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EDITORIAL

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

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

The article by Urban Warnock was sponsored by the International Planning History Society and was first given as a paper at the Metropolitan Regions Conference in Glasgow in April of this year. In this piece he gives a lucid and informed account of the varied experience of regional planning in the West of Scotland. He pays particular attention to the 1948 Clyde Valley Regional Plan (a reproduction of which was advertised in Vol. 17 No. 3). A respected scholar in the field of regional studies and a participant in the latter stages of this survey, Warnock provides a sophisticated account of a changing region with a developing political structure. He concludes that while regions themselves may be impermanent, the need for regional planning is more enduring.

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

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

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

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

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

CALL FOR PAPERS

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

The conference organisers welcome papers in all areas of planning and urban history. They are particularly interested in panels or joint papers addressing particular cities, planners, themes and aspects of planning history practice (like conservation), theoretical pieces would provide a stimulating contrast to the more typical contributions.

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

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

CALL FOR PAPERS

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

Please send proposals for papers (no more than two pages) to the address below as soon as possible. The formal deadline for proposals is 15 November 1996, although potential participants who miss this date are invited to enquire if space is available. Those interested in receiving details of the conference programme and registration information once these have been finalised can register their interest at the same address.

Dr Martin Hewitt, Leeds Centre for Victorian Studies, Trinity and All Saints, Beckett Lane, Headingley, Leeds LS18 5HD. Tel: 0113 2837250; e-mail: m.hewitt@arts.leeds.ac.uk. Fax: 0113 2837290.

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

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

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

Abstracts of proposed papers (up to 300 words) should be sent to (by 30 November 1996) to Professor J. W. F. Whitehead, Urban Morphology Research Group, School of Geography, University of Birmingham, Birmingham B15 2TJ, U.K., from whom further information may be obtained: Tel: 0121 414 5526; Fax: 0121 414 5528; e-mail: umr@bham.ac.uk.
NOTICES

XXXII International SocAnP
Congress: 'Migration and the Global Economy', 13-16 October
1996, Jerusalem

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

For further information
contact: The ISCAnP Secretariat,
Mauritskade 23, 2513 HD The
Hague, The Netherlands. Tel.: +31
70 361 7909

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

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

If you want any more
information on the WWW site
contact Simon Marshall: Tel.: 0121/414 5652; e-mail:
s.marshal@bham.ac.uk

THE REGIONAL IMPERATIVE:
STRATHCLYDE AND REGIONAL
PLANNING IN THE WEST
OF SCOTLAND

URBAN WANNOP UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

THE DISTINCTIVE EXPERIENCE OF THE WEST OF SCOTLAND

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

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

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

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

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

INCREMENTAL REGIONAL PLANNING AND
GOVERNANCE

Voluntary regional initiatives 1920's - 1943
In common with many other but generally smaller
regions of the UK, a Clyde Valley Joint Planning
Scheme was prepared in 1927 under the terms of the
1919 Housing and Town Planning Act. Its purposes
were primarily for roads and transport, so that in 1936
the Secretary of State would observe that Scotland had
an urgent need for regional planning. A handful of staff
from the local authorities worked on 'regional' matters,
arranging landscape designs for new major roads
predominantly, but the Corporation of Glasgow had
been preparing to expand its boundaries since at least 1919,
pre-empting regional issues larger than even the
ambitions of county engineers to build new highways.

The inadequacy of strategic planning
can be seen in Glasgow Corporation, notably Jean
Mann, a senior councillor who strongly favoured
the creation of new towns. Mann's views were
not then shared by her colleagues on the Corporation's Labour
Group, but her call through the Town and Country
Planning Association (Scotland) for a strategic and not a
parochial solution to the problems of Glasgow's
slums and congestion was supported by Sir William
White, the Clerk of Lanarkshire County Council.

Whyte's membership of the Barlow Commission put
him in contact with Patrick Abercrombie's ideas on
regional planning, as well as with larger problems of
national planning. But for a senior councillor like Mann
and a senior local government official like Whyte, only
unofficial bodies like the Town and Country Planning
Association shared their enthusiasm for creative
strategic planning.

The Government intervenes: the Clyde Valley
Regional Plan 1943 - 1951
Strategic planning for the region gained real force only
when the Labour Secretary of State in the wartime
National Government, Tom Johnston, caused the
formation of the Clyde Valley Regional Planning

Advisory Committee in 1943. The motivation was not only to prepare for a post-war programme of slum clearance and new public housing, but Johnson set up committees also for Tayside and South East Scotland, initially as defences against any attempt by English colleagues in the Cabinet to stretch their departmental authority into Scotland. The Clyde Valley Regional Planning Committee was set up to prepare a regional plan, with Robert Matthew, the Chief Architect and Planning Officer to the Scottish Office, acting nominally as chairman. Abercrombie selected a team of nine full-time professionals, of whom Robert Grieve was the leader between Abercrombie’s periodic visits to Glasgow.

The Clyde Valley Regional Plan became the first significant regional planning in the West of Scotland limits. The plan is one of the most influential plans of this period. The Plan’s proposals were for comprehensive and aggressive change in both the physical conditions of the region but to the management of its affairs. The Plan quickly and endearingly earned a reputation for its quality, notably from the 30 years passed before some of the principal proposals were adopted. Grieve’s significance was both in the preparation of the Plan and in the long and patient action to achieve its programme of new towns, of regional parks, of architectural conservation and of administrative reorganisation.

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

The Plan had 76 Conclusions or Recommendations. As in his plan for Greater London of 1944, Abercrombie’s principle was to curb suburban growth by a green belt and to disperse overcrowded slum dwellings beyond it. East Kilbride, Bishopston, Houston and Cumbernauld were to be the new towns in which people leave not just Glasgow but also Greenock, Paisley and eleven other of Clyde’s old industrial towns. In retrospect, the new towns seem not so much to have grown into the Plan as they must have seemed in 1946. Indeed, setting aside half of Glasgow’s full capacity required only if North Lanarkshire’s steel industry were to be transferred to the Lower Clyde estuary as had been suggested, the other new towns were to house a maximum of 190,000 of the 550,000 people whom the Plan sought to decentralise from Glasgow and of the 160,000 to move from areas for redevelopment elsewhere on Clyde.

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

The Plan was assembled in a running dispute about the ability of the City Corporation to create a satisfactory new Glasgow. The Plan would have reduced enormous capacity for rehousing inside the City’s large boundary extensions of less than ten years before. This was contrary to dominant opinion in the City Corporation, which preferred the need for new houses to be met within the Glasgow’s relatively generous boundaries. The City Engineer, Bruce, would not hear the case for new towns of which Grieve tried to persuade him as the Plan was drawn up. Bruce reported to Abercrombie that all citizens might be rehoused within a rebuilt Glasgow, in which the entire central district was to be flattened and reconstructed as a Corbusier-like landscape. So, despite envisaging still considerable growth of Glasgow’s built-up area, the Plan was not put to the City Corporation on the issue of decentralisation. Struggle between the City and the Government over the scale and quality of Glasgow’s new towns was to persist throughout the next three decades after the Plan.

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

The issue of housing programmes and decentralisation helped bring about the suspension of the Clyde Valley Regional Planning Advisory Committee. As Glasgow Corporation proceeded to build four major peripheral housing schemes enroaching on the Plan’s green belt, the Committee withdrew from cooperative regional planning. Driven by pressure to achieve political targets for slum clearance, the Scottish Office conceived more housebuilding within Glasgow’s boundaries than the Plan intended. Only after planning became the responsibility of a new City Architect did the Labour majority on the Corporation come to accept, in 1952, that not all Glaswegians could be rehoused within the City. Glasgow thereafter accepted NCI’s view that new towns were a necessary part of a regional strategy, within which Glasgow would aim at the largest programme of housing and decentralisation. The Programme for Development and Growth for Central Scotland of 1963 was built on the concept of economic growth poles, rooted in new towns or in selected areas of growth and rehabilitation. This programme for investment reinforced the new conception of a Central Scotland economic region, growing as the old heavy industries of Clyde-side were replaced. So the Government staked the new towns of Livingston and of Irvine, both aimed at housing factories first and providing for a new town, particularly marked a new priority in the West of Scotland’s planning, with the Development Corporation proving that living in small communities was no longer a mark of the social classes by which the old potential investors think the new town named with the name of a small city (Fig. 2).

The 1963 Programme was effectively the first review of strategic planning for Clyde-side for twenty years. But while putting the regions in the wider context of Central Scotland, the Programme was narrower in scope than the Clyde Valley Plan and less reflective. It was more immediate but also superficial in considering the means of implementation. It had two damaging effects. First, it assumed that Scotland’s population would grow to almost six million in 1981, when the actual outcome was nearly a million fewer. So the new growth poles staked by the Government were too many for the resources subsequently available to achieve the new town of Irvine nor the abode new town of Stonehouse was justified on a more realistic view of regional规划. The Government’s concentration on developing the new growth areas, without adequate arrangements to similarly exploit the potential of the other areas for rehabilitation.

But regional planning accelerated through the 1960’s. Collaborative Land Use Working Parties of the Scottish Office and local authorities examined where in the regions it might be possible to prevent the growth of population being forecast in the mid-1960’s. The site for a further new town was found at Stonehouse, south of East Kilbride. This was to be the last throw in the 1960’s game of expansive regional development, stretching ambitions for growth beyond sustainable limits. The government’s mood was increasingly optimistic and in flexible. Investment even in the favoured new towns was spread too thinly, and there
was economic as well as social damage by delay in rehabilitating the older industrial parts of the region.

By 1989, the possibility of a wholly new basis for regional planning was emerging. Not for regional planning as an intermediate task, but as within a continuous system of reorganised regional governance. The Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland (1989) borrowed much of the Clyde Valley Plan's analysis of the need for a regional authority for Clydeside to recommend one for a much larger West Region. The Commission put strategic planning first amongst the functions of new authorities in Scotland, and it drew quotations from the Plan on which to base its case for an authority for a West Region stretching far beyond a core of metropolitan Clydeside. But the Plan of 1946 had argued for a strategic authority only for the metropolitan area, rejecting a unified administration for the wider Clyde Valley. The Commission of 1989 failed to admit its slight of hand in transposing the Plan's arguments to envelop also a greatly extended rural hinterland. Nonetheless, the Commission was justified because social and economic change, population redistribution and unfolding transport improvements had much extended the metropolitan influence since the Plan of over 20 years before.

Crisis on the Clyde: the West Central Scotland Plan 1970-75

Only in September 1970 was a West Central Scotland Plan Steering Committee of local and central government representatives established to oversee a new regional plan to succeed the Clyde Valley Plan of almost 25 years before. The region for study was similar in extent to that of the Plan of 1946, but the scope of the new strategic review much more strongly emphasised economic issues and policy. The origins of the new Plan lay in political activity over intensifying problems in the Clydeside economy and in sharply deteriorating prospects for Clydeside shipbuilding. There was also growing discontent in the Scottish Office over the quality of urban renewal in Glasgow. The Corporation's programme of 29 areas of comprehensive redevelopment was falling behind time and below the standards which the Scottish Office thought likely to induce social and economic health in the Glasgow of the late twentieth century.

The initial stage of surveys and data analysis for the Plan was completed by a team of planners and economists seconded from the Scottish Office, supported in the concluding stages of strategy and policy making by Colin Buchanan and Partners and Professor Kenneth Alexander, as planning and economic consultants respectively. Alex Wyllie, who had led the initial stage, was succeeded by Urban Wearing, who directed the concluding two years of work. The Plan was published in 1974, a year prior to the dissolution of the local authorities who had shared its sponsorship and to the creation of the Strathclyde Regional Council. The Plan's economic analysis was that civil servants of a government ministry responsible for financial aid to industry throughout the UK could not be fully sensitive to regional differences, being inevitably bound by national guidelines. There was need to establish a regional economic development agency which was closer to local circumstances and less bound by restraints. The Plan's analysis of current planning strategy was that expectations of growth in the new towns were unrealistically high, and that a start to the newly designated new town of Stonehouse should be deferred. Linking its economic and physical analyses, the Plan also concluded that a Task Force for environmental improvement was required to rehabilitate the derelict and decayed to declining heavy industry and deteriorating housing. The Plan's principal proposals were accompanied by a programme for building and renewal in the region's districts, recognising that continued expansion of urban Clydeside on the scale hitherto envisaged would continue to waste scarce resources. The Plan had evidence of a new and almost certainly sustained trend for a dwindling of population and employment in the region, quite against the expectations of the Central Scotland Programme of 1963, as of the Clyde Valley Plan before it.

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

The Plan was never collectively debated or adopted by its sponsors. The then local authorities were in their last year of life and elections were underway for the new councils. But the implicit acceptance of its significant proposals by either or both the Scottish Office and the embryonic Strathclyde Regional Council was quickly seen. Whereas the Clyde Valley Regional Plan had to wait 20 years for contexts in which a majority of its proposals could be effected, the West Central Scotland Plan emerged in a more immediately favourable political context. The General Election of 1974 replacing a Conservative by a Labour government and the creation of the Regional Council in 1975 were critical to rapid action on the Plan's main concerns.

Strathclyde Regional Council: the Regional Report and strategic planning 1975-79

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

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

A first task of the Regional Council was to submit a Regional Report (1976) as required by the Secretary of State for Scotland and from all the new regional councils within twelve months. Declaring its strategic objectives in the Report allowed the Council to assert its new authority in the region's planning. Alongside the less exceptional objectives of alleviating poverty and restoring economic strength in the region, was the firm recommendation that Stonehouse new town should be terminated rather than merely suspended. Strathclyde already had three incomplete new towns at East Kilbride, Cumbernauld and Stonehouse. In conditions in which both jobs and population were dwindling in the region, the established new towns had ample capacity to collectively house all who might wish to live there. Barely a third of households moving from the central conurbation lived in new houses outside had independently determined. Also, the areas proposed for action were extensive and not all capable of being comprehensively treated within the Plan's five year horizon for building, or its longer horizons for industry and commerce.

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

So control of urban affairs and the detail of strategy for Strathclyde lay in many hands, amongst which the Plan was one of several significant strategic influences. The Council's greatest strategic significance lay probably not in physical planning but in its capacity to raise local taxes from a wide area, not only the region's new towns within its boundaries, but also responsibilities for water, sewerage, social work and education which were lacking to the Greater London and English metropolitan county councils. Strathclyde enjoyed a partial finance to refine its own strategic development unique amongst UK metropolitan regions.

Strathclyde Regional Council: the Regional Structure Plans 1979 - 96

Work on the first Strathclyde Structure Plan led by Roger Reid was completed in 1979. The Plan interpreted the earlier Regional Report through policies to support a revival of the economy and social health of the long established built-up area of metropolitan Clydeside, wishing that the outflow of people and economic activity might be stemmed. The main strategic policy tool was to consolidate green belts around the principal built-up areas of the region and to severely restrain the amount of greenfield land for any further building. Thereby, the aim was to help forest the rise of vacant land and recycling of obsolete industrial and commercial buildings in the metropolitan area, where policy was to reestablish traditional shopping and business areas by releasing planning permission to make new and competitive out-of-town developments.

The Plan proposed broad areas for action to rehabilitate the worst parts of Clydeside and most of the districts of the region whose condition was deteriorating to both local people and potential investors in the region. The Plan could not itself determine the development action in most of these areas, however. It largely depended upon agents of change other than the Council, and these agents' priorities were often not as consistent or as comprehensive as desired within the Plan. Therefore, the Plan had to be kept sufficiently flexible to allow for local initiative. The Plan's programme of land release for building was biennially updated and dynamic in this respect. However, as a means of setting priorities for physical change and regeneration within metropolitan Clydeside and other parts of the region in greatest need of renewal, the Structure Plan was followed rather than led by the local councils and government agencies initiating renewal work. The renewers had inevitably greater local knowledge of their own development priorities. The Plan's powers were direct only where the Council had the opportunity to refuse permission to development proposals contrary to the Plan, or where the Planning Department could influence action by other Council departments or by government agencies, or where the Department could itself undertake projects in the countryside using its own budget. Within urban areas the Plan seemed less influential. It offered little information about the rate of future change in the social, economic or physical environment of the metropolitan area. Nor did it assess the future need for technological infrastructure nor speculate about the longer term future as some metropolitan and regional planners were doing in other European countries.

The Advance of Government Agencies: Pluralism in strategic planning 1979 - 96

In the mid 1970s, the size of government agencies in strategic urban projects and policies previously the almost exclusive responsibility of local government began with the GEAR project in Glasgow. Spreading to initiatives in the Garnock Valley of North Ayrshire, Clydeside, Motherwell Inner Clyde and many later, lesser but cumulatively significant, local projects. The Scottish Development Agency (later Scottish Enterprise) fostered a mosaic of local enterprise companies engaged in local economic and social development, and as housing action in problem areas of local authority housing. As the Government achieved greater nationalisation of local affairs, the context for strategic planning became more complex than had foreseen by the Local Government Commission in 1969. Regional strategic planning had become much more than a pluralist enterprise, to which the Scottish Office progressively contributed through its system of National Planning Guidelines.

Strathclyde superseded: the logic of regional evolution 1996 - ?

Clothed in rhetoric about gains to come in cost savings and in local democracy — the Prime Minister, John Major, had notoriously described Strathclyde as a 'monstrosity' — there was little linked political partnership in the reasons for the abolition of Strathclyde in 1996. There had been no widespread popular demand for local government reorganisation except from minority Conservative interests. However, this did not mean that Strathclyde was incomplicable only with a Conservative Government. In three other major parties in Scotland also favoured abolishing the Strathclyde Council in the event of their achieving their preference for an assembly or parliament for Scotland.

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

Although in enthusiasm for regional planning in the 1960's and 1970's was much tempered after 1979, the Scottish Office's stipulated that collaborative structure planning was necessary after the coming of the new local government system in 1996. This was a reformed idea of regional planning, whereby eight of the new unitary councils formed a Clyde Valley Joint Structure Planning Committee, jointly appointing a team to prepare and maintain a structure plan for the Clyde Valley from the estuary of the river to its source. Including the metropolitan area centred on Glasgow, this region is similar to Strathclyde but has a population of 1.34 million.

Whatever the Regional Council's merits and the improvements in efficiency, equity and imagination
it brought in several fields of public administration and organisation. The demise of Strathclyde was appropriate in many changed circumstances. Even at its inception in 1971 the concept of regional planning which had driven the Council's action had already been modified by events. Government agencies had become profoundly attuned to the different priorities and the new economic shape of the region had altered.

THE WEST OF SCOTLAND AND THE REGIONAL IDEA

Has regional planning for the West of Scotland been successful?

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

The Clyde Valley Plan was highly successful in its analysis of what the region required. Though only slowly adopted between 1936 and the early 1970s its proposals were then fulfilled by a series of acts. By 1976-71 of the Plan's 13 key proposals had been implemented, as had 39 of 61 other recommendations of lesser significance. This was in contrast to the Plan's depth and foresight, both in substantive policies and on the need for institutional structures to carry them through. The Plan's influence was strong in the reorganisation of local government in Strathclyde in 1972, as it was in other Scottish initiatives in government, particularly for leisure, recreation and the countryside.

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

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

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

The Stratclyde Structure Plan turned from the cavalier style of advisory regional planning to the mind of conventional statutory practice. This reversion occurred as the dominant issue in regional planning strategy which up to 1975 had been how to shape urban expansion, had become the issue of metropolitan and economic regeneration. But decisions and physical action by the City of Glasgow District Council and the Government's various agencies combined to be more significant in how this strategy was fulfilled than were the powers of the Regional Council as a planning authority. The Plan was that of an executive regional authority, however, with a statutory status lacking to its predecessors, the Clyde Valley and West Central Scotland Plans. It was distinctive in the opportunity it took to roll its programme and some of its policies forward forcibly, in views that it should point to what others might do rather than to presume that it could itself be determinate, and it also adopted the guideline of environmental sustainability. It had been said that the Structure Plan had relatively little impact. Of course, only a part of the influence of any planning department lies in the text of its statutory plan, but the presence in the region of so many government departments agencies made for a more complex strategic environment than existed elsewhere in metropolitan Britain, except perhaps Greater London after 1960. In this context, the Plan was relatively oblique and did not strike out in new directions of strategic thought and planning for the plans for the Clyde Valley, Central Scotland and West Central Scotland. The new dominating preoccupation with urban regeneration had been more foresight in the reorganisation of Scottish local government than it was in the English reorganisation of 1974; stimulating urban redevelopment had been more urgent than to mould urban growth. Planning had so worked harder for obvious reasons, and the new regional planning was not expected to be in the old style of county planning of the years before 1975. It was conceived of as qualitatively different, but as the team preparing the regional Structure Plan was largely recruited from staff familiar with an older style of development planning, transition to a new context and to innovative strategy-making was difficult.

Relocating the region: the West of Scotland in the 1990s.

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

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

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

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

The experience of the West of Scotland confirms both the importance of regions and the enduring imperative of regional planning.
Although Caracas has traditionally been disregarded as an important recipient of the European urbanism imported to Latin America since the mid-nineteenth century, the Venezuelan capital can be seen as a sort of generic example of an "Old World-like" city. The obvious has mainly been due to the fact that the urbanistic transfer from Europe into Caracas cannot be appreciated on the scale of other major Latin American capitals, where monumental avenues and edifices have been taken as proof of an urbanistic transfer. Given the continental backwardness of the Venezuelan capital up to the petroleum boom in the 1920s, the Caracasian imitation of Europe was rather restricted to the sadder domains of an elite fascinated by the glorious culture of the Old World. This article summarizes how this importation of urban ideas and culture informed a European-oriented cycle in the history of the city which was initiated by Guzmán Blanco's reforms during the so-called "Guzmanato" (1870-1888), was followed by the belle-époque extravagances during the Andean dictatorships of the new-century, and concluded in the democratic renewal of the 1930s.

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

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

Although these works are traditionally taken as Guzmán's sole contribution to Caracas, his project also encompassed the improvement of municipal administration. With its apparatus of decrees and ordinances, and especially with the 1873 Ordenanza sobre Policía Urbana y Rural, the Guzmanato also boosted the regulation of municipal life, thus enlarging the traditional limits of urban policing inherited from colonial times. In this respect, the cleanliness and appearance of streets, monuments and houses, the controls on public behavior and the improvement of transport were different, yet complementary, components of the first modern agenda that Caracas had in the republican era.

Political resentment against Guzmán grew.

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

Although the urban debate of Guzmanian Venezuela was often criticized, or even ridiculed, it was much harder for his "urbanism of regularization" to be grasped fully.

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ARTURO ALMENDOZ, UNIVERSIDAD SIMON BOLIVAR, CARACAS

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

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

The Bella Época: Hygiene and Progress

Thanks to the cultural renovation of the Guzmánist, late-19th-century Caracas was able to keep a Europeanized ethos which was noticed by American and European visitors. In this respect, Davis’s polemical analysis of the Venezuelan capital as “the Paris of South America” reaffirmed Curtis’s previous appraisal of Guzmanian Caracas as “one-stop Paris.” With Carmona’s conformation of Caracas as a product of the fine-arts renaissance civilization, the continuity of Guzmanism’s Europeanism was granted — as the prolonged success of the Europeanized magazine El Coji Ilustrado (1902-1915) would demonstrate (Fig. 3). Even though the United States beat Britain in the economic and political arena during Cipriano Castro’s despotism regime (1899-1908), France and Europe were still able to dominate the cultural fortunes of Caracas until the end of the “bella época.”

Nevertheless, that Frenchified image in the minds of visitors could never be endorsed by cosmopolitan Caraquenians, who realized that the gap between the presidential capital and the European metropolitan they returned from was immense. The urban drama was displayed and resolved in different ways by the presence of Venezuelan cosmopolitan and modernist throughout the first novels set in that pseudo European Caracas, such as Miguel Eduardo Parro’s Todo en pueblos (1896), Manuel Díaz Rodriguez’s Ellos Residen (1902), Pio Gill’s El Caribe (1909) and José Rafael Pocaterra’s Vidis Voces (1918). At the same time (as an interesting coincidence which illustrates the correspondence between different urban discourses) the awkwardness of that capital was confirmed by Luis Rauffe and the scaling voices of the sanitary movement which had emerged from the 1890s. In view of the high mortality and the defective infrastructure of the capital, the fathers of modern medicine in Venezuela reinforced the warnings of the cosmopolitan characters of the novels: belle-époque Caracas was far from being a “complete city.”

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

During the 27 years of the “Guzmánist” (1908-1935), Juan Vicente Gómez’s policies represented a mutation of Guzmán’s campaign for progress and civilization. If the Latin’s search for ornamentation was rather derided in the early Guzmánist, progress was certainly pursued through the growing investment in infrastructure. With the approval of the experts gathered in the 1911 Congress of Municipalists, an early milestone of Gómez’s urban administration, communication and sanitation were endorsed as the new governmental priorities in terms of public works, while Rauffe urged private initiative to take on its own responsibility in “social hygiene.” In this respect, although the public health agency had originally been imported from Europe, Gómez entrusted the fostering of sanitary matters to the Americans, thus mirroring the penetration of the country by eighteen new ambassadors such as the oil companies and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Until the Venezuelan debts had been paid in the years before 1920, Gómez’s project favoured the province over the capital. The slight was felt especially by Caraquenians returning from abroad to the rebuffed Caracas, whose cosmopolitan façade might look up-to-date when compared with provincial Venezuelan towns, but not with European or North American metropolises. The Caraqueño atmosphere was not European enough for the protagonist of Teresa de la Parra’s Elegía (1924), nor could the dictator’s capital be sufficiently liberal for the tragic intellectuals of Rómulo Gallegos’s Navidad (1921) or Miguel Otero Silva’s Faber (1930). The remittances and sacrifices made by the presence of Venezuelan realism characterized the second dramatic cycle of the “bella época,” epitomized by the creole Líbano’s immersion of her Panamanian dreams in the pampered capital. But the cycle of sacrifices was concluded with Gallegos’s La Trepadora (1925), whose heroine’s redemption in the capital of the oil-exporter country confirmed the entrance of Caracas into an Americanized culture which put an end to the Europeanized “bella época.”

In the oil-exporter bonanza of 1920s Venezuela, the Gómez administration created a new urban agenda for the growing capital. Endless regulations on traffic were the first demonstration of governmental concern about the city since the spread of the car in Caracas in the second decade of the twentieth century. The urban sprawl of the new suburbs also became a core issue of that agenda from the 1920s, after the elite’s first move towards southwestern El Paraiso had been rejected by the sanitary and technical point of view. By building their new villas in the eastern suburbs of Caracas, Gómez’s bourgeoisie not only offered opportunities to newly arrived architects to experiment with a fresher classicism, but also turned aside from the initial path of expansion set by Castro’s plottocracy. In order to meet the new requirements of the congested city, the 1926 Ordenanza de Policía Urbana o Reglamento updated the hygienic and technical controls of its 1910 predecessor. Later on, the 1930 Ordenanza sobre Arquitectura Civil was the first attempt to control the design and equipment of new areas. Lastly, the provision of working-class housing was finally recognized by the government with the creation of the Banco Obrero in 1929 — the first housing agency of Latin America and one of the major achievements of Gómez’s urban administration. Although it is true that the dictator did not undertake an urban plan for Caracas,
it must be recognized that the Gómez agenda on traffic, urban renewal and expansion was fulminated all the ingredients for the forthcoming discussion on urban reform in the democratic capital, which would mark the beginning of Venezuela's modern urbanism.

**Monumental Urbanism**

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

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

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

1. This article is based on the conclusions of the author's PhD thesis, developed at the Architectural Association, London, under the supervision of Dr. Nicholas Bullock, King College, Cambridge.

2. Member of the Departamento de Planificación Urbana, Universidad Simón Bolívar, Caracas, Venezuela.


6. The critique was sparked by Luis Leal of Goda, Veneda y el General Gómez Blanco (1873), Port Spán: 1873, p. 33.


REVEALING REMINISCENCES: CHARLES READE FROM HIS CHILDREN'S PERSPECTIVE

CHRISTINE GARNault, UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

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

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

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

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

Early years
The Reads knew little about their father's early years. He was born into the branch of the Read family who resided in New Zealand. That was where his paternal grandfather, Edward Anderton Read, had returned to Lyddon from India after his retirement from the Indian Civil Service. One of his uncles had migrated to England from New Zealand and lived in "Redeholm" in Strathtummel. A letter to Michael and Winwood's possession was written at "Redeholm" by Charles to his brother, Arthur. Dated 6 January 1906, he explained that he came to England with the touring New Zealand footballers late in 1905. One of the players was their cousin, Ernie Booth, who provided a reason for Charles to follow the team. Before Christmas 1905 he attended the games as a spectator but on Boxing Day he travelled with the side to Wales and repeated the matches for the Cardiff Daily News and the London Standard. He indicated that through the team's presence in England he made contact with several newspaper editors, describing the opportunity to report the games as his "harvest". It seems certain that while in Britain he intended to seize any chance to gain experience in journalism. Apart from his career as a journalist until 1909, their father's movements until his marriage in 1914 are unknown to the Reads.

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

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

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

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

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

Children's education
The Read children left Kuala Lumpur in 1923. The tropical climate was not considered suitable for their health after the age of six or seven. Like others whose parents were abroad they attended school in England. Charles and Marjorie chose one that was run by his cousin, Miss Violet Hedges. She and Charles were both grandchildren of Edward Anderton Read. The school was situated at Wallingford, Oxfordshire, about six miles from the Read family estate at Ipsden (Fig. 3). Day pupils and boarders attended Miss Hedges' school. Although they did not have strong affiliations with the landed branch of the family, Charles and Marjorie maintained contact with their Ipsden relatives, probably...
through the branch who lived at Streatham. Winwood noted the strong sense of kinship amongst the Reades and the desire to assist family members whenever there was a need.

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

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

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

**Holidays**

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

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

**Political persuasions**

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

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

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

**Religious affiliations**

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

**Family relations and pressures**

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

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

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

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

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

Marjorie would remember that they always lived frugally because money was short. There were never any luxuries. They were not aware of the salary received by their father in the Malay States. Michael said that his father was paid £270 per annum in Northern Rhodesia. However, he recalls that his parents considered withdrawing him from Oundle because they were experiencing difficulty paying the fees. A scholarship was offered by the school which enabled him to stay. According to Michael, Charles’ job in South Africa was to pay £1950 per annum. He died soon after taking up the appointment and Winwood remembers continuing at Downe House on a reduced-fee paying basis until, when their financial affairs were organised, their mother could repay the outstanding fees. Their financial position also showed the type of holiday accommodation rented. The rather basic cottage at Bickleychurch where they stayed in 1932 was a good indication of what they could afford. The Reades agreed that they loved the house even though it was their only source of water was a hand pump over the kitchen sink.

When on leave, Charles could not always afford to make the journey to England, so he chose to take ‘local leave’. On those occasions he went to places like Bournemouth, Christchurch and that the Reades believe also helped to satisfy his thirst for exploration. His financial situation brought tension, anxiety and pressure and added another dimension to the burden of uncertainty about employment as contracts expired in the Federated Malay States and Northern Rhodesia.

**Father’s work**

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

Winwood considers *The Revolution of Britain: a key source in understanding her father’s passion for town planning. She describes it as his panacea for social ills and highlights the rage which he expressed in the book about people’s inability to obtain their birthright: a decent home in which to live. Winwood believes that her father enjoyed the opportunity to explore in the woodlands (he was an outdoor enthusiast) and relished the chance to be close to nature. Winwood describes him as a lover of wild places. He also could not help attracting stray dogs and she recalls one dog after another appearing from nowhere to follow them along with them on their walks. They all had to be told to go home by her father or he would be accused, by Marjorie, of enticing them to stay from their owners. To this day Winwood finds that dogs turn up for walks with her.

Marjorie’s reaction to her husband’s death occurred several years after she moved to “Scots Gate”. One of her brothers had been expected to help him. She had not had contact with him for a long time and he had become a tramp. Marjorie reluctantly agreed to help him. Some time after her arrival he disappeared and was found several days later in the nearby woodland. He had committed suicide. Winwood recalls her mother’s reaction to the news of her father’s departure: “What I do I have failed twice.” This was her only comment on his husband’s death.

When her mother needed constant care after suffering a stroke, Winwood moved into “Scots Gate” and nursed her until Marjorie’s death in 1969. Winwood then moved to another house about a mile from her brother’s house. Michael and Joan from London to the district.

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

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

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

**Conclusion**

Michael and Winwood Reade paint a picture of a man with a mission. They remember their father as a person directed by a belief in what he considered a right and necessary cause. Michael believes that he obtained conditions which did not allow the individual the opportunity to live a decent life and found fault with administrators who lacked planning foresight and vision. She considered that it was his strength of vision and his unswerving belief that he was on the right path which led to clashes with administrators. In her mind withnesses with these clashes, his sense of having to start all over again on the same text but with new players on a new stage probably triggered his suicide. It came after a period of depression on their last holiday at Bickleychurch. Michael recalls his father being unwell at this time and there was talk of recurrent bouts of malaria. Charles was well enough to take up his appointment. He went ahead leaving Marjorie in England until he could make arrangements about accommodation. He died suddenly in a car accident in a city where Winwood believes he would have felt alone and oppressed by the inert lifestyle. She suggests that it be he had been in a country where he felt a sense of security and openness with nature then his 991 perspective on life may have been different.

Winwood describes this contention that he found calmness in nature. He wrote to Arthur. “Life in the great turmoil of a city is not all peace and comfort” and compared England with their homeland. “There is none of that delightful calm, that prevailing peace stealing through the scenes of natural beauty that darts our island. The art of nature is after all, the purest and best, and those who live in ignorance of the artificial pleasures of great cities, live in a happiness and peace of mind unknown to any but them... The simple life is the happiness.” By October 1933 his life appears to have become very complex and his mission.

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

**SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY**

GOAD FIRE INSURANCE PLANS: A RESOURCE FOR INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY

Robert K. Home, University of East London.

The fire insurance plans of British cities prepared by Charles Goad's company from 1850 are a familiar resource to urban and planning historians. The central areas of 52 major towns and cities were mapped, usually to a scale of 40 feet to 1 inch (1:480), showing individual properties, their primary use, building material and information relevant to fire insurance (location of skylights, hydrants, means of escape, etc.).

A study of the plans was prepared by Gwyn Rowley, of the University of Sheffield, in 1984, and published by the company. As the market for fire insurance plans declined, the company began publishing a series of shopping centre plans from the 1960s. These are now the company's main product.

Less well known is the Goad company's international dimension. Goad started his business in Canada in 1878, and, as well as Canadian cities, its 'world series' includes plans for many South and Central African towns, the eastern Mediterranean, parts of Central and South America and Europe. The coverage is patchy, as the accompanying list shows. Some of the individual plans and bound volumes are available in reference libraries, and many of the original plans can still be purchased from the Goad Company at £30 per sheet.

For further information on these maps contact:
Charles Goad Mapping Division,
8-12 Salisbury Square,
Old Bedford, Hertfordshire AL9 3BA,
UK.
Tel: 01707 271 171.

Robert Home is interested in these maps because of his long-term research into British colonial town planning history, and would welcome contact with interested researchers. Dr. R.K. Home, School of Surveying, University of East London, Langridge Road, Dagenham, Essex RM8 3AS, UK, e-mail: HOME@L.E.A.U.K.

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1925 Benoni
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1931 Durban
1933 East London
1940 Germiston
1940-1943 Grahamstown
1940-1946 Johannesburg
1945-1947 Kimberley
1925 Krugersdorp
1925 Pretoria
1925-1926 Springs
1938 Vereeniging
1938-1939 Warden

TURKEY
1914-1916 Constantinople
1925 Smyrne

WEST INDIES
1837 Antigua, St Johns
1894 Jamaica, Kingston
PUBLICATIONS

M. Christine Boyer. The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments, Cambridge MA and London: MIT Press, 1994, ISBN 0 262 03717 9 Cloth £45.00. This is a monumental work: it is at once a study in the theoretical approaches to understanding the city as a “bearer of memory,” a history of various “instruments of memory,” such as historic preservation and print collecting since the nineteenth century and, finally, a study in contemporary urban planning and preservation strategies. It is a significant contribution to the growing literature that seeks to link collective memory and urban transformation. (Max Page, Georgia State University)

Murray Fraser. John Ball’s Other Homes: State Housing and British Policy in Ireland, 1885–1922, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996, 302pp., ISBN 085323 670 4 Cloth £35.00, ISBN 085323 680 1 Paper £17.95. This book argues that housing policy formed a significant element in colonial relations between Ireland and Great Britain from the 1890s to the early 1920s and that as a result, early state housing in Ireland was an Anglo-Irish creation. Using both Irish and English sources, it shows that there was recurrent pressure for the state to intervene in housing in Ireland in a period when the Irish Question was a major political issue. This argues that the subsequent state housing policy in Great Britain (direct financial subsidy from a central exchequer linked with the use of officially recommended house plan types) was first introduced in Ireland. In parallel with policy developments, there was a continued attempt to introduce British garden suburb principles. Post-war housing legislation finally codified garden suburb design as the new orthodoxy, but opposition from Sinn Fein and a disadvantaged subsidy system meant that little could be built in the run up to independence and partition in 1922.

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