PARKWAY TREATMENT OF HIGHWAY.

Generous provision of margins secures greater separation of the dwellings from the main roadway; allows space for tennis or other recreations to be provided, or turn-out spaces where cars can stop for repairs or picnic meal without obstruction to the highway.

Planning History Group
CHAIRMAN’S COMMUNICATION

In the past, half the Executive of the Planning History Group has been elected annually; membership of those elected to run for two years. Last year it was decided that the Executive 1985-86 should continue for a further year, so no elections were held last summer. There were then good reasons for an interruption to our normal practices, but annual elections should now be resumed.

First, let me remind you of our present Executive:

U.K.

G.E. Cherry (Chairman)*
Patricia Garside (ex officio, Membership Secretary)
D. Massey (ex officio, Treasurer)
G. Gordon
J.C. Hancock
M.J. Hebbert (Editor)
R.J.B. Kain
Helen Meller*
J. Sheail*
A.R. Sutcliffe*
S.V. Ward (ex officio, Meetings Secretary)

* Term of office to come to an end in August 1986. Eligible to stand again.

Would those members of PHG wishing to offer themselves for election to the Executive Committee (or re-election in the case of the names asterisked above) let me have their names in writing not later than 30 June 1986. Those successful will serve for the period September 1986-88. There are no requirements for proposers or seconders. If there are more than the required number of names submitted (four for U.K. and four for non-U.K.) there will be an election by postal ballot, voting slips to be enclosed in the July/August number of the Bulletin.

On your behalf during the year the Executive has taken steps for the PHG to be given charitable status within the U.K. This means exemption from tax on our small (but sufficient) resources. A leaflet about the Group is in preparation; this will help in the drive for new members. The Editor is glad to be in contact with so many people who have contributions to submit. The Treasurer is grateful to all those who have paid their annual subscriptions on the due date, but wishes to remind those whose memory has so far been faulty. The Executive has heard with considerable interest of the possibility of establishing a New Towns Centre in Britain as a museum and workshop for the 20th century New Towns movement; we are supporting moves for it to come to fruition.

Planning history literature multiplies. This is very
gratifying, but it is a personal challenge to keep up to date. Book reviews help and it is good to note that both PHB and Planning Perspectives carry mention of so many recently published titles.

Many PHG members will know that Planning Perspectives (FP) made its appearance as Volume 1 no 1 in January this year. The publishers are offering the very generous subscription rate of £16.50 for PHG members, compared with £39.50 for others (non-members). This concession only applies to Group members on a personal basis and is not available to institutional members. It will not have escaped notice that £10 as an annual subscription to PHB, plus £16.50 for FP represents a very good buy; it should encourage many people to join the Group and so extend our international network. The financially attractive package deserves support; do take out a subscription for Planning Perspectives, the only journal, in addition to PHB, designed to express our planning history interest.

Gordon Cherry

EDITORIAL

Sadly, the PHG Spring meeting on History in the Planning curriculum did not take place as advertised in the last Bulletin. However, we have been able to include the main paper that was to have been given at Sheffield. Philip Booth has surveyed the teaching of planning history, and charts some of the changes that have occurred in the professional schools since the 1970s, when Lewis Mumford and the architectural histories still dominated the reading lists, and the Mansell series, and Planning Perspectives were no more than a glint in Gordon Cherry's eye. We shall be returning to educational questions in the next issue of the Bulletin, with a review of history teaching in Japan by Ichiro Nishimura, and a comparative study of the histories of planning education in Europe and North America by Augustin Rodriguez-Bachiller.

Members are reminded that the deadlines for contributions are as set out on the back cover of the Bulletin. Copy for the next, Summer, issue should be sent before the end of June to LSE, where a great effort will be made to shift our publication date, which slipped because of Christmas printing delays, back onto schedule.

My thanks to all our contributors, to the providers of news and information, to the Drawing Office for lettering and our handsome cover, and as always to John Sheall for his abstracts and Jacky Jennings for her word processing.

Michael Hebbert

NOTICES

The Heritage of Functionalism - 8th Bartlett International Summer School
Bauhaus, Dessau DDR 7 - 12 September, 1986.

The Bartlett International Summer School is a forum for research, teaching and discussion of problems concerning the development of the built environment on the basis of the production process. It represents a focus for approaches relating to building design, planning, management, engineering, history, etc., and places particular emphasis on analysing building production and, more specifically, the building labour process in order to understand the process of historical change. The Summer Schools have been held every year since 1979, the first four being held at the Bartlett School of Architecture and Planning, University College London. Since 1981, under an agreement with 14 participating institutions, the Schools have been held at different places with a view to promoting international cooperation. The fifth was held at the Ecole d'Architecture de l'Universite de Geneve, the sixth at the Dipartimento di Analisi Economico e Sociale del Territorio, Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia, and the seventh was organised jointly with PROTECNOBAT (Association pour la Promotion des Technologies Nouvelles du Batiment) and held in Vaulx-en-Velin, near Lyon, France.

This year's Summer School is to be held in the Bauhaus at Dessau, appropriately, for the Bauhaus is celebrating its 60th anniversary. The main theme is the heritage of functionalism, seen comparatively in the contexts of capitalist and socialist building production.

The full rate for attending the Summer School is DM 700. This includes full board (5 meals a day) and lodging in twin and single rooms in the Bauhaus and other nearby places, tape records, leisure facilities, the costs of visits, photocopying, and even the free use of bicycles. There is also a reduced rate of only DM 400 for up to 30 participants who do not benefit from institutional support and whose financial situation is precarious.

Further details from:

Dr. Martin Schwartz,
Ecole d'Architecture, Universite de Geneve,
Boulevard Helvetique 9, CH - 1205 Geneve, Switzerland.

The State and Leisure: the heritage conservation and future of recreational amenities in cities
End of September/Early October 1986. Date to be confirmed in Summer issue of PHB.

The autumn meeting of PHG is a joint venture with the Institute of Planning Studies at Nottingham University, in
whose premises it will be held.

The meeting will embrace the historical evolution of urban facilities, their current conservation and management, and future prospects. It should be of interest to practitioners as well as historians.

Full details will be published in PHB VIII. 2. In the meantime all enquiries should be addressed to:-

Dr. Helen Meller
History Department, University Park,
Nottingham NG7 2RD. Tel: 506101

1947 Town and Country Planning Act Anniversary Conference

On the fortieth anniversary of the 1947 Act, two Study Groups of the Institute of British Geographers - 'Urban Geography' and 'Planning' - are joining forces to promote a commemorative session at the January 1987 IBG Annual Conference, to be held in the Department of Geography, Portsmouth Polytechnic. The organizers, to whom all enquiries should be addressed, are:-

Dr. Fred Gray
Centre for Continuing Education
Edith Cowan University Development Building
University of Exeter
Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9QG

The Study Group publishes the findings of the colloquia under the editorship of Prof. Dr. G. Fehl and Dr. Juan Rodriguez-Lores in the series Stadt-Planung-Geschichte of Hans Christians Verlag, Hamburg.


Both books available at the special rate only from G. Fehl, Techn. University Aachen, Schinkelstr. 1, D 5100 Aachen, (Germany).

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS ARCHIVE

The RIBA, founded in 1834, as one of the world's first architectural associations, has always been exemplary in retaining its papers and reports. Until recently the accumulating archive was - the words of Patrick Harrison, RIBA Secretary - "impenetrably difficult of access". From 1981 to 1983, the archive was surveyed and reorganized by Angela Mace, who has now published a comprehensive guide to what proves to be an important and hitherto underused historical resource for students of town planning. The guide is prefaced by a history of RIBA and by an essay - "Using the RIBA archive: a historian's view" - in which Robert Thorne first defines the limitations of the Institute's membership and concerns, then shows how useful RIBA papers can be within these limits, both for the reconstruction of individual members' careers and for the study of architectural professionalism in general.

Planning historians will note with interest the section on RIBA committees and groups working on planning and design matters. It is appetizing to know that the papers relating to all housing and town planning legislation, to aesthetic design issues, to interwar and postwar regional planning and reconstruction, to the Buchanan Report and the third London airport, and to such hardy perennials as development and St. Paul's Cathedral in 1854 and the Piccadilly Circus issue in 1964, are all neatly archived and await our attentions at 66 Portland Place.

A NATIONAL NEW TOWN CENTRE

The County Planning Officer of Buckinghamshire, Mr. Ed Schoon has proposed an exciting new project on land currently owned by the Milton Keynes Development Corporation next to the County Library. It is to create a National New Town Centre, with a museum and study facilities commemorating the achievements of the New Town Development Corporations in the four decades after the 1946 New Towns' Act. Milton Keynes appears an ideal location for the venture. It seems likely to have the last surviving Development Corporation during the completion of the city in the 1990s, it is the largest and grandest of the new towns, its location is highly accessible, and it already has as a neighbour the New Towns Study Unit of the Open University. The idea is still at an early stage of evolution but has already the support of the Development Corporation, The Royal Town Planning Institute, Royal Institute of British Architects, Town and Country Planning Association, Open University and British Tourist Board, and Planning History Group.

BOOKS ON MASS HOUSING MODEL SETTLEMENTS AND EARLY TOWN PLANNING

Inch’s books list no. 20 offers 453 titles, listed under the following sections:

A. Mass Housing, Estate Layouts etc.
B. Slums, Depressed areas, Poverty
C. Smoke, Water, Drains
D. Model Settlements, Utopias.
E. Garden Cities, New Towns.
F. Town Planning pre 1900
G. Town Planning 1900-1940.
H. Reconstruction and Renewal (1940s Planning)
I. Town Planning post c. 1950
J. Some Scarce Early Plans.

Bibliophiles may browse at the new Book Gallery at 39a Low Petergate, York, or write for the list by post from-

Inch’s Books,
3 St. Pauls Square
York, Y02 4BD, England.

REPORTS OF MEETINGS


Organized by Dennis Hardy, this Autumn meeting was one of the liveliest of recent years, attended by about 35 people who energetically discussed both the general issues and the specific questions raised by the speakers. Subtitled "Marginal Space and Marginal Economies", it focused on the informal, non-standard, non-mainstream, peripheral economies and use of space in both developed and developing countries. Dennis Hardy, who chaired throughout the day, posed some of the key general questions at the outset. What did marginal mean? Was informal a better word? What were the current trends in marginality? What relationship did marginal economies have to legitimate or mainstream capitalism and state intervention? What key research questions should we be asking? These questions provided an agenda of general issues for the day as a whole.

Colin Ward then opened with a stimulating piece of polemic on the myth of marginality, essentially arguing that conventional planning history was on the side of the big battalions of capitalism and state intervention. These had formalised the economy and the use of space. In particular planning had overridden marginal economic activity and marginal space in the pursuit of order and conformity in land use. He referred also to the caring side of the informal economy and the possibilities of community architecture and housing co-ops. Nor were such possibilities particularly urban. The urban fringe within a low density town-and-country setting offered perhaps the greatest possibilities of informal and domestic economic development yet this was discouraged by the purified and polarised images of town and country purveyed by planning. He ended by suggesting that though marginal activities were fragmented and disorganized, their aggregate contribution was perhaps greater than the core formal and centralised part of the economy.

At this point informality and improvisation was given an opportunity to develop within the programme by the absence of Ray Pahl. Instead a greatly extended discussion took place on the issues raised by Colin Ward's paper, a discussion which showed the Planning History Group in wideranging mood, untrammelled by familiar detailed empirical wangling about who did what to where, and under whose influence etc. etc. Thus points were made about the interplay between the formal and informal (Tony King), the views of Patrick Geddes on the margins (Helen Meller), the possible succour which libertarian anti-regulationist ideologies gave to Thatcherism and modern large scale, non-marginal capitalism (Tony Sutcliffe), and the significance of Macclesfield (Pat Garside). There were more heated exchanges about the relevance of Ward's ideas to
housing. In particular the intrinsic value of being a poor owner/occupier of an unimproved and decrepit dwelling without the means to improve it and without support from the formal state system (an increasingly common situation) was doubted by several speakers (particularly David Whitham and Marjorie Bulos). There were queries from Alan Gilbert about how far regulation was the key to what we were discussing, and this in turn linked to Michael Hebbert's point about the links of marginality to planning; to what extent had it embraced the informal and marginal spaces and economies. The point was reinforced by Pat Garside's reference to Manchester where marginal groups did rather well in local employment initiative funds though she referred particularly to their fragmentation, which limited their power relative to the centre. Finally the debate came full circle as it was asserted that in the developing world, particularly Brazil, self help was so important that the myth was of centrality, not marginality. This point was taken up in the afternoon.

After such an enjoyable and vigorous debate, and without any disrespect to the quality of the speakers, it was inevitable that the afternoon was something of an anti-climax. Alan Gilbert's paper was quite tightly focussed on developing world issues, especially Latin America, and considered several alternative and (in contrast to Colin Ward's paper) profoundly unromantic definitions of marginal people in relation to the formal central economy. Thus they could be functional to capitalism as some kind of reserve army of labour, serving to deflate wages, dysfunctional in that they were no use to the capitalist system, but as a potentially destabilizing force within society, required resource inputs from the formal system, or functional in the sense that they were neither useful nor harmful to the formal system. He then showed how explanations were shifting in current development literature, so that marginal economies and marginal spaces were now seen in terms of a cheap form of labour reproduction and privatised production of social consumption. However, he suggested that such notions only worked well in export economies, but were less applicable in import substitution industrialization, because a large marginal population would act as a market limitation.

In the rather briefer discussion on this paper, Gordon Cherry asked about parallels with the nineteenth century British urban economy, a question which implicitly made connections with some of the central concerns of planning historians. He found surprisingly few takers, perhaps because few had the confidence to span the gulf of time and place. Helen Meller suggested that the capacity of large numbers of present day marginal people to survive on activities based on the motor car was closely paralleled in the last century by the range of activities which developed around the horse.

Surprisingly though, Tony King, planning history's grand master of the broad canvas of time and space had little to say on this, perhaps because he was saving himself for his own contribution on the bungalow. Following the argument in his book he identified the bungalow as a cultural and architectural expression of a nineteenth century international division of labour. Thus it originated as an indigenous dwelling form appropriated and formalised within colonial economies, was then transmitted back to Britain as a suburban or rural dwelling, and then re-exported as part of new waves of economic and cultural imperialism to areas without such indigenous traditions. Wisely slides were not used; the passing of photographs from hand to hand was a powerful metaphor for the diffusion process. Like the far-flung corners of the British Empire, the back rows received several distinct waves of bungalow development, sometimes a little uncertain from whence or why they came. But the basic point was made and was enjoyed. A little time remained for discussion, which largely focussed on how such connections between architectural form, culture and economic systems can ever be proved.

Overall the day was successful and enjoyable. The informal creation of much more time than normal for discussion was a key element in that success. However the untypical nature of the topic, the challenging nature of the papers presented, and the unusually large numbers of research students present (several of whom made significant contributions to discussion) were all important to creating a worthwhile day.

The papers are shortly to be published as a Middlesex Polytechnic Working Paper, edited by Dennis Hardy.

Stephen V. Ward
Oxford Polytechnic
RECENT AND FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

Gordon Cherry and Leith Penny 1986 Holford, a study in architecture, planning and civic design. London and New York, Mansell, 293 pp, £25.00 ISBN: 0 7201 1786 0

William Holford (1907-1975) is an unpromising subject for full-length biographical treatment. The claim that he "fundamentally influenced architecture and town planning in Britain from the 1930s to the 1970s", made by the publishers in the blurb distributed with this Bulletin, is belied by the outset by the authors themselves when, in the first sentence of the introductory chapter, they establish as one of the paradoxical contrasts between Holford's unrivalled accumulation during his lifetime of professional honours in architecture and town planning, and his failure to leave any lasting impression in either field. This legacy in concrete, brick and glass is for all that it has "a white Washed out and at worst downright ugly, and has as the authors concede no claim to a place of any significance in the history of British architecture. Whatever the achievements for which this young white South African immigrant of modest means earned first his knighthood then his peerage were more evanescent. He was a well-schooled architect who proved adept in the leadership of large multi-discipline teams. He combined, as will capable architects (as distinct from engineers), technical competence with cultural sensibility. He had the presence and reserve for successful chairmanship of public committees. A generalist who worked in many fields, he was able to ride the cycles of the history of the profession and energy. In each generation a handful of professionals become eminently successful, but, without being historically significant enough to merit a full-dress biography, least of all a subject-centred "life and works" based on the family papers.

Gordon Cherry and Leith Penny's highly readable study seems to cleverly anticipate any thoughts among these lines in the mind of the prospective reader. The last inkling of the history of architecture schooling vanishes as soon as the main career is reached. Here the authors abandon simple chronological narrative (preferring to provide it in a condensed form at the end of the book) and instead use the addresses the wider question of core-periphery relations. Brian Robson crystallizes this concern in an essay at the close of the Collection in which he reviews their collective recovery of Holford's unrivalled accumulation of planning interventions, many of them decidedly negative in effect. All contributors could have made more the positive basis of pride and identification on which regional recovery must be planned: there are few mentions of the architectural glories of the cities, even fewer of their universities, their orchestras, art galleries, cathedrals, parks and libraries, and, in fact, all of sport, cuisine and folk traditions. None of these portraits is an inviting one, which is a pity, for all of them are attractive - as Brian Cave Publications Ltd., Southampton, 64 pp, £3.95 ISBN: 0 904 230 305 3


The idea for this volume came during the concluding discussion of the second international Symposium of the Planning History Group - held in Naples 1980-1980 at Sussex University in 1980. Having looked at the planning histories of second-order centres, Holford, a Scottish geographer, showed an unashamedly biased in his invidious contrast between Holford's unrivalled accumulation of planning interventions, many of them decisive negative in effect. All contributors could have made more the positive basis of pride and identification on which regional recovery must be planned: there are few mentions of the architectural glories of the cities, even fewer of their universities, their orchestras, art galleries, cathedrals, parks and libraries, and, in fact, all of sport, cuisine and folk traditions. None of these portraits is an inviting one, which is a pity, for all of them are attractive - as Brian Cave Publications Ltd., Southampton, 64 pp, £3.95 ISBN: 0 904 230 305 3


Herbert Collins was one of four sons of a successful speculative
builder who made his fortune in the late nineteenth century buying up land adjacent to recently opened railway lines, and building terraced villas for the new North London suburban middle class. All the sons joined the family firm, starting at the bottom and working alongside the men as carpenters. The family moved to Southampton in 1911 and continued the building business, with Herbert taking the role of architect. His garden suburb developments, characterized by their careful detailing, simple Georgian cottage style, and sensitive landscaping, were remarkable for their perfect continuity of style from the Edwardian era into the middle 1950s. Most were built speculatively for sale, though Collins also did a small amount of work for voluntary sector housing associations.

Collins' schemes of the 1920s and 1930s were highly acclaimed at the time and still please the eye of the passing motorist along the radial roads out of Southampton, and the tastes of many hundreds of residents who are proud to have a 'Collins' house. However, his death in 1975 went unremarked in the architectural and planning journals. Robert Williams' short monograph fills the gap, with a biographical essay, descriptions of all the major projects, and a listing of his entire architectural opus from 1906 to 1964: it is published with the assistance of the City of Southampton Society and is available from them at: 18 Ascot House, Portswood Road, Southampton SO1 1US.


As part of an Economic and Social Research Council research project, the full story of aesthetic control under the British postwar planning legislation has been expertly reconstructed from a tawdry of the main architectural and planning journals. Dr. Tuner's account is accompanied by thirty pages of notes and bibliography and provides an excellent reference source on the topic. The author himself emphasizes that it is only a Working Paper, a desk study based on literature review, and he invites correspondence and hints at plans for an enlarged and illustrated book. An article based on this and an earlier Working Paper can be found below.


A comprehensive bibliography (with abstracts) of the 110 writings, major speeches and papers of Sir Wilfred Burns. The bibliography is divided into four sections, beginning with his early work in Coventry during the 1950s: the exciting years' in change of Newcastle's urban renewal programme in the 1960s; the Whitehall Years 1968-1982 when he shaped both the machinery and the central policy lines of British planning; and the two brief years of his retirement.


This study of urban renewal in the 1940s and '50s underscores the racial imperatives of planning for a revitalized city. Controlling black residential expansion was a principal motive not only in slum clearance activities regarding downtown development, but also in celebrated neighbourhood preservation activities, such as the Hyde Park plan promulgated by the nearby University of Chicago.


The 16 chapters explore the richness and diversity of the responses of European writers and artists of the early twentieth century, when the city became the focal point for an intense debate about the dynamics of technological civilisation and its effect on the quality of urban life. Although the emphasis is on the literary image of the city, the other arts are drawn into discussion throughout.


This reprint analyses the institutional arrangements and information flows in the decision-making process that led to the publication of 3 principal documents to appear on the strategic planning of south-east England, namely Strategic Planning for the South East (1970), Development of the Strategic Plan for the South East (1975), and the Government Statement of 1978.


Using evidence ranging from real estate advertisements to census schedules, the author provides the first full-scale attempt to trace the development of suburbs in America from their origins to the present day. Integrating social history with economic and architectural analysis, the study includes communities from every part of the country, and compares American residential patterns with those encountered in Europe and Japan.


Together with the variety of urban cultures represented in its satellite towns, the classic industrial city of Manchester provides an ideal base for reconstructing the economic, social and political factors that affected the development and provision of medical care in the two centuries before the introduction of the National Health Service. The volume concludes by tracing the negotiations that led to the absorption of the region's hospitals and wider provision of welfare services into the national system.


Written by a practising architect, the volume traces the influence of fishermen, farmers and market-gardeners, and the Church and Venetian state on the size, morphology, and character of the villages and large
town of Chioggia that lie in the lagoons which surround the city of Venice in Italy from the time of their origin to the period of rapid growth in the 18th century. As a microcosm of Venetian society, the town illustrates the dominating effect of the constant struggle against storms and floods, and the all-pervading influence of Venice itself.


In a re-interpretation of post-war urban development, the authors depart radically from the dominant accounts of what they term the 'Whig' tradition. From Chapters appraise post-war reconstruction, long boom and denial of planning; economic decline, modernisation and the reform of planning; corporatism, the new right and the urban crisis, and the role of the local state and future of cities in the light of mounting social conflict.


Describes how the shopping arcade arose from modest beginnings in the early 19th century to become an essential feature of the high street in many provincial towns and cities. The gazetteer describes 111 examples, arranged alphabetically by towns, with details of architecture, features, a plan and photograph, and details of current use and state of the building.


Never simply a mill town, Manchester remained socially and ethnically diverse. Its middle class assumed a national significance as the industrial town became a great commercial city and a market centre in world trade. In an examination of the way in which the middle class perceived the working class, contributors to this volume emphasise the complexity of public discourse on such key issues as the police, the poor, immigrants and voluntary action, as well as the social significance that came to be attached to such expressions of local culture as poetry, periodicals, art and the social novel.


Based on a broad range of documents, many of which have not previously been used, the book recounts the great events and movements of the period when Manchester became the world's leading industrial city, as well as tracing the rise of the cotton trade and the Anti-Corn Law League, the less familiar aspects, such as Manchester's contribution to educational reform and to music and the visual arts, are explored. A chapter on the new corporation is complemented by another on the Manchester Ship Canal.


This collection of original urban case studies demonstrates how city building in the United States in the 19th century was linked directly to development of a national military-industrial complex. Cities wedged themselves to the military on the assumption that the economic fallout would enhance local prosperity. As a consequence, urban policy, urban planning, and economic development in select U.S. cities was dictated in large measure by the prerequisites of the defense industry.


This lavishly illustrated volume documents methodically the architectural products of the City Beautiful movement in New York City and shows how the classic revival in late nineteenth century architecture led to a "high ideal of civic homogeneity". More than 1000 photographs document why this period may be termed the golden age in architecture and urbanism in New York.
This volume, compiled from a symposium commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Tennessee Valley Authority, traces the evolution of a unique national planning and development agency with a regional agenda. Having been created as an innovative agent of social and economic change during the Depression of the 1930s, TVA became in later years a bastion of "Establishment" planning in the eyes of many.


This study of public regulation of mass transit and the automobile in the early twentieth century documents the failure of planners to link transportation concerns to those of creating a satisfying urban spatial pattern in a rapidly growing American city. The author concentrates on the ways in which policy guided planning in the public and private arenas.


By focussing on such themes as population and disease, commerce and manufacture, society and change, the collection of essays seeks to explain the economic and social implications of the quadrupling of the size of London. The introduction draws special attention to the centralisation of English government and economy, and shows how the metropolis both reflected new developments and itself came to act as a powerful force in promoting them.


The boom town of the mid-Victorian age, Bradford was a challenge to the newly-established Ruskin. The evidence of newspapers, letters, works, fine arts and diaries is used to throw fresh light on both Bradford's development and on the career of a great Victorian.

* * * *

NEWS OF ANOTHER NEW JOURNAL !

Urbanismo Revista Issued 3 times a year by the Laboratorio de Urbanismo, Diagonal 649, 08028 Barcelona, Spain. ISSN: 0213-1110

For one year's subscription:— Spain: 4,000 pts Elsewhere: 5,500 pts

For two years' subscription:— Spain: 7,500 pts Elsewhere: 9,000 pts

Per issue:— Spain: 1,650 pts

This truly magnificent journal, launched in January 1985 as the international periodical of Barcelona's "Planning Laboratory" - the Laboratorio de Urbanismo in the Escuela Tecnica Superior de Arquitectura - measures 29 x 48 cm, the size of a tabloid newspaper, and defies the constraints of any normal shelving system. It is printed in full colour throughout and the papers in the first issue are in Spanish, Catalan and Italian, mostly the former. Three quarters of the journal is written by a single gifted hand, Manuel Sola-Morales, the founder of the Laboratorio de Urbanismo, and all the papers reflect the distinctive concern of him and his school with urban morphology and a philosophy of planning intervention grounded in deep historical understanding of each town's unique spatial form.

The tone of the journal is set in the opening paragraph of the first issue, which boldly confronts - in the terminology of Foucault - the task of restoring the legitimacy of the discourse of urbanism as a discipline. The crisis of planning discourse is attributed to the premature efforts of modern town planners to seek legitimacy in social scientific approaches, before they had established a sound basis of craftsmanship in understanding, appreciating and creatively responding to cities as objects, the defining objects of urbanism as a discipline. Most of the essays which follow are city case-studies, combining a long and scholarly historical analysis with a review of present planning issues. The individuality of each case is brought out in an approach which gives full weight to morphological and townscape characteristics, and to the historical interaction of economic and physical factors in each centre's structure and development. The most important instruments of this approach are the aerial photographs, the map and plan, and Urbanismo Revista, when opened up, offers a double page spread of three square feet on which these can be displayed to quite remarkable effect. It's an exciting periodical with a strong visual personality and its message is worth the attention of planning historians and planners alike.
DECK ACCESS HOUSING
AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Chris Bacon
Sheffield University

In the United Kingdom and elsewhere deck access or 'streets in the sky' housing is a particular form of medium rise (four to fourteen storeys) multi-storey accommodation characterised by extra-wide and continuous external balconies, often joining blocks of housing over a large area and thereby effectively creating an upper level pedestrian circulation system. The decks, which can vary in width from approximately 2 to 3.5 metres, are accessible from stair, lift, or lift shafts on sloping sites from ground level. These decks, in turn, provide access to maisonettes and flats whose interlocking is often complex and variable with different designs. Between 50 and 90 per cent of the accommodation on these estates can be for households of three or more people, sometimes families with young children.

Origins

The origin of deck access housing lies in two aspects of the Modern Movement. Firstly, several idealised sketches of the Futurist City by Antonio Sant'Elia which show housing blocks with free-standing lift shafts joined to the main structures by wide balconies running along every floor. Secondly, particular proposals for housing schemes by Loudon and Brinkman after the First World War incorporating the deck form - the latter realised in the Spangen Estate in Rotterdam. These multi-storey housing designs were paralleled by post-revolution Russian "communal" housing architecture, the most concrete realisation of which was the Narkomfin Apartments in Moscow by the Organisation of Contemporary Architecture.

The Russians proposed, in fact, several forms of communal space linking housing units, dining room and kitchen, recreation rooms, etc. In one building including both internal and external decks and a stair-encircling system. From the late 1920s Le Corbusier produced a number of architectural and urban planning projects which brought together the ideas for collectivised housing schemes and those of the Futurists, culminating in his Unite d'Habitation in Marseilles, 1947-52. Although this housing block used an internal deck, one of its principal effects was to inspire the post war British architectural avantgarde to evolve a new form of streets in the sky. In 1953 Alison and Peter Smithson prepared a design for the Golden Lane competition in London. Here there were to be street decks, stair encircling systems (the horizontal circulation coincided) and yard gardens (where individual activities would distinguish house and 'street' within the whole scheme). The aim was to join the basic form and communality of the bye law street with the opportunities for urban renewal presented by the Modern Movement; eventually a complete street-deck city would appear as redevelopment proceeded.

The first local authority to build a street deck housing scheme was Sheffield. Between 1953 and 1961 the City Council, with the help of City Architect J. Lewis Womersley and joint architects Jack Lynn and Ivor Smith, designed and built the Park Hill estate (and later, the second stage, Byde Park). The intention was not to build a street deck city but to construct high density family accommodation which nevertheless provided for the social interaction and children's play denied by the traditional tower block and balcony access design while minimising costs by reducing the need for lifts and some other forms of servicing. The final scheme included few of the Smithson's ideas. It covered 18 acres of a sloping site, changing from 4 to 13 storeys as the ground level fell away. Four decks, one on every third floor, provided access to 993 dwellings, 70% of which were for three or more persons. Architectural influence of Park Hill, rather than the Smithson's ideas, was considerable. It led to the development of about 140 deck access housing estates in the United Kingdom from the early 1960s to the early 1970s. By the time the planned deck access housing had been built the number could easily be doubled. Also, the total would be much larger if such schemes had been built by all local authorities.

Deck access housing was built in the South West, South East (excluding Greater London) and West Midlands of England, South Wales, with relatively little in Central Scotland and Northern Ireland. Instead, it is concentrated in Inner London, the North West, East Midlands and parts of Yorkshire and the North East of England. It seems that in England at least, those areas which in the 1960s were making the first determined efforts to improve their local economies were also prepared to experiment with the latest innovation in multi-storey housing designs.

Problems

Deck access housing has produced a combination of problems unparalleled by any other form of local authority housing architecture. Its problems are threefold - construction, access and appearance.

Poor construction with systems building methods has often produced an unsafe environment. Water penetration is a frequent problem. Inadequate sound and heat insulation has been important in this case, because the deck design accentuates noise problems and heat loss.

Poor construction with systems building methods has often produced an unsafe environment. Water penetration is a frequent problem. Inadequate sound and heat insulation has been important in this case, because the deck design accentuates noise problems and heat loss usually been compounded the difficulties. Electric central heating combined with poor insulation and water penetration sometimes leaves tenants in excessively high fuel bills and damp, poorly ventilated homes.

Decks have often been used for anti social purposes. The conflict between the exercise of dogs and children's play - often unsafe in such an environment anyway - plus the vandalism possible on the anonymous and deserted semi-public areas including the large ground level car parking facilities, stairwells and lifts, has proved a serious problem for tenants and housing managers. Police patrols have introduced 'defensible space' have proved to be largely ineffective or even expensive mistakes.

The public reputation of most of the estates is poor. Originally, this was due to the unusual and 'inhuman' appearance of many estates relative to the surrounding buildings and traditional forms of public housing. On occasion this has been enough to devalue the residents despite good construction and efficient management. If the estate has also developed a construction and housing managers appearance reinforce the image. A seemingly permanent negative label is then applied to those living on the estate partly through press and television coverage of tenants' campaigns and local authority activity. A spiral of decline is established among those who can move out and those who have little choice move in. The local authority uses the scheme as a 'sink' estate and the problems of poor construction, inefficient management, high heating bills, recurrent vandalism and unpopular appearance become altogether insurmountable. The only way to resolve the difficulties has been, for some local authorities, demolition of the estate.

RESEARCH REPORTS
Nevertheless this general pattern cannot be applied without an understanding of local conditions. There are 140 very different estates, which in many respects only have the deck access feature in common - and even this cannot always be distinguished from balcony access or a completely new upper ground level arrangement. The scale of problems, judging by physical alterations and political activity, also vary from the very serious (for example, in Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Nottingham, Glasgow, Belfast and Londonderry) through the relatively less so (for example in Sheffield) to the small number of reasonable satisfactory developments (for example in Rotherham and Wolverhampton).

Thus in the quarter of a century from the completion of Park Hill in 1961 to the present day we have witnessed the rapid rise and fall of deck access housing. The disadvantages have frequently turned into advantages; the architectural and sociological model estates into modern nightmares where problems of construction, access and appearance can all be present on one housing scheme.

Chris Bacon has recently published three monographs describing the history of deck access housing in greater detail. These are:

Pruitt Igoe Revisited (TRP 61) price £3.00
Park Hill in its Social Context (TRP 63) price £5.00
The Rise and Fall of Deck Access Housing (TRP 64) price £4.00

All working Papers available from the Department of Town and Regional Planning, University of Sheffield, 6 Claremont Place, Sheffield S10 2TB (postage included). All three can be purchased together for £10.00 (or £7.00 for TRP 63 and 64 to those who have already purchased TRP 61).

THE TEACHING OF PLANNING HISTORY IN GREAT BRITAIN

In 1979 Hebbert prepared a paper on the teaching of history in planning schools which drew upon surveys that he and Cherry had conducted. The moment was significant one: the Planning History Group had been in existence for three years but had only just formalised its existence by the introduction of a subscription and the production of a Bulletin. It was bringing together at seminars and conferences, teachers of planning history who were then able to exchange ideas and for the first time, to share their experience and their approach to the teaching of history. In greater detail.

The purpose of this present paper is to present findings from a survey conducted late in 1980 to discover whether much has changed since 1979. Again the moment is appropriate: the Group has established its credentials as an important force in the study of planning history and many members are teachers of history to planning students. The aim of the survey was to see whether the new high profile of planning history had made its mark on the institutions. Of twenty-seven polytechnic and university schools circulated with a questionnaire, seventeen replied - none in some form or other. Fifteen replies came from institutions with professionally recognised courses and replies were also received from two universities offering programmes in town planning. The survey cannot, therefore, claim to be as comprehensive as its predecessors.

Before considering the results of the survey itself, there are several points that need to be made about the context for teaching planning history that have an important bearing on the findings. The first is that the 1980s have been a period of retrenchment for planning and for planning education in general. Courses have been cut, grant allocations substantially reduced, staffing levels are well down in many institutions. It is not an environment which has been conducive to experiment or change and the fact that most respondents reported little or no change since 1979 is therefore hardly surprising. Moreover what development has taken place in planning courses since 1979 has tended to be in the field of increasing the practical and professional relevance of training and this may well have been at the expense of what are seen as more academic aspects of the syllabus.
The second point is that the different teaching patterns of undergraduate and postgraduate courses are likely to have an important impact on the teaching of history. Time on a two-year postgraduate course is likely to be more concentrated than at the undergraduate level, and the extent of history teaching will also reflect the general ethos of a school. That is to say, all but one school appears from the survey to be teaching planning history in some depth. Moreover, undergraduate courses are likely to be taught less intensively, which might be expected to influence both the content and the extent of history teaching. For these reasons, comparing hours spent on teaching history is unlikely to be very illuminating.

History teaching will also reflect the general ethos of a school. Teaching of history will obviously be less on courses which are general less intensively taught and vice versa. Equally emphasis upon the study of the physical form of cities is likely to be greatest in those schools which believe in the importance of urban design as a major component of planning education.

The first general finding from the latest survey tends to confirm the first point made on the context for teaching planning history. Respondents report that the past seven or eight years have not seen big changes in the teaching of planning history. There has been some trimming of courses, but equally perhaps more time is now spent than hitherto; at the same time course content has again reportedly not changed much. Yet examination of the results suggests that there has been change since 1979, a change, which if not dramatic, shows a steady consolidation of the tendencies already noted by Hebbert.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the response is the extent to which history has been incorporated into the mainstream of planning education. That is to say, all but one of the respondents report that history is an important element on their courses. Yet history is more often than not no longer taught as a separate and identifiable stream. In five schools history is entirely diffused in a variety of streams; in a further three history appears as an identifiable component of other courses. Sheffield Polytechnic combines history of urban development in a stream entitled History and Philosophy and the history of civic design in a design course, while Bristol Polytechnic and Glasgow combine history with theory. This reinforces the conclusion that theory may now have taken over the "apologetic" role of history once held. Even where there is an identifiable history stream, however, schools are likely to introduce history into other courses and lecture series with titles like "The British Planning System" and "The Growth of Public Intervention" will have an important historical element, as may courses on the built environment or design.

To assume, however, that there can be a single identifiable 'planning history' is to overlook the diversity of coverage and material that teaching now encompasses, quite apart from the purposes to which it is put. There is, first of all, the study of urban form which remains an important part of history teaching in many though not all schools.

Within this, however, there are probably at least two variants. One type is implied by course titles like "The Evolution of Settlements", suggesting a primarily socio-economic analysis of urban form, with physical characteristics of cities being seen as the reflection of social, economic and political forces at work in the society that produced them. The other is to include discussion of historical urban form in the general analysis of the three-dimensional environment that may take place in the civic or architectural design elements of courses. Of the two, the first more likely of any approach to history to cover the longest time span.

The second approach is one that looks at the history of public intervention in private sector development. Though this may entail inevitably the 19th and 20th attempt to control urban development, with an emphasis on statutory control and appropriate agencies. For most planning schools this appears to be what planning history is primarily about, whether or not the course unit title specifically identifies it as such. Such an approach may merit its own lecture and seminar series or it may be incorporated into courses on planning policy as at Coventry or in courses on urban form as at Sheffield Polytechnic. Very few courses indeed see the need to deal with classical or medieval planning history. As one respondent put it, "I believe that history is important (depending on what it covers - no Plato to Nato) though this may be helpful to undergraduates - it isn't for postgraduates" and this is perhaps a widely shared view, at least on the evidence of the courses themselves.

The third approach is the study of a more tightly defined history of planning policy mainly since 1947. In the 1960s lecturers would no doubt have believed that in describing current planning policy they were in fact describing the process by which the system set in place by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. The issues that were "live" at the passing of the Act were still topical, in spite of the major overhaul of the Development Plans system. Though the framework of planning that obtains in this country is loosely still that provided by the 1947 Act, the underlying assumptions about the purposes of planning, quite apart from government policy, have undergone so radical a change as to make it necessary to return, as it were, to the roots of the system. Here, the explanatory role of history is paramount - how is it that we have work obviously serves to develop a sense of the relevance of history - that a recitation of principal events might not do. Coventry's approach must be stressed is so far experimental and has yet to be evaluated. It does, however, suggest an important departure from orthodoxy in the teaching of history for planning students.
The general pattern, then, appears to be one which lays stress on the history of public intervention and the evolution of planning policy from the late 19th century onwards. This is clearly borne out by a study of the most frequently cited texts and theses. Traditional texts such as those by Mumford, Rose, Beresford and Jackson, to those that deal with more recent history, whether it be a history of postwar architecture and McKay and Cox's study of the politics of urban design, or a 'Reader in Planning Theory' and books in a single subject area such as those by Aldridge, Shiel and Cullingworth. These appear to be the most widely recommended authors apart from Ashworth.

The training of lecturers who teach history also begins to explain this marked shift. Again comparison with Hebbert's work is of interest, though again it must be treated with caution (Tables 1 and 2). Of twenty-nine lecturers nearly two-thirds are professionally qualified in town planning and over a third have first degrees in geography. Relatively few - only eight are historians or, as Hebbert says, architects. That the main thrust of history teaching should now appear to be on the evolution of policy is perhaps hardly surprising therefore.

The survey also asked certain supplementary questions whose purpose was to test the understanding of how history is perceived in planning schools. One asked whether the renewed interest in urban design had had any impact on history teaching. The answer is clearly not. At Coventry, Leeds, and Essex for example, urban design teaching has an historical component which always has been important; at Reading University, London, however, urban design plays little part on the course as a whole. History teaching does not have a component. For the rest most courses include some analysis of urban design, but this report has not changed significantly. On one respondent declared himself to be "worried" by this aspect of history teaching but was aware of limitations of time it difficult to increase the output.

Another question sought to establish the extent of student interest in history. This was through the choice of dissertation subjects. Most schools reported that few if any students did dissertations work on an historical subject. But a historical background for a study of current policy seems to be fairly common, and any study of conservation areas or historic buildings is also likely to start with a history of the building of the area. For one respondent, for example, history is necessarily an "explanatory" approach to history that the teaching they receive is likely to feed them with, but to give history a low priority as a subject in its own right. Two reasons are advanced for this. The first is that in many undergraduate courses there is no option in history in the third year and dissertations tend to spring from third year options. The second is that at both undergraduate and postgraduate levels students tend to pick topics which "achieve policy conclusions as well as academic rigour" in the words of one respondent. Such a choice is scarcely surprising on professional courses where the dissertation is likely to be the last piece of work a student does before starting work and where a good topic does help job applications.

Interestingly the two institutions that did report dissertations (in one case a doctoral thesis) on a historical topic, Curs and LSE, are the two that do not offer courses recognised by the RPTI.

Finally, respondents were asked to comment on the general status of history in planning schools. The response suggests that the relative ranking of history varies widely even if it is seen as an important subject area. For one respondent, for example, history is "nearly meaningless", and an essential component of an education usually well regarded by students but in a hierarchy of subjects. "Economics, techniques, etc. must be secondary". An even less encouraging view of history from the respondent who wrote: "With the present survey nonethel less raise an important question. That of the new to wns, Eshe"r and Aldridge's of the new town, the youngest, and least experienced member of staff or to the statesman of the Department." Other schools face problems because of staffing even while recognizing the value and importance of history. For yet others, history is "necessary", "essential" or "crucial" even though few would argue for expansion of the subject. But perhaps the crux of the matter is best expressed by the respondent who said: "In the present survey respondents were asked to comment on the general status of history in planning schools. The answer is clearly not. At Coventry, Leeds, and Essex for example, urban design teaching has an historical component which always has been important; at Reading University, London, however, urban design plays little part on the course as a whole. History teaching does not have a component. For the rest most courses include some analysis of urban design, but this report has not changed significantly. On one respondent declared himself to be "worried" by this aspect of history teaching but was aware of limitations of time it difficult to increase the output.

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Table 1
Works most frequently cited in a sample of 14 Reading Lists 1979.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>12 MUNFORD L. (1966)</td>
<td>The City in History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 BRIGGS A. (1963)</td>
<td>Victorian Cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOWARD E. (1965 ed)</td>
<td>Garden Cities of Tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BELL C &amp; R (1972)</td>
<td>City Fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEDDES P (1949 ed)</td>
<td>Cities in Revolution</td>
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<tr>
<td>ROSENAU H (1959)</td>
<td>The Ideal City in its Architectural Evolution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 BERESFORD M (1967)</td>
<td>New Towns of the Middle Ages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILDE V.G. (1942)</td>
<td>What Happened in History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEWARD C (1952)</td>
<td>A Prospect of Cities</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUMMERSON J (1962)</td>
<td>Georgian London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHOAY F (1969)</td>
<td>The Modern City: Planning in the Nineteenth Century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURKE J (1975)</td>
<td>Towns in the Making</td>
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<td>DYOS H.J. (1968)</td>
<td>The Study of Urban History</td>
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<td>DYOS H.J. (1964)</td>
<td>Victorian Suburb</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAILIN D (1970)</td>
<td>The Historian and the City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BURCHARD J. (1976)</td>
<td>Town Building in History</td>
</tr>
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<td>HORNAM E.B. (1968)</td>
<td>Industry and Empire</td>
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<td>MORRIS A.E.J. (1972)</td>
<td>History of Urban Form</td>
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Source Hebert (1979)

Table 2
Works most frequently cited on a sample of 24 Reading Lists 1985

<table>
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<th>Source</th>
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<tr>
<td>9 SUTCLIFFE A.R. (1981)</td>
<td>Towards the Planned City</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 BRIGGS A. (1963)</td>
<td>Victorian Cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CULLINGWORTH J.B. (1975)</td>
<td>Reconstruction and Land Use Planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>BELL C &amp; R (1972)</td>
<td>City Fathers</td>
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<tr>
<td>HOWARD E. (1902)</td>
<td>Garden Cities for Tomorrow</td>
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Table 3
Qualifications obtained by 47 History Lecturers in Planning Schools 1979

<table>
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<th>Field</th>
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<th>SOCIAL Hire</th>
<th>ARCHIT.</th>
<th>PLANNING</th>
<th>DESIGN</th>
<th>SURVEYING</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
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Includes courses not "recognized" by the professional institute.

Source: Hebert (1979)

Table 4
Qualifications obtained by 29 History Lecturers in Planning Schools 1985

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<th>Field</th>
<th>HISTORY</th>
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<th>ARCHIT.</th>
<th>TOWN</th>
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Military considerations continued to influence urban development until the mid-nineteenth century in much of Europe. The increasingly sophisticated defensive systems developed by military engineers tended to intensify the already worsening environmental and social conditions characteristic of nineteenth century urban growth. When at last military authorities did permit the removal of town fortifications, large tracts of land adjacent to urban areas were ceded into public ownership. A number of town councils responded by designating areas for industrial purposes, transportation, housing and other public services in co-ordinated development schemes. The decisions to dismantle urban defences and the subsequent elaboration of extension plans were products of complex interactions between political, legal, socio-economic, technological and demographic processes. The resultant schemes challenged laissez-faire attitudes and encouraged policies of more direct public intervention in urban management. This article considers the town extensions of northern France which have been somewhat overshadowed by planning achievements elsewhere.

We begin with a brief literature review which places the opportunities for French extension planning following the removal of fortifications into a European framework, drawing attention also to studies on closely-related areas of research which help to set French extension plans within a broader context of planning history and change, recognising town extension plans as forerunners of more comprehensive policies for urban design and management. Studies by L. Dodi, F. Boyer and D. Calabri have interpreted extension planning processes as important precursors to the emergence of Italian town planning. B. Miller has evaluated the contribution of the Barcelona extension plan to twentieth century urban design and management in Spain. P. Lombaerde has examined the impact upon urban form of profit-orientated sales of former military land around a number of Belgian fortified towns. A number of authors, including P. Breitling, D. Hennebo and A. Sutcliffe, have studied the development of urban parks, the role of planning competitions, growing public intervention and other themes in the more well-known German and Austrian examples of extension planning in the later nineteenth century. These studies illustrate the extent...
to which planned extensions varied in size and were achieved by different means.

The spatial and temporal distribution of town extensions can not be explained adequately as either a wholly co- incidental pattern of independent activity, or as a product of systematically diffuse nascent planning theory. Planning proposals were a combination of both indigenous processes and more widely held beliefs which influenced the expansion and modernisation of fortified towns following the removal of their restrictive defences. Yet there is only passing reference to the influence of this nineteenth century military legacy on subsequent urban form in more general discussions of historical urban change by authors such as Clout, R. E. Dickinson and C.T. Smith and other writers.

Within the provincial French context, changing attitudes towards the environmental and demographic consequences of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation and technological innovation may be identified in the works of J. Beaujeu-Garnier, M.P. Buriez-Dueuw and C.H. Pouthas. Some of the provincial effects of increasing powers of public intervention, greater financial investment, attempts at environmental reform and changing aesthetic taste are well documented by such writers as J.C. Delorme, J. Goubert, S. Jonas and M. Lacave who provide useful comparative material to this discussion of planning endeavours in northern France. More particularly, authors including P. Guichonne and C. Raffestin discuss the historical and geo-political significance of the northern region's frontier position although they do not consider the effects of military defences on urban growth. These authors emphasise the continuing strength of military interests in the northern region which contrast with diminishing strategic priorities in other parts of France where the complete or partial removal of town defences from the early eighteenth century onwards provided different opportunities for urban development as attested by R. Kain's discussion of planning at Nancy and research by M. Agulhon and L. Coyard on the dismantling programmes at Toulon and Tours.

This cursory glance at some of the existing literature has attempted to identify certain themes which are relevant to a discussion of provincial urban change, and to provide a broader intellectual framework within which we may proceed to examine the opportunities for planned urban development in the fortified towns or places fortes of northern France.

The demarcation of France's northern frontier was essentially a political achievement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, diplomatically achieved over the low-lying and naturally open topography of this region were paralleled by military strategies which were founded on a system of fortified towns. During the reign of Louis XIV, the military engineer Sebastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633-1707) established a network of twenty-three places fortes to consolidate the vulnerable northern border. Although sophisticated by comparison with earlier ideas, Vauban's methods were partly obsolete even before they had been fully implemented. During the eighteenth century, more powerful weapons extended the range and destructive potential of artillery fire to the point at which even the most elaborate systems were inadequate. Gradually military influences on urban development began to decline although military officials continued to believe that the places fortes were indispensable to national defence. Accordingly, urban defences were maintained and refurbished throughout the region.

Public confidence in the value of urban defences was progressively undermined during the eighteenth century. Changing technology rendered fortified towns increasingly inadequate against ever more destructive weapons. From the mid 1830s onwards, municipal authorities sought permission for railway lines, roads, canals and other public services to cross the military enceinte. As military fabric grew older, maintenance costs became an increasingly unwelcome burden on the municipal budget. These restrictive defences were recognised by many inhabitants and by an increasing number of administrators, to be anachronistic, inadequate in times of war and quite inappropriate to modern industrial and urban needs. The growing disparity between existing urban form and the increasing shortage of available space to accommodate technological, industrial, economic and demographic change, intensified opposition to the continuing military role of urban fortifications.

By the mid-nineteenth century, several different solutions to these contemporary urban problems were recognised; one method foresaw the complete removal of the defences and unrestricted urban expansion over the former military zone. The demolition of military fabric was
authorised at Le Quesnoy, Avesnes and Bethune (1866-1877), but many civilian demands for dismantling urban fortifications were rejected as at Cambrai, Calais, Le Fere and Soissons (1862-1865). A second solution lay in the replacement of existing walls by a new defensive ring, further out from the town so as to encompass sufficient land for present and future urban needs. This latter process is exemplified by the refortification of Lille (1858-1870) even though the ring of new defences was still incomplete at the start of the Franco-Prussian war.

Governmental attempts to ease the continuing problems of urban congestion also included a number of minor concessions including some relaxations of building controls and the reduction of extra-mural land reserved as an unbuilt and virtually inaccessible zone of military surveillance. Permission for urban growth in fortified extensions, or polygones exceptionels, projecting beyond the existing urban area represented another option which gave long-term satisfaction to neither civic nor military authorities.

Permission for suggested modifications was integrally linked to considerations of a town's strategic position in relation to the region's physiography and communication network. This helps to explain why some towns such as Lille were extended whilst others, including Bergues on the northern coastal plain remained heavily fortified. Major junctions in the regional transport network were viewed as focal points in the revised places fortes system after the declassement law of 1866; unfortunately, these towns were invariably the larger urban centres most in need of aerial expansion beyond their restrictive ramparts.

Notwithstanding these concessions, national defence policies continued to uphold the military function of fortified towns. After the capitulation of Paris in 1871 and the Prussian occupation of northern France, the changing nature of military practice provoked even fiercer debate over the strategic value of a defensive system founded on fortified towns. During the next decade, support grew for a major reappraisal of places fortes and for the segregation of military and civilian activities, yet nearly ninety per cent of the region's defended settlements were still heavily fortified well into the late nineteenth century. Eventually the general declassement law on 27 May 1889 imposed the task of demolition and planned extension upon a number of town authorities during the 1890s and early 1900s.

The 1889 declassement law resulted in civic and military officials collaborating in the design of mutually acceptable planning documents. In most cases the two authorities shared tasks of drainage and clearance although municipal funds financed much of the work. Under the supervision of departmental representatives, civilian and military personnel surveyed the fortified area and drafted plans to reserve land for the requirements of defence, industry, transport, housing and other public services. A dismantling commission was appointed to evaluate plans for land use, street development, transport and the provision of water, gas and electricity. Proposals for environmental reform and municipal embellishment were also considered by the commission. Conflicting interests displayed by commission members reflected their varied professional military or civilian backgrounds. Their divergent attitudes towards legal, financial, environmental, architectural or industrial issues prolonged planning debates and delayed the adoption of plans. Financial considerations, as might be expected, were particularly prone to lengthy discussion. Delays resulted if the various parties were unwilling to assume financial responsibility for certain sections of the work. Similarly, disagreements over the terms of a loan or credit repayments, or even the cost of building materials of a contractor's fee, hindered progress. Such checks encouraged speculative property purchases and inflated land prices as at Lille, in the early 1860s, when the slow adoption of a master plan facilitated the rapid construction of low cost housing by speculative developers.

Stricter municipal controls together with faster decision-making helped to avoid speculative development in later extension works at Douai, Cambrai and elsewhere.

Sometimes local professionals submitted unsolicited development proposals which enriched the range from which a final extension plan might be selected. In the year 1857-1859, a number of independent proposals contributed some elements to the eventual development of more than 500 hectares of extra-mural land at Lille. Public enquiries and the constant revision of planning documents also helped the dismantling commissions in their task of eliminating schemes which were too expensive, unsuited to modern traffic needs, ostentatious, impractical, or otherwise inappropriate to their perception of modern provincial urban expansion. Contemporary planning documents also testify to the increasing participation in decision-making by public advisory bodies...
such as the Commission of Civil Buildings, the Commission of Historical Monuments and also local civic societies and Chambers of Commerce. Various means, therefore, municipal councillors had to reconcile the sometimes widely divergent interests of administrators, industrialists, environmentalists and urban reformers within a systematic and generally acceptable planned extension.

In administrative terms the déclassement law of 1889 effectively stripped the towns of Cambrai, Douai and Valenciennes of their military role. All three municipalities embarked upon canal and drainage systems bringing benefits to transport, trade and industry. Extension works in the years between 1890 and 1893 were guided by the needs of public health. Environmental improvements also included the design of tree-lined avenues, planted squares and provision of public gardens. The outline of underlying these and other planned extensions in northern France at the end of the nineteenth century.

As the centres of all three towns had been modernised and embellished during the Second Empire, the extension works in the 1890s could have been seen as a simple form of land use zoning as housing developers were excluded from areas attractive to industrial investors. Residential districts developed in streets beyond the peripheral boulevards and municipal transport services which brought the workforce resident in new suburban areas into the commercial and industrial areas of the expanded town.

The authorisation to dismantle town defences at Cambrai, Douai or Valenciennes. The outline of underlying defence was sometimes discernible in certain areas of the new town. Nonetheless presence of military fabric. In all three towns, the most obvious remains of their earlier military function were the isolated fragments of the original urban core and the outer areas where the integration of a solitary medieval turret or gateway, preserved often more for its visual effect than for historic significance. Stripped of their military context and reduced to little more than a judiciously landscaped ornament in a municipal garden, or at a busy road junction, boulevards along the line of the former defensive ditches provided a visual clue to the prevailing spirit of progress and improved accessibility. A polygonal circuit of peripheral defences provided a form of land use zonation as housing developers were excluded from areas attractive to industrial investors. Residential districts were concentrated on redeveloping the former military zone. Nonetheless there were a number of important works in the intermediary zone between the original urban core and the outer areas where the integration of a solitary medieval turret or gateway, preserved often more for its visual effect than for historic significance. Stripped of their military context and reduced to little more than a judiciously landscaped ornament in a municipal garden, or at a busy road junction, boulevards along the line of the former defensive ditches provided a visual clue to the prevailing spirit of progress and improved accessibility. A polygonal circuit of peripheral defences provided a form of land use zonation as housing developers were excluded from areas attractive to industrial investors. Residential districts were concentrated on redeveloping the former military zone. Nonetheless there were a number of important works in the intermediary zone between the original urban core and the outer areas where the integration of a solitary medieval turret or gateway, preserved often more for its visual effect than for historic significance. Stripped of their military context and reduced to little more than a judiciously landscaped ornament in a municipal garden, or at a busy road junction, boulevards along the line of the former defensive ditches provided a visual clue to the prevailing spirit of progress and improved accessibility. A polygonal circuit of peripheral defences provided a form of land use zonation as housing developers were excluded from areas attractive to industrial investors. Residential districts were concentrated on redeveloping the former military zone. Nonetheless there were a number of important works in the intermediary zone between the original urban core and the outer areas where the integration of a solitary medieval turret or gateway, preserved often more for its visual effect than for historic significance. Stripped of their military context and reduced to little more than a judiciously landscaped ornament in a municipal garden, or at a busy road junction, boulevards along the line of the former defensive ditches provided a visual clue to the prevailing spirit of progress and improved accessibility.

The financial controls achieved by the Commission of Public Works and the Commission of Civil Buildings, and by local civic societies and Chambers of Commerce. General plans were formulated within each town and there was no major codification of extension planning law. Nor was there automatic application of policies to other fortified settlements. Each plan was a statement of growing co-operation between civic public administrators and private interests. Extension plans thus went beyond

After ten years of extension works, there were few traces of the former defences at Cambrai, Douai or Valenciennes. The outline of underlying military fabric was sometimes discernible in certain areas of the new town. Nonetheless presence of military fabric. In all three towns, the most obvious remains of their earlier military function were the isolated fragments of the original urban core and the outer areas where the integration of a solitary medieval turret or gateway, preserved often more for its visual effect than for historic significance. Stripped of their military context and reduced to little more than a judiciously landscaped ornament in a municipal garden, or at a busy road junction, boulevards along the line of the former defensive ditches provided a visual clue to the prevailing spirit of progress and improved accessibility. A polygonal circuit of peripheral defences provided a form of land use zonation as housing developers were excluded from areas attractive to industrial investors. Residential districts were concentrated on redeveloping the former military zone. Nonetheless there were a number of important works in the intermediary zone between the original urban core and the outer areas where the integration of a solitary medieval turret or gateway, preserved often more for its visual effect than for historic significance. Stripped of their military context and reduced to little more than a judiciously landscaped ornament in a municipal garden, or at a busy road junction, boulevards along the line of the former defensive ditches provided a visual clue to the prevailing spirit of progress and improved accessibility.
the somewhat crudely administered public works of earlier periods, rather these schemes represented official attempts to devise rationalised policy of urban growth. Documents evidence that growing awareness of changes in public administration, urban management and design influenced the formulation of extension plans. In short, these plans facilitated the alteration of anachronistic urban forms into modern towns which were better suited to contemporary processes of industrial and urban development.\footnote{The late nineteenth century planning extensions in northern French places fortres thus permitted opportunities to implement nascent planning theory, and provided antecedents to the emergence of professional town planning in early twentieth century France.}

Notes

10. C.T. Smith (1967) A Historical Geography of Western Europe before 1800
THE ORIGINS AND PHILOSOPHY OF PARKWAYS
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE
CONTRIBUTION OF BARRY PARKER

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Introduction

The imminent completion of the M25 London Orbital Motorway possibly represents the most significant achievement in the first three decades of British motorway construction, still a relatively new venture in terms of the life of the nation. It is an opportune time to reflect upon the arguments which had once been prominently advanced in favour of long-distance and orbital parkways, a distinctive style of roadbuilding which has found widespread application in the USA but has not been emulated, or even understood, to any remotely comparable extent in another country.

During the early years of motor parkway development in New York State the idea was enthusiastically canvassed in Britain by Barry Parker (1867 - 1947), Raymond Unwin's partner from 1896 to 1914 and pioneer collaborator with Ebenezer Howard in the creation of the First Garden City at Letchworth. The present writing is not directly concerned with the garden cities nor with Parker and Unwin's many other achievements in partnership or afterwards. Instead, attention is directed to Parker's admiration of the American motor parkways and his efforts to promote the parkway idea in inter-war Britain. It is appropriate to look first at the parkways of nineteenth-century America. 

The origins of parkways in the USA

Although the Bronx River Parkway (circa 1923) is regarded as the first motor parkway for public use, the principle of park-like treatment of roads is of much earlier origin. In the 1860s Frederick Law Olmsted (1822 - 1903) proposed large systems of municipal parks and parkways which the parkways were intended as tangible connections from each park to the next, while also advantageously serving ordinary workday journeys and enabling an extended tract of roadside land to benefit from the park's effect on plot values.

Olmsted had undertaken some study of civil engineering before embarking on his early career in scientific farming. Not surprisingly he became known as an expert on farm road construction and landscape effects. In 1850 he travelled to Europe and soon after his arrival in Liverpool he was directed to the new Birkenhead Park which impressed him greatly, not only in regard to the layout treatment (by Sir Joseph Paxton) but also as an exercise in enlightened municipal management of asset-creation on farmland. On a site of 180 acres in total, an incircling tract of 60 acres was being "well graded, streeted and planted" for profitable re-sale as private building land. Olmsted's reactions are found in his first book, Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England:

"The consequence of all these sorts of things is, that all about the town, lands, which a few years ago were almost worthless wastes, have become of priceless value; .... It seems to me to be the only town I ever saw that has been really built at all in accordance with the advanced science, taste, and enterprising spirit that are supposed to distinguish the nineteenth century. ... Certainly, in what I have noticed, it is a model town, and may be held up as an example, not only to philanthropists and men of taste, but to speculators and men of business". (1852, 81 - 83).

Between 1851 and 1857 Olmsted was increasingly engaged in writing and publishing, and also became acquainted with the architect Andrew Jackson Downing, a leading protagonist for public parks and scientific agricultural colleges. Following the successful campaign in New York by the park enthusiasts, land was designated for a Central Park and in 1857 Olmsted was appointed full time to superintend its construction. In the following year the park commissioners held an open competition for the design of Central Park. This was won by Olmsted in collaboration with the English architect Calvert Vaux who had been Downing's partner before the latter's untimely death in a riverboat accident. The Central Park scheme was a major civil engineering project, with a pre-construction estimate of a million and a half dollars. It involved, in 1858, probably the first systematic application of grade separations to achieve protected networks of movement (roads, walks, and rides) permitting the independent circulation of carriages, walkers and equestrians. Olmsted organised experimental road sections in order to find the optimum specification of roadmaking materials related to the traffic loading, a procedure repeated in an even more massive way exactly 100 years later at the AASHO Road Test on the site of Interstate 80 near Chicago. For his
main park drives, Olmsted favoured Telford's method of end-pitched large stones topped with smaller stones and a gravel surface, and thereby created the best roads in New York at that time.

The success of the Olmsted/Vaux design for Central Park led to the formation of the firm Olmsted Vaux & co. whose services were sought by municipalities, land companies, railway companies, college benefactors, etc. In their work in 1868 for Prospect Park in Brooklyn, which was separate municipality in those days, Olmsted and Vaux included notable history of the elements of street arrangements, traced from First Stage consisting of footways in hatted camps, to a Fourth Stage examplified by the European park-like avenue, and a proposed Fifth Stage: their Parkway and Parkway Neighbourhood, in which the park serves to extend the park's influence on site values. The propose Parkway Neighbourhood was directly inspired by the asset-creating principles which Olmsted had observed at Birkenhead, and land was acquired by the Brooklyn Park Commissioners outside the proposed park boundaries for the purpose of residential development. This process of "excess condemnation" has been widely used in America, but the early Brooklyn proposals were blighted by legal arguments over the adequacy of title, and the partners' recommendations for far-sighted administration were overlooked.

In 1971 they produced the first feasibility studies for the South Park system and Midway Plaisance in Chicago, which were eventually constructed for the 1893 Chicago World Fair or "Columbian Exposition." The original layout had the Midway Plaisance as an elongated waterside park within the central area of a grand avenue. Major parks at each end of the avenue were to be linked by a separate park road system alongside the water features and bridged by cross-street traffic. When the Plaisance was constructed the water features were omitted and the associated park link roads were replaced by a central promenade bridged temporarily for the duration of the Fair. The South Parks and better known today as Jackson Park and Washington Park, while the Plaisance (or Plaissance) remains as a spacious park-like avenue.

Writing in the May 1895 issue of the American magazine Engineering, Olmsted records the state of the art on Parks, Parkways and Pleasure Grounds. The following extract demonstrates his early mastery of principles which have been prominent in American parkway development up to the present day, for example, the inclusion of a watercourse as a formative parkway feature:

"If the courses of brooks, streams or rivers can be included in parks, or in strips of public land connecting park with park or park with town, several advantages will be secured at one stroke. The natural surface-drainage channels will be retained under public control where they belong; they will be surely defended from pollution; their banks will offer agreeable promenades; while the adjacent boundary roads, one on either hand, will furnish the contiguous building land with an attractive frontage. Where such stream-including strips are broad enough to permit the opening of a distinctively pleasure drive entirely separate from the boundary roads, the ground should be classed as a park. Where the boundary roads are the only roads, the whole strip is properly called a parkway; and the name is retained even when the space between the boundary roads is reduced to lowest terms and becomes nothing more than a shaded green ribbon...." (Olmsted 1895, 255-256).

It is probably not correct to imagine that such double boundary roads were originally intended to operate with one-way traffic in the manner of a modern dual carriageway. Nevertheless, Olmsted's description implies a "superform" in which two roads and an intervening tract of land are designed together.

The first motor parkways

The earliest motor parkways in New York State had a quite distinct origin and again it is said that some of the inspiration came from Britain. A New Yorker travelling in Scotland was greatly impressed by the River Ness, judged by its unsullied appearance on the downstream side of Inverness. William White Niles has written "this experience set me thinking as to whether it was possible to arouse any interest in the United States in protecting its streams where they flowed through urban communities" (In Snow, 1959, 35). That was in 1901. A dry summer three years later emphasised the poor state of the Bronx River, and Niles albeit with some difficulty persuaded the State legislature to commission an inquiry into the advisability of preserving the waters of the Bronx River from pollution and creating a park reservation of the lands on both sides of the river. The inclusion of a public road within the riparian improvement was a later and secondary idea in the promotion of the scheme, and it worked so well that other
park-and-parkway schemes quickly followed. Funding for the Bronx River Parkway came largely from New York City, although the scheme lay mainly outside the City. Subsequent schemes were promoted by Westchester County and by New York State, so that by about 1930 there were parkway systems in Putnam and Westchester counties, and in Long Island, all following the style pioneered at Bronx River.

Unlike the parkways of Olmsted and Vaux, the Bronx River Parkway deliberately did not offer frontage access to the contiguous land while its riverside location naturally suggested that side roads would cross on bridges. Probably for these reasons it is regarded as a prototype of the modern limited-access motor road. Generally, these early schemes did not contain a continuous central reservation but the potentially troublesome left-turning movements (in right-hand traffic) were eliminated by the provision of partial cloverleaf layouts at intermediate access points. Major junctions of parkways might have a large single-level roundabout. It is significant that all these schemes were undertaken under the jurisdiction of park and conservation offices. Indeed, it was the success of the Bronx Parkway Commission which prompted the formation of the Westchester County Park Commission, empowered to create County parks and parkways. In addition, the state parks and parkways were co-ordinated by the State Council of Parks, for New York State Conservation Department.

Barry Parker and the parkway idea in Britain

Parker became closely interested in the Westchester parkways and also must have been aware of the Campus and Parkway in the 1920 plan for Welwyn Garden City by Louis de Soissons, a system clearly based on Olmsted and Vaux's concepts and having some resemblance to the Chicago South Parks scheme. It was fortunate that the heyday of parkway innovation in Westchester coincided with Manchester City Council's planning of the satellite suburb of Wythenshawe. Largely due to the far-sighted outlook of Sir Ernest and Lady Simon, Parker was able to gain prompt acceptance of the parkway concept, not merely as an interesting embellishment but as a principal formative feature of the Wythenshawe plan. It is an objective of the present writing to suggest that Barry Parker successfully adapted and integrated the two earlier strands of parkway development, and that he therefore deserves recognition for improving the concept as well as for his contribution bringing these innovations to Britain.

When reviewing one aspect of the work of a member of a famous partnership, there is always the risk that where particular insights are attributed to one partner this may be an injustice to the formative influence of the other. (For example, it seems possible that Olmsted's biographers have continually underestimated the contribution of Calvert Vaux, who was indeed the instigator of their collaboration, although it can be deduced that Olmsted himself was reasonably fair in his own explanations of their joint work). The implementation of Princess Parkway at Wythenshawe was unquestionably a tangible achievement of Barry Parker as consultant to the City of Manchester, independently of Unwin. Nevertheless it is clear that Raymond Unwin would have been keen on the parkway idea, since the following argument appears in his much earlier textbook Town Planning in Practice:

"Much greater variation in the width and character of roads is desirable than it has been usual to provide for in England: ... even for roads for which traffic considerations may be regarded as the most important, very great variation in widths should be provided for and roads of different types and characters arranged". (Unwin 1909, 244).

The American scholar, W.I. Creese, has summarised the transatlantic connections:

"The inspiration for the Princess Parkway at Wythenshawe, the first in Britain, apparently did come from America, particularly from the parkway system of Chicago, of which Unwin was well aware, and of Westchester County New York, with which Parker seemed best acquainted. The latter had visited Philadelphia, Chicago and New York while attending the International Town, City and Regional Planning and Garden Cities Congress in New York City in 1925. Howard and Unwin were also there. It is likely that Parker was made additionally conscious of the New York version through Thomas Adams who had been the first Secretary of the Garden City Association, the editor of its magazine, the first manager of Letchworth, and President of the Town Planning Institute before he departed first for Canada (1912 - 21) and then for the United States to take charge of the Regional Plan for Greater New York with its parkways (1922 - 31). Sir Ernest Simon in discussing Wythenshawe also refers to the parkway as an American invention. Parker sees in the device the resolution he had looked for all his life, the closer tie between the functional and the beautiful in a community". (Creese 1966, 261).

It is easy to believe that Thomas Adams must have been Parker's
principal American contact in the nineteen twenties, and perhaps the Chicago influence should be more particularly linked to Welwyn Garden City than to Wythenshawe. (Chicago has a significant and even controversial place in the history of Howard's garden city movement, but that is a different matter).

Parker became President of the Town Planning Institute in 1929, at a time when the Wythenshawe scheme was well-advanced on the drawing board but not yet on the ground. Two principal issues occupy the text of his Presidential Address to that Institute in 1929. The question of land development profits, particularly the ownership of the unearned increment, constituted one of the central themes examined by the garden city pioneers, and it is therefore not surprising that this topic is exercised in Parker's Address. His second main theme is to argue in detail the merits of parkways not only for the uncongested movement of motor traffic but also as a structuring framework for new urban development. It turns out that the two issues are not so disparate as they may seem at first glance, and it was necessary to the parkway argument that discussion of development gains should precede it, because building sites along the fringes of parkways would be desired by "everyone". Many such sites would command enhanced values for their open views and other qualities of the parkway corridor.

Olmsted and Vaux had developed their parkway, on paper, as a framework for the associated development of a parkway neighbourhood, in which the most desirable building sites would be those fronting with access onto the parkway. The Westchester parkways began with a quite different origin and an emphasis on recreational movement unimpeded by frontage activity, within a broader canvas of recreational landscape development by park authorities. The enhancement of neighbouring private land values was soon recognised as an induced effect of the motor parkways, but it was Parker who added one more step to the evolutionary process by adapting the motor parkway into the service of the parkway neighbourhood and gathering the enhanced land values to benefit the municipality. Parker's arguments, and the images are strongly reminiscent of Olmsted's writing.

"If new arterial roads lie in wedges of open land which pierce suburbs and towns they will not be fringed with mean and shoddy buildings. They will lie in strips of parkland. They will be "parkways". It is advocated that where strips of parkland are being created these should, if possible, include the banks of streams.

(1) Such land is less expensive than higher land which is more desirable as building land.
(2) Streams add much to the charm of strips of park.
(3) When streams are in parked strips the costs of culverting are avoided.
(4) By parking these low-lying lands we remove the temptation to build on them.
(5) They provide inexpensive courses for surface water drainage.

There, to their great gain, parkways will often naturally following the courses of streams". (Parker 1919, 6)\footnote{Some of the quotations from Parker's writing have been abridged and slightly modified for the sake of readability - D.J.G.}

Wythenshawe's Princess Parkway in its original form had a two-way carriageway and single-level roundabouts. (Parker had tentatively sketched-in a full cloverleaf junction of parkways).

The two proposed parkways were planned to skirt existing parks, future recreation grounds, school playing fields, existing woodlands, coppices and spinneys, the proposed golf course, the banks of streams, the hospital reservations and "everything which would enhance their charm and widen them out into great expanses of unbuilt upon country". (Parker 1933, 40).

The reality of Parker's Wythenshawe might unkindly be considered as no more than a prototype for the cellular arrangement of neighbourhoods bounded by primary distributor roads, familiar elements now at Stevenage and numerous other new towns. Yet the reality of Wythenshawe, a "beneficent revolution" in itself, did not represent the limit of Parker's vision, which extended to a system of inter-urban parkways, orbital parkways, and nodal land development, while the old main roads thus superceded would continue to serve...
existing ribbon development and appropriate new development.

The parkway vision is analogous to that of the garden city movement, but centred on the role of the highway. Parker's parkway, like the garden cities, represents a planned approach to asset creation on a large scale based on far-sighted community spirit, with a physical form intended to promote the healthy combination of urban and rural values and the functional with the beautiful. According to Creese, "the functionalism of postwar automotive technology and the functionalism of the environment, on which Parker and Unwin had laboured for decades, seem about to meet and merge at Wythenshawe". (Creese 1966, 270).

Parker's Presidential Address identified "six great difficulties" in contemporary Town Planning, with the parkway as the panacea!

"So it would seem that the parkway offers the solution of them all;

1. How to provide motor roads on which cars can travel Speedily and safely.
2. How to increase land values when new roads are provided.
3. How to prevent the disfigurement of new roads by buildings.
4. How to check ribbon development.
5. How to secure increased safety for pedestrians and for children going to school.
6. How to retain agricultural belts not as unseen back land.

Parkways radiating from towns will not suffice to overcome this last difficulty. We must have outer and inner ring roads, circumferential roads, orbital roads and bye-pass roads round towns. These also must be parkways, separating one part of a town from another part, one town from another town, and separating towns from communities established outside them, and so taking the place of agricultural belts. A parkway enriches the lives of all as they go about their daily business". (Parker 1919 7 and 6).

Contemporary planners were greatly concerned by the burgeoning phenomenon of ribbon development and Parker must have been one of the first to attempt to distinguish a planned superform which offers the attractions of linear corridor planning without the disadvantages of arterial ribbon development.

"Great motor roads will come. They are coming as great scars on the countryside fringed with mean buildings in long strings mile after mile. Were parkways substituted for these scars, development would not be along them, it would be "in the scars", development would not be along them. It would be "grouped", not "ribbon behind" them. The North Orbital Road should be a parkway with building focussed at the nodal points." (Parker 1919, 8).

Surely a prophetic vision!

Parkways considered by some other British planners after Parker

Parkways were embodied in Unwin's proposals for London roads in 1933. More importantly perhaps, the parkway concept found favour with Abercrombie in his post-war work for London and for Manchester. By this time, some refinement had taken place in the definition of the likely role and nature of a parkway. Abercrombie's Greater London Plan proposed a ring-and-radial road pattern with four functional categories: express arterial (i.e. main motorways), arterial, sub-arterial and local roads. The sub-arterial category included motor parkways, of which about ten routes were suggested in the Plan. Evidently a motor parkway would normally have a dual carriageway layout: "Ample provision should be made for lay-bys to both carriage-ways...." (Abercrombie 1945, 76).

Abercrombie seems to have accepted the parkway idea as a feasible device, being apparently unconcerned to argue any special pleading in the way that Parker did. Instead, Abercrombie emphasises the necessary practical insights which go to make the distinctive parkway form:

"When a parkway is being created it is a wrong conception to add a regular margin of green to the carriageways; the shape of fields, groups of trees, water courses or any other existing feature should help to determine its boundary. ... it is in the creation of new features that the great opportunities for landscape effect occur. Usually the designer (sic) is called in too late: e.g. to "beautify" a road which the engineer has already designed and constructed. Heroic efforts have been made to introduce an informal effect of planting in the narrow perfectly regular parting strips on the Western Avenue and other places. A different approach is required: ... the whole direction and sweep of the road, its relation to the contours, landscape features and the amount of land included, must be discussed between the engineer and landscapist at the start." "It becomes, therefore, at once
part of the communications and part of the park system." (Abercrombie 1945, 107, 109, 68).

Parkways have cropped up fairly frequently in the literature and conferences on recreational traffic and tourism. For example, in 1967, based on land rehabilitation studies promoted by the National Coal Board, an attractive booklet was produced by Land Use Consultants in which is argued that:

"...the problems of recreation, traffic, environmental quality and conservation should be studied together with a view to devising a new, nationally recognised highway category to be known as "Parkway" and as such to be denoted in Regional and County Development plans and in highway traffic programmes. The term "Parkway" could be applied to any highway, existing or proposed, that offered a real recreational potential, by virtue of the landscape through which it passes, the range of activities it serves or the type of traffic which it carries, and provided that this potential could be exploited without detriment to its other traffic carrying functions." (Nicholson 1967, 4).

Nan Fairbrother in New Lives, New Landscapes mentions Parkways only briefly, while fully arguing the inevitability of the flood of leisure-motoring, together with a road-based solution to its fulfilment:

"If we are to enjoy our future countryside we shall need more roads to do it from, preferably scenic roads carefully routed and specifically laid out for the landscape." (Fairbrother 1970, 280).

Concluding Remarks

Widely regarded as an American invention, the parkway owes its origins to a combination of American and British influences. A parkway philosophy canvassed by Richard Barry Parker in Britain may have been influential in subsequent American development of the idea, yet the distinctive nature of the parkway did not survive as a design objective in British post-war road network development. The special legal framework for motorway construction has enabled the exclusion of the Statutory Undertakers' mains from being installed in the motorway land. This exclusion is widely regarded as advantageous, except perhaps by motorists held up by Undertakers' excavations on the ordinary road system. Parkways would offer generous working space for buried mains, without danger to traffic. Also, even in the present compact layouts, the ecological value of highway land is increasingly gaining recognition. While pressure mounts for additional traffic capacity alongside M25 and some other motorways (all serving predominantly lightweight vehicles yet designed for the heaviest and largest) parkways deserve fresh consideration within a broad appreciation of objectives and values.

It is being asserted that the M25 has been grossly undervalued, and therefore undersized, by ignoring the increased land values which it generates. Yet the original protagonists of parkways in America and in Britain recognised the value of such roads as a structuring framework for new development, in which the landscaped parkway could be instrumental in achieving enhanced site values and hence stimulate good design of development. A new outer parkway might therefore contribute towards answering the two major questions now arising in the orbital corridor: how to accommodate the long-term traffic growth potential, and how to respond to the land development pressure.

Acknowledgement

The idea for this historical note grew out of a visit to the First Garden City Museum and a conversation with its first curator, Mrs. Doreen Cadwallader.

The museum was formed by North Hertfordshire District Council, in the building once used as Parker and Unwin's office and as Barry Parker's home, at 296 Norton Way South, Letchworth Garden City. Administration of the museum was transferred in 1984 to Letchworth Garden City Corporation.

Bibliography


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Despite its central importance to planning practice in England and Wales, there has never been an account of how aesthetic control (the control of the external appearance of development) emerged and developed from its rather tenuous origins in the 1909 Housing and Town Planning Act. Indeed there have been almost no studies of planning exactly how aesthetic control works in contemporary planning practice, and few attempts to evaluate the results of such intervention. The arguments over aesthetic control which have simmered and occasionally boiled over throughout the period have never been informed by either an historical perspective or dispassionate evaluation of the results of control. Instead professional avowals have dominated a debate from which an interested public have been excluded on grounds of their 'low standard of taste'. As the planning and architectural professions have attempted to defend their roles and expertise Central Government, through its advice in circulars, has adopted an extraordinarily consistent position that has remained essentially unchanged despite radical transformations in the practice of aesthetic control itself.

The early history of control was marked by a series of local initiatives which Central Government showed great suspicion. The first town planning scheme to utilize controls to regulate the character and design of suburban building was Purley-Northwood in 1912, but its example was not widely followed and town planning schemes as a whole had a negligible impact on inter-war suburban development. In the Twenties local initiatives through Corporation Acts, and the application of town planning schemes to historic areas, brought a measure of aesthetic control to some town centres, and the Bath Corporation Act in 1926 was the most significant of these. But even in 1927 the Ministry was arguing against placing too much reliance on controls. It saw a 'growth of aesthetic taste and feeling' as the solution to the problem of poor quality design while doing nothing to promote it. Even when the 1932 Act gave local authorities unequivocal powers to regulate design and external appearance, the 1933 circular maintained, in accord with the Royal Institute of British
Architects, that control should only be used to 'prevent outrages' and emphasising the importance of judging designs against their surrounding context.  

The Thirties: aesthetic control versus modernism.

The permissive powers of the 1932 Act not result in a widespread application of control, and despite prolonged campaigns against the speculative builder and 'Tudor-bethan' products, aesthetic control had virtually no impact upon the design of most private housing. Ironically, it had a much more restrictive effect upon the development of modern architecture, and a series of celebrated appeal cases found in the Thirties the British Modern Movement using the appeal process against often reactionary planning committees and relating to the influence of the Georgian style in his houses with a multiplicity of decorative features. 

Opponents of aesthetic control need look no further for damaging evidence against the control process, for aesthetic control was being used against skilled architects while the products of the largely unskilled designers were approved in their hundreds of thousands semi-detached pairs.

Wider design controversies in the Thirties.

The appeal cases of the Thirties marked a low ebb for control, and the need to obscure much valuable work that was done by voluntary Architects Advisory Panels (formed to offer skilled advice to controllers), by Council for the Preservation of Rural England, and by the Royal Fine Commission (RFAC) the national adviser on major design issues established in 1926. Important design guidance emerged in this era, emphasising the importance of siting, layout, and landscaping in design, and the importance of studying the local vernacular and building in local materials. Much effort was directed at promoting the Neo-Georgian as the 'approved style' and countering the speculative builder's desire to invest facades of his houses with a multiplicity of decorative features. Neo-Georgian became 'the council house style', particularly through the influence on the 1919 Housing Manual, automatically invalidating it as the popular 'owner occupier' style. But the reaction against Victorian was exemplified in the search for order, formality, urbanity and harmony, the promotion of 'good manners in design', and in the formation of the Georgian Society itself in 1937. Many of the aesthetic campaigns of the Thirties were an attempt to recapture the certainties of the old order against the advancing tide of suburbanisation, and while some have interpreted the desire for control as an expression of a collective ethic, it is much more clearly seen as the expression of the conservative-escapist mentality of the upper middle class concerned at losing their landscape and townscape heritage.

The Forties: comprehensive control and the emergence of a technical approach to town centre design.

The comprehensive development control implemented in the Thirties new technical approaches to design control emphasizing floorspace and daylight controls were being developed, and these were refined during the war and formulated into an Advisory Handbook on Central Area Redevelopment emphasizing segregation, circulation, daylighting and floorspace controls. 

The 1947 Act assumed, rather than made explicit, a role for aesthetic control. Lord Silkin's comment that town planning was more than mere 'municipal estates' emphasised the Labour Government's preoccupation with positive implementation rather than negative control. Under a regime of largely public development aesthetic control would have been subsumed (and weakened) within the mechanisms of municipal estates, surveying and housing departments. While the Ministry issued comprehensive advice on council housing design (urbanity, open-plan with modernistic quasi-Georgian styles) they did not do so for private development, though the Housing Manuals served part of this purpose, in the absence of useful textbooks. As it was the quasi-public developments of the late Forties and early Fifties were soon found to be the targets of criticism.

The Ministry of Works 'Lessor Office building' in London, commissioned from private developers, was particularly receive[d as a target of criticism, but the rebuilding of the central areas of the old provincial cities and the patterns of early post-war council housing were also strongly criticised. In development control itself the phrase 'injurious to amenity' became the most familiar reason for rejection of applications, and low quality development in the countryside (often development for low income people) was one of its main preoccupations, as it had been in the inter war period.
The Fifties: the retreat from control and the attack on its failures. Significant relaxations of control occurred in 1950 in the revisions to the General Development Order, exempting much minor development because it was taking a disproportionate amount of administrative time. From 1951 onwards the Conservatives dismantled the interventionist elements of the planning system to establish the essentially regulatory system of today, continued the flow of design advice on council housing raising density and lowering standards, but for controllers they offered only a synthesis of conventional urban design ideas in Design in Town and Village, published in 1953. Criticisms of the loopholes in planning control, and of the failure of the Ministry to adopt a positive role in design, were emphasised by the Architectural Review's publication of Outrage and Counter-Attack in 1955 and 1957. These publications also castigated the whole series of exemptions from planning control for farmers, statutory undertakers and like, and the tyranny of planning, and especially highway standards. Counter Attack contained the seeds of both a conservation programme and a coherent visual approach to urban design that became known as 'the Townscape School', emphasising a picturesque approach to place making which strongly influenced generations of designers and controllers. The Civic Trust, formed ironically by a Minister of Housing in 1957 as a registered charity to promote higher public consciousness of design, took up the conservation mantle and many of the Townscape ideas, to foster the growth of much broader based amenity societies, and to give a great impetus to public participation in development control.

The Sixties: conservation and a two tier control system. The Civic Trust's campaign for legislation to match that already achieved in European Countries culminated in the 1967 Civic Amenities Act, which established much tighter aesthetic control in conservation areas and sites with, or adjacent to listed buildings, giving local authorities specific mandate to control design detail. It also encouraged public participation in the control process in such circumstances, but elsewhere the Ministry was usually on the side of the new and different and always that development must go on and that new techniques of building however hideous may seem must be accepted - and perhaps one day be achieved. By the late Sixties, partly as a result of RIBA lobbying the Ministry had enforced, through a succession of Appeal Bulletins and Policy Note, an orthodoxy of control that conflated design with external appearance, separating the latter as an aesthetic question with regard to which architectural advice carried greater weight than the subjective views of planners, committees, or the general public.

The Seventies: the preoccupation with delay and the attack on the Essex Design Guide. The unprecedented 1971-3 property boom led to an excessive amount of poor quality development, and left a legacy of unimplemented planning consent. More importantly it forced questions of delay in granting planning permission into the forefront of the debate over development control, including the emphasis upon design quality that the Civic Trust and the amenity societies had promoted in the Sixties. The RIBA, and many architects who had maintained a campaign against aesthetic control throughout the Fifties and the Sixties found new allies in the House Builders Federation whose effective lobbying, particularly of the 1977 House of Commons Expenditure Committee, reinforced the view that aesthetic control should be reduced in areas that were not considered of architectural or historic interest or of natural beauty. The important innovation (or more accurately rediscovery) of comprehensive design guidance in the form of the 1973 Essex Design Guide, produced to improve the efficiency of the control process and the quality of its product, became, perversely, the bête noire of many architects and developers. While the Department of the Environment's (DoE) own studies, and their new design bulletin for residential road layouts, enforced the relevance of the Essex critique, the guide was publicly pilloried (on the basis of very cursory analysis) at the very moment that developers were adopting its ideas on an unprecedented scale.

The Eighties: a sustained attack on aesthetic control. The House Builders Federation heavily influenced the Expenditure Committee's findings. Their conclusions obscured the positive endorsement of aesthetic control of the 1975 Dobry Report, and laid the basis for the notorious 1979 Conservative policy where a two tier system of control was sponsored. Government retreated on proposals to confine aesthetic control to designated areas only substituting the term 'environmentally sensitive' areas. In the face of strong criticism it abandoned the notion of...
The consistency of the aesthetic control system was strongly defended by the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) over 75 years. But the dramatic changes in the built environment to their own ends. Even the failure of the Government to provide a country-wide role in promoting higher quality design in development and highway design. It was also indirectly supported by the Prince of Wales in 1984 who argued for the importance of incorporating lay values into architectural design. The Department of the Environment, produced a new draft circular in 1983 designed to replace the 1969 policy note (a revision requested by the Expenditure Committee in 1977). For the first time a draft circular attempted to provide a wider view of aesthetic control and to re-embrace the whole practice of urban design. Unfortunately, more space was devoted to the notion of architectural competitions as a means of promoting design quality which, while ideologically consistent with the new Conservatism, offered little hope of genuine improvement in design quality at large. Even this approach was abandoned in late 1985 and the relevant aesthetic sections of Circular 22/80 were merely reissued in Circular 31/85.

Conclusions: Central Government’s flawed orthodoxy of control.
The history of aesthetic control reveals that Central Government policy remained constant since the very initiation of aesthetic control. It restrained local initiatives and ensured that control has only been used to ‘prevent outrages’. It has allowed aesthetic controls to apply to ‘environmentally sensitive’ areas but discouraged it elsewhere, and it particularly discouraged any interest in matters of design detail, while recognizing the right of authorities to judge a development against the character of its setting. It has insisted that the initiative for design remain with the developer and his architect and given professional architectural advice primacy on both the development and the design. Despite this, it has continued to assert their subjectivity of aesthetic control is a delusional belief held by a gifted amateur tradition, a bureaucratic convenience to facilitate efficiency in the planning and particularly the appeal systems, a convenient smokescreen to allow commercial interests the freedom to fast...

5. See for example, Council for the Preservation of Rural England (Sheffield and Peak District Committee), Housing in the Peak District, (Issued by the Peak District Advisory Panel), (Sheffield, 1977); Council for the Preservation of Rural England (Cheshire Branch), Building in Cheshire, (Chester, 1939).


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