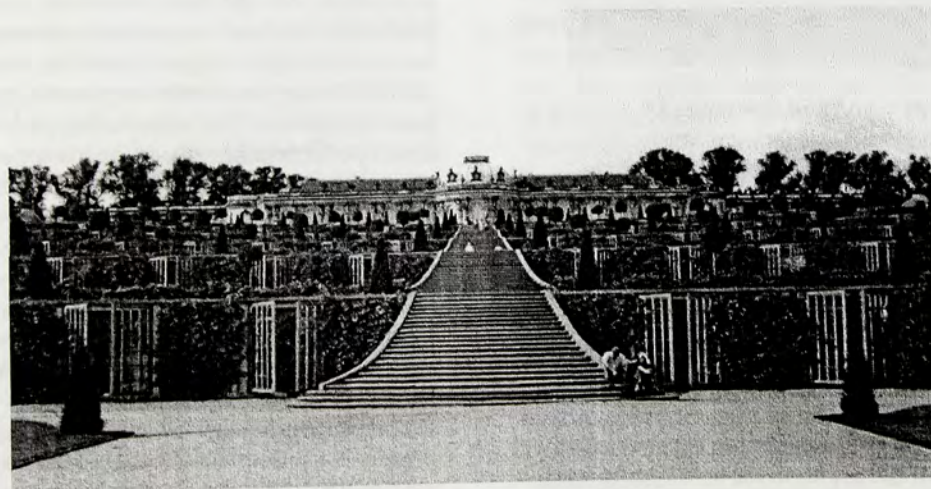
The urban landscape of Potsdam was clearly a product of eighteenth century society. Absolute rulers throughout Europe were at this time creating residences to represent their wealth, power and position. Potsdam can be understood as one of many court-towns, created under the influence of international architectural fashions, growing not out of its own strength but because Frederick William I and Frederick II channelled money, architects, builders, and even residents into it. Yet Potsdam was never the centre of government or court life, it was built as a garrison town and despite the palaces, parkland and villa copies it remained a garrison town. Both Frederick William I and Frederick II distanced

themselves from contemporary representative court life, and consequently neither the built structure nor the life of Potsdam revolved around the court. Behind the façades soldiers and their landlords' families remained. Eylert (the official biographer of Frederick William III) describes the result: 'Potsdam was in the years that led up to 1806 an unpleasant place. Although the second residence and the garrison lay in perhaps not fertile but certainly beautiful surroundings, yet in the broad empty streets, in the gorgeous houses, was something eerie and desolate. Everywhere one came up against the garrison-like, whose interior poverty could not be disguised by the rich façades; everywhere duress and the associated constraint appeared with hostility' (Hürlimann, 1933, p. 263, my translation).

Acknowledgements

The work presented here was largely undertaken in the course of research for my *Diplom* thesis at the Free University Berlin, Germany. Thanks for encouragement and advice go to Professor Karl Lenz (Free University Berlin), Professor Astrid Debold-Kritter (Technical University Berlin) and Professor Jeremy Whitehand (University of Birmingham).

Fig 5: Palace Sanssouci (photograph from 2000)



REFERENCES

- Armbruster, J. (ed.), *Eine preußische Königstochter. Denkwürdigkeiten der Markgräfin von Bayreuth, Schwester Friedrichs des Großen*, Ebenhausen: Langenwiesche-Brandt, 1910.
- Braunfels, W., *Abendländische Stadtbaukunst*, Köln: DuMont, 1987.
- Fehl, G., 'Versailles as an urban model: new court-towns in Germany circa 1700' *Urban morphology*, Vol. 3 No. 1, 1999, pp. 3-20.
- Friedel, E., 'Das königliche Fassadenrecht in den Residenzen Berlin und Potsdam', *Brandenburgia*, Vol. 9, 1901, pp.195-97.
- Gegenbauer, C., 'Die zweite barocke Stadterweiterung', *Kulturbauten und Denkmale*, Vol. 2, 1991, pp. 8-10.
- Globisch, R., 'Zur Geschichte der 2. Stadterweiterung in Potsdam' in Abri, M., Frinken, M., Haase, M. (eds.) *Bauaufnahme und behutsame Stadterneuerung in der II. barocken Stadterweiterung in Potsdam*, Berlin: Technische Universität Berlin, 1990, pp. 33-36.
- Haeckel, J., 'Potsdam, die Wilhelmstadt', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte Potsdams*, Vol. 5 No. 10, 1916, pp. 26-52.
- Hagel, J., *So soll es seyn. Königliche Randbemerkungen u. Befehle zur Stadtgestaltung in Stuttgart u. Cannstatt in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart: Veröffentlichungen des Archivs der Stadt Stuttgart 70, Verlag Klett-Cotta, 1996.
- Hinrichs, C., 'Friedrich Wilhelm I. König von Preußen', in Hinrichs, C., (ed.), *Preußen als historisches Problem. Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Berlin: Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission zu Berlin 10, G. Oestreich, 1964, pp. 40-72.
- Hürlimann, M., *Die Residenzstadt Potsdam*, Berlin: Atlantis-Verlag, 1933.
- Kunisch, J., 'Funktion und Ausbau der kurfürstlich-königlichen Residenzen in Brandenburg-Preußen im Zeitalter des Absolutismus', in Hahn, P., Hübener, K., Schoeps, J., (eds.), *Potsdam. Märkische Kleinstadt – europäische Residenz*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995, pp. 61-84.
- Manger, H.L., *Baugeschichte von Potsdam*, 3 volumes, Berlin/Stettin: Frederick Nicolai, 1789-1790.
- Mielke, F., *Das Holländische Viertel in Potsdam*, Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1960.
- Mielke, F., *Das Bürgerhaus in Potsdam*, Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1972.
- Müller, C., 'Peuplierung', in Maaß, M., et al (eds.), *Klar und lichtvoll, wie eine Regel*, Karlsruhe: Braun, 1990, pp. 259-78.
- Nicolai, F., *Beschreibung der Königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam, aller daselbst befindlicher Merkwürdigkeiten, und der umliegenden Gegend*, Berlin: Nicolai, 1786.
- Sello, G., *Potsdam und Sanssouci, Forschungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Burg, Stadt und Park*, Breslau: S.Schottlaender, 1888.
- Volk, W., *Potsdam. Historische Straßen und Plätze heute*, Berlin: VEB Verlag, 1988.
- Volz, G. B., *Friedrich der Große im Spiegel seiner Zeit*, 3 volumes, Berlin: Hobbing, 1901.
- Volz, G. B., *Die Werke Friedrich des Großen*, 10 volumes, Berlin: Hobbing, 1913.

Building the modern seaside town: town planning in interwar Clacton

LAURA CHASE,
Little Bentley, Essex
Email: laura.chase@essexcc.gov.uk

The English seaside town of Clacton, on the Essex coast, provides an intriguing case study of the way in which town planning thought and practice was developing during the inter-war years. Inter-war planning initiatives, while strictly limited in nature, were arguably significant both because they furthered the acceptance of planning in principle, and because they formed part of a package of 'modern' enhancements to place image. This short paper extracts a section from my PhD thesis discussing the economic and political context for the introduction and acceptance of town planning in Clacton and its incorporation in a discourse of progress and modernity.

Planning along health lines

By 1900, seaside towns were already accustomed to stamping their claims to physical superiority with medical credentials attesting to their health-giving qualities for both invalids and otherwise healthy people in need of a revitalising break. No Victorian resort guidebook was complete without a testimonial or two from a medical authority testifying to the curative properties of the resort (see for example Jarrolds 1900). Resorts readily adopted the gospel of town planning as a means of promoting the healthfulness of their towns. The links between town planning and the medical discourse were a continuation of the mid-nineteenth century public health campaigns which identified slum conditions as a cause of disease, and then gradually widened their scope to incorporate housing reform and urban design. The claims of nineteenth century seaside towns to hygiene and attraction to

convalescents were reinforced by the physical layout of many new developments which avoided the health risks of overcrowding, poor drainage, and substandard housing conditions, since they were not 'built on the unsanitary debris of previous ages' (*Clacton Guide* 1909). Mentions of Clacton as a new pristine town without slums or urban ills are found in newspapers and guidebooks from its inception in 1871, with the 1872 Times noting 'There will be no slums, nor any object that can offend the eye' and continue through the inter-war period (Walker 1966, p.32).

Town planning in this nineteenth century context was largely synonymous with estate planning. It referred to the orderly development of land under unified private ownership, and had not yet acquired its associations with state intervention and urban reform. The plan of Peter Bruff, Clacton's first developer, typifies this approach in the years immediately following 1871. It provided for the initial construction of the central core of the town established road layouts and a generalised zoning scheme which segregated commercial and residential uses and provided for minimum property values. Bruff did not have to contend with any messy existing development, as had been the case with his earlier scheme in neighbouring Walton. Bruff's standing as an engineer, the Greenfield status of the land, and the newness of the project in general were accented in the numerous subsequent testimonies to the virtues of Clacton's planned early growth, as typified by Walker (1966, p. 30):

The town is indeed fortunate that its leading pioneer was no idle speculator but one who, in accordance with his profession, planned a resort of broad thoroughfares and well-spaced villas. In this respect it was fortunate too that the land had not been available earlier when Clacton might well have had at its centre a maze of congested streets and squalid terraces which characterise so many of our older resorts.

The actual area developed according to Bruff's plan was quite small, but it was sufficient to allow Clacton to claim it was a planned town. Fig. 1 shows the actual amount of development in 1878, one year after Bruff had sold his land and properties, before completion of his plan, to the Clacton-on-Sea and General Land Building and Investment Company Limited, part of the London Steamboat Company. By 1882, the company owned 285 acres adjacent to the sea front in Clacton that they sought to develop as a select residential area by establishing minimum house prices and issuing restrictive covenants dictating future uses. The goal of selectness, however, was inevitably compromised by the steamboat company's encouragement of day-tripper traffic. Another problem with this approach, pointed out by Gayler (1965, pp. 90, 93), was that the company provided an oversupply of expensive land, but neglected the need for working-class housing. This latent demand was instead met by speculators who supplied roads and building plots in land adjacent to that of the Land Company's from the 1890s onward. These two trends accordingly minimised the effect of restrictive covenants and land use policies which continued to govern Clacton until the Coast Development Company (which acquired the Land Co. in 1898) went bankrupt in 1915.

Homes for heroes

Given Clacton's history of planning, the Council was receptive to the idea of the planning controls that emerged in early

20th century legislation, insofar as it would strengthen previous efforts to ensure that growth occurred in an orderly and directed manner. Local authority planning schemes sanctioned by the 1909, 1919 and 1932 Town Planning Acts, like earlier private efforts to plan Clacton, scheduled land use, road layout and development phasing. Unlike the private efforts, these Acts did not attempt to set minimum values. The uses and construction of individual properties was controlled through building and public health departments. The 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act made town planning a statutory duty of all urban authorities of over 20,000 (Clacton UDC was then under this number) with the intent that minimal, rather than extensive, planning powers to control town expansion would aid the development of 'homes for heroes' (Cullingworth 1972, p. 20, Swenarton 1981). In practice, the requirement to prepare schemes was not enforced, and procedures for approval by the Ministry of Health were cumbersome.

The town planning aspects of the 1919 Act were at first overshadowed by the housing element, which established a role for the state in providing social housing as a response to the severe post-war shortfall in housing and industrial unrest (see Swenarton 1981). Harloe (1995, p. 112) notes the post-World War I focus on local authority housing for the 'core working class and lower middle class' who were the 'backbone' of the labour movement and accordingly politically significant. Rather than the social rented sector, however, the private owner-occupied sector came to increasingly dominate housing for this class and all but the lowest end of the housing market in the wake of changing national policy, economic trends and the increasingly iconic status of the single family home.

While local authority construction levels were not great in Clacton, the 'housing question' was a prominent feature of debate in the Council meetings of the post-World War I period, and presaged debates on similar issues which occurred later in the 1920s and 1930s

Map 1: Clacton, 1874 (Source: Ordnance Survey Sheet 48.7)



under the town planning label. Council members concurred on the need to build houses in the wake of post-war material and labour shortages and resultant overcrowding, but there was conflict over the type and level of public assistance in what was felt to be, in normal circumstances, the province of the free market. There were also disagreements about the amount of working-class housing needed.

By 1927, Clacton had erected 139 houses out of public funds, but thereafter the focus shifted to controlling the development of the increasing amounts of private construction rapidly transforming Clacton's outer areas, with over 3000 houses being constructed in Clacton during the period 1928-38 (GGECIN 5/2/38). A comparison between Figures 2 and 3 shows this rapid growth around Clacton's periphery. The new development in the 1920s was largely judged to have enhanced the town's social tone. Clacton's 1928 *Official Guide* noted with satisfaction the increasing pre-eminence of the owner-occupied sector:

Clacton has seen more houses erected in the past six years than any town of proportionate size within a one hundred-mile radius. By that, of course, is meant the building of large and medium size residences by private owners and quite distinct from the hundreds of small houses which have been erected under state-aided schemes in other places.

Housing strategies that favoured expansion of the owner-occupied sector in low-rise, suburban developments was not, however, without its negative consequences, particularly in southeast England. This strategy, while a politically acceptable alternative for conservatives to social rented housing raised new land use and aesthetic problems for elements of that constituency. The discipline of town planning, originally largely an adjunct to housing and public health questions was modified in the 1920s to respond to

concerns about the dangers of unregulated development and loss of rural land and amenities. Aspects of the housing question thus evolved into town planning questions, within the context of an overall discourse stressing rationality, health and progress. Reflecting this shift, town planning issues became a regular feature of Clacton and Frinton Council debates and local newspaper editorials in the late 1920s.

Town planning in the interwar years: the idea and the activity

The new constituency for town planning was seen by one planning historian as being derived from 'the patrician disdain for the bargain basement environmental quality of the nascent consumer capitalism' (Hague 1984, p. 62). It can be seen, for example, in the formation of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England in 1926. It is misleading, however, to paint the preservationist alliance in too straightforward a right-wing, retrograde manner. Matless (1996) points out that the preservationist movement combined a fondness for modern rational planning goals and techniques with its visions of rural Arcadia, and united conservative landowners with those with socialist leanings, such as Clough Williams Ellis who attacked suburban sprawl and coastal disfigurement in his books *England and the Octopus* (1928) and *Britain and the Beast* (1937). A contemporary book on seaside houses illustrates the ways in which modern planning methods were enlisted to the moral crusade of landscape preservation: 'unless we make up our minds to group our seaside houses in an orderly fashion nothing can save the English coast from untidy ribbon development as wasteful and unsightly as the filling up of main road frontages in inland places' (Carter 1937, p. 12).

The CPRE was influential in ensuring that the 1932 Act included powers to plan for undeveloped rural land. The effect of the 1932 Act, however, was almost as limited as the 1919 Act. It continued the concept of the planning

Fig 2: Clacton 1925 (Ordnance Survey)



scheme and broadened it to include built-up areas, but these broad brush zoning plans were voluntarily enacted and tended to acknowledge existing trends, particularly since the Act required compensation for owners of land which could not be developed. Furthermore, lengthy bureaucratic delays were involved in getting a planning scheme approved, as typified by the six year gap in Clacton between the 1929 approval in principle of a scheme and its 1935 adoption (Cullingworth 1972: 20-22, King: 1984: 187).

Inter-war planning legislation thus reflected the cautious approach of the conservative constituency that supported legislative controls as a necessary evil to promote aesthetic and economic order, rather than the more radical stance of those who saw it as a part of a package of state intervention and social reform including public housing. The restricted nature of inter-war planning legislation, however, should not be directly equated with the overall popularity of the concept of town planning. As Eric Reade observes of the inter-war period: '...if town planning as an activity was of relatively little significance, the idea of town and country planning developed apace' (Reade 1987, p. 42). Reade focuses on the activities of those within the professions in developing this idea, but arguably, the favourable response of local authorities and its incorporation into the rhetoric of progress also furthered its overall reception. This paved the way for the implementation of more far-reaching post-war planning legislation and the acceptance of such concepts as green belts, new towns and development control. Local authorities achieved a wider and more popular profile for town planning by situating it within the discourse of modernity, which emphasised good municipal housekeeping and rational foresight and downplayed any infringement on the rights of property. In the following quote from the Clacton Times, for example, well-regulated planning and design is seen as an

exemplar of appropriate apolitical local government action:

Among the many things for which Clacton is noted is its remarkable tidiness – a great tribute to a communal co-operation by residents and visitors alike. Not only does this tidiness apply to its Front and its street, but to the whole tone of the town; to its various building lines; to the architectural features of its front; to its general design and effect and to the entire absence of anything even approaching the appearance of a slum area... Just as housewives and property owners have been busy lately with their annual 'spring clean', so should we all personally have a little 'spring-cleaning' of our minds and process in a metaphorical sense... More than anywhere else tidiness is required in the minds and actions of our local government rulers. Untidiness in that direction too often means a waste of the people's money, and too often a lack of progress... Clacton needs not only a tidy town, but a council cleared of old untidy prejudices and with a well-regulated policy (CTEEG 6/5/33).

The analogies are clearly drawn here between personal and municipal tidiness, with planning serving as housekeeping writ large. Town planning and good government are defined clearly by assumptions about what constitutes 'matter out of place' and requires tidying up. In a planning context, this would include non-conforming uses, irregular design, high plot ratios and narrow streets. This relates directly to social tone in that the characteristics of a well-designed town scheme were seen to embody the virtues of order, rational demarcation of space and hygiene seen within the select home. Town planning is thus part of the discourse of the modern hygienic landscape described by Forty that has 'become the norm in the domestic landscape' and also appears in many other

modern environments such as trains, aeroplanes and public buildings (1986, p. 156).

The limited nature of interwar planning legislation was actually a selling point, in that it allowed the Councils to be seen as adopting a fashionable new trend without seriously compromising entrenched economic and political interests. Advocates for the adoption of planning schemes thus argued for the perceived enhancement of a progressive image as well as for actual benefits of orderly growth. A 1927 letter to the Clacton Times chivvied the Council: 'Clacton will suffer severely if the council continues to boycott town planning legislation. Neighbouring places are getting their municipal houses in order. Dovercourt is adopting a scheme soon and will become a dangerous rival to Clacton' (CTEEG 29/1/27). Advocates of planning in Clacton also made much of its earlier planning heritage and emphasised the continuity between the early 'social pioneers in the best sense' and later state-endorsed efforts, as well as the need to maintain the planning tradition. An additional concern over the location and amount of working class housing remained, and town planning schemes were felt to be needed to address this issue. The Clacton Graphic editorialised:

There is a class of small property springing up in Clacton, which is not calculated to enhance the reputation of the town as a residential centre. It is such enterprises as these that the Town Planning Act would suppress. We have in our mind a colony of small tenements which has had the result of luring to the town a large surplus of workers whom Clacton cannot absorb, hence the swelling of the out-of-work. It is time a period was put to misplaced enterprises (CGECIN 22/2/30).

It is unclear how 'small tenements' were meant to lure surplus workers to Clacton, particularly given its lack of industrial employment and the seasonal nature of its

tourism employment. Many were satisfied with this lack of industrial employment, since it was considered to be unsuitable for a tourist town. Town planning schemes could keep unwanted industrial uses at bay and preserve Clacton's identity as the unpolluted antithesis of a grimy industrial town:

Clacton is indubitably first, foremost and always a holiday resort and residential town. People who are on holiday do not wish to be reminded by factories and works, such as they have in their own towns, of the environment they have quitted for holiday or residence. Clacton and other resorts should be true to the tradition they have created for themselves (CTEEG 19/12/36).

Only a small minority encouraged the development of a wider economic base for Clacton, in particular to address the problems of seasonal unemployment, an attitude that came to predominate in the post-war years.

The implementation of town planning legislation required expansion of the local authority bureaucracy. The surveyor's department normally took on the responsibility, while particular town planning schemes were prepared by outside consultants, as they were considered to be one-off documents and not a steady source of work for full-time staff. The lack of planners on the local authority payroll also reflected the fact that town planning was a latecomer in the ranks of professions created by the nineteenth century growth of state bureaucracy and urban infrastructure (see Perkin 1989).

Clacton Council debated the need to hire a town planning assistant in 1928. The newness of the discipline was seen by Councillor Shingfield as both an asset in and of itself for a modern town, and a rationale for hiring a 'person not exceeding 27 years old', but not as a local authority employee since the 'men who understood town planning were engaged by a firm of experts' and commanded higher salaries (CTEEG 7/1/28). In the

end, the Council relied on the prominent consulting firm of Adams, Thompson and Fry for its advice. Thomas Adams, the first president of the Town Planning Institute, and his colleagues prepared pragmatic advisory regional plans throughout south-eastern England in the inter-war years, as well as town plans for the seaside resorts of Hastings, Bexhill and Eastbourne. These plans focused on containing urban growth, improving arterial road systems and protection of amenity (Simpson 1981:37). Nationally, thirty-seven regional planning schemes were prepared during the inter-war years, with Wannop and Cherry (1994) suggesting that regional planning taken up by local authorities because 'its measure seemed not to hurt anyone, they seemed full of promise, they cost little and offered co-operation rather than conflict.'

Echoing the national trend to a higher profile for planning and its separation from public health matters, the Town Planning Sub-Committee of the Clacton's Public Health Committee was elevated to the status of a Joint Committee in 1929. Members representing Tendring Rural District Council (TRDC) joined Clacton UDC councillors to consider a town plan for an area including land from both jurisdictions, a sometimes contentious process that pitted largely pro development Clacton against the agricultural interests represented on the TRDC, characterised by one Clacton observer as a 'stagnant body' representing 'the petrifying hand of the local farmer' (CTEEG 28/1/28).

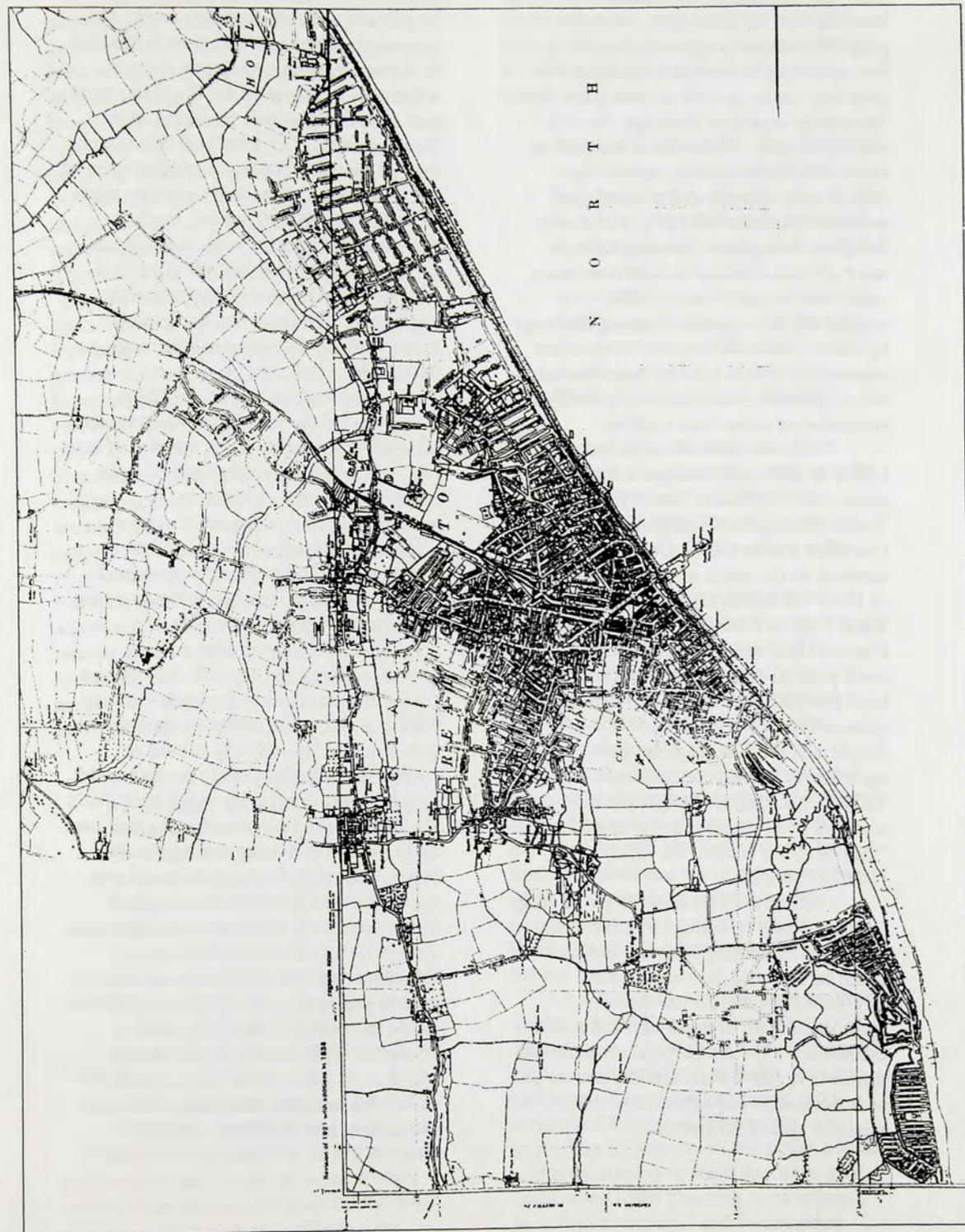
Clacton Council began in the early 1930s to reach agreement with Tendring over a joint planning scheme. Before it could be finalised, however, a new Regional Planning Committee incorporating all of north-east Essex was created in 1933. An editorial remarked on this as 'a rather unfortunate experience', as it forestalled implementation of a virtually agreed scheme and

communicated confusion rather than co-ordinated planning (CTEEG 28/10/33).

The setback, however, was considered to be justified by the long-term benefits of a region-wide approach, and Adams, Thompson and Fry were directed to incorporate their work into the new scheme to be prepared for the entire north-east Essex area which was adopted in October 1935. The local authorities were then responsible for the implementation of the schemes, which prescribed new roads and the widening of existing roads; determined the location of land suitable for development; and sub-divided land suitable for general development into residential, industrial and commercial zones (NE Essex Regional Planning Committee 1935/36).

By the last half of the 1930s, therefore, Clacton could demonstrate its official adherence to the principles of town planning, a status which it shared with most other southeast resort local authorities. The principles of zoning, regional planning, and regulated new development had acquired widespread currency, even if the legislation requiring them lacked teeth. Town planning schemes largely confirmed existing growth patterns and as such only proved contentious when they prescribed policy for areas where the nature of appropriate development was already subject to conflict such as the closely packed chalet development at Jaywick Sands or Butlin's holiday camp. The generalised agreement on the utility of town planning for the image of the modern seaside resort was accordingly affected by developments challenging both desirable social tone and aspects of 'good' town planning. Tenacious private developers and the pro-growth majority on the Council prevailed in the latter half of the 1930s, and permitted high-density developments which paved the way for the ascendancy of holiday campus, caravans, retirement bungalows and chalets in post-war Clacton's built environment and image.

Map 3: Clacton 1938 (revision with 1938 additions)



REFERENCES

- Carter, Ella (1937) *Seaside Houses and Bungalows*, Country Life Ltd, London.
 Clacton Advertising and Advancement Association (1909) *Official Guide*, Clacton.
- Cullingworth, J. B. (1972) *Town and Country Planning in Britain*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Forty, Adrian (1986) *Objects of Desire – Design and Society 1750-1980*, Thames and Hudson, London.
- Gayler, H. J., (1965), 'The Coastal Resorts of Essex; Their Growth and Present Day Functions', MA thesis, University of London.
- Hague, Cliff (1984) *The Development of Planning Thought – A critical perspective*, Hutchinson, London.
- Harloe, Michael (1995) *The People's Home? Social Rented Housing in Europe and America*, Blackwell, Oxford.
- King, Anthony (1984), *The Bungalow – The Production of a Global Culture*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Matless, David (1998) *Landscape and Englishness*, Reaktion Books, London.
 North-East Essex Regional Planning Committee, Chelmsford
 Third Annual Report (1934-35)
 Fourth Annual Report (1935-36)
- Perkin, H. J (1989) *The Rise of Professional Society – England since 1880*, Routledge, London.
- Reade, Eric (1897) *British Town and Country Planning*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- Simpson, Michael (1981) 'Thomas Adams' in *Pioneers in British Town Planning*, G. Cherry, ed., Architectural Press, London.
- Swenarton, Mark (1981) *Homes Fit for Heroes – The Politics and Architecture of Early State Housing*, Heinemann, London.
- Walker, Kenneth (1966), *The History of Clacton*, Clacton Urban District Council.
- Wannop, U and Cherry, G. (1994) 'The development of regional planning in the United Kingdom', *Planning Perspectives* 9,1.
- Williams-Ellis, Clough (ed) (1928) *England and the Octopus*, Geoffrey Bless, London.
- William-Ellis, Clough (ed.) (1937) *Britain and the Beast*, J. M. Dent, London.
CGECIN: Clacton Graphic and East Coast Illustrated News (1920-1938).
CTEEG: East Coast Advertiser and Clacton News (1919-1927), thereafter, *Clacton Times and East Essex Gazette* (1927-1939).

Social planning in Reston, Virginia, 1961-67

MARK CLAPSON
University of Luton,
Luton, UK.

Email: mark.clapson@luton.ac.uk
Tel: (0)1582 489034

Academics and researchers who visit the archives of the USA often fly into Dulles airport in Northern Virginia, and are then whisked up the freeway to the libraries and the other attractions of Washington DC. But how many of them have spotted the road-signs for Reston, in Fairfax County, Virginia, *en route* between Dulles and the capital city? Today, Reston is a new town of over 60,000 people, occupying an attractive site of some 7,400 acres (nearly 3,000 hectares). Just 18 miles from Washington DC, it possesses a flourishing local economy, which owes much to the booming telecommunications industries within the Washington DC region. When glimpsed from the busy Dulles Toll Road, contemporary Reston appears to be subsumed within the Tyson's Corner 'edge city' developments described by Joel Garreau in his 1991 book of the same name. But whereas American edge cities were, and remain, unplanned irruptions of office blocks, shopping malls, and residential subdivisions, Reston is altogether different because it is a planned community.

Begun in 1961 by its founder Robert E. Simon, from whose initials the town takes its name, Reston was a private initiative, commencing as it did before the inconclusive programme of federally funded new towns initiated by the 1970 New Communities Act. The Act, however, came three years after a major change in the management of Reston. In 1967, the property development wing of Gulf Oil, one of the major early investors in Reston, bought out Simon and his Reston Company, as financial problems threatened to undermine the new town experiment. Since then, the town has been

owned by Gulf-Reston, Inc. Simon and his team were no longer in charge, though he and some others continued to be involved in the new town, playing an active and visible role in many citizen initiatives. Simon would be honoured by Reston residents, during the 1980s, for his role as the founder and leading 'pioneer' of Reston.

A number of interesting works have been written about Reston. This little body of literature is by no means uncritical, but it has mostly been produced by people directly associated with the town.¹ Nonetheless, others can agree that, despite some evolutionary difficulties and sociological problems, Reston has become a generally successful experiment within the 'Anglo-American' tradition of planning new communities. This article argues that, during that fundamentally important establishing six-year period of planning and construction, Simon and his team understood the advantages of social planning when developing sizeable new communities from scratch. Reston, in turn, became both the balanced community and the 'living community' that they hoped for, despite the change in ownership and control of the urban enterprise that had occurred in 1967.

The origins of Reston, and the Master Plan

The origins of Reston lay in Simon's reaction to American suburbia, notably Levittown, Long Island. This was just one of the Levittowns that were synonymous with the early postwar suburban boom in the USA. The most famous of the builders of those 1950s suburbs, William S. Levitt, has since been viewed as both the Henry

Ford and the Ronald MacDonald of mass housing.² Simon was a wealthy New Yorker, with a home in Long Island, New York State. He has written of how he and his wife and children would drive through Levittown on their way to or from their Long Island home. Simon was appalled at the regimentation of the housing, its apparent homogeneity, and the lack of community facilities, but he and his wife noticed that their own children looked longingly at the sight of the children of Levittown playing near to home in their ostensibly safe suburban streets. Simon understood that the suburban way of life was close to the heart of the American Dream, but he strongly felt that the dream could be dramatically improved upon through integrated planning. He favoured the creation of a 'large scale new development which has in it residential, commercial, industrial, cultural and civic functions. In other words, it is a well-rounded community.'³

The *Master Plan for Reston* was prepared by the planning company of Whittlesey, Conklin and Rossant, in liaison with the various boards and agencies of Fairfax County. It was approved in 1962, the year before the construction of Reston was begun. Part of the approval process was the instigation of a new zoning category which allowed for more flexible, mixed-use development, than had previously occurred in the county. The *Plan* emphasised the necessity of an economic base for Reston. But it also stressed its intention to 'build a community which offers opportunities to live and work to all people':

removing the barriers sometimes created by race, income, geography, education, sex and age. The fullest possible range of housing types and prices is necessary so that Reston can include homes and apartments for the janitor and the scientist, the elderly widow and the young bachelor, the wealthy and the poor, the black and the white.

The provision of housing for people of 'different needs and incomes' was also partly intended to enable people to develop a sense of place. The *Master Plan* emphasised that beauty in the environment, and accessible and attractive facilities, should be open to all, and that everyone could feel that Reston belonged to them, regardless of means.⁴

In terms of social planning, however, the *Master Plan* was, to use that keyword again, flexible. Beyond an acknowledgement of the obvious need for community and cultural facilities, there was an understanding within the *Plan* that the people who moved to Reston should articulate what was needed; they should not be presented with an existing menu of things-to-do. The flexibility that informed the plan, and thus the social development of Reston, was reinforced by the research that occurred prior to the beginning of construction in 1963.

Early research

In preparing his proposed new town during the early 1960s, Simon was concerned to learn about what might now be termed best practice from existing new towns, and from some notable urban settlements. Simon and others in his team, for example, admired the intimate and village scale of New England's small towns. It is no coincidence that Reston is divided into a series of distinctive 'villages' and 'clusters', that is, residential areas designed to neighbourhood unit principles, and linked to each other within a Radburn-style system of underpasses, bridges and motor-free footpaths. And Simon himself was particularly impressed with Tapiola in Finland, whose blocks of flats by lakes found a direct emulation in the housing development of Lake Anne in Reston. Yet the postwar British new towns programme was, perhaps, of the greatest interest to Simon. It was, as he knew, the largest programme of new community planning during the postwar period, one which had attempted, with varying degrees of success, to attract both employment as well as people and homes. Moreover, the British new towns had applied social planning principles, notably in the



Carol R. Lubin

adoption of the neighbourhood unit. Hence, as an article about Simon and Reston in *The Times* (London) saw it, Simon was 'learning from the new towns of Britain.'⁵

Simon visited some of the best-known postwar British new towns during November 1961, to discover how well the neighbourhood unit principles of town planning were working in them. Simon did not just trust his own eyes and ears. He met with Dame Evelyn Sharpe, Head of Housing at the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (MHLG), with John Madge of Political and Economic Planning, a think-tank that had undertaken social studies of new communities, and he also discussed both his perceptions, and his own ideas and plans, with members of the new town development corporations.⁶

This was the groundwork for the more important phase of social observation that followed. One of Simons' earliest appointments was Carol R. Lubin. She was charged to develop the social and community planning of Reston. Lubin had considerable and varied professional experience, and had long been sympathetic to the interventionist principles of the New Deal of the 1930s. Amongst other key positions she had held, Lubin had been a researcher and editor for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a consultant to the New York City Health and Welfare Council, and, just prior to joining the Reston team, she had played a leading role in organising the Urban Studies Centre at Rutgers University.⁷ Her reforming liberalism and her professional expertise clearly appealed to Simon.

Lubin was one of the few women in Simon's planning team during the early



Robert R. Simon

years of Reston, and may, in turn, be appreciated as one of the few professional women within the largely male-populated profession of town planning. About six months after Simon's stay in England, Lubin visited in June 1962. She met with housing officials from the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, and she made a number of rapid visits to the new towns around London. It is interesting to note that 'British', in this sense, meant the new towns in the South East of England.

Her observations on the social life in the English new towns, and the provision for it, revealed its considerable importance within Simon's and Lubin's vision. Throughout her visit to the London new towns she made notes, and some of them it must be said were rather rushed. At Crawley, Lubin met with a social development officer who took her around the neighbourhoods. She noted the considerable and diverse groups of people that made extensive use of the temporary 'huts' provided for social and recreational meetings. At Harlow, Lubin was particularly impressed with the community facilities in each neighbourhood unit that allowed for a wide range of sociable activities, including religious meetings 'while waiting for a church to be built.' Lubin also visited Stevenage, where she applauded the strength of the community associations there. She was also impressed with the arrivals materials, the information given to newcomers by social development officers at Stevenage, and she argued strongly that similar types of information materials 'must be used at Reston.'⁸

In her summary notes, Lubin's emphasis upon the nature and success of community facilities within the

neighbourhoods was again apparent. 'In planning the new towns of Great Britain', she wrote, 'it has been recognised from the outset that the creation of a new community involved fundamental social questions:

The community's total population; the distribution of its families by size, age and other characteristics; its subdivision into neighbourhoods; the appropriate size, number and location of schools, churches social halls and other community institutions; and the design of town centres - all these items and more are examples of planning questions in which social factors are deeply and directly involved.⁹

Simon and Lubin had seen for themselves the nature of social provision in the English new towns. They would, in turn, adapt from what they saw as the successful aspects, whilst raising some criticisms of the experiments in the UK.

Social and Community Provision in Reston

As one of Reston's previous historians has argued, the British experience confirmed Lubin's strategy to provide comprehensive social facilities in order to accommodate the social needs and collective aspirations of the balanced community intended for Reston by its planners. Yet while she was impressed with the range of voluntary associations and groups she had witnessed in England, Lubin had also noticed a potential tension. Too much 'top-down' provision militated against collective self-help from below. The experience of Stevenage, notably, had shown that where people did not have community facilities provided for them, they set about trying to achieve them for themselves. Lubin was thus determined to avoid what she saw as the over-planning that had occurred in some of the British new towns. Whilst a benign official presence was viewed as essential to the new community, too much of it 'made residents feel they had no part in the planning process in their own

communities.'¹⁰ That in turn, it was implied, choked off social action from below.

In order to prevent this sense of alienation and its consequences, each of the seven villages in Reston was to be provided with a community centre. But in those early days, no permanent building was envisaged, and Reston residents would both learn to interact and co-operate. 'In this way', it was hoped, 'each village would be given the opportunity to solve the problem in its own way, qualified only by examples from earlier segments of the project.'¹¹

Yet Simon, Lubin and other planners kept more than just a distant eye on proceedings. They both actively encouraged the formation of Homeowners' Associations, viewing them as collective and participatory vehicles for the protection and the enhancement of the environment. And the Reston Community Association, formed in 1967, was intended to protect the city from the excessive commercialism of the new owners, Gulf Reston. Lubin, moreover, was Secretary of the Reston, Virginia Foundation for Community Programmes Inc., a non-profit agency which not only facilitated liaison between residents and officials, it also promoted and helped to operate cultural, educational, religious and recreational institutions in Reston.¹² This was neither a laissez-faire approach, nor an officious paternalism, but a process of involved monitoring, motivated by a desire to engender rather than to dictate a pattern of community formation.

A further concern motivated Lubin. Although she wanted to avoid official intrusion, Lubin also shared the long-standing concern of American town planners to avoid a perceived rootlessness and atomism associated with American life in general, and with American suburban housing developments in particular. As Lubin stated in an interview in the *New York Times*, American families 'want to belong somewhere. It should be possible to live a life cycle in one area in this country.'¹³ At a time when many in the town planning profession were questioning, and even rejecting, the

localising principles of the neighbourhood unit, the planners of Reston appear to have almost wholly endorsed the concept.

It was also evident in Lubin's thinking, however, that Reston's very newness - the fresh opportunity though it was - ought to resemble the more organic characteristics of an older more spontaneously-grown community. This would also help to develop a sense of active belonging. Lubin told a social planning group at Brandeis University in 1964, that the new towns' earliest inhabitants ought to be able to 'count on the familiar institutional framework which elsewhere helped to sustain an effective community: there should be available schools, churches, libraries, community meeting places and medical facilities as part of the basic structures of the new town...'¹⁴ The sooner the new town of Reston provided the institutions of an old town, the better. Adherence to this principle also ensured that many of the leisure, educational, retail and social amenities at Reston were built in its formative years, and that, in turn, helped Reston to mature once Gulf Oil took over the process of development.

Conclusion

It is interesting to note that by 1967, when Simon was removed by Gulf Oil, a team of largely British planners was just beginning to put together the new town of Milton Keynes, in North Buckinghamshire. They also looked to the experience of the earlier postwar new towns in Britain. But Milton Keynes Development Corporation did not draw the same conclusions as did Lubin and Simon. Influenced in no small part by the ideas of the Californian urban theorist, Melvin Webber, the *Plan for Milton Keynes*, published in 1970, is devoid of references to neighbourhood. This was because 'community' was not seen in the localising terms preferred by Lubin and Simon, but as a flexible, nuanced and constantly moving pattern of formal and informal relationships, and very diverse spatially. Within this scenario, social connections would be facilitated and enhanced by motorised transportation and

telecommunications. To be sure, this was also what occurred in Reston, but the notion of community with which Lubin and Simon worked took these wider patterns of American mobility and sociability for granted, and sought to anchor them.

So, was the social planning of Reston a success? Did the provision of neighbourhood facilities encourage not simply an early and informal neighbourliness amongst newcomers, but an active and engaged citizenry? Many sources testify that it did. In her overview of Reston's origins and history, Nan Netherton's description of the first Reston resident's as 'pioneers' was apposite: for decades, migrants to new housing developments in the USA, turning the empty houses and socially barren residential areas into living communities, had described themselves as pioneers within the associational culture of the suburban and new town 'frontier'.¹⁵ Perhaps the most enduring legacy of this collective pioneering spirit was the Reston Community Association (RCA), formed in 1967. Whilst the RCA could not prevent Reston becoming 'enGulfed' it nonetheless became a successful, self-funding forum for raising and influencing city-wide issues, for example affordable housing, health care, transportation, education and the problems of unplanned urbanisation around Reston.¹⁶ Furthermore, the Planned Community Archive at George Mason University contains a rich collection of associational and community materials for researchers into Reston's contemporary social history. Many of these were generated from the 'bottom-up'.

A second key question was whether the new city developed a mixed and broadly representative profile of American society emphasised in the *Master Plan for Reston*. The black writer and Reston activist Carlos C. Campbell, in the mid 1970s, emphasised that Reston was indeed a balanced community, more akin to the general population profile of Northern America than the more exclusionary suburbs. Reston was certainly home to a sizeable middle-class,

as were many satellites of the nation's capital, but that middle-class included many black professional and business households. Reston also possessed, moreover, a considerable proportion of housing stock dedicated to low-income households, a consequence of Simon and Lubin's early commitment to affordable housing there. Many African Americans lived in the low-income housing. Campbell argues that for blacks, often uneasy when moving into white or largely white subdivisions, both low-income and professional African Americans in Reston were able to settle down more easily within the mixed and inclusive social context of the town.¹⁷ Hence Reston and its people enjoyed a measure of success in this key aspect of social planning, the balanced community.

Despite these important points, however, qualification is necessary. For it must be noted that in new suburban housing areas, where community facilities were often lacking, there was little evidence that such areas became permanently asocial dormitories. Even the Levittowns developed patterns of sociability. Many such relationships were local and neighbourly, whilst others were

integrated more broadly with metropolitan and town-wide networks.¹⁸ Also, Reston's development coincided with an era of growing affluence and occupational upward mobility for African Americans, one of whose consequences was the increasing penetration of blacks into existing suburban areas, and also to new suburban housing.¹⁹ It is probably safest to conclude that in a brand new planned community such as Reston, filled rapidly with incomers, social research and social planning helped much more than it hindered, and encouraged these positive trends within the town. Patrick Geddes, who is not mentioned in Simon and Lubin's planning materials, would have approved.

Acknowledgements. I am grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Board for a research leave award which made possible this article. The research was undertaken at the Planned Community Archive, George Mason University, Fairfax, Northern Virginia, during October, 2000. The staff there were both friendly and very efficient: it is a comfortable and productive place to work.

NOTES

(Please note: all references to PCA plus box numbers refer to the Planned Community Archive, George Mason University, Fairfax Campus, Virginia, USA. Illustrations appear by courtesy of PCA)

- 1 Carlos C. Campbell, *New Towns: Another Way to Live*. Reston, Virginia: Reston Publishing Company/Prentice Hall, 1976; Tom Grubisch, Peter McCandless and Dan Watt, *Reston: The First Twenty Years*. Reston, Virginia: Reston Publishing Company/Prentice Hall, 1985; Nan Netherton, *Reston: A New Town in the Old Dominion*. Norfolk, Virginia.: Donning Publishers, 1989.
- 2 Peter Mandler, 'Satan in the suburbs', *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 December, 2000, pp. 3-4; George Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society*. Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications 2000, pp. 32-4.
- 3 Robert E. Simon, 'The genesis of Reston', in The Washington Centre for Metropolitan Studies, *Reston: A Study of Beginnings*; m.s.; Washington DC: Washington Centre for Metropolitan Studies, 1966, pp. 1 - 10 (PCA: Box 186.)
- 4 The Reston Virginia Foundation for Community Programmes, Inc., *Social Planning and Programs for*

- Reston Virginia; March 1967 (PCA: Box 480)
- 5 Anon, 'Learning from the new towns of Britain: Reston, Virginia', *The Times*, 17 March, 1964.
- 6 Carol R. Lubin, 'English contacts on new towns: people RES Jnr. met on his trip, Nov. 1961; memo. (PCA: Box 504)
- 7 'Who's who in Reston', *The Reston Letter*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1965; (PCA: Box 1); Carol R. Lubin, (Mrs. Isador Lubin), summary biographical details; m.s. (PCA: Box 446)
- 8 Carol R. Lubin, 'Notes on Crawley', 12 June, 1962; 'New towns in Britain (Harlow)', 13 June, 1962; 'Stevanage' [sic] 14 June, 1962; memos. (PCA: Box 504)
- 9 Carol R. Lubin, 'Notes on social planning in the British new towns', 25 June, 1964; m.s. (PCA: Box 504)
- 10 Netherton, op cit, p. 58.
- 11 Washington Research Centre, *Reston Report*, p. 166 (PCA: Box 12).
- 12 Carol R. Lubin, (Mrs. Isador Lubin), summary biographical details; m.s., p. 2 (PCA: Box 446)
- 13 Anon, 'Town plan said to aid family life', *New York Times*, 26 September, 1964.
- 14 Washington Research Centre, *Reston Report*, not dated, p. 180; (PCA: Box 12)
- 15 See, for example, Daniel Schaffer *Garden Cities for America: The Radburn Experience*. Philadelphia: Templeton University Press, 1982, pp. 169-88.
- 16 Netherton, op cit, pp.159-90.
- 17 Campbell, op cit, p. 31-85.
- 18 Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community*. London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1967; Rosalyn Baxendall and Elizabeth Ewen, *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- 19 Stephan and Abigail Thernstrom, *America in Black and White: One Nation, Indivisible*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997, pp. 204-30; Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier*. New York: Doubleday, 1991, pp. 157-8.

Turkey's experiment with regional planning, 1960 - 1980

GARY PATTISON
Local Economy Policy Unit
South Bank University
202 Wandsworth Road
London SW8 2JZ
Email: pattisg@sbu.ac.uk

SOLMAZ TAVSANOGLU
50 Oliver Road, Southsea,
Hants, PO4 9BY
Tel/Fax: 023 9287 5737

Introduction

Following this years' spate of public examinations surrounding draft regional planning guidance for the English regions and the long awaited publication of PPG 11 (DETR, 2000a) attention has focused on regional governance and planning elsewhere in Europe (DETR, 2000b). This article aims to provide a brief outline of the Turkish experience of regional planning between 1960 and 1980.

Historical Context

The original republican project, in Turkey, from the 1920s onwards was concerned to mould together a singular Turkish state and people out of the shattered remnants of the country following the independency war. Emphasis was on the building of a strong centre by relocating the capital from Istanbul to Ankara paralleled by the establishment of a powerful centralised administrative structure (Keyder, 1987). The state claimed itself anti-imperialist and at the same time it structured its economic policies on the basis of how and where to make its investments in order to both utilised agricultural production and create a Turkish capitalist class (Berberoglu, 1982). Throughout the 1930s and 1940 state policies were based on public investments. Investment

plans were developed to support the processing of agricultural products. This resulted in a series of state owned industries in towns centred on agricultural markets. All these centres were connected by the railway network. This was based on the idea of developing the country as a whole through the establishment of the growth centres where factories could be located at the heart of agricultural areas and settlements (Kepenek, 1983).

The period between 1945 and 1960 was marked by the Marshall Aid programme and the transformation of the Parliamentary system from a one party to a multi party system. Economic policies changed from public sector to private sector investments with public sector incentives (Kepenek, 1983). The free market became a major component of economic policy during this period. It was marked by the restructuring, modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture. Infrastructure investment programmes were shifted from railways to roads and motorway construction. During this period planning took on a short term approach and fell very much to the flow of the market ending in a period of international borrowing to support the country's faltering economy (Keyder, 1987).

The political climate changed again between 1960 and 1980. A mixed economy was pursued by an evolving social democratic state (Kepek, 1983). This brought planning to the heart of the government agenda. As a result, the State Planning Organisation was established to formulate national economic policies that linked up with regional and urban policies. This was to provide a framework for regional and urban planning (Keles, 1982)

The Institutional Context

Prior to 1960, Turkey was already divided into provinces, each with a governor appointed by the Minister of the Interior, charged with co-ordinating all central government activities within the province. Provinces were, and still are, sub divided into districts each administered by a sub governor. The sub governor is also appointed by the minister and functional under the governor of the province (Nadaroglu, 1994). Further to this there exists an elected local government tier. Here the basic units are the Special Provincial Administrations', municipalities and village administrations. In parallel with these structures city and district mayors hold a degree of power. This is especially true of the mayors of the western metropolitan areas (Heper, 1989).

The State Planning Organisation was established in 1959. It was attached directly to the prime ministers' office. Indeed the head of the State Planning Organisation functioned as deputy prime minister with responsibility for industry. It was divided into three departments, economic planning, social planning and co-ordination. Further to this the High Planning Council was brought into being to check the political and technical consistency of work produced by the State Planning Organisation (Dodd, 1969). These organisations were operated by groups of chosen technocrats. This centralist technocratic structure, as implemented from 1960 onwards, tended to exclude inputs from either the provincial governors, the mayors or any other tier of the local government system.

The State Planning Organisation took a broad multi disciplinary approach. It was

required to take into its membership scientists and social scientists besides land use planners. The main purpose was to establish how and where public investments could be most effectively made and private investments directed. This covered major public sector investment programmes such as education, health and physical infrastructure provision. The role of the State Planning Organisation was to provide direction and guidance for investment programmes. It was from this basis that the country's five year plans were produced and a clear regional perspective developed (Yavuz, et al. 1973)

The First Five Year Development Plan, 1963-67

The first five year plan emphasised the need to address regional imbalance. The plan engaged with a strong sense of social justice in its aim to address income differentials between different social groups as well as creating a more equitable distribution of opportunity and wealth between the regions. It also envisaged 7% national economic growth, any growth over and above 7% was to be diverted towards the under developed regions. Regional planning was seen, by the State Planning Office to be the principle tool for achieving balanced economic development. The idea of balanced economic development was hinged on three principles. First, the distribution of population, resources and economic activities should be proportionate and investment programmes should be focused on creating balanced growth and income distribution. Secondly, investments and resources should be directed to potential economic growth points. Thirdly higher rates of growth should be encouraged in underdeveloped regions so as they could potentially catch up with more developed areas of the country (SPO, 1963).

For purposes of physical planning and implementation, a typology of three different regional forms was identified. These were potential growth regions, under developed regions and large city regions. The categorisation of each region still remained to be established, although the plan did provide examples such as Antalya Region as a potential growth point and the South East

Anatolian and Eastern Anatolian Regions as underdeveloped. In the underdeveloped regions public sector investment was to be a priority. In the large city regions where population and economic activity were seen as over concentrated, Istanbul been given as an example, sub centres were to be established in order to reduce economic pressures in old core areas. Further economic development was not to be encouraged in core areas. Potential development regions were well placed to develop economic capacity although further investment was seen as necessary to stimulate their full economic potentials. Unemployment to a large extent was seen to arise out of migratory population flows from rural to urban areas. As a result it was argued that new non agricultural sectors should be developed in rural areas whilst there remained a need to enhance the employment creating capacity of industry in the cities (SPO, 1965)

The outcome of the first five year plan was the successful compilation of a large amount of statistical data on the economic and social structure of each region. The findings were binding on the public sector and indicative of potentials for the private sector. No regionally based organisations were established but a clear basis was set for further work in the second plan. Indeed it was in part as a result of the difficulties encountered in implementing the research for the first plan that it was seen necessary to move the second towards a more direct engagement with the establishment of a clear regional framework (Tavsanoğlu, 1983).

The Second Five Year Development Plan 1967-72

The second five year plan reinstated the need to aim at balanced economic development between the regions. Urbanisation, industrialisation and the modernisation of agriculture were seen as core tools in the implementation of the strategy. It was predicted that agriculture would restructure as a result of wider industrialisation processes. Industrialisation would in effect have a knock on effect on agriculture. Urbanisation was seen as a positive thing, as a driving force for economic development. Urbanisation should

also take into account the sub regional and regional context. The problems of urbanisation were not seen as solvable within the boundaries of the cities themselves but rather were dependent on much more complex sets of relations with their hinterlands. While the plan encouraged the development of large metropolitan areas it was seen as necessary that urbanisation and economic development should accompany one another. Indeed industrialisation was seen as the driving force for urbanisation. The issue of urbanisation, accepting that it could only be fully explained within a dichotomy of urban/rural shift, had to be addressed in the context of the country as a whole. It was therefore deemed necessary to take the country as a whole and construct a hierarchy of settlements. Although there existed major metropolitan areas in the west of the country the thing was to develop regional centres. These centres clearly had to be located at the hubs of transportation and communication networks. These regional centres would connect with the centres of other regions and with the country as a whole whilst at the same time acting as centres for regulating their own regions. From the regional centres a hierarchy of settlements had to be developed downwards to sub centres and sub centres and so on. Each tier was to have a different function providing different levels of public sector provision. This was particularly prevalent in health and education provision. In smaller towns and cities light or agricultural based industry was to be encouraged so as to provide employment and service provision for surrounding rural areas (SPO, 1968).

The important point was to establish a relationship between the hierarchy of cities and rural areas. Every tier in the urban hierarchy had to have specific functions and relations. This would all allow for the development of regional centres in under or partially developed regions. In order to develop such regions old style public sector operations such as large hospitals and universities were to be established within the regional centres. In order to attract private sector investments incentives were provided such as special low interest loans, tax relief and the creation of organised industrial areas

with comprehensive infrastructure provision. Urbanisation and industrialisation were seen as working hand in hand in order to create employment opportunities and so address the problem of huge unprovisioned migration flows from the rural areas (SPO, 1971) Wherever possible both regions and sub regions were centred on major cities (Figure 1). Seven regions were established. The geographic form that this took was:

1) *Eastern Anatolian Region*: this was divided into three sub regions, Erzurum, Elazig and Van. The cities of Erzurum and Elazig were to be developed as joint regional capitals. Two capitals rather than one because of the size of the region and the highly dispersed population and settlement pattern. Further to this the cities of Van and Malatya were identified for development as secondary centres

2) *South East Anatolian Region*: this was split into two sub regions focused on the cities of Diyarbakir and Gaziantep because of the existing degree of development in these centres.

3) *Blacksea Region*: the capital was established as the city of Samsun, the region was divided into three sub regions, the central one focused on Samsun, the Western Blacksea region focused on Zonguldak and the Eastern Blacksea region on Trabzon.

4) *Central Anatolian Region*: Ankara stood as its capital city, taking its existing status as the national capital and an established metropolitan region. Further to this, the region was divided into five sub regions, Konya, Kayseri, Sivas, Eskisehir and Ankara.

5) *The Mediterranean Region*: this region was divided into two sub regions, one focused on Adana and the other on Antalya. No regional capital was identified, because Adana, as a developed metropolitan city, stood on the eastern peripheries of the region and was therefore deemed geographically unsuitable. At the same time Antalya, in the western sub region, was identified as requiring further development. In Adana two sub centre, the

cities of Mersin and Iskenderum were seen as centres to be developed in order to relieve over concentration on Adana.

6) *Aegean Region*: in part because of the dominance of the city of Izmir and in part because of the lack of other cities of suitable size and economic pull this region was left without any sub regional divisions. The city of Manisa was to be developed in order to reduce pressure on Izmir.

7) *Marmara Region*: because of the enormous pull of Istanbul the Marmara region was divided into three sub regions but without sub regional centres. The sub regions were established on a east, west and south west division. Istanbul stood as the overall regional centre. The cities of Izmit, Bursa and Adapazari were to be developed to take pressure off Istanbul.

Within each region and sub region cities were located within a hierarchy according to the degree and nature of capital investments that they sustained and were capable of attracting. The overall objective was clear, balanced growth and stemming migration to the large centres of population, particularly Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. In effect this was in part an attempt to address the scale of illegal settlement, the 'Gecekonu' districts that had swamped these centres (SPO, 1968). Not only had they outstripped the capacity of the state to provide infrastructure but by the 1980s such huge, very often, impoverished and discontented districts were beginning to pose a possible threat to political stability. The new regions acted as an administrative structure through which investments could be focused.

The primary aim of such investments focused on several areas. First social investments were essential to alleviate the harsher effects of migration into the cities and rural deprivation. Secondly a need was seen to invest in transportation and particularly in inter-city road schemes. Although infrastructure resources came from central government the regional and sub regional city structures provided a clear framework for the prioritising of investment programmes.

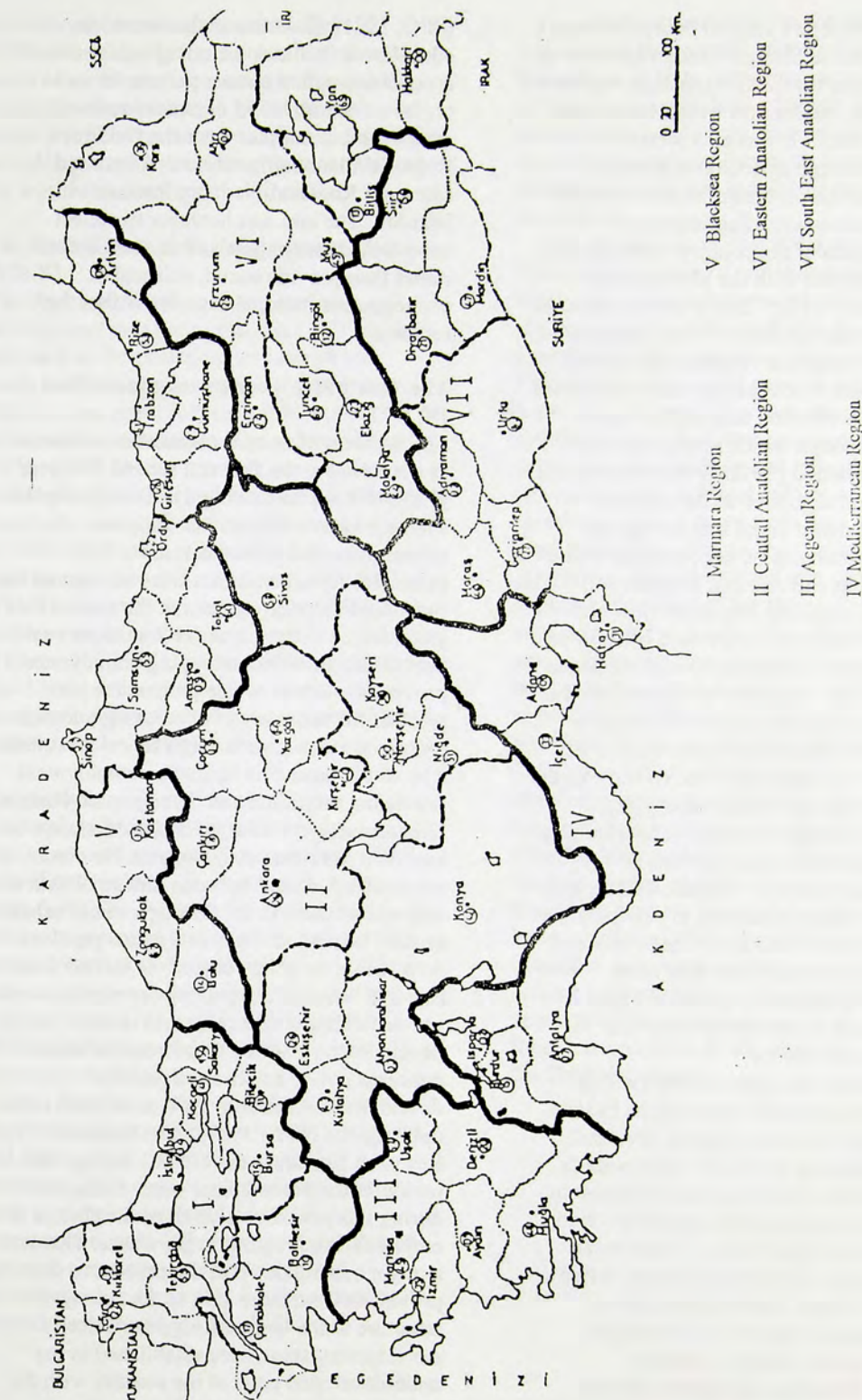


Fig 1: Regions and Sub Regions in Turkey

Infrastructure also, of course, formed a basis for economic change through opening up new possibilities for industrialisation, the third objective. Industrialisation was not seen to be a solution in itself. It was also seen as necessary to change agricultural practices. This enhanced the process of modernisation and the mechanisation of agriculture throughout much of the country, although this process had started with the Marshall Aid during the mid-1940s. Thirdly the provision of services to large numbers of often remote settlements throughout Anatolia had always proved difficult. Nodal points were established in provincial towns and intermediate sized settlements through which service provision could be channelled (SPO, 1971). Possibly the most important objective of the regional structure was that it could aim to regulate industrial investments by encouraging inward investments beyond Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir, and so reducing migratory flows of population. This led to what were often to be seen as ambitious schemes, sometimes based on non orthodox economic structures, such as agricultural co-operatives, to kick start the economies of cities remote from centres of power. This was especially true of some of the cities in the east and south east regions. Further to this economic policy also aimed to establish organised industrial estates throughout the country. This allowed for the relocation of many industries to new purpose built edge of town locations. The location of industry in city centres was long since identified as problematic in the complex medieval street structures of cities like Istanbul (Gocer, 1977).

Priority was given to channelling investments towards the cities of the Eastern Anatolian and Blacksea regions, Erzurum, Elazig and Samsun were seen to be priority cases. Secondly a need was seen to invest in the large metropolitan areas rapidly evolving into multi focal conurbations. These were principally seen as Istanbul to Bursa, Izmir to Manisa and Adana, Mersin, Iskenderun. Thirdly resources were to be invested in secondary centres, namely, Antalya, Diyarbakir, Eskisehir, Gaziantep, Kayseri, Konya, Malatya, Sivas, Trabzon and Van

(SPO, 1971). Investment also went into educational facilities including universities in accordance with the same pattern. In some regions research based organisations were established. Examples were the Cukurova Regional Planning Institute in Adana and the Marmara Regional Planning Institute in Istanbul. The aim was however to collect necessary demographic and economic data rather than provide social, political or economic institutional capacity within the regions.

The Third Five Year Development Plan 1973-77

The problem of uneven regional development, as perceived in the first and second five year plans, did not feature highly in the third plan. The emphasis was to switch fully to urbanisation and industrialisation. The principles for urbanisation were set against the functional hierarchy set out in the second five year plan. A major objective was to prevent population growth outstripping employment provision. As part of this process the plan restated the necessity of developing planned industrial areas around major towns and cities. The whole issue was hinged on employment provision, migration and demographic change. Urbanisation, it was argued, should always be based on industrial development. No clear relationship existed between industrialisation and urbanisation in the development of urban areas. The plan saw this as a major problem. As a result, its policy objectives shifted from regional based, balanced development towards provincial based economic and social development. In order to address the above concerns policy emphasised priority development areas and provincial plans rather than regions (SPO, 1973). The Regional Research Institutes, established during the period of the second plan, were dismantled during this period as a result of the change in emphasis from regions to provinces. This was a major scaling down of the process as the provinces were more akin to the county structure in the United Kingdom. Priority development areas were established in the underdeveloped parts of the country with the objective of regulating public sector

investments towards these areas (Tekeli, 1979). In reality, this was not achieved as a result of continuous economic and political instability. From the mid-1970s onwards, the country suffered serious economic recession and collapse, partly resulting from the state of the world economy and the oil crisis.

The Fourth Five Year development Plan 1978-82

The objective of balanced regional development was not to resurface. Within the approach to the provinces an attempt was made to establish a hierarchy of settlements. This focused ostensibly on problems of urbanisation, industrialisation and migration (SPO, 1978). With a growing concern for problems of political and economic instability, especially surrounding the military take over in 1980, little space was left for a re-emergence regional development policies. With the military regime the unity of the state became central to the policy agenda (Tavsanoglu, 1983). As the 1980s progressed Neo liberal economic regimes forced any thought of state intervention at a regional level further into the background.

Conclusions

Regional development in Turkey was dependent on the successful operations of the central government. The new emphasis on cities the 1980s also saw the evolution of relatively powerful metropolitan and district mayor's but this still amounted to very little in terms of the devolution of political power at a regional level (Heper, 1989). Throughout the 1970s and 80s investments were made in physical infrastructure.

The transportation system, in terms of improving road connections between regional and sub regional centres, dramatically improved. This did not have a great effect on local economies however. Much of the investment simply failed to create the desired dynamic necessary for rapid industrial development and certainly for the attraction of inward investments (Keles, 1982).

Industry remained in the developed regions and the western metropolitan areas. Regardless of state economic initiatives private capital remained reluctant to redirect its operations elsewhere. In terms of the overall outcome population decline continued in the rural areas and in the Eastern and Black sea regions.

If one lesson can be drawn from the Turkish experience of regionalisation it is surely that serious decentralist policies and planning must be endowed with the political structure to fully engage on a regional level. The Turkish state could never bring itself to break from the modernist notions on which it was born out of the Ottoman empire. Possibly centralism is something just too culturally enshrined in the political culture of Turkey, something passed down from the Ottomans or even Byzantium. Maybe the fear of ethnic and geographic decentralisation still dominates the skyline in the form of the struggle against separatism in the South East. This may all seem a long way from the starting point in Britain today, but it is only now after limited experiments with regional governance in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, after the production of all but one of the draft regional planning guidance documents, after the Economic strategies of those Regional Development Agencies, that these English Regions further removed from the centre are beginning to crave for greater autonomy. The issue is political, Turkey's regionalism failed, at least in part, because there was never any serious concern given to the issue of political accountability at the regional level. Simple though the point is, in this may lie a lesson for the English regions.

REFERENCES

- Berberoglu, B., *Turkey in Crisis: From State Capitalism to Neo-colonialism*, London:Zed, 1982
- DETR, *Planning Policy Guidance Note 11 Regional Planning*, London: The Stationery Office, 2000a
- DETR, *Regional Government in England: A Preliminary Review of Literature and Research Findings*, London: The Stationery Office, 2000b.
- Dodd, C.H., *Politics and Government in Turkey*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969
- Gocer, O., *Ulke Planlama Calismalari Icinde Gelisme Akslari, Sehirsel Gelisme Merkezleri Ilkeleri ve Turkiye icin Bir model Onerisi*, Istanbul: Istanbul Teknik Universitesi Yayini, 1977
- Heper, M. (ed), *Local Government in Turkey*, London: Routledge, 1989
- Keles, R., 'Turkiye'de bolgelerarası dengesizlikler', in *VII. Iskan ve Sehircilik Haftasi Konferanslari*, Ankara: Ankara Universitesi, Siyasal bilgiler Fakultesi, sehircilik Enstitusu Yayini, 1965.
- Keles, R., 'Turkiye'de kentlesme ve kentsel gelisme politikaları', in *Turkiye'de Kentlesme*, Ankara: Turk Sosyal Bilimler Dernegi Yayini, 1982
- Kepenek, Y., *Turkiye Ekonomisi*, Ankara: Yurt Yayinlari, 1983
- Keyder, C., *State and Class in Turkey: A Study in Capitalist Development*, London:Verso, 1987
- Nadaroglu, H., *Mahalli Idareler*, Istanbul:Beta, 1994
- SPO (State Planning Office-Devlet Planlama Teskilati, hereafter SPO)), *Birinci Bes yillik Kalkinma Planı (1963-1967)*, Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teskilati, 1963
- SPO *Yurt Duzeyinde Kalkinma*, Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teskilati, 1965
- SPO *Ikinci Bes yillik Kalkinma Planı (1968-1972)*, Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teskilati, 1968
- SPO *Bolgesel Gelisme, Sehirlesme ve Yerlesme Sorunlari On Raporu*, Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teskilati, 1971
- SPO *Ucuncu Bes yillik Kalkinma Planı (1973-1977)*, Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teskilati, 1977
- SPO *Dorduncu Bes yillik Kalkinma Planı (1978-1987)*, Ankara: Devlet Planlama Teskilati, 1978
- Tavsanoğlu, S., *Turkiye'de Nufus Artisi ve Kentsel Nufus Gelismelerinin Degerlendirilmesi (1935-1980)*, MA Thesis, Yildiz University, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Istanbul
- Tekeli, I., *Mekan Organizasyonuna Macro Yaklasim Turkiye Uzerine Bir Deneme*, Ankara: Orta Dogu Teknik Universitesi Yayini, 1979
- Yavuz, F., Keles, R. and Geray, C., *Sehircilik: Sorunlar, Uygulama ve Politika*, Ankara: Ankara Universitesi, Siyasal Bilgiler Fakultesi yayini, 1973

Through the Louvres: post world war II planning and architecture for Fannie Bay in Tropical Northern Australia

EVE GIBSON
Northern Territory University
Australia
Email: idgeml@austarnet.com.au

The city of Darwin in the Northern Territory is unique on the continent of Australia in that it is the only capital to have suffered direct bombing attacks during World War II. After the war the Australian Commonwealth Government faced the task of re-building the destroyed city. As part of the post-war reconstruction new suburbs were developed which, while they adopted the best practices of modern town planning of the time with regards to lay-out, featured a distinctively different style of architecture. The elevated and louvred houses, known as 'government greys', were designed to maximise air-flow and comfort in Darwin's tropical climate. One of the earliest suburbs built was Fannie Bay. It survived, relatively unaffected, a 1974 cyclone that destroyed or severely damaged over 70% of the buildings in Darwin. However, since the mid-1990s the pressure of high-density development has brought about changes that have affected both the stability of the community, and the tropical ambience of the suburb. Historians and architects have written extensively on the subject of the unique tropical housing designs that evolved in northern Australia. Of particular value in relation to post-WWII housing are the detailed architectural drawings included in the 1993 'Darwin Central Area Heritage Study', compiled by architect Adrian Welke and historian Helen Wilson. This interest has not extended to include the planning

history of the Northern Territory. In researching the 1997 publication *Bag-huts, Bombs and Bureaucrats: A History of the Impact of Town Planning and Compulsory Land Acquisition for the Town and People of Darwin 1937-1950*, it was necessary to rely almost exclusively on archival material. As implied in the title, much of the work is dedicated to the social and political issues related to planning, rather than a technical analysis of the plans in the context of the modern planning movement. An outline of the five town plans researched for the book, 'A Planner's dream - A Citizen's Nightmare: Town planning for the tropical town of Darwin 1930-1950' was published in *Australian Planner Vol 35, No 4, 1998*.

Planning and problems 1940-1950

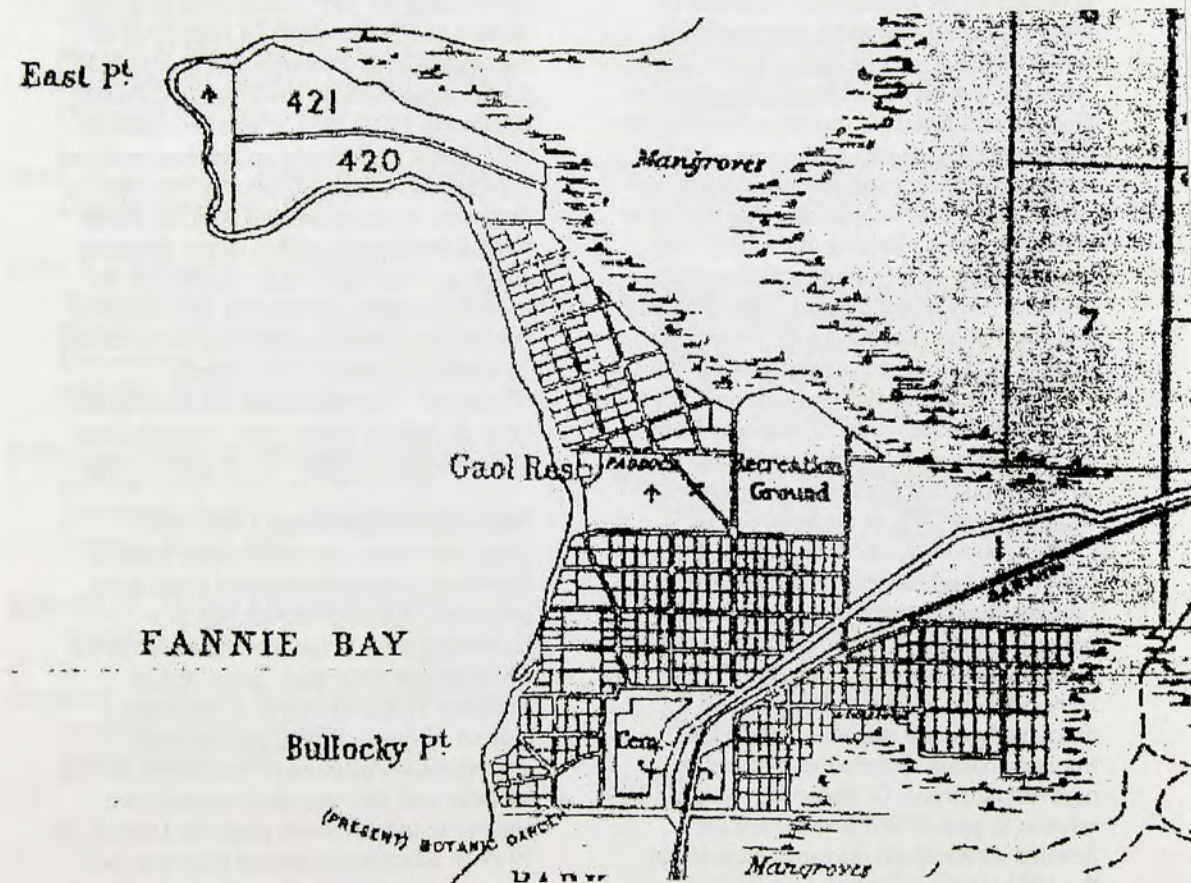
That Fannie Bay, five kilometres north of Darwin and lying just outside of the town boundary, should be developed as a residential suburb was recommended in the 1940 Darwin town plan, submitted by Brisbane Town Planner R.A. McInnis. A pioneer of the modern town planning movement in Australia (Petrof 1996: 43-52), McInnis was the only professional town planner to prepare town plans for Darwin. In 1944 he submitted a second plan that took into account wartime damage. Government architects drew up the 1937 and 1946 Darwin town plans, and three army officers, one an architect in civilian life, prepared the

1943 plan. While both the Darwin town plans submitted by McInnis were rejected, the 1943 and 1946 plans incorporated, to the point of plagiarism (Gibson 1997: 38, 50-54), many of the detailed recommendations on issues such as zoning, neighbourhood units and housing styles, made by McInnis in his 1940 submission.

A major impediment facing McInnis in relation to any comprehensive post-war town planning for Darwin was the land held by absentee owners. The problem stemmed from the settlement of Darwin (then called

Palmerston) in 1869 when, prior to settlement, most of the town blocks had been sold by the founding colony of South Australia to Australian and British land speculators (Gibson 2000b: 201-203). When the Australian Commonwealth took over administration of the Northern Territory in 1911, it continued the practice of handing over large tracts of land to overseas investors. This included land at Fannie Bay, which had been surveyed and divided into lots in the late 1870s. (Fig. 1)

Fig. 1: c1900 map based on original 1881 survey map of Fannie Bay



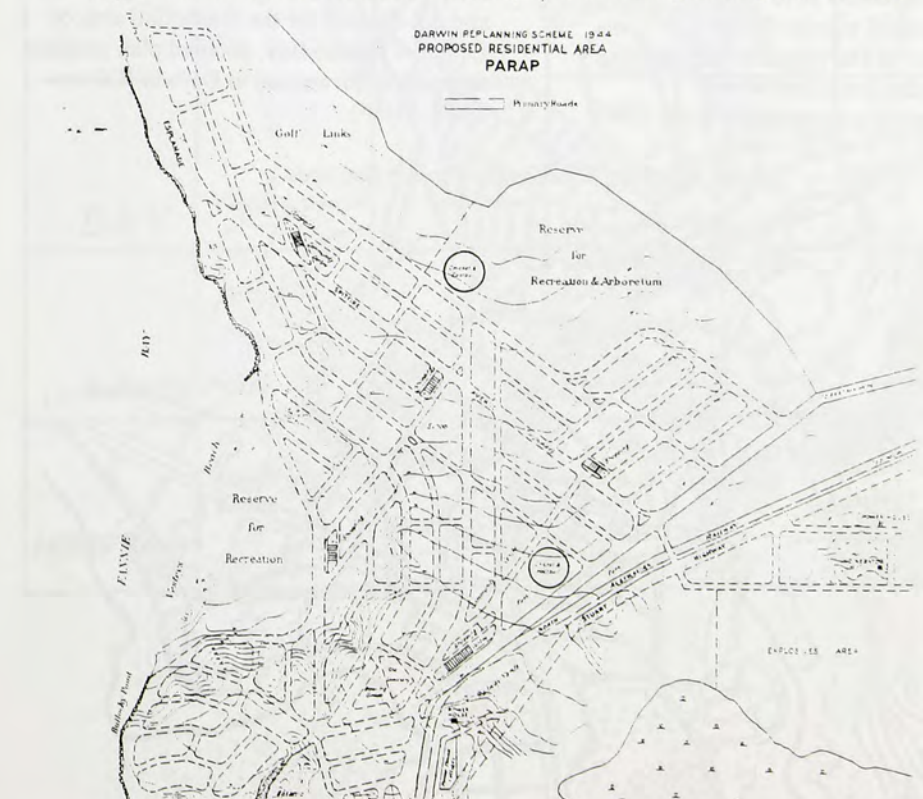
The only major buildings in the area in 1911 were the Fannie Bay Gaol, and a complex of railway yards and workshops, both built in the 1880s. In 1914 the British company Vestey Brothers acquired over eighty lots at Fannie Bay (DLPE 1999: 2-3-10-11) for the construction of a meat-works. The meat-works operated only two full seasons, 1918-1919, before closing for good in 1925. Vestey's, however, retained the land, including the entire headland of Bullocky Point and most of the best waterfront lots.

A second impediment to any post-war development of Fannie Bay was the Darwin Civil Aerodrome. In 1919 the first aircraft to make the journey from England to Australia landed on an airstrip cleared at Fannie Bay. The early aviators were followed by the pioneers of commercial aviation. In the mid-1930s the Queensland

and Northern Territory Air Services, later known as simply QANTAS, upgraded the aerodrome to facilitate international commercial flights. During the war years, an additional runway and a series of taxiways and aircraft holding areas were built for defence purposes.

In his 1944 Darwin town plan McInnis reiterated his view that Fannie Bay should be developed as a residential suburb. He recommended the removal of the Civil Aerodrome to the nearby Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) Base, and the demolition of both the Fannie Bay Gaol and the Vestey meat-works, to make way for residential development that could house from 11 000 to 20 000 people. McInnis included a plan for the new suburb, in which he incorporated the existing aerodrome runways as major roads (McInnis et. al., 1944: 33-34) (Gibson 1997: 44-45). (Fig. 2)

Fig 2: The 1944 R. A. McInnis Plan for postwar development of Fannie Bay



On 16 August 1945, the Australian Commonwealth Government resolved the land ownership issue by the passing of the *Darwin Lands Acquisition Bill*. Under the bill the Commonwealth compulsorily acquired all freehold land in the Darwin area. While land acquisition caused great distress to war-time evacuees waiting to return to their homes in Darwin, it did serve to free up land that had lain empty for years. On 15 May 1947 the last thirty-seven of the Vestey blocks at Fannie Bay were acquired by the Commonwealth (DLPE 1999: 2-3). By that time the relocation of the Darwin Civil Aerodrome to the RAAF Base was underway.

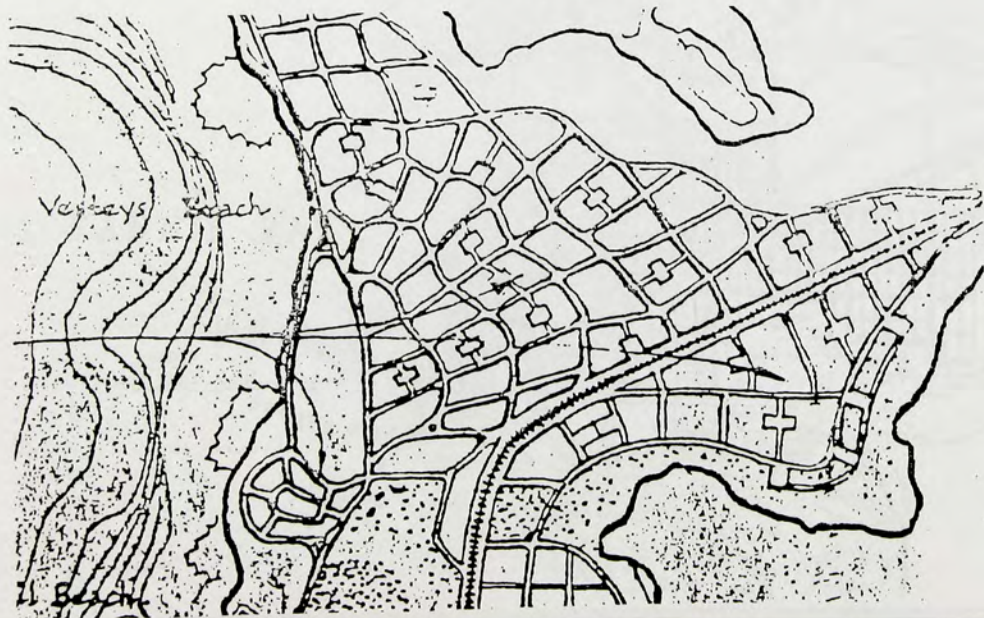
Had the 1944 McInnis Darwin town plan been implemented, the post-war residential development of Fannie Bay could have commenced immediately. That this did not happen was due to friction between government ministers as to which department would administer the reconstruction of Darwin. The compromise reached was the formation of an interdepartmental committee (Gibson 1997:

49). The appointment of the hybrid committee marked the end of immediate planning and reconstruction. Much of the funding was squandered on a grandiose Darwin town plan that would, according to a 1947 press release, totally transform Darwin:

Town planners have been given a free hand to create a town embodying the best-known principles of tropical design and layout. The Darwin for tomorrow will be Australia's best example of enlightened town planning (O'Loughlin 1947: 6).

The fine rhetoric was not matched by progress. While an overall drawing of the new town plan was produced in 1946 (Fig. 3), which showed that it was intended to create an elaborate lay-out of curved roads and cul-de-sacs for the residential area of Zone 8 – Fannie Bay, detailed plan sections were never forwarded to Darwin (Gibson 1997: 54-56).

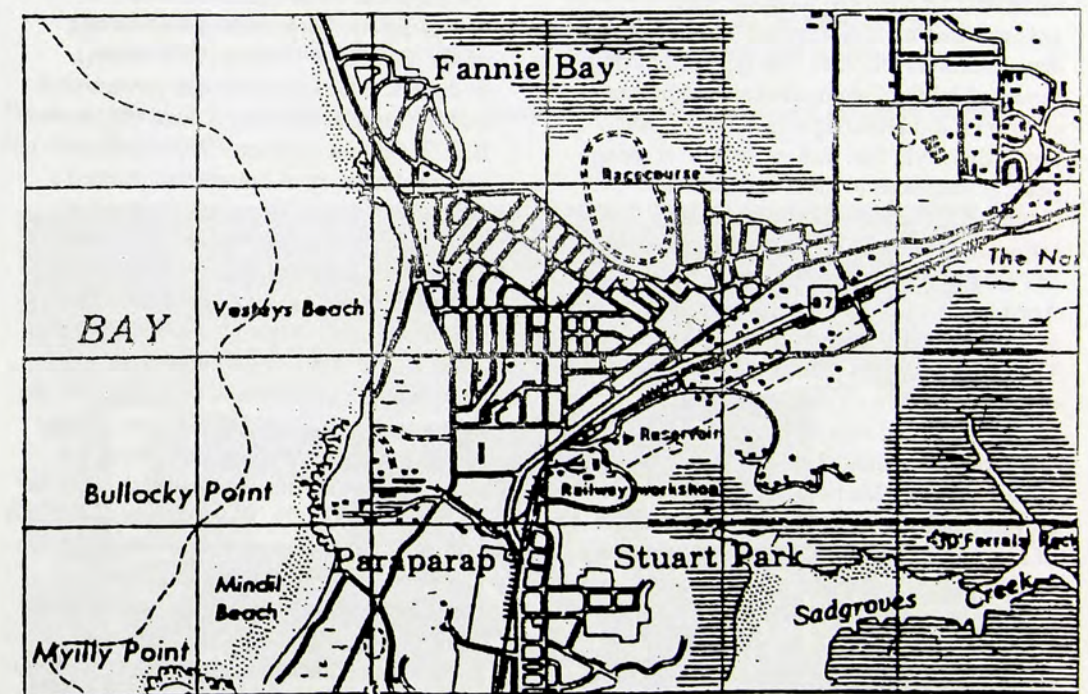
Fig 3: The 1946 Plan for the Fannie Bay area



At the federal election held in December 1949, the sitting Australian Labor Party lost office to a Liberal-Country Party coalition. This marked the end of the bureaucratic experiment in town planning. The new Commonwealth Government showed little interest in elaborate planning schemes. The Darwin town plan was scrapped, and the building and tenancy restrictions imposed since 1946 were lifted (Gibson 1997: 58-59). The change in government had an immediate effect on Fannie Bay. On 19 January 1950 the

Darwin town boundary was extended to include the proposed new suburbs of Fannie Bay and Paraparap, also known as simply Parap (Fig. 4). A simplified plan was drawn up that incorporated the existing infrastructure and runways. Streets were named to commemorate notable aviators and aircraft. Rather than re-planning, the existing WWII aircraft hard-standing layout was designated as an official road system. Lots in this area of north Fannie Bay were auctioned on 10 June 1950.

Fig 4: 1959 map showing plan adopted for new post WW2 suburbs of Fannie Bay and Paraparap



Post WWII housing and the evolution of 'government greys'.

While private building in Darwin escalated in the early 1950s, the construction of public sector housing was slow. This changed with the opening in 1954 of the Rum Jungle Uranium Plant near Darwin. At the official opening of the plant the Australian Prime Minister stated that 'Darwin would become a showplace for Australia'. (Barter 1991: 19) The Commonwealth Government allocated over five million pounds for a three-year development plan for Darwin. The uranium boom underwrote the considerable urban development of Darwin and the economic growth of the Northern Territory during the 1950s and 1960s (Barter 1991: 25). Between 1955 and 1959 an estimated 500 houses, most of them government funded, were built in Fannie Bay. (Sardone 1959: 6) The type of housing favoured by the Commonwealth Department of Works and Housing was elevated, and louvered, a style that had evolved over many years in response to local and climatic conditions. Darwin, which lies in the tropical 'Top End' of the Northern Territory, has only two seasons. The Dry season from April to October has clear, sunny days with an average daily temperature of 30C. During The Wet, known in other regions as the monsoon season, all the annual rainfall takes place. Torrential rain and cyclones, temperatures around 34C and high humidity are common at this time. In such a climate elevated houses serve the practical purpose of keeping living areas above storm water and possible flooding, and catch more cooling breezes than ground-level homes.

Another factor in the evolution of elevated housing in tropical north Australia was the problem of wood-eating termites, commonly known as white ants. The discovery that buildings, unless they were built of solid stone, had to be elevated was made soon after settlement. The early solution to the problem was to place the

wooden frame of a building on raised wooden posts, with a piece of flat iron between the post and the building. Over time, the housing style that developed was set high on concrete, and later steel, pillars.

From the turn of the century to the 1930s the common design for tropical housing in Darwin was high-set, and featured wide verandahs. A building ordinance of 1915, based on a South Australian Health Act of 1898, stipulated that all residential buildings should be provided with verandahs at least 8 feet in width along the whole length of two sides of the building (Welke & Wilson 1993: xxxiii). Between 1897 and 1937 the verandah '...had become the primary living space of the house. The 'internal' rooms of the conventional square plan form were becoming ancillary to the outside living mode' (Welke & Wilson 1993: xxxiii). In the late 1930s the principal government architect in Darwin, Asian born and trained B.C.G. Burnett (Gibson 1992: 23-25), designed a series of houses that marked a radical departure from previous tropical housing styles in the Northern Territory. Most of his Darwin houses were elevated, and all featured external and internal banks of louvres to allow for airflow through the entire house. While he flouted the rules regarding the inclusion of verandahs, by the incorporation of banks of asbestos louvres on outside walls 'Burnett had turned the entire house into one big verandah' (Welke & Wilson 1993: xl). R.A. McInnis, who had criticised the excessive size of Darwin town blocks in his 1940 submission, approved of the Burnett designs as, taking up less room than the older housing styles, they would allow for smaller block sizes (McInnis 1940: 35).

In the immediate post-WWII period, the housing styles developed by the Department of Works and Housing incorporated many of the Burnett design initiatives. Featuring banks of louvres inset

with casement windows, and built to a square or L shape design, these included the 'A' 'G' and 'M' series of houses, and were commonly two-bedroom dwellings. Later, new designs with at least three bed-rooms were created to fulfill the demand for quality public service housing, and the larger families of the post-war 'baby boom'. (Keys 1997: 30) Using metal and glass, rather than asbestos louvres and increasingly steel rather than concrete pillars, designs were reduced to a simple linear plan with banks of louvres on outside and internal partition walls. (Welke & Wilson 1993: xlv). The first series of houses to wholly embrace these principles was the 'D' series (D1 to D5):

Typically all elevated (except the D3 which incorporated a ground level living area), these buildings provided Darwin with a its first taste

of southern stylism... The angular columns, slender steelwork and, internally, a unique multi-colour scheme which was generally fashionable elsewhere, were incorporated for the first time in this series (Welke & Wilson, 1993: xlv).

While some of the government houses built in the early 1950s in Fannie Bay were to the immediate post-war designs, the majority of housing from the mid-1950s comprised the three bedroom 'D' series and the later 'C' series. (Keys 1997: 32) All houses were, as far as possible, aligned north/south and had eaves more than a metre wide to minimise the impact of direct sunlight. Externally, with unpainted asbestos cement, or 'fibro' walls, the houses were rather austere, and became known as 'government greys' (Welke & Wilson 1993: xlv).

Fig 5: A typical 1950s 'government grey' in Fannie Bay (Courtesy Northern Territory Library, Northern Australia)



An architect with the Department of Works and Housing in 1971 summarised the advantages of the elevated and louvred housing designs used for post-war government housing in Darwin:

Of the designs that have been used so far, probably the most typical of Darwin is a long house essentially one room wide, for maximum ventilation. At one end is the main bedroom, occupying the width of the house. Adjoining it is a line of bedrooms opening onto a hallway...louvres along both sides of the house run practically from floor to ceiling. The smaller bedrooms also have louvres in their hallway walls. This allows a breeze to blow clear through the house when the louvres are open. In the wet, when a sudden storm comes, outside wall louvres can be quickly closed to keep out the rain. ('A House...' 1971: 20)

During the 1960s housing construction accelerated to keep pace with growing demand. The Darwin population which had stood at 5 208 in 1947, more than doubled to 10 807 by 1957 – and reached 46 656 in 1974. By that time there were nearly a dozen new northern suburbs completed or in the planning stage (Gibson 1997: 57). As in the older Darwin suburbs, the housing style adopted by the Commonwealth for public service housing in the northern suburbs was elevated and louvred. This remained the most common form of government housing up until Christmas Eve 1974, when Cyclone Tracy destroyed over 70% of buildings in Darwin. The new northern suburbs bore the brunt of the cyclone, with only 2% of housing remaining intact. (Cities Commission. 1975: 55)

Older suburbs did not suffer the same devastation. In Fannie Bay only 348 houses out of 1 069, most of them privately

owned, were damaged beyond repair. (Cities Commission 1975: 44-45) Why so many of the homes in older post-war suburbs survived is unclear, although superior construction may have been a factor. In many of the newer houses 'roof and wall cladding were used for bracing, more orthodox and expensive bracing having apparently fallen into disuse.' (Darwin Reconstruction Commission 1975: 24) The increasingly linear design of the newer styles may also have been partially responsible. 'They were often poorly built and they were difficult to brace effectively as they generally lacked expanses of wall except at the gable ends' (Carment 1996: 86).

The reaction of government and architects in the post-Cyclone Tracy era was to adopt a bunker mentality with regards to housing. The 'Tracy trauma' houses built in the immediate post-cyclone era were ground-level, constructed of masonry and pre-cast concrete, with small windows rather than banks of louvres (Harris & Welkes 1982: 18). The designs proved unpopular with Darwin residents. The ground level houses did not catch the prevailing breezes, the masonry construction acted like a storage heater and, without air-conditioning, the houses were extremely uncomfortable (Carment 1996: 89).

In the wake of the 1974 cyclone, with rigid new building standards in place, the government sold off much of the elevated public housing. In Fannie Bay in the late 1970s the closure of both the Fannie Bay Gaol and the railway yards freed up more public housing for private purchase. Since then the suburb has consolidated its position as one of Darwin's most prestigious suburbs. Most of the 1950s houses have been extensively renovated. An interesting aspect of the renovations with regards to public choice is that, in a return to the pre-1930s housing styles, almost invariably a verandah has been added.

The impact of the 1990s development boom on Fannie Bay

In 1978 the Commonwealth granted the Northern Territory self-government. The Liberal-Country Party in power since that time has, in line with global developments since the 1970s, moved steadily away from direct provision of public housing in favour of private sector development, much of it speculative and for rental purposes (Gibson 2000a: 4-5). Fannie Bay has, due to the efforts of several strong and vocal residents' action groups over the years, remained free of the high-rise apartment blocks that blight other older foreshore suburbs of Darwin. This is not the case with high-density housing, which has severely impacted on the area during the 1990s. In a 1998 review of the Northern Territory planning process it was noted that:

The zoning of large areas such as north Fannie Bay with a blanket R2 Zone without real population density controls has proved a disaster for the local communities... Without effective population density control such zones become saturated with higher density developments, the servicing infrastructure eventually becomes totally inadequate and the local community becomes disillusioned with the planning process. (James 1998: 23)

Despite this warning, approval has since been given for the construction of a 'gated precinct' of houses on the site of the old railway yards. The plan for the project shows that many of the 133 blocks are half the size of the blocks in the adjoining residential area, an area identified as being outstanding in the number of 1950s 'government greys' in original, or near to

original, condition. (Keys 1997: 32) It is possible that the new high-density development may, as has been the case in north Fannie Bay, prove a disaster for the established local community.

The problems stem from the mass-produced housing designs in such developments. The houses have all the disadvantages of the 'Tracey trauma' housing of the late 1970s, without the compensation of block size allowing for greenery and open space. The closely packed, mainly ground-level homes are often little more than brick boxes, with a semblance of individuality provided by way of ornate facades replicating the architecture of other eras and countries, such as 'Tuscan' or 'Federation'. With little garden space, and no sizable public recreation areas, a disturbing feature of these precincts of 'Barbie Doll' houses as they age is the number of children playing in the streets. The blunt opinion of many long-term Darwin builders spoken to is that such developments, many poorly built due to the self-regulation of standards in the construction industry since the early 1990s, have the potential to degenerate into 'the slums of tomorrow'.

What the future holds for Fannie Bay is unclear. The Darwin construction 'boom' of the 1990s entered a steep 'bust' cycle in early 2000. Despite this collapse and statistics that have shown high vacancy rates and a decline in the population of Darwin in recent years, the demand by developers and speculators for land in prime areas such as Fannie Bay has continued. It can only be hoped that any future development does not destroy the integrity of the surviving precincts of 1950s elevated and louvred housing, or the unique character and tropical ambience of Darwin's premier post-WWII suburb.

REFERENCES

* AANT = Australian Archives of the Northern Territory
AANT CRS E1131/2, R.A. McInnis papers, his 1940 and 1944 Darwin town plans and only known surviving typescripts of the 1937 and 1943 Darwin town plans.

'A House Built for the Tropics, 1971, *Northern Territory Affairs*, Vol. 2, January, Department of the Interior, Canberra. 19-20 (Author not named)

Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2000a, *Regional Population Growth, Australia, 1998-1999*,

Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra
Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), 2000b, Building Approvals,
<http://www.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/AB>

Barter, L., 1991, 'The 1950s Uranium Boom in the Northern Territory', *Journal of Northern Territory History*, No. 2, Darwin. 19-26

Carment, D., 1996, *Looking at Darwin's Past: Material Evidence of European Settlement in Tropical Australia*, The Australian National University North Australia Research Unit, Darwin.

Cities Commission, 1975, *Darwin Planning Guidelines: A second report for the future Darwin prepared on behalf of the Northern Territory for the Darwin Reconstruction Commission*, Canberra.

Darwin Reconstruction Commission, 1975, '1st Annual Report to 30 June 1975', Melbourne.

Department of Lands, Planning and Environment (DLPE), 1999,
T:\NATITLE\TENURE DATABASE,
Darwin

Gibson E, 1997, *Bag-huts, Bombs and Bureaucrats: A history of the Impact of Town Planning and Land Acquisition on the Town and People of Darwin 1937-1950*, Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin.

Gibson E, 1998, 'A Planner's Dream - A Citizen's Nightmare: Town Planning for the Tropical Town of Darwin 1930-1950', *Australian Planner*, Vol 35 No 4. 192-196.

Gibson E, 2000a, 'Development - or Displacement?: The social and economic effects of development since the 1970s', <http://www.lpe.nt.gov.au/devel/planning/rap/i/default.htm>, *Planning in the Hothouse*, RAPI 27th National Congress 19-22 September 1999, Darwin.

Gibson E, 2000b, 'Planning in Chains: The effect of speculation on planning ideals in Darwin 1869-2000', in Garnaut C & Hamnett S, (eds.) *Fifth Australian Urban History/Planning History Conference Proceedings*, Adelaide, 13-15 April 2000, University of South Australia, Adelaide. 201-211

Harris P & Welkes A, 1982, *Punkahs and Pith Helmets: Good Principles of Tropical House Design*, Troppo Architects, Darwin.
James E, 1998, *A Review of the Elements of the Planning Process which Result from the Operation of The Planning Act 1993*, Northern Territory Government, Darwin.
Keys S, 1997, 'Government Greys: Housing for Public Servants in Darwin 1951 to 1960', *Journal of Northern Territory History*, No. 8, Darwin. 27-33

McInnis R.A., 1940, *A Town Planning Scheme for the Town of Darwin, Northern Territory of Australia* AANT CRS E1131 & typescript held in the Northern Territory Library, Darwin.

McInnis R.A, Millar A.R. & Symons H.J., 1944, *The Post-War Planning Scheme for the Town of Darwin*, AANT CRS E1131. Copy & hand-written draft.

O'Loughlin J, 1947, Release by Department of Works and Housing. AANT CRS FI 66/4454

Petrof S, 1996, 'Planning Pioneer: R.A. McInnis and Town Planning in Queensland and Tasmania 1922-1956', in T. Dingle (ed.) *The Australian City - Future/Past: Proceedings of the Third Australian*

Planning History/Urban History Conference, Melbourne, 11-14 December, Monash University, Melbourne. 43-52
Sardone L, 1959, 'Salute to Darwin Airport', *North Australia Monthly*, December. 6

Welke A & Wilson H, 1993, *Darwin Central Area Heritage Study: A report to the Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory through the National Trust of Australia (NT)*, Darwin.

Housing the workers in the first garden city

PETER MALPASS
Professor of Housing Policy
Faculty of the Built Environment
University of the West of England
Bristol
BS16 1QY
email: peter.malpass@uwe.ac.uk

Introduction

Letchworth Garden City occupies a unique position in the history of British planning. Much has been written about the attempt to turn Ebenezer Howard's vision into reality, and the parts played by the key actors involved in the development of the town.¹ In addition to the land use and design themes that have tended to be given more attention in the existing planning history literature, Letchworth also provides an interesting and particular context within which to examine important wider questions about the provision of workers' housing before and after the First World War. One of the key questions thrown up by the development of urban-industrial society in nineteenth century England was whether it was possible to provide decent housing at an affordable rent, within easy reach of the workplace. In London, which then had the highest land prices in the world, this problem was tackled by a number of charitable trusts and model dwellings companies.² They sought to resolve the land price problem by resorting to high rise and high density, typically in large blocks of tenement dwellings. Model dwellings were not a great success, socially, economically and aesthetically,³ and they probably helped the growth of support for Ebenezer Howard's alternative utopian vision of the garden city in which the workers would live in leafy, healthy, low density developments and yet still walk to work.⁴

At the start of the twentieth century the building of an entirely new city on largely undeveloped and thinly populated farmland was a heroic undertaking. Central to the success of the project launched at Letchworth by First Garden City Ltd (FGC) in 1903 was the idea that all the land in the garden city would be owned in perpetuity by the development company, which would lease sites to individuals and businesses. The company would pay only 5 per cent to share holders and invest any remaining surplus for the benefit of the community as a whole. In principle this approach, effectively suspending or limiting the impact of market forces, allowed both the regulation of land use and the breaking of the iron link between poverty and poor housing. By controlling the price of leases and the design of houses the company could, again in principle, make progress on the quality and affordability aspects of the housing problem. The remaining issue, of course, was quantity: who was going to build the houses that were needed in the new town, and how would they raise the necessary capital?

A supply of affordable working class housing was fundamental to the success of the project. The town would not succeed unless it could attract employers to move there or to start up new enterprises, and in the absence of an existing pool of labour in the area, a ready supply of houses was virtually a pre-requisite for growth and economic

development. However, the garden city was not planned in the expectation that employers would provide much, if any, housing for their own workers. Nor could the FGC look to conventional private landlords or the local authority for assistance. The launch of FGC co-incided with the start of a prolonged national downturn in the building of new private rented housing for the working class, and in the absence of state subsidies council housing had not yet become established on a large scale, especially in rural areas. Until 1919 Letchworth fell under Hitchin Rural District Council, which had neither the resources nor the inclination to undertake house building (in fact the RDC built just 4 houses in Letchworth before the outbreak of the War in 1914⁵).

Before 1914 various non-municipal housing organisations had more impetus and dynamism than local authorities, but after 1919 the situation was reversed. The purpose of this article, therefore, is to look at the role of non-municipal housing societies in Letchworth before and after the war of 1914-18, focusing in particular on the example of the Howard Cottage Society (HCS). This was the main provider of working class housing in the garden city before the War, but then built virtually nothing for twenty years, between 1916 and the mid-1930s. Archive research at the Howard Cottage Society casts new light on the organisation of housing provision at that crucial time in the development of housing policy in Britain. The article shows how the provision of workers' housing was organised and financed before the War, and confronts the question as to why HCS and other similar organisations stopped building after 1918, even though there was a severe national housing shortage and a generous Exchequer subsidy for new building.

Early Housing Development at Letchworth

The broader background to the establishment of the Garden City has been written up by others and space does not

permit a rehearsal of what has become a familiar story.⁶ The Garden City Company was under capitalised and initial development was slow to gather momentum. By 1905 there were only 205 houses occupied or under construction, although the industrial areas were more successful.⁷ There were attempts to stimulate interest in workers' housing in the form of competitions promoting cheap cottages, the first in 1905 and the second two years later. These were good for Letchworth in that they attracted widespread publicity, but they also met with sharp criticism, notably from Raymond Unwin, who deplored the standard of some of the entries.

If the Garden City stands for anything, surely it stands for this:- a decent home and garden for every family that comes here. That is the irreducible minimum. Let that go and we fail utterly.⁸

Unwin was, along with his partner Barry Parker, the architect of the overall town plan, as well as the designer of some early housing schemes in Letchworth before his departure for London in 1906. However, Parker remained as consultant to FGC until 1943, and the influence of the two architects remains clearly evident today. One important contribution towards finding a solution to the problem of quality with affordability was the decision by the Garden City Company to provide cheap land on 99 year leases. However, this still left the question of who would be willing to raise the capital necessary to build the houses themselves.

There was a certain amount of direct investment by individuals in the provision of rental housing for the working class, but the bulk of building before 1919 was carried out by four organisations. First in the field was a co-partnership society, Garden City Tenants Ltd, which was formed in 1904⁹ and rapidly built 300 houses to designs by Unwin. The co-partnership societies were an idea that emerged in the late 1880s as a

way of enabling workers to combine their resources and to control their own housing.¹⁰ The principle of co-partnership was that tenants were required to be share holders - in the case of the first society, Ealing Tenants Ltd, the minimum amount was set at £50. Even allowing for payment by instalments this inevitably meant that co-partnership housing did not reach the least well off. However, as a vehicle for the development of housing for the rather better off among the working class and some within the middle class, the concept worked satisfactorily enough for some years, producing some 7,000 dwellings altogether.¹¹ The co-partnership housing societies became significant as the engines of growth in garden suburbs in the pre-1914 period.

Garden City Tenants Ltd was formed by a co-partnership printing enterprise in Letchworth, Garden City Printers¹², but in general employers relied on others to provide housing for their workers. Garden City Tenants seems to have shared with other co-partnership societies the tendency to house the rather better off workers¹³ and in 1907 First Garden City Ltd set up Letchworth Cottages and Buildings Ltd as a vehicle for developing homes at rents more affordable by the lower paid. LCB completed nearly 200 houses by 1911. As a company registered under the Companies Act and undertaking to restrict the dividends distributed to share holders, LCB was entitled to apply to the Public Works Loans Board (PWLB) for loans of up to half of the value of newly completed schemes. The advantage of PWLB loans was that they were at lower rates of interest than private companies could hope to obtain by direct borrowing. It is important to be clear that there was no subsidy involved here - the Board simply passed on the benefit of its ability to borrow at the lowest obtainable rates. At that time PWLB loans were typically obtained at 3.5 per cent fixed interest over forty years. The other half of the capital had to be raised from other sources, usually individuals who bought shares or

loan stock. Thus the main constraint on the rate of housing development was the difficulty of finding people to invest their money in an organisation pledged to provide limited dividends, below what could be obtained elsewhere.

The Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909, increased to two thirds the proportion of value that could be provided by the PWLB, but only for public utility societies registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1893. In 1911 two societies were set up in Letchworth to take advantage of the new Act. One was Letchworth Housing Society (LHS), which appears to have had no close links with FGC, and the other was the Howard Cottage Society. LHS built nearly 100 houses within five years but never became a significant provider, although it is still in existence.

Howard Cottage Society: the early years

The directors of LCB set up HCS precisely to take advantage of the benefits of the 1909 Act, and to prove it they transferred to the new society 52 newly completed dwellings plus several more under construction. Apart from one small scheme in 1925-26 LCB never built any more houses, although it continued in existence as a separate organisation. The first recorded meeting of HCS refers to an event on 17 August 1911 in London, attended by two directors of FGC and LCB, Howard Pearsall and Aneurin Williams MP, plus three other people (Mrs Pearsall and two investors in the Garden City). This meeting elected a committee to run the Society, and then adjourned for lunch. On their return the first committee meeting was held, at which it was decided to invite Ebenezer Howard to become a member of the committee (a position that he retained until his death in 1928). Although today HCS is a registered social landlord (ie it is a not-for-profit organisation regulated by the Housing Corporation, and managed by a board of unpaid directors), at the start it was very different. It was also quite

distinct from the co-partnership societies of the period. There was no co-operative ethic about HCS, and no attempt to involve tenants on the board. As in private limited companies the board was made up from, and accountable to, the shareholders - who, rather than the tenants, were seen as the main stakeholders. Modern housing associations also have shareholders who elect the board, but the key difference is that in those days the shareholders were important as investors (whereas now they can hold only one £1 share, on which no dividend is payable).¹⁴

In common with other similar organisations at the time, HCS sought to raise capital by issuing shares at £5 each and by selling loan stock. Shareholders were rewarded with an annual dividend of 5 per cent, while loan stock holders were paid 4.5 per cent. There were regular appeals for cash from members and investors; for example in 1913 an advertisement was placed in *The Commonwealth* (a Christian socialist magazine), and in 1915 a prospectus was issued in an attempt to attract funds. The sales pitch was that an investment of £50 would result in the construction of a healthy home for £150, with £100 being supplied by the government (in the form of a PWLB loan). By the beginning of 1914 the Society had raised £2,390 in share capital and £5,275 in loan stock. There were 38 shareholding members and 27 investors (often the same people). The largest single investor was the socialist playwright and critic George Bernard Shaw, who invested £5,000.

At first the Society's offices were in the Letchworth home of the chairman, Howard Pearsall. Frederic Osborn was appointed as Secretary in 1912. Osborn, of course, went on to work at Welwyn Garden City and became a leading figure in British planning, but before moving to Letchworth he had been working as a clerk for a London model dwellings company.¹⁵ He therefore had at least some background in housing work, and over the next five years he carried out a heavy and diverse range of tasks for HCS, from the

day to day routine of housing management to negotiating PWLB loans, and even, it is said, designing some houses himself.¹⁶ As the workload increased during the War the Society agreed to employ Osborn's wife for a while during 1915-16. In 1917 Osborn was called into the army, but refused to serve, and instead left Letchworth to become a fugitive in London (supported by Howard and other opponents of the War.)¹⁷

HCS was from the outset closely linked to the FGC, sharing with it a number of directors (a pattern that was to continue for many years). This naturally meant that it could rely on a supply of sites leased on affordable terms, usually 99 years at an annual ground rent of around £20 per acre. At 12 houses to the acre, then, land costs translated into about 6d per week, on rents that ranged from 5s-6d to 8s-6d (inclusive of rates). Over the next five years the Society developed 17 schemes, totalling 395 dwellings. These were all two storey cottages, typically built in rows of four or six. Most of the early houses had three bedrooms, most of which had a fixed bath, with a piped hot water supply, in the scullery rather than in a separate bathroom. A few had upstairs bathrooms, but most did not, and this pattern was continued in the Society's 1930s developments. The early schemes also had WCs located downstairs, sometimes outside the back door.

Although the standards achieved at Letchworth were much better than the model dwellings company estates in London, from the start there was nevertheless criticism of certain design features, including the smallness of some rooms. Federic Osborn recalled in the 1960s that, 'By today's standards the houses were terribly small, because we had to get the rents down to five or six shillings a week.'¹⁸ Osborn is also quoted as saying that the 'extreme economies' on the early houses led to complaints from tenants.¹⁹

As indicated above, the capital for these schemes was raised mainly from the PWLB, with the balance being solicited

from individuals, generally in small amounts. There were no subsidies, no local authority loans and no long term borrowing from banks or building societies. From this distance in time it seems as if the release of sites and the processing of loan applications was routine, but there is some fascinating correspondence from the summer of 1914 which reveals something of the nature of relations between HCS, the PWLB and the Office of Works (which was required to scrutinise house plans and costings before loan approval). One issue of continuing concern to HCS was the rule that loans would cover only two thirds of the *value* (rather than cost) of new schemes - this was a problem for the Society because the valuations were consistently less than costs. Just as war was breaking out in Europe, Osborn was engaged in a prolonged exchange of tetchy letters with a Mr Petch at the Office of Works over a number of design details, including provision for daylight and the issue of whether there should be three or four steps down into the larders of houses in Glebe Road. When Osborn complained that that the proposal for the larder steps was exactly the same as had previously been approved and built at Rushby Mead, Petch retorted that he had commented on the unsatisfactory nature of this detail when he had inspected the finished cottages at Rushby Mead (now part of the Letchworth conservation area). This shows not only the level of detail that was checked by the central department, but also that the completed houses were physically inspected, apparently as a matter of routine. Another contentious issue was the nature of the tenants to be housed; this arose in 1914 in relation to an innovative scheme at Meadow Way Green (where it was proposed to build for working women a scheme including provision for a communal dining room). Petch questioned whether the intention was to limit this scheme to women who belonged to the working class - a necessary condition for PWLB loans under the Acts. This was a specific manifestation of a wider concern

within the Local Government Board at that time as to the extent to which some housing societies were breaching the rules by letting houses to people who were not technically 'working class.'²⁰

Despite these tribulations, by the outbreak of the War the Society had built up a good deal of momentum, building at the rate of around 100 houses per year. It is, of course, impossible to know whether and for how long this rate of activity would have continued if the War had not intervened. It is often assumed that the outbreak of war brought domestic building activity to a sudden halt, but this is not so and the Society built 100 houses between August 1914 and the end of 1916. By this stage circumstances had deteriorated, as the Annual Report for 1916 reveals:

Further cottages are badly needed, but their erection at the present time is impossible without Government permission, and would in any case be inadvisable owing to the inflated cost of building.

There were restrictions on the issuing of new loans, the costs of labour and materials had risen and since the end of 1915 rents had been pegged back to their August 1914 level. These were general problems, but in Letchworth the situation had been exacerbated by rising demand for housing, partly as the result of the influx of some 2,000 Belgian refugees employed in munitions work. Some of these people were accommodated in newly built HCS houses, but others added to the intensity of use of existing dwellings. A census of housing in Letchworth carried out in the spring of 1916 found that 85 HCS properties were overcrowded and that 40 per cent of HCS tenants had taken in lodgers. Also adding to the demands on the Society's limited staff resources was the agreement, in 1917, to take on the management of the houses owned by LCB, for a fee of 5 per cent of the rents collected.

After the War

At the start of the War there must have been around 2,000 houses in Letchworth, half of which had been built by the four housing societies.²¹ After the War, however, things began to change rapidly. The Letchworth Urban District Council was set up in 1919, and rapidly built 700 houses under the terms of the Housing and Town Planning Act, 1919.²² HCS, on the other hand built none. The very limited contribution of the housing societies in Letchworth after 1919, was part of a wider pattern of poor performance by similar organisations. Under the terms of the 1919 Act public utility societies, such as HCS, were entitled to apply for Exchequer subsidy, and it had been expected that they would make a much more significant contribution than the 4,500 dwellings actually built (compared with 170,000 built by local authorities). Thus, any explanation of events in Letchworth must take into account national as well as local factors.

It is possible that the momentum had shifted to the development of the second Garden City at nearby Welwyn, to which place a number of the key actors, including Howard and Osborn, moved in 1920. However, the evidence provided by the minutes of HCS board meetings suggests that there was no lack of enthusiasm for new building, but that throughout the 1920s it was seen to be financially impracticable. The Annual Report for 1917 refers to the Society having £4,000 in hand for new building, and in October 1919 the board discussed a planned scheme costing £27,000. However, wartime inflation was followed by a further spiral in building costs, which by 1920 stood at five or six times the pre-1914 levels.²³ In this situation it was, arguably, prudent to wait for a return to 'normal' economic conditions. In addition, the Society's financial position in 1919 was not at all healthy; there was a large increase in repair costs, rent arrears were rising, the annual accounts recorded a loss and no dividend was paid to

shareholders. The availability of subsidy may have tempted the directors to consider building immediately after the War, but events elsewhere were to justify their decision not to do so. The 1919 Act subsidy is usually described as generous, and so it was, to local authorities, which were entitled to assistance covering the whole of any approved revenue loss in excess of a penny rate. The subsidy available to housing societies, however, was differently structured, and left them in a difficult position.²⁴

Under Section 19 of the 1919 Act, public utility societies were entitled to a subsidy of 30 per cent of loan charges for 50 years (a later concession raised this to 50 per cent up to 1927), and they were allowed to borrow from the PWLB up to 75 per cent of the value of schemes. This left the societies with the problem of raising the remaining share of development costs at a rate interest within the limits imposed on them by the Treasury. In the circumstances existing in the aftermath of the War this proved to be very difficult. Another problem was that the system left societies to cover any revenue deficits that might arise (unlike local authorities that could always call on the rates, societies had no other income but rents). In practice the societies that chose to build houses straight after the War were very badly affected by the boom-slump cycle of 1919-20. Costs rose steeply, interest rates were dragged up (pushing up the level of rent required to cover costs) but then wages fell, making it difficult to let houses built at high cost. Very soon societies began reporting financial difficulties; some went bust and others soon sold all their 1919 Act houses in order to clear their debts. Included in those societies experiencing difficulties were several that had begun building at Welwyn, so perhaps the directors of HCS made the correct decision in the circumstances.

Conclusion

Before 1914 Letchworth was a crucible in which both design ideas and

organisational models were being developed, at least partly in an attempt to resolve the basic problem of how to provide decent housing for the working class at an affordable price. The limited success of the undertaking can be measured in three ways: first, in the two decades after the War the design vocabulary developed by Unwin and others was widely adopted, but the organisations building to these designs were local authorities rather than housing societies.

Second, the Letchworth evidence shows that even where land was supplied at low prices, the struggle to produce dwellings that were affordable led to compromises on standards, and third, housing societies suffered from a

chronic inability to generate sufficient capital to enable them to make a significant quantitative contribution to meeting housing need. Having said that, in the longer term non-municipal housing providers now seem to have a more secure future than local authority housing operations. The Howard Cottage Society is still there, and still growing, while the local authority (now North Herts District Council) is under pressure to transfer its housing stock to a housing association.

Acknowledgement: This article draws heavily on research commissioned by the Howard Cottage Society to mark its ninetieth anniversary in 2001. The main source of information is the set of records kept by the Society, mainly in the form of the minutes of board meetings, but also sundry files from different periods.

NOTES

1. M. Miller, *Letchworth: the first garden city*, Philimore, Chichester, 1989
C. Purdom, *The Letchworth Achievement*, Dent, London, 1963
D. Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns*, Spon, London, 1991
2. A. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum*, Arnold, London, 1977
J. N. Tarn, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: an account of housing in urban areas between 1840 and 1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge
R. Dennis, 'The Geography of Victorian Values: Philanthropic Housing in London, 1840-1900' *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 15, no. 1, 1989, pp. 40-54; E. Gaudie, *Cruel Habitations*, Unwin, London, 1974
3. J. White, *Rothschild Buildings: life in an east end tenement block, 1887-1920*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1980; D. Owen,
4. E. Howard, *Tomorrow: a peaceful path to real reform*, Swan Sonnenschein, London, re-issued in 1902 as *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*
5. M. Miller, *op.cit.* p.72
6. *ibid*, C. Purdom, *op. cit.*
7. F. Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin*, 1 Zwemmer, London, 1985, p70
8. *ibid.* p.76
9. *ibid.* p.73
10. J. Birchall, 'Co-partnership Housing and the Garden City Movement' *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 10, 1995, pp329-358, K. Skilleter, 'The

11. Birchall, *op. cit.* p.344
12. R. Beevers, *The Garden City Utopia: a critical biography of Ebenezer Howard*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1988
13. Miller, *op. cit.* p.82
14. P. Malpass, *Housing Associations and Housing Policy: a historical perspective*, Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2000
15. A. Whittick, *F.J.O. - Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn*, Town and Country Planning Association, London, 1987, p.11,
16. Miller, *op. cit.* p73
17. M. Hebbert, 'Frederic Osborn, 1885-1978' in G. Cherry, (ed) *Pioneers of British Planning*, Architectural Press, London, 1981
18. Whittick, *op. cit.* p21
19. *ibid.* p21
20. PRO, HLG 46/111
21. Estimates based on Miller, *op. cit.* pp.131-32
22. Miller, *op. cit.*
23. M. Swenarton, *Homes Fit for Heroes*, Heinemann, London, 1981, p122
24. P. Malpass, 'Public Utility Societies and the Housing and town Planning Act, 1919: a re-examination of the introduction of state-subsidised housing in Britain' *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 15, 2000 pp. 377-92

Practice: Cities and Technology

COLIN CHANT

Department of History of Science and Technology, Faculty of Arts, Open University, MK7 6AA, UK

Email: c.w.chant@open.ac.uk

Tel: 0044 (0)1908 652540 Fax: (0)1908 653750

Planning historians might like to know about an Open University undergraduate level three course entitled 'Cities and Technology: from Babylon to Singapore', and in particular about the series of co-published books that forms its printed spine.¹ The course was first presented in 1999, attracting more than 550 students, and is scheduled to continue until 2008. It selects from the full chronological extent of urban history, starting with the first Sumerian mud-brick settlements, and touching at the end on today's wired, and even virtual, cities. The main focus is the contribution of technologies to the form and fabric of towns and cities. A range of building types is also examined, from structures that embodied a new function connected with technological change (textile mills, railway stations, cinemas) to those that themselves represented innovations in building materials and techniques (Roman imperial baths, Gothic cathedrals, skyscrapers). Though evidently not the course's primary focus, planning theory and practice is a conspicuous thread running through its fabric, as readers of this bulletin would surely expect. That there is a close connection between planning and technology is beyond dispute; but what exactly is the relationship? Or perhaps better, what are the relationships? From the point of view of the social historian of technology, such questions get snagged in a number of quite knotty historiographical issues. To start with, the course makes a heuristic distinction between technologies and their contexts. Much of the analytic effort of the course is the attempt to show how technologies are shaped by a variety of

contextual considerations, and how, in consequence, cultures equipped with a similar array of technologies can deploy them to form divergent urban built environments. In keeping with this way of conceptualizing the urban history of technology, the course seeks to show not only how major changes in the physical form and fabric of towns and cities have been stimulated by technological developments (and conversely how far urban development has been constrained by the existing state of technology), but also how politics, economics, culture and the natural environment have influenced those developments.

Where does planning fit into this problematic? The question of the relationship between technology and planning is explicitly addressed in the first textbook of the series in the context of ancient Greece; and again, in the second textbook, as part of a discussion of the relations of technology and European urbanization from the latter part of the nineteenth century². It is recognized in the latter case that the rise of modern urban planning as a profession and as an established element of public policy is essential to our understanding of the development of the city during and after the Second Industrial Revolution. (The Second Industrial Revolution is understood as a complex of technological, industrial and economic innovations taking effect from the 1870s: leading the technological were electric lighting, power and communications, new products such as bulk steel, reinforced concrete and organic chemicals and the internal combustion engine; foremost among the industrial and economic were mass-production and

mass-marketing methods, scientific management, joint stock companies and multi-unit corporations).

Modern planning was coeval with the Second Industrial Revolution: what kind of innovation was it? By one definition (offered by the course's external assessor), planning is 'the deliberate ordering by public authority of the physical arrangements of towns or parts of towns in order to promote their efficient and equitable functioning as social and economic units, and to create an aesthetically pleasing environment'³. Planners are therefore champions of certain social goals of equity and beauty, and in this respect planning should be counted into the shaping contexts of technology. However the activity of the planner in seeking to achieve the efficient ordering of the physical environment is also compatible with the broad definition of technology adopted in this series. 'Technology' is not just 'hardware' or 'nuts and bolts', but 'all methods and means devised by humans in pursuit of their practical ends'⁴. Relevant developments in science, mathematics, public health and medicine are thereby embraced, but so too might planning, seen at least in part as a branch of technical knowledge. Our conclusion was that on balance, it may be best to see it, not unlike architecture, as an activity straddling the technology-contexts and means-ends heuristic divides: an area of theory and practice seeking to balance technologically feasible means, and politically, economically and aesthetically desirable ends. A question that needs to be pondered is whether such distinctions are thereby invalidated.

What part does planning play in the course as a whole? The course has three main geographical and chronological divisions, each of which corresponds to a paired textbook and reader:

Pre-industrial Cities

The opening section of the course is geared towards a critical examination of Gideon Sjoberg's thesis that all ancient, mediaeval and early modern cities were fundamentally similar, in large part because of their shared rudimentary

technologies. Among the topics considered along the way are V Gordon Childe's concept of an 'Urban Revolution', which posited a range of technological conditions for the emergence of cities in the Near East, such as irrigation, metallurgy and wheeled transport; the influence of the peculiar 'karst' geology of the Aegean region on the pattern of ancient Greek urbanization; the 'concrete revolution' in ancient Roman architecture, and its bearing on the debate about the Romans' technological creativity; the relationship between the labyrinthine layout of many mediaeval Islamic cities and the absence of wheeled transport; the view of Lynn White, Jr. that innovations such as the iron ploughshare and collar horse-harness underlay the urban revival of the Latin West; the construction of the great dome of Florence cathedral by Filippo Brunelleschi during the Renaissance; the origins of public transport, street lighting and mechanical fire-fighting systems in Early Modern Paris and Amsterdam; the disturbing of the ecological balance of the Aztec lake-city Tenochtitlán, the forerunner of Mexico City, by the technologies of Spanish colonizers, including draught-animals and wheeled vehicles; and the ways in which the Hausa people of sub-Saharan Africa adapted to their own climatic conditions building technologies transferred from the drier north.

As well as the printed materials in this section, there is a sixty-minute videocassette on ancient Rome and Ostia, and thirty-minute illustrated audiocassette presentations by Peter Wescombe on ancient Babylon, Jacques Heyman on medieval cathedrals, Simon Pepper on urban fortifications in the period 1450-1700, and Cliff Moughtin on the Hausa city and its architecture.

Among the issues that bear directly on planning are the orthogonal layouts of planned Greek cities associated above all with Hippodamus; Aristotle's prescriptions on the layout and orientation of settlements; the uniform morphology of ancient colonies across the Hellenistic and Roman empires; the relationship between developments in artillery and the geometrical fortifications systems of many

Renaissance and Early Modern cities; town planning in the Chinese traditions of Confucianism and feng shui, and in particular, the contrast between the planned Chinese capital city Beijing, and the unplanned commercial city Hankou. European Cities since the Industrial Revolution

The middle section of the course deals with the implications for European cities (including some European-style colonial settlements) of their adoption of the innovations of the First and Second Industrial Revolutions. Among the topics covered are the impact of the railways on the form of cities such as Manchester, Glasgow and London; developments in public transport in London, Paris, Berlin and Moscow, from the horse-drawn omnibus and tramway to the underground railway, electric tram and motorbus; the uses of structural iron in fireproof textile mills and warehouses, and in the great railway termini of Victorian Britain; the use of structural steel and concrete in an range of buildings in London, Paris, Berlin and Moscow, including apartment and office blocks, factories, department stores, hotels and cinemas; the reasons for the eventual rejection of high-tech non-traditional housing designs introduced in Britain in the immediate post-war period; schemes for the supply of water to rapidly industrializing cities, such as the Longdendale scheme for Manchester, and the tapping of Loch Katrine for Glasgow; sanitary engineering in Victorian Merthyr Tydfil and London, notably Joseph Bazalgette's great drainage project; hydraulic engineering, including the dredging of the River Clyde, and the construction of shipbuilding yards and docks in Glasgow; the 'appropriateness' of the transfer of western technologies to India, both during the British Raj, and after Independence, in the case of Le Corbusier's Chandigarh.

Associated with this section of the course is a videocassette on the planning of Paris in the nineteenth century - David Jordan, the Haussmann specialist, is one of the contributors. There are audiocassette presentations by Bill Addis on nineteenth-century mills and warehouses, the late Michael Stratton on railway stations, Bill

Addis again on steel- and concrete-framed buildings, and Mark Clapson on Milton Keynes.

Among the planning issues considered are the radical reworking of the fabric of Paris by Baron Georges Haussmann during the Second Empire, partly dealt with in the videocassette mentioned above; the influence of technological innovations on the urban planning ideas of Ebenezer Howard and Le Corbusier; the accommodation of the motor car in the planning of London, Paris and Milton Keynes, the last of which is covered in a chapter on the planning of this new city by Mark Clapson, associated with the audiocassette mentioned above; and the tension between planning ideologies and political and economic realities in Soviet Russia.

American Cities

The third group of course materials focuses above all on cities and technology in the United States, though where appropriate comparisons are made with European and Far Eastern cities. Many of the same technologies introduced in the first two sections are revisited, often at greater depth, in US contexts, thereby inviting students to make comparative judgements. Some of the specific topics covered are the interaction between local raw materials and European craft and city-design traditions in colonial America; the respective roles of government - federal, state or local - and of private enterprise in developing intercity and intracity transport; the relationship between transport developments, both public and private, and suburbanization; the reasons for the ready acceptance of the motor car in the US, and its connection with the decline of public transport; the effects of motor vehicles on the form and fabric of cities, and on the design of individual buildings; the association between motor vehicles and photochemical smog in Los Angeles; innovative methods of house-building, such as balloon-frame construction, and various forms of twentieth-century prefabrication, including factory-produced dwellings; the various technologies (including metal frames, caisson foundations, lifts, electric lighting

and air-conditioning) used in the construction of skyscrapers, notably New York's Empire State Building; the interdependence of water supply and waste disposal systems, as shown in the case of Chicago; the transformation of approaches to street cleaning and refuse disposal towards the end of the nineteenth century, led by Colonel George E Waring in New York City; and the effects of telecommunications technology, from the telegraph and telephone to contemporary global computer networks, on the form and functioning of cities.

There are two sixty-minute videocassettes in this final section of the course, both divided into two parts. One cassette deals with Chicago, the first part on its transport and drainage infrastructures, and the second on its historic tall buildings; the other consists of one part on Los Angeles and the automobile, and a second on telecommunications and the built environment. Among the contributors to the second cassette are William Mitchell and Melvin Webber. There are in addition audiocassette presentations by William Cronon on Chicago and the Great West, and by Michael Batty on wired cities and virtual cities, the latter extending the scope of the course at its end, from the physical built environment to cyberspace.

In a volume dealing with a more continuous tradition of city building, there is a correspondingly more continuous planning thread, starting with the origins of the typical gridiron layout of Western and Midwestern cities in the Land Ordinance of 1785. Particular attention is given to the attempt through the Burnham Plan to alleviate traffic congestion in early twentieth-century Chicago; and to differences in building and zoning regulations that resulted in distinctive skyscraper designs in New York and Chicago. A chapter on technology and the governance of cities devotes a section to planning; apart from the Burnham Plan for Chicago, this deals with L'Enfant's plan for Washington DC, various schemes for New York City, from the plan of 1811 to the Regional Plan of 1929, and that landmark of suburban planning in the motor age, the Radburn Plan of 1928.

Tuition and Assessment

As is usual with Open University courses, part-time tutors distributed throughout the British Isles mediate between part-time students and centrally planned and produced course materials. These 'Associate Lecturers' mark essays and design their own programme of tutorials and/or day schools; they will often on a course such as this arrange visits to sites of relevance in their region. Students' overall marks result from equally weighted continuous assessment and examination components. The continuous assessment component culminates in a 4000-word extended essay, for which students can undertake either a set thematic question, or a local study of their choice. Gratifyingly, the majority of students have thus far risen to the challenge of a local study, and a substantial body of work is accumulating, some of which has the potential for development at postgraduate level.

Computing

Computing is at present an optional element of the course. Students having access to a computer with CD-ROM drive and Internet connection can take advantage of the following components:

A CD-ROM, which contains simulations intended to help students understand certain theoretical models of city-building and location (specifically von Thünen's model of agricultural land uses around a central city, and the model of urban land uses underpinning the computer game *Sim City*); and a case study on Chicago which teaches students to use contemporary map, photographic and other visual materials as historical evidence.

A course website, <http://www.open.ac.uk/StudentWeb/at308/> which as well as giving details of the course provides library-type resources otherwise unavailable to Open University students. These are intended to be of particular benefit to students who choose the local study option of the extended essay. There is in addition a collection of links to relevant URLs, grouped into the three main divisions of the course.

links to relevant URLs, grouped into the three main divisions of the course.

The course website includes a selection of successful past topics for the local option of the extended essay – examples are the temple and baths complex of Aquae Sulis, the impact of the copper industry on the development of Swansea, the post-war development of Croydon from dormitory suburb to a 'Mini Manhattan', and the shaping of the urban form and fabric of Singapore by the Mass Rapid Transit (MRT) rail system. Current students seeking inspiration can also search a much fuller database of topics from previous years.

The website offers students a gateway to a computer conference, which provides them with a self-help discussion forum. There is also a staff conference aimed at fostering communication among the dispersed group of Associate Lecturers who tutor the course. A more recent innovation is an Alumni Conference for former students maintaining an interest in the course themes. Among its features are a 'News' sub-conference, including notices of relevant TV programs or public events and a 'Sites' sub-conference which, it is hoped, will eventually amount to an 'alternative' guidebook to sites with cities and technology relevance.

Among future developments in computing are plans for a pilot Electronic Tutorial Group available to students who cannot otherwise attend tutorials; all tuition would be provided through conferencing.

And although computing is at present an optional activity, current policy is to make it compulsory during the second half of the course's life.

NOTES

1 Colin Chant and David Goodman (eds.) *Pre-industrial Cities and Technology*, London: Routledge, 1999; Goodman and Chant (eds.) *European Cities and Technology: industrial to post-industrial city*, London: Routledge, 1999; Gerrylynn K. Roberts and Philip Steadman *American Cities and Technology: wilderness to wired city*, London: Routledge, 1999; Chant (ed.) *The Pre-industrial Cities and Technology Reader*, London, London: Routledge, 1999; Goodman (ed.) *The European Cities and Technology Reader: industrial to post-industrial city*, London: Routledge, 1999; Roberts (ed.) *The American Cities and Technology Reader: wilderness to wired city*, London: Routledge 1999.

2 Chant and Goodman, *Pre-industrial Cities and Technology*, pp.65-66; Goodman and Chant, *European Cities and Technology*, p.158.

3 Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City: Germany, Britain, the United States and France, 1780-1914*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1981, p.viii.

4 Chant and Goodman, *Pre-industrial Cities and Technology*, p.vii.

BOOK REVIEWS

Susan George. *Liverpool Park Estates. Their Legal Basis, Creation and Early Management. Liverpool Historical Studies, 16* (Liverpool University Press, 2000), ISBN 0-85323-409-4. £15.95, pb.

The mid-nineteenth century development of suburban estates to the south of Liverpool city centre, is the focal point of this examination of exclusivity and control. Originating as an M.Phil. thesis, Susan George has produced an accessible, lucid account of the establishment and management of the 'Park Estates' of Fulwood, Grassendale and Cressington, and it has been produced from the perspective of a legal practitioner with a sound grasp of land law, rather than that of a social historian. This approach has led, therefore, to the omission of a number of areas that readers from a more strongly historical background might feel worthy of closer investigation. Many of these same readers, of course, may well lack Susan George's legal expertise and, to that extent, *Liverpool Park Estates* provides a useful example which serves to heighten our understanding of the influence that restrictive covenants have had upon urban development.

The context to the development of the exclusive estates at Fulwood, Grassendale and Cressington (slower to complete and slightly more speculative than the other two) is initially provided. Susan George stresses the degree of landowners' self-interest that lay within leasehold system and the restrictive covenant schemes that evolved into a hybrid between it and the unrestrained varieties of freehold land speculation. Upon this background lies the study of Fulwood Park, together with the Grassendale and Cressington Parks which lay further to the south, with their promenade along the Mersey. The covenants imposed upon the developments of these estates ensured that the smart villas that were erected excluded all but a narrow portion of Liverpool's middle classes, but they also imposed controls

upon the small number of families who lived within them. Those who resided in the Parks (just 84 individuals at Fulwood in 1851) may have wished to hide away from vibrant, raucous, grubby Liverpool, but they could not entirely shut themselves away from their neighbours. Anything more than the most superficial of changes to the property could not be made without the consent of other residents, walls and railings had to be of a uniform height and a screen of high close board fencing was not permitted even whilst the newly planted trees grew towards maturity.

So who were these people, the developers and the residents? What networks bound them together? Within the narrow exclusivity there still remained different scales of housing: was this reflected in any degree of social division within the small estates? Susan George does not delve into these matters, concentrating upon the manner in which the land was acquired, built upon and the method by which the estates have been subsequently managed to this day. The minor factionalism and undercurrents of personal animosity between various trustees are touched upon in the case of Cressington Park (where minute books have survived), but otherwise not dealt with. On one occasion she refers to the many women with servants and wonders 'did they find time hanging heavy on their hands'? If they did, we will never know and the residents remain just names from a census return or signatures to a title deed. Their politics, faith and habits are as securely closed to us as the gates at the entrance to their parks.

The wider picture of the sprawl of the city in the nineteenth century is far beyond the scope of this closely focused volume, therefore there is no room for the work of Colin Pooley, and others, on various aspects of estate development and differentiation. Yet, of course, Liverpool was never far away. The Ordnance Survey maps of the estate, included within the book, indicate that more humble levels of housing abutted the estates and a

BOOK REVIEWS

suburban railway line eventually cut through them. Best of all, the seats along the promenade were removed after labourers from nearby Garston Village made free and 'unceremonious' use of them. Illustrations such as this illuminate this careful study that opts to concentrate upon the minutiae of development rather than how the residents of the park estates regarded their encircling city (and each other) or, for that matter, what surrounding Liverpool thought of them.

*Stephen Bunker,
University of Luton (for the time being).*

Aileen Reid, *Brentham: A History of the Pioneer Garden Suburb 1901-2001*, Brentham Heritage Society (47 Brentham Way, Ealing, London W5 1BE: www.brentham.com), 2000. Pp. 264. ISBN 0 9538775 0 7.

Now and then, a work of local history so far transcends the parish pump as to illumine a whole movement or even an era. Such is Aileen Reid's *Brentham*. Montaillou it may not be, but it quietly revolutionises the historiography of the garden city and suburb.

For a hundred people acquainted with Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb, those earnest expressions of Edwardian striving for better homes and more wholesome communities, scarcely one will know about Brentham. Yet Brentham actually preceded and had its influence upon both. The usual precedents cited for Letchworth and the garden suburbs are Port Sunlight, Bournville and New Earswick, paternalist factory villages all. Brentham was something much bolder: a co-partnership community.

Emphasis in recent years on the layout and architecture of garden cities and suburbs has led to neglect of the politics which engendered them - in particular, of their role in the movement to reform property-holding and

tenure as keys to the fairer distribution of wealth. One has only to dip into Ebenezer Howard to appreciate how far his call for garden cities took up the agenda of Henry George and other advocates of land-reform and profit-sharing. But these are complex, half-forgotten issues. So the temptation has been to write off the enterprise of Howard and the Edwardian dispersalists as vaguely socialistic, Fabian or philanthropic, without sharper enquiry.

How impoverished - or plain wrong - such a reading is, emerges from Aileen Reid's masterly study. Brentham came directly out of the labour movement, to be precise from the Labour Association, founded in 1884 to promote 'Co-operative Production amongst the Workforce'. Co-partnership, which Reid defines as a subset of co-operativism implying a compact between workers and employers, emerged as a new term at this time. It began with craft workshops but was soon extended to housing. To some degree it reinvented the principles of the famous Rochdale Pioneers forty years before. But this time ambitions were wider, the base was London and the climate of the 1880s and 90s brought middle-class campaigners - like Edward Greening and George Holyoake - and working men into the debate together.

The undisputed energiser was Henry Vivian (1868-1930), a Devon-born carpenter who became secretary of the Labour Association at 22, set up a co-partnership building firm in 1891 and founded the journal *Co-partnership* three years later. Vivian was to become one of the pioneering Lib-Lab MPs in the landslide of 1905-6.

The first ventures of 'Tenant Co-operators Limited' were small. But Vivian's building firm, General Builders Limited, expanded to the extent of sixteen branches around London and its own educational programme, including lectures on Mazzini and discussions on political economy. One of these

BOOK REVIEWS

branches was in Ealing, and there it was in 1901 that Vivian, nine colleagues and some like-minded enthusiasts set up Ealing Tenants Ltd. The timing is interesting. Ealing, a fast-expanding railway suburb, was just then becoming a borough council and building its first council housing - two streets of orthodox little terraced houses. The new co-partners probably approved (one sat on Ealing Council) but wanted also to build housing for their personal ownership. That first terrace of houses, on a smallish lot of semi-rural land at Pitshanger, was also unexceptional, if larger in scale than the council rows. The co-partnership process, not the design, was what made the venture special.

By this time Ebenezer Howard had published. As his vision of the garden city got translated into reality by Parker and Unwin at Letchworth and then reconfigured at Hampstead as a stand-alone suburb, a round of exchanges took place between the foundations. Brentham had no master-plan at the start.

It grew in fits and starts as land became available, at first by means of the old, outworn house-types adapted by General Builders to the wants of individual tenants. Even the name ('the village on the Brent') had to await 1907, after a bigger chunk of land became available and Raymond Unwin was parachuted in to sketch out a master-plan. Thereafter Brentham's houses succumbed to professional architecture and the green and piquant garden-suburb style - at first from the fanciful pencil of F. Cavendish Pearson, later from the calmer hand of G. Lister Sutcliffe, who rounded off the development with a handsome club.

All this was on the lines of other Unwinian garden suburbs, which proliferated astonishingly in the years before 1914. But there was trade in the other direction too. Vivian and Ealing Tenants were in at the very start of Letchworth; indeed Reid tells us that 'more than half of the houses

at Letchworth ... and more than three-quarters of those at Hampstead built before the First World War, were built by co-partnership housing societies' on the Brentham model. The burgeoning of these new societies led to the establishment in 1907 of a new umbrella organization, Co-partnership Tenants Limited.

The outlook seemed good for co-partnership. But the movement had now reached its apogee. Almost immediately changes in the rules took place at Ealing Tenants favouring larger shareholders. The reasons were the usual ones: 'Any more trouble and you can take the account elsewhere', the bank had pronounced. Sir John Brunner, a beneficent industrialist, charged to the rescue with a loan and got a road named after him. After that things were set fair for the long, surreptitious walk to the paradise garden of middle-class Brentham today, where freeholds of 'cottages' command astronomical prices. Already, says Reid, by 1914 a fair proportion of the completed suburb's population had clerical or professional jobs. That of course reflected not just the incapacity of the co-partnership movement to generate capital but the changing metropolitan labour market. Some of the pioneers of 1901 were disgruntled. But it gave Brentham a social balance - for a time.

Over and above her account of the suburb's development and architecture, Aileen Reid also gives us a fine chapter on May Day in Brentham, drawing on Roy Judge's intriguing research on the history of that festival. It will delight those who loathe and fear suburbs to find that the May ceremony celebrated in style annually at Brentham since 1905 resurrects no ancient and pagan village custom, as Frazer liked to suppose in *The Golden Bough*. Instead it appears to derive from a bizarre cross between a Seventeenth-century pageant of London milkmaids, Victorian theatrical fakery, and the commemoration of a May Day strike

BOOK REVIEWS

by American workers in 1890. Even in pioneering days, the red streak in Brentham's ceremony seems to have been conspicuous by its absence. Its place is supplied by a faithful sequence of maypoles decorously plaited, and May Queens parading ornamentally down blossoming streets - among the many photographs of human interest that embellish the book. Residents are fully treated too; tennis fans will like to know that Fred Perry learnt the sport at the Brentham Club.

Reid takes her story up to a present which is necessarily for the most part more complacent than the pioneer years. Yet more than the memory of co-partnership lives on. To produce such a generous and beautiful book as this one was a 'mad undertaking', writes Wendy Sender of the Brentham Society in a preface. Then someone had the wit to revive Vivian's co-partnership venture; locals were to buy a share in the promise of the book and get a copy on publication. They needed and found a subsidy in the end: for better or worse, co-partnership still needs its Brunners. But the result confirms the spirit of the Brentham community and justifies the ambition of the project. The Brentham Centenary Book Co-Partnership Scheme and Aileen Reid have brought to birth a first-rate book with far wider than local interest.

*Andrew Saint
University of Cambridge*

**The twentieth century experience—
urban planning in a changing world**
edited by Robert Freestone (New York:
E&FN Spon, 2000), ISBN 0-419-24650-9

Urban planning appears to be a dangerous profession. Not that planners are more at risk from those major and minor mishaps which can befall all of us, but they work under the constant threat of assault and hijacking, not of their persons though, but of their ideas and intentions. If there is one

constant theme which runs through all fifteen essays Robert Freestone has assembled in this book, then it is the gap between the aspirations of the planning profession and the eventual outcome of their endeavours. Comprehensive master plans come under assault and planning fragmentises (p. 3), Hitler and Mussolini 'distort' Haussmann and also the City Beautiful (p. 113), a page later the Great Depression prevents the realisation of a City Beautiful plan for Toronto, after earlier plans were 'lost in management', urban renewal and public housing projects are condemned during the 1970s (p. 146), while thirty years on the 'antidote' of place-identity has 'evolved into a sales gimmick' (p. 149). And the final example of a possible much longer catalogue of similar complaints, the planning goal of 'quality of life' has been 'hijacked to serve business interests' (p. 152). Seldom, it seems, do aspirations and achievements match. More often the outcome of a comprehensive plan is a compromise, if not compromising.

Freestone emphasises in his introduction that 'Planning's aspirations have always soared above the practicality of their implementation' (p. 8). That this gap never closes is good at least for those who are interested in planning history. Planning reality, however, is less black and white than the above noted contrast suggests. Two images on page 202 in this ungenerously illustrated book make this clear. The first photograph shows a typical scene of planners surveying an urban area. One (male) sits on the verge of some traffic junction, two (male) stand next to him talking about the scenery, a fourth (female) stands behind her colleagues, holds a rolled plan and looks on. At the focus of the planners' gaze a typical y-junction, an electricity pole, a few cars, houses, some distant high-rises, and a mountain range even further in the background. A close-up underneath: more electricity poles and cables, more ordinary one-storey houses, and on raised ground behind them a war memorial carillon, a

BOOK REVIEWS

museum, and a high school. This is the stuff of which cities are made: houses, public buildings and institutions purporting some meaning, garden plants, inclined fences around private plots, in short the material witnesses of the wishes, dreams, and disappointments of the inhabitants. On the opposite page we find the vision of how the surveying team proposed to plan the same area: a photograph of a model shows a neat late 1940s modernist city. Everything is carefully zoned according to functional principles one assumes, with high and low rise buildings, towers and slabs, somewhere in the distance the carillon still stands next to the beaux-arts museum. It looks like a decent place to live in. It is easy to imagine that a comparable web of human hopes and disappointments will fill such a town as quickly as the one it replaces, with one important difference. The modern town has to exist without heritage (apart from the carillon and the museum) which implies without history. This brings me to the second theme, actually more a meta-theme, which is to be found in the collection of essays, namely the relation of urban planning to history, especially to the history of the profession.

Freestone explains in the introductory pages that the book does not aim at presenting an 'encyclopedic history of world planning', instead he wishes to offer an 'integrated set of diverse, interpretative essays cutting across time, space and culture to explore a number of major themes in the twentieth century planning experience.' (p. 11) In this he certainly succeeds, although what unites the essays into an integrated set is unfortunately less clear. Different authors contribute papers on major issues which have occupied successive generations of urban planners in the last century. Peter Hall presents a quick run through modern planning from Howard to the Millennium, Dennis Hardy examines the aspirations and failures of utopias, Gilbert A. Stelter looks at the fate of the City Beautiful, and Robert Bruegmann on that of anti-sprawl

reform. Other chapters deal with cars and the inner city (Jeffrey M. Diefendorf), planning and heritage (David Hamer), and the role of green spaces in the evolution of cities (Maurits Van Rooijen). Almost without exception, the essays in this book are informative and very readable. Nevertheless, one wishes that the editor would have been firmer with his authors, for as the book stands it lacks a meta-narrative which ties the various contributions together beyond the obvious point that they all deal with the same period and profession. Likewise, one wonders whom the books wants to address. For those who do not know much about planning in the last century, students for example, other literature appears to be more suitable. For those who do know about planning and its history, the book does not offer many new insights—beyond the material in individual essays—which emerge out of putting exactly these essay into a single volume. Diversity in a collection of essays still needs some larger background to allow for dialogue and confrontation, otherwise communication and conversation cease.

What seems to have never ceased in planning is the conversation with the past, though after reading the various essays it turns out to be a one-dimensional monologue: current planning speaks to itself about its past. When planners face the jungle of competing interests and claims over a territory, laws and regulations governing a plan, they, it seems, turn to history for guidance. In his introduction Freeman sets out what may well have been a suitable framework for the individual contributions: how the retrospective search for guidance of early twentieth-century planners has evolved into the habitual perspective of the profession when assessing its contemporary state and pondering its future. Most essays adopt the obvious chronological structure of locating their respective theme in the decades around 1900 and then follow the story through to roughly the next centenary. The historians

BOOK REVIEWS

among the authors are more sophisticated in their reviews, but overall the sequence of events is predictable in most essays, which brings us back to the beginning of this review. A problem or question emerges, a solution is conceived, worked out, rejected, re-worked, watered down, implemented, disappears, pops up again, and is re-assessed for lasting importance in the twenty-first century. While everywhere great narratives have, allegedly, collapsed, in planning and its history they seem to survive rigorously and still embrace the well-known cast of villains. Ignoring politicians and economic circumstances, foremost amongst them appears to be Le Corbusier, followed closely by the Italian Futurists such as Antonio Sant'Elia. This rather simplistic approach to important figures in twentieth-century planning and architecture could easily be ignored, would it not be for its constant repetition which refuses to take on board any architectural theoretical and historical re-evaluation of, for example, Le Corbusier. Even among architects proper—where Le Corbusier remains for good artistic reasons an accepted figure—one barely finds, after post-modernism, such naïve appreciation of his buildings and urban schemes, but especially not the assumption that they still represent either a valid solution or a continuous threat. A comparable naïvety can be observed with regard to the garden city, which more than 100 years after its inception still seems to attract nothing other than enthusiasm and positive appreciation. If only history would be that simple. How much history does it take to shape the present and the future, to build a city? Probably very little, or maybe even none. This is not an argument for an end of history, but maybe a clearer separation between contemporary planning and planning history is needed?

The essays in this book pose the question of the validity of a constant retrospective gaze into the profession's history with an eye to learning from past mistakes and errors. The attraction of such perspective, be it the profession's Via

Dolorosa or 'Road to Serfdom' (Hayek), is obvious for at least two reasons. First, it allows one to argue that today's concerns have always been an issue for planning, even if not necessarily the right amount of attention had been given to them. Second, it allows one to integrate retrospectively into the narrative whatever new issue comes to the forefront at any given time, such as sustainability or gender. But this perspective does not always facilitate critical historical insights as one eminent contributor bemoans when commenting on the criticism that 'soulless, mechanistic urban environments' have destroyed traditional urban communities: 'The fact, that in many of the most notorious cases planners had virtually no power and no role, is conveniently avoided; mistakes by architects and engineers are all too readily heaped at the doors of the "planners".' (p. 33)

Nevertheless, by following the well-trodden path of a chronological structure, the essays in the book throw up interesting questions. For example that of the relation between architecture and planning. Many, if not most, of the early twentieth-century planners, from Raymond Unwin to Le Corbusier, were trained architects. What did twentieth-century planning lose, or win, when this changed once professional training in planning had evolved? Or, why are planners (similar to architects) so fascinated by abstract diagrams such as the one on the book's cover? They never seem to explain anything to anybody outside the circle of the adepts, but why are they in the planner's tool kit and how do they shape his or her's perception of the world? How do they relate the profession's thinking and doing to completely different areas of human thinking and creativity such as art, philosophy, or even economic modelling in the twentieth century? To point to such questions is, in summary, the achievement of the book rather than, as claimed in the introduction, 'the hope that an historical appreciation of its [planning's] history over the twentieth

BOOK REVIEWS

century might help us through the early challenges and uncertainties of the new millennium' (p. 16).

Volker M. Welter, Department of History of Art, University of Reading

PLANNING HISTORY

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The prime aim of *Planning History* is to increase awareness of developments and ideas in planning history in all parts of the world. In pursuit of this, contributions (in English) are invited from members and non-members 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 - 3,000 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.

Notices of relevant publications from publishers' publicity material are useful; and full publication reviews (700 - 1,000 words) are encouraged. Abstracts of relevant journal papers, particularly those originally published in a language other than English, are requested.

Reports of recent conferences and other events are very welcome, and should conform to the above notes on style and layout.

NOTICES OF CURRENT EVENTS

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.

NOTES FOR ADVERTISERS

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

Please also refer to the revised Instructions to Authors published as page 56 of *Planning History* vol. 21 no. 2 1999.

Published by the Department of History, University of Luton, UK, on behalf of the IPHS.

Planning History is published three times a year for distribution to members of the International Planning History Society. Neither the Society as a body nor the Editor are responsible for the views

expressed and statements made by individuals writing or reporting in *Planning History*.

No part of this publication may be reproduced in any form without permission from the Editor.

© 2001 *Planning History*
ISSN 0959 - 5805

INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY (IPHS)

THE INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY

- endeavours to foster the study of planning history. It seeks to advance scholarship in the fields of history, planning and the environment, particularly focusing on industrial and post-industrial cities. In pursuit of these aims its interests are worldwide;
- welcomes members from both academic disciplines and the professions of the built environment. Membership of the Society is both multi-disciplinary and practice-oriented;
- encourages and gives support to networks, which may be interest-based, region- or nation-based, working in the fields of planning history;
- provides services for members: publishing a journal, promoting conferences, and providing an international framework for informal individual member contact;
- invites national organisations, whose work is relevant to IPHS, to affiliate status;
- administers its affairs through an elected Council and Management Board.

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

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

PRESIDENT

Professor Stephen V. Ward
School of Planning
Oxford Brookes University
Headington
Oxford
OX3 0BP
UK

Tel: 01865 483421
Fax: 01865 483559

E-mail: svward@brookes.ac.uk

EDITOR OF PLANNING HISTORY

Dr Mark Clapson
Dept. of History
University of Luton
75 Castle Street
Luton
LU1 3AJ
UK

Tel: 01582 489034
Fax: 01582 489014

E-mail: mark.clapson@luton.ac.uk

MEMBERSHIP

Applications are welcome from individuals and institutions. The annual subscription is:

Australia	28.00 \$ Aus
Canada	28.00 \$ Can
France	100.00 FF
Germany	30.00 DM
Italy	30,000.00 Lira
Japan	2,150 Yen
Netherlands	34.00 Hfl
USA	18.00 \$ US
UK	10.00 £

Further alternative currencies available on request from Dr David W. Massey, Treasurer, IPHS, Department of Civic Design, University of Liverpool, Liverpool L69 3BX, UK. Tel: 0151 794 3112, E-mail: dwmasssey@liverpool.ac.uk

Applications for membership should be sent to Dr Robert Home, IPHS Membership Secretary, Department of Surveying, University of East London, Dagenham, Essex RM8 2AS, UK. Tel: (0)208 590 7722 x2504 / Fax: (0181) 849 3618
E-mail: r.k.home@uel.ac.uk

Cheques, drafts, orders etc. should be made payable to the 'International Planning History Society'.