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**KEYNOTE SPEECH**  
**INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY SOCIETY CONFERENCE**  
**LETCWORTH GARDEN CITY – 12 JULY 2002**

THANK YOU CHAIRMAN.

FIRSTLY, I WOULD LIKE TO ADD MY WELCOME TO ALL THE DELEGATES OF THIS CONFERENCE. LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, WELCOME TO THE WORLD'S FIRST GARDEN CITY.

AS IT APPROACHES ITS CENTENARY IN 2003, IT IS RIGHT FOR LETCWORTH GARDEN CITY TO REFLECT ON ITS SUCCESSES, ITS FAILURES, AND MOST IMPORTANTLY, TO ESTABLISH IF ITS POSITIONING, 100 YEARS ON, GIVES CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE.

LETCWORTH GARDEN CITY WAS BORN OUT OF THE DREAMS AND AMBITIONS OF ONE OF THE GREATEST SOCIAL VISIONARIES WHO EVER LIVED – EBENEZER HOWARD. HE SAW THE GARDEN CITY MODEL AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE POOR ENVIRONMENT AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE VICTORIAN SLUMS OF LONDON. AT THE TURN OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY, ABOUT 330,000 LONDONERS HAD ONE ROOM DWELLINGS. HIS SKILL LAY IN CREATING THE VISION AND DEVISING SOME OF THE KEY ENABLING MECHANISMS. HE WAS OF COURSE, NO TOWN PLANNER, AND CERTAINLY NOT AN ARCHITECT. HE NEEDED OTHERS TO HELP CREATE THE SKELETON OF THE GARDEN CITY, FAR LESS PUT FLESH ON THE BONES.

WHAT MOTIVATED HOWARD APART FROM THE GRIM REALITIES OF LONDON LIVING? UNDOUBTEDLY HE HAD BEEN MOTIVATED BY MANY AND INDEED DISPARATE MEN. EARLY SOCIALIST LITERATURE SOWED THE SEEDS. THE WRITINGS OF HYNDMAN, KROPOTKIN, AND HENRY GEORGE MADE AN IMPACT ON THE YOUNG HOWARD. HIS THINKING WAS BROADENED FURTHER BY THE WRITINGS OF EDWARD WAKEFIELD, PROF. ALFRED MARSHALL AND THOMAS SPENCE. FROM THE CHICAGO OF THE 1870'S – THE GARDEN OF THE MID-WEST, TO JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM'S MODEL UTOPIAN CITY OF VICTORIA, AND DR BENJAMIN WARD RICHARDSON'S CITY OF HEALTH. ALL WERE INFLUENCES. ABOVE ALL ELSE, I BELIEVE THAT THE THREADS OF HIS INSPIRATION WERE DRAWN TOGETHER BY BELLAMY'S 'LOOKING BACKWARDS', PUBLISHED IN 1888. FROM THIS BACKCLOTH CAME EBENEZER HOWARD'S OUTLINE OF THE GARDEN CITY.

THROUGH THE DIAGRAM DEPICTING THREE MAGNETS, TOWN, COUNTRY, AND TOWN COUNTRY, HOWARD ATTEMPTED TO PROVE THAT NEITHER TOWN NOR COUNTRY COULD, BY THEMSELVES, AFFORD THE RESIDENTS A FULL PRODUCTIVE LIFE. TOWN AND COUNTRY MUST BE MARRIED AND OUT OF THIS JOYOUS UNION WOULD SPRING A NEW HOPE, A NEW LIFE, A NEW CIVILISATION.

HOWARD FELT THAT HE COULD DEMONSTRATE THAT THE BEST OF TOWN AND COUNTRY COULD EXIST IN A WAY WHICH WAS PRACTICAL AND SOUND, WHETHER VIEWED FROM THE ETHICAL OR THE ECONOMIC STANDPOINT.

IN PHYSICAL TERMS, HOWARD'S GARDEN CITY WAS TO BE A 6,000-ACRE ESTATE TO BE HELD IN TRUST BY DEVELOPMENT COMPANIES WITH SECURITY FOR BOTH DEBT-HOLDERS AND CITIZENS. 1,000 ACRES WOULD CONSTITUTE THE GARDEN CITY ITSELF, WHICH HOWARD DEPICTED SCHEMATICALLY IN CIRCULAR FORM WITH A POPULATION OF 30,000. AROUND IT HE PROPOSED AN AGRICULTURAL GREEN BELT WITH A FURTHER POPULATION OF 2,000, PROVIDING THE CITY WITH FOOD AND RAW MATERIALS. A MAIN RAILWAY LINE WAS JOINED TO THE CITY BY CONNECTING SIDINGS THAT, IN TURN, FED INTO A BRANCH LINE CIRCLING THE ENTIRE TOWN. MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS SURROUNDED A SMALL PARK AT THE CITY CENTRE CORE. BEHIND THEM, AND SEPARATED BY A FURTHER PARK, WAS A CIRCULAR SHOPPING ARCADE, A CRYSTAL PALACE, EFFECTIVELY.



AROUND THIS, A SERIES OF CONCENTRIC AVENUES CIRCLED TOWARDS THE COUNTRYSIDE. MID-WAY BETWEEN CENTRE AND OUTER CIRCUMFERENCE LAY GRAND AVENUE – A THIRD CIRCULAR PARK, IN WHICH WERE SITUATED SIX SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES. ON THE OUTER RING, WERE FACTORIES, WAREHOUSES, COAL AND TIMBER YARDS IN FRONT OF THE RAILWAYS. TRAVERSING THE AVENUES WERE SIX MAGNIFICENT BOULEVARDS WHICH DIVIDED THE CITY INTO SIX WARDS. HOWARD HOPED THAT THESE WARDS WOULD FUNCTION AS NEIGHBOURHOODS. HOUSES OF VARIOUS STYLES WERE TO BE BUILT ON LOTS AVERAGING 20 FOOT X 130 FOOT. SOME PROPERTIES WOULD HAVE COMMON GARDENS AND COOPERATIVE KITCHENS.

ALTHOUGH THE COMPANY WOULD BE THE CITY'S SOLE LANDLORD, IT WOULD LEASE TO A VARIETY OF ENTERPRISES, SOME CAPITALISTS, SOME COOPERATIVE. HOWARD ASSUMED THAT THE CITY COULD EXIST ON REVENUES AND RENTS, CALCULATED SO AS TO PAY INTEREST TO THE DEVELOPMENT COMPANY ON ITS INVESTMENT. THAT WOULD ALLOW A GRADUAL REDUCTION OF DEBT, AND FINANCE MUNICIPAL MAINTENANCE AND CONSTRUCTION. HE ARGUED THAT THE RENTS WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY REDUCED BY THE FACT THAT THE CITY WAS TO BE BUILT ON LAND THAT WAS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THEREFORE UNTOUCHED BY RISING METROPOLITAN OR SUBURBAN PRICES. HOWARD IMAGINED THAT MOST OF THE HOUSES WOULD BE CONSTRUCTED BY BUILDING SOCIETIES, COOPERATIVES, OR EVEN THE COMPANY ITSELF. CITY GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ENTRUSTED TO AN ELECTED BOARD OF MANAGEMENT OF BOTH MEN AND WOMEN.

NOW, OF COURSE, AS STUDENTS OF LETCHWORTH GARDEN CITY, YOU MUST ALL KNOW THAT THE ABOVE AMBITION WAS NEVER TRANSLATED INTO REALITY AS LETCHWORTH GARDEN CITY.

WHY? WELL FROM THE START THERE WAS CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PROPERTY MEN, THE MONEY MEN, AND THE VISIONARIES. HOWARD REFUSED TO UNDERSTAND HOW IMPORTANT THE PROMISE OF THE 5% RETURN WAS TO INVESTORS AND WAS TOLD UNEQUIVOCALLY BY HIS BOARD THAT CHERISHED PROJECTS HAD TO BE PUT ASIDE TO PUT THE INVESTMENT ONTO A BUSINESS FOOTING. THERE WAS ANOTHER SIDE TO THE ETHICAL QUESTION AND THAT WAS LOYALTY TO THE BOARD. THAT SOUNDS FAMILIAR. HOWARD, INDEED, BECAME A CASUALTY OF THE PROCESS OF COMPROMISE, BEING REMOVED FROM HIS POSITION OF MANAGING DIRECTOR AND RELEGATED TO THE TASK OF WRITING AND LECTURING WHILE ATTENDING TO THE DESIGN OF LETCHWORTH.

SO WHAT DO I CONCLUDE FROM THE HISTORY SURROUNDING THE DEVELOPMENT OF LETCHWORTH?

MY FIRST CONCLUSION IS THAT MANY OF LETCHWORTH'S FOUNDERS CERTAINLY THE UTOPOLOGISTS AND THE MIDDLE CLASS IDEALISTS, PERHAPS LESS SO THE ORDINARY WORKING MEN WHO HAD COME TO GET A JOB, WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY PROUD OF THE GARDEN CITY AS IT WAS ORIGINALLY DEVELOPED. I SUSPECT THEY GOT A BIT OF EVERYTHING, BUT NOT AS MUCH AS THEY WANTED OF ANYTHING. BUT, OF COURSE, THE FUNDAMENTALS WERE THERE AND INDEED STILL ARE.

LET US LOOK AT THESE. BY DOING SO, WE WILL GET A FEEL OF HOW THE WORLD'S FIRST GARDEN CITY HAS STOOD THE TEST OF TIME.

(i) FIRST, THE MARRYING OF TOWN AND COUNTRY. THE NOTION THAT LETCHWORTHIANS WOULD LIVE OFF THE PRODUCE OF THE RURAL ESTATE NEVER REALLY CAME TO FRUITION. IN PART THIS WAS DOWN TO AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS, IN PART THE RELATIVELY POOR QUALITY OF SOME OF THE FARMLAND. CURIOUSLY, A HUNDRED YEARS ON, WE ARE TAKING THE FIRST STEPS TO INTRODUCING CATTLE WHICH IN TIME WILL PRODUCE LETCHWORTH'S OWN ORGANIC BEEF. WONDERFUL! IN TERMS OF PHYSICALLY LINKING TOWN AND COUNTRY, WE ARE ACHIEVING MORE TODAY THAN EVER. IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS ALONE, THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION HAS MADE THE COUNTRYSIDE MORE ATTRACTIVE BY PLANTING MILES OF HEDGEROWS, THOUSANDS OF TREES, AND IMPROVING ACCESS TO THE COUNTRYSIDE THROUGH THE GARDEN CITY GREENWAY, A 20K CIRCULAR ROUTE CIRCUMNAVIGATING THE URBAN

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ESTATE, FOR WALKERS, CYCLISTS AND HORSE-RIDERS. ALL IN ALL, MORE THAN £1,000,000 HAS BEEN SPENT 'MARRYING TOWN AND COUNTRY', AND IN SO DOING INCREASING THE BIODIVERSITY OF THE ESTATE SIGNIFICANTLY.

SECONDLY, HOWARD SOUGHT A STRUCTURED TOWN WITH DISCREET INDUSTRIAL, HOUSING AND SHOPPING AREAS. THAT VISION IS STILL LARGELY INTACT, ALBEIT, OF COURSE, WE HAVE HAD TO RESPOND TO CHANGES IN INDUSTRIAL AND RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS OVER THE YEARS. THERE IS MORE PRESSURE TO DO SO AGAIN AS GOVERNMENT DRIVES THE 'BROWNFIELD' SITE DEVELOPMENT PREFERENCE. I AM SURE THE FOUNDERS OF LETCHWORTH WOULD HAVE EXPECTED US TO RESPOND TO CHANGING TIMES. I AM SURE ALSO THAT THEY WOULD HAVE APPLAUDED THE STRATEGIC WORK WHICH HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN CONTINUALLY BY THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION; IN RELATION TO THE VARIOUS PARTS OF THE TOWN, A STRATEGY FOR THE REGENERATION OF THE TOWN CENTRE – DEVELOPED WITH GREAT SUCCESS – AN URBAN DESIGN STRATEGY – A STRATEGY FOR REVITALISING THE INDUSTRIAL AREAS.

THE ECONOMIC SUCCESS OF THE TOWN WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO THE EARLY FOUNDERS, HENCE, AS I MENTIONED EARLIER, SOME OF THE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW BETWEEN HOWARD AND HIS BOARD. ECONOMIC SUCCESS REMAINS A HUGE PRIORITY FOR THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION. IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS ALONE THE VALUE OF THE GARDEN CITY ESTATE HAS INCREASED BY ALMOST 100%.

HOW HAS THIS BEEN DELIVERED? INITIALLY, A SOUND, REASONABLY DIVERSE INDUSTRIAL BASE WAS DEVELOPED IN LETCHWORTH AND WAS THEN ERODED. BY THE 1990'S IT WAS BEING SUBSTANTIALLY REPLACED BY MORE SERVICE SECTOR ORIENTED BUSINESSES AND THAT HAS BEEN SUSTAINED, INDEED ENHANCED, IN RECENT YEARS.

THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION HAS INVESTED HUGELY IN PROVIDING THE TYPE OF BUSINESS SPACE WHICH BUSINESSES NEED IN THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY. THIS SPLENDID BUILDING IN WHICH WE SIT, RESTORED BY THE FOUNDATION AT A COST OF SOME £11M, IS PERHAPS THE MOST VISIBLE EXAMPLE. WE CONSIDERED RESIDENTIAL AND OTHER OPTIONS BEFORE DECIDING ON OFFICE USE. BELIEVE ME, IT WAS A HIGH-RISK INVESTMENT AT THE TIME, GIVEN THAT LETCHWORTH DID NOT HAVE A REPUTATION AS A STRONG OFFICE LOCATION. HOWEVER, THE NEW SPIRELLA HAS PROVED TO BE A HUGE SUCCESS. THE BUILDING WAS FULLY LET WITHIN A YEAR AND SINCE THEN RENTS HAVE INCREASED BY SOME 50%. THE BUILDING WON ONE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM'S PROPERTY OSCARS, WITH THE FOUNDATION BEING AWARDED THE INNOVATION OF THE YEAR AWARD AT THE PROPERTY AWARDS IN 1999. MORE RECENTLY, ONE OF THE MOST DISLIKED BUILDINGS IN LETCHWORTH, THE OLD ICL BUILDING OPPOSITE KENNEDY GARDENS WAS TRANSFORMED INTO TOP QUALITY HIGH TECHNOLOGY BUSINESS SPACE BY THE FOUNDATION AT A COST OF SOME £4.5M. IT IS ALREADY 50% LET. NEW DEVELOPMENTS ON THE BUSINESS PARK AND INDUSTRIAL AREAS CONTINUED THIS TREND OF PRODUCING QUALITY SPACE WHICH MEETS THE NEEDS OF BUSINESSES OPERATING IN THE GROWTH SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY.

ARCHITECTURAL STYLE AND SUBSTANCE WERE ALWAYS IMPORTANT. THE FOUNDERS INITIAL AMBITIONS WERE INTERPRETED AND TRANSLATED INTO AN ARCHITECTURAL STYLE WHICH WAS APPLAUDED AND VALUED. CHANGES IN NATIONAL LEGISLATION, WHICH ALLOWED PEOPLE TO BUY THE FREEHOLDS OF THEIR HOMES COULD HAVE BEEN A MAJOR THREAT, BRINGING WITH IT THE LOSS OF CONTROLS IN LEASES. INSTEAD, A SCHEME OF MANAGEMENT WAS AGREED IN THE HIGH COURT WHICH EXERTS SIMILAR CONTROLS. NOW, MORE THAN EVER, THE PRESERVATION AND RESTORATION OF KEY PROPERTIES IS BEING TAKEN SERIOUSLY, FROM THE GRAND SCALE RESTORATION OF THE SPIRELLA BUILDING TO THE BROADWAY CINEMA, TRANSFORMED FROM A DOWN AT HEEL SINGLE SCREEN OPERATION TO A THREE SCREEN STATE OF THE ART ART DECO CINEMA. INDIVIDUAL RESIDENTIAL PROPERTIES ARE JUST AS IMPORTANT IN THEIR TOTALITY AND THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION HAS PRODUCED A DESIGN GUIDE AND DETAILED GUIDANCE NOTES WHICH ENCOURAGES BEST PRACTICE. WE ALSO ENCOURAGE THIS THROUGH GIVING HERITAGE GRANTS. ESSENTIALLY, WE ARE ENCOURAGING HIGH STANDARDS IN TERMS OF PLANNING AND

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ARCHITECTURE.

THE JOY OF LIVING A HEALTHY LIFESTYLE WAS IMPORTANT TO HOWARD AND HIS FOLLOWERS. IT STILL IS. THESE DAYS WE DON'T ENCOURAGE SLEEPING IN THE OPEN AIR, WHICH USED TO HAPPEN AT THE IDIOSYNCRATIC CLOISTERS. HOWEVER, MAINLY THANKS TO GRANTS FROM THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION, LETCHWORTH'S RANGE OF SPORTS FACILITIES IS UNSURPASSED. WE ALSO HAVE A SPLENDID NORTON COMMON TO STROLL ON AND OUR COUNTRY WALKS.

A KEY PRINCIPLE OF HOWARD'S VISION WAS THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE COMMUNITY IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE TOWN. THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION'S STRUCTURE OFFERS GREATER INVOLVEMENT THAN EVER. WE HAVE SIX ELECTED GOVERNORS, 10 NOMINATED GOVERNORS FROM CLUBS AND SOCIETIES, WHOSE ACTIVITIES MIRROR THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION'S CHARITABLE OBJECTS, AND 14 GENERAL GOVERNORS, WHO WE HAVE EVEN ADVERTISED FOR. NOT FOR LETCHWORTH NOW CLANDESTINE APPOINTMENTS BY A SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE ENVIRONMENT. WE HAVE A BOARD OF MANAGEMENT ELECTED BY THE GOVERNORS. DEMOCRACY IN ACTION, AND, YES, WE HAVE FEMALE GOVERNORS AND BOARD OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS. OUR FOUNDERS WOULD BE PROUD.

PEOPLE WERE TO LIVE CLOSE ENOUGH TO WORK SO THAT THEY COULD WALK. MANY STILL COULD, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE TOO LAZY TO, PREFERRING THE MOTOR CAR WHOSE MASSIVE INTERVENTION LETCHWORTH'S FOUNDERS COULD NOT HAVE ENVISAGED, AND WHICH THEY CERTAINLY WOULD NOT HAVE WELCOMED. INTERESTINGLY, THOUGH, OUR GREENWAY, WHICH I REFERRED TO EARLIER, HAS, IN PLACES, ENCOURAGED MORE PEOPLE TO TAKE TO THEIR BIKES RATHER THAN USE CARS.

SHOPPING HAS PLAYED ITS PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LETCHWORTH. HOWARD HAD NO LOVE FOR WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS 'THE ABSURD AND WASTEFUL MULTIPLICATION OF SHOPS', YET HIS CRYSTAL PALACE WAS THERE FOR SHOPPING, WHICH REQUIRED THE 'JOY OF DELIBERATION AND SELECTION' – SPECIALITY RETAIL IN OTHER WORDS. WELL, WE HARDLY HAVE A PLETHORA OF NATIONAL MULTIPLE RETAILERS IN LETCHWORTH, BUT WE DO HAVE A SPLENDID ARRAY OF SPECIALITY RETAIL, SOME OF IT THRIVING UNDER OUR OWN 'CRYSTAL PALACE', THE GLASS TOPPED REFURBISHED ARCADE. THE REGENERATION OF LETCHWORTH RETAILING, THE KEY STRUT OF TOWN CENTRE REJUVENATION, HAS BEEN PERHAPS THE MOST VISIBLE OF THE FOUNDATION'S ACHIEVEMENTS IN RECENT YEARS. THE GARDEN CITY'S RETAILING OFFER WAS IN DESPERATE DIFFICULTIES BY THE MID-1990S. SAINSBURY'S SUPERMARKET HAD MOVED TO THE BUSINESS PARK SOME YEARS BEFORE AND THIS HAD BEEN HUGELY DEBILITATING FOR THE TOWN CENTRE. NORTH HERTFORDSHIRE COLLEGE – THE PRIME FURTHER EDUCATION PROVIDER IN THE AREA, WHICH HAD A SUBSTANTIAL TOWN CENTRE PRESENCE – ALBEIT NOT A VERY PRETTY ONE – WAS KEEN TO SELL ITS LAND TO A SUPERMARKET. HOWEVER, THAT LAND, IN ITSELF, COULD NOT PRODUCE A SITE LARGE ENOUGH, AND IN THE RIGHT LOCATION, TO ATTRACT A SUPERMARKET WHICH WOULD BRING THE FOOTFALL INTO THE TOWN CENTRE WHICH WAS SO DESPERATELY REQUIRED. THE LOCAL AUTHORITY WAS PERSUADED TO JOIN THE COLLEGE AND THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION IN MARKETING AN ENLARGED SITE, INCLUDING A COUNCIL OWNED CAR PARK, AND THE SITE WAS EVENTUALLY SOLD TO WILLIAM MORRISONS SUPERMARKET PLC, AN AGGRESSIVELY EXPANDING SUPERMARKET OPERATOR. THEIR DEVELOPMENT, INCLUDING THE RESTORATION OF TWO EXISTING BUILDINGS HAS PROVED TO BE A HUGE SUCCESS, BRINGING SOME 30,000 PEOPLE PER WEEK INTO LETCHWORTH TOWN CENTRE.

KEY TO THE REGENERATION OF LETCHWORTH TOWN CENTRE WAS THE INTRODUCTION OF LEISURE ELEMENTS TO SIT ALONGSIDE RETAIL. AS I MENTIONED PREVIOUSLY, THE FOUNDATION SET UP BROADWAY CINEMA LTD AND REDEVELOPED THE ART DECO CINEMA. ALSO, RATHER CONTROVERSIALLY, THE FOUNDATION BROUGHT THREE NEW BARS INTO LETCHWORTH TOWN CENTRE. LETCHWORTH HAD BEEN KNOWN AS A 'DRY' TOWN FOR A LONG TIME, AND, INDEED, IN THE PAST, LOCAL PEOPLE HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO VOTE TO DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT IT SHOULD

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REMAIN SO. SUCH OVERT DEMOCRACY WAS QUICKLY SET ASIDE IN THE INTEREST OF TOWN CENTRE REVITALISATION.

A FURTHER INITIATIVE OF TOWN CENTRE REVITALISATION WAS THE TRANSFORMATION OF EMPTY PROPERTY ABOVE SHOPS INTO FLATS, UNDER THE LIVING OVER THE SHOPS INITIATIVE. AGAIN, THIS PROVED IMMEDIATELY SUCCESSFUL, ATTRACTING PEOPLE TO LIVE IN THE TOWN CENTRE. PART OF THE ATTRACTION OF LIVING THERE WAS OF COURSE THE RAPIDLY IMPROVING FACILITIES THERE. RESTAURANTS STARTED TO OPEN TO SUPPLEMENT THE BARS AND CINEMA NIGHTLIFE. POSITIVELY, TO MY MIND, MANY OF THE TOWN CENTRE FLAT DWELLERS DO NOT OWN CARS. THEY WORK IN LONDON, TRAVEL BY TRAIN, AND ENJOY THE QUIET LIFE AT WEEKENDS IN THE GARDEN CITY.

THE ORIGINAL PLANS FOR LETCHWORTH STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF A RAILWAY. IT IS STILL MASSIVELY IMPORTANT, ALBEIT FOR DIFFERENT REASONS. MANY THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE NOW COMMUTE FROM LETCHWORTH TO WORK IN LONDON AND, CURIOUSLY PERHAPS, AS MANY PEOPLE COME IN TO LETCHWORTH TO WORK AS LEAVE IT IN THE MORNING.

THE FLAME OF INNOVATION, WHICH PLAYED SUCH A PART IN CREATING THE WORLD'S FIRST GARDEN CITY, I CAN ASSURE YOU STILL BURNS AS BRIGHTLY AS EVER. IN OPENING THE SPIRELLA BUILDING, THE PRINCE OF WALES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT WE WERE AN EXAMPLE OTHERS IN THE UK MUST FOLLOW IN RELATION TO REGENERATING DERELICT LISTED BUILDINGS.

CLEARLY, IN PHYSICAL TERMS, LETCHWORTH IS NOT A MIRROR IMAGE OF WHAT IT WAS IN ITS FORMATIVE YEARS. IT IS A TOWN AFTER ALL, NOT A MUSEUM. TIMES HAVE CHANGED AND THE GARDEN CITY HAS ADJUSTED ACCORDINGLY. HOWEVER, THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES REMAIN LARGELY INTACT AND THE GOOD PEOPLE OF THE GARDEN CITY STILL ENJOY THE BEST OF TOWN AND THE BEST OF COUNTRY.

HOWEVER, MOST FUNDAMENTAL TO HOWARD'S VISION WAS THE RETENTION OF VALUE, OF PROFIT WITHIN THE GARDEN CITY. THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION STRUCTURE NOW MEETS THAT ASPIRATION AND DOES SO IN A HIGHLY VISIBLE WAY. EVERY PENNY MADE THROUGH THE PROPERTY AND FARMING ACTIVITIES OF THE FOUNDATION AND ITS SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES IS EITHER REINVESTED IN THE GARDEN CITY OR DISTRIBUTED BY WAY OF OUR CHARITABLE ACTIVITIES. SINCE THE FOUNDATION WAS SET UP OVER £8.5 MILLION, HAS BEEN DISTRIBUTED THROUGH DIRECT OR INDIRECT CHARITABLE EXPENDITURE. THIS EQUATES, ASTONISHINGLY, TO NEARLY £4,000 PER DAY OF THE FOUNDATION'S EXISTENCE.

THERE ARE MANY ADMIRABLE PLACES IN THE WORLD WHERE PLANNERS AND ARCHITECTS HAVE FOLLOWED THE 'PHYSICAL MODEL' OF THE GARDEN CITY. TO MY KNOWLEDGE, THERE ARE NONE WHERE THE VALUE OF THE DEVELOPMENT IS RETAINED ENTIRELY WITHIN IT. THEREIN LIES THE UNIQUENESS OF LETCHWORTH GARDEN CITY; THEREIN LIES THE CHALLENGE FOR OTHERS TO FOLLOW.

FOR THEM TO DO SO, WILL REQUIRE A BROADER, LONGER TERM VIEW TO BE TAKEN BY GOVERNMENTS THAN HAS BEEN EVIDENT TO DATE. A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE INITIAL INVESTMENT TO SET UP A NEW COMMUNITY WILL HAVE TO COME FROM THE PUBLIC PURSE. ADDED TO SOME OF THE DEVELOPER'S PROFITS, THE INCOME FROM THE PUBLIC SECTOR CAPITAL DOWRY NEEDS TO BE THE LIFEBLOOD OF THE ADDED VALUE ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY 'OFFER'. IT IS FUTILE FOR GOVERNMENTS TO MAKE THE UP FRONT PUBLIC SECTOR INVESTMENT, THEN CLAW IT BACK.

THE LETCHWORTH GARDEN CITY MODEL, WITH THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION OPERATING AS AN INDUSTRIAL AND PROVIDENT SOCIETY IS IMPERFECT; HOWEVER, 100 YEARS ON FROM THE ADVENT OF THE FIRST GARDEN CITY, I SUSPECT THAT IT IS AS GOOD AS IT GETS.

BUT MAURITS AND I ARE KEEN THAT THE CONFERENCE FOCUSES ON THE FUTURE.

THE WORRYING THOUGHT IS THAT UNDER THE PLANNING REGIMES WHICH CURRENTLY APPLY IN THE UK, LETCHWORTH GARDEN CITY COULD NOT NOW BE BUILT.

GOVERNMENT IS OBSESSED WITH BROWNFIELD DEVELOPMENT – THE RE-USE OF PREVIOUSLY DEVELOPED LAND – AND WHILE RE-USING BROWNFIELD SITES CLEARLY MAKES SOME SENSE, IT IS NOT THE ANSWER TO ALL OUR NEEDS.

IT BRINGS WITH IT DEVELOPMENT COSTS WHICH ARE NOT ALWAYS EASY TO RECONCILE WITH VALUE; HENCE THE NEED, VERY OFTEN, FOR SUBSIDY FROM THE PUBLIC PURSE. THESE PUBLIC MONIES COULD BE BETTER USED. LET US NOT FORGET THAT THE INITIAL KEY ATTRACTION OF THE EBENEZER HOWARD MODEL OF THE GARDEN CITY WAS BUYING LAND AT AGRICULTURAL VALUES.

I BELIEVE IT IS NAÏVE AND COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE FOR GOVERNMENT TO FIGHT SO SINGLE-MINDEDLY AGAINST GREENFIELD DEVELOPMENT; BY DOING SO, THEY CREATE THE VERY CONDITIONS WHICH STIFLE, INDEED SUFFOCATE, THE INNOVATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW COMMUNITIES. I STRESS INNOVATIVE; THERE IS NO ONE MORE OPPOSED THAN ME TO 'LITTLE BOXES ON HILLSIDES' – THE WORST SORT OF RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE BLIGHTED OUR COUNTRYSIDE IN THE PAST.

I HAVE BEEN IMMENSELY HEARTENED WHEN I HAVE ATTENDED PAST IPHS CONFERENCES, AND THE KOBE AND TSUKUBA CONFERENCES LAST SEPTEMBER, BY THE SHEER COMMITMENT, THE WILL, THE ENERGY OF SO MANY OF YOU TO PROVIDE ANSWERS IN RESPECT OF THE NEW LIVING AND WORKING ENVIRONMENTS WHICH ARE NEEDED IN THE WORLD OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY.

LET US HAVE NO DOUBT; THERE ARE HUGE OPPORTUNITIES TO AVOID REPLICATING THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST AND FIND TRULY NEW, INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS.

I WAS DISCUSSING WITH OUR CONFERENCE CONVENOR, MAURITS VAN ROOIJEN, ONLY THE OTHER DAY, THE POTENTIAL FOR CHINA, WITH ITS VAST SIZE AND CHEAP LAND, TO MAKE THE MISTAKES OTHERS HAVE MADE IN THE PAST.

WE, YOU, NEED TO BE ENGAGING WITH CHINA AND OTHERS TO PROVIDE SUSTAINABLE, ACCEPTABLE, INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, BELIEVE ME, THE WORLD NEEDS A NEW EBENEZER HOWARD EVERY BIT AS MUCH NOW, AS IT NEEDED THE MASTER 100 YEARS AGO.

HE OR SHE MAY INDEED BE IN OUR MIDST. PLEASE TAKE AWAY WITH YOU FROM THE WORLD'S FIRST GARDEN CITY, THE POSITIVES; ACKNOWLEDGING THE NEGATIVES, BUT ABOVE ALL ELSE, COMMIT YOURSELVES TO BUILD ON THE GARDEN CITY MODEL, TO DEVISE AND 'SELL' TO YOUR GOVERNMENTS AROUND THE GLOBE INNOVATIVE, SUSTAINABLE SOLUTIONS IN TERMS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW COMMUNITIES.

ABOVE ALL ELSE, LIKE EBENEZER HOWARD, ENSURE THAT VISIONS ARE TRANSLATED INTO REALITY.

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## Searching for the Framework for a 'World History' of Planning

Shun-ichi J. Watanabe  
Professor of Urban Planning, Tokyo University of Science  
(shun.watanabe@nifty.com)

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# 1. Introduction

Thank you, President Ward. Ladies and gentlemen, good evening.

I am deeply honoured to have been asked to give this lecture commemorating the great Professor Gordon E. Cherry. First of all, for those who remember Gordon so well and for those who do not know him, let me introduce the late Professor Gordon E. Cherry.

He was not only such an outstanding authority in planning history, but also one of the founding fathers of this association, and always demonstrated great academic leadership. From the first time I attended this conference, Gordon always made a special effort to help and guide me, as a participant from outside the Western world. Further, when we held the Third International Planning History Conference in Tokyo in 1988 in order to begin to ‘internationalise’ planning history, Gordon helped to make the conference a success by consenting to be our adviser and contributing his leadership. Standing here on this platform, I remember him so vividly that I can scarcely express to you my sadness that he is not here with us tonight.

Just exactly a quarter century ago, I attended the first International Planning History Conference held in 1977 at Bedford College in Regent’s Park. The themes of the papers were: the English Town Planning Act of 1909, German Town Expansion methods, the American City Beautiful Movement, et cetera. As a young visitor from the Far East who knew of these wonderful cases only from textbooks, I felt as if I had died and gone to heaven to hear them spoken of by those who were the foremost researchers in the field. As almost all the participants were from Britain, the US, and Germany, I had the strong feeling that ‘Wow, this is not an “international” planning history conference, this is a “NATO” planning history conference!’

Now we are here at the 10th conference. Apart from the fifth conference in Richmond, Virginia, I have attended and presented a paper at each event. I am sorry to say that with Gordon not attending, I may have inherited the distinction of being the ‘World Champion’ in conference attendance. I am thinking that soon I will have to apply to the Guinness Book of World Records.

## 2. Themes

### 2-1. From ‘International History’ to ‘World History’

Since this association was established in 1993, I have been the only council member from outside the Western bloc. My academic mission has been to turn this association into a truly ‘international’ one. But what does that really mean? Let me ask you a couple of questions.

First, ‘Is it part of international planning history if we discuss historically important planning cases of different countries at an international conference?’ My answer is: ‘No, a mere international accumulation of national histories does not make international history.’

Second, ‘How about the research on such internationally famous planning cases as Garden Cities and New Urbanism?’ My answer is: ‘No, they are only the history of internationally famous planning attainments.’

Third, ‘How about the history of international exchange of planning ideas and techniques?’ My answer is: ‘Partly YES.’ It is my belief that in order to create real ‘international history’ it is not enough simply to work from the ‘bottom up’ of case studies from each separate country, but it is also clearly necessary to work ‘top down’ from the viewpoint of the whole ‘world history’.

## 2-2. The Worldwide Diffusion of Modern Western Urban Planning

I believe that there is a very strong bias towards Western Europe and North America in this association. The reason for it lies in the fact of the worldwide diffusion of what we call 'modern Western urban planning.' At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, modern urban planning was developed in England, Germany, the US, and elsewhere, which I call the 'West', and since then has spread throughout the world. In this presentation, I roughly include all other areas collectively as the 'non-West'.

The Western countries were the first in the world to experience the Industrial Revolution and the resulting rapid industrialization and urbanization. Entirely new patterns of urban space such as industrial districts, slums, suburbs, et cetera began to be created. New social classes such as the industrial working class and urban middle class began to emerge. With the rapid and disorderly growth of the industrial cities, serious environmental, social, and residential problems emerged.

The creation of these dreadful inhuman urban environments led in turn to the creation of various methods of public intervention and rational control over private development, which finally created urban planning as a social control technology. This was a reform movement based upon the power of the citizens, and a central theme was the 'total control of the built environment'. The main battlefield of the reform was in the suburbs, where the middle class with gradually increasing political power sought for the planned development of quality residential areas of their own.

With the spread of international exchanges among the Western countries, this new social technology of urban planning began to spread and to produce a variety of planning legislation, techniques, professional organizations, urban images, and so on.

As we all know, a very important contribution to this flow of ideas was made by Ebenezer Howard with his theory and movement of the Garden City. In Japan, by the way, almost a century has passed since the garden city concept was first introduced in 1905, and planners have not been able to stop thinking about it ever since. This is still the case, as is proven by the tremendous participation in this conference, at which even families are participating - including my four-year-old grandchild.

At the beginning of the 20th century, urban industrialization began to spread throughout the world, and with it modern Western urban planning also spread to the non-West. Therefore, to a greater or lesser degree, the history of modern urban planning in each country worldwide can be seen as the history of the encounter and/or collision of that country's urbanism with modern Western urban planning. In this way it is possible to sketch one part of a 'world history' of planning.

In many cases, however, international exchange was fundamentally 'unidirectional'. In other words, if we are to make a flow diagram, the flow was always 'from the West to non-West'. In this way the modernist bias that 'Western and modern is good, and native and pre-modern is bad' was also spread.

In this situation, Japan's position was somewhat delicate. From the Japanese standpoint, a two-tier structure was evident. At the world scale, ideas came from the so-called 'advanced' West to the 'delayed' East Asia as a whole. At the East Asian scale, however, ideas were imposed from Imperial Japan to neighbouring countries during the period before World War II. It pains me greatly to admit this to my fellow researchers from other East Asian countries.



### 2-3. 'Something Worth Knowing'

In international 'exchanges' in the past, very little academic interest has been paid to urban planning in the non-West, namely in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, which by the way is an area of great concern for the next conference to be held in Barcelona, 2004. But leaving it this way will be unsatisfactory to participants from the non-West and particularly to those from the developing world. If I can say so as an IPHS council member, without an increase of members from the non-West, this meeting surely looks a lot like an exclusive club for planners and historians on the admirable urban planning of the rich Western countries. No matter how you look at it, this does not fit with the thinking of the wise Professor Gordon Cherry.

As for the planning history of the non-West, not much has been published. Of course, in this we researchers from the non-West are also to blame. But it is also the case that Western researchers have not shown as great an interest in our planning history as we have shown in theirs. The Western planners tended to think: 'Compared with our own "good" cities, what are these "bad" slums in the developing world? It is not possible to have planning history of cities that are nothing but slums.' In other words, they thought that there is no planning history worthy of knowing in such places. But I would ask: 'Is this view right?'

In order to think this point through more deeply, I want to pose two questions. First: 'Is planning history the history of "good" planning only?' Of course, the answer is NO. Second: 'Is planning history the history of "all" kinds of planning, namely, a history of "good" AND "bad" planning?' And of course the answer is YES. For me it is worth knowing both about 'good' planning and 'bad' planning. The first reason is that it is absolutely necessary to understand the structure of 'bad' planning in order to improve it toward 'good' planning.

The second reason is that discussing 'what is "good" planning' and 'what is "bad" planning' would open the possibility of our understanding the social nature of planning. It is important to critically examine the concept of 'good' planning of the West, which has been generally considered as the planning model universally applicable in the entire world. What is needed is to understand it not as the 'absolute' model but as a particular result of Western history, and to 'relativise' it. Such 'relativity' of modern Western urban planning is an indispensable necessary precondition for a 'world history'.

It is probably possible to pursue this way of thinking from the standpoint of Japan. The reason is that 100 years ago Japan was an underdeveloped country in terms of modern planning, and through interaction with modern Western urban planning Japan became a recently developed country. So we can most deeply understand the difficulties of the presently developing countries when illuminated by our own past experience. However, the problem is that, in reality, few know how to progress with such research, and the methodology is not clear. A theory is now needed which would be able to encompass the experiences of both West and non-West, and developed and developing countries.

And so, I want to discuss a theoretical framework from now on. I am afraid that this will probably get pretty theoretical and dense. For all those who find themselves wanting to fall asleep, please go ahead. I believe in the free market where the free choice of consumers is very important. But don't snore too loud; no external diseconomies, please.



## Planning System



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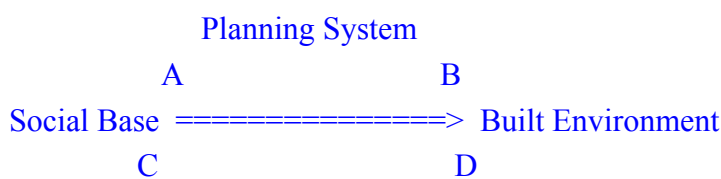
Well, what about the ‘city’, which is the output of such a planning system? Generally speaking, modern Western urban planning has dealt with the ‘city’ as the physical or ‘built environment’, not as a non-physical entity.

First, it conceived the ‘city’ as the social system that supports the urban life of people in terms of ‘facilities’ or ‘land uses’. Second, it paid special attention to the ‘good’ or ‘bad’ arrangements of the kind, location, scale, and form of these facilities or land uses. Third, based upon this standpoint, it aimed at generally improving these arrangements. In a word, modern Western urban planning has developed as ‘physical planning’.

In a later development, we could see the growth of two general ideas. The first is that urban planning is no longer limited to merely working toward the purely physical ‘good city’, but is also characterised by an expansion towards broader non-physical social goals such as cities that are environmentally sound and economically vital. The second is that just as the area of activities of urban dwellers expanded, the planned area also expanded from the urban to surrounding suburban areas, and from the urban to regional scales.

With this expansion of the scope and scale of urban planning, in many countries ‘urban’ planning is no longer focused on cities only but on the entire space of the country, and it has become common to simply refer to it as ‘planning’, not ‘urban planning’. In the following the term ‘built environment’ is used instead of ‘city’. Then, let us call the whole fabric of the social base, planning system, and built environment the ‘planning world’.

Finally, it is important to note that the built environment created in one period is incorporated into the society of the next period, and can become a strong part of the social base. Following this logic, the flow diagram of the ‘planning world’ can be completed this way:



(Next Period)

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(NB C and D should be replaced by: C: upper left arrow and D: lower left arrow)

### 3-2. ‘Comparative Planning’ Methodology

Such a ‘planning world’ takes a different form in each country and each period. Here I define ‘comparative planning’ research as an approach that attempts to get an accurate understanding of the planning world through comparing the similarities and differences of various planning worlds. We can compare the planning world as a whole, its components, or its subcomponents. For example, we can compare:

- English garden city vs. Japanese garden city (planning world level),
- World cities of New York vs. Tokyo (built environment level),
- American zoning vs. English development control (planning system level), or

- Japanese land problem vs. Korean land problem (social base level).

Let us now turn to the methodology of comparative planning. First, we select, say, the various built environments for comparison, and mutually compare them to clarify their similarities and differences. Here the point is to pay special attention to 'differences' rather than 'similarities', and begin to draw a picture of precisely 'HOW different they are'. Next we must explain 'WHY they are so different' based upon various factors of the planning system. In case we select planning systems as comparative objects, our explanation must be based upon the social base. By doing so, we can come to a good understanding of the way the built environment is so uniquely and differently affected by the different planning systems, or similarly the planning system affected by the social base.

### **3-3. Points about Comparative Planning Research**

Paying special attention to differences in the comparative objects in this way would deepen our understanding of the planning world. It is quite a matter of course that comparison needs multiple comparative objects. Further, I would like to mention three points that seem to be important for comparative research.

First, in order to explore the differences in the comparative objects it is necessary to carefully compare each set of corresponding elements separately. Such a comparison is premised on the idea that there are some structural similarities between the comparative objects. If there are no structural similarities, it is simply impossible to make a comparison. Isaac Newton cannot be compared with an apple. On the other hand, Isaac Newton can be compared with Marilyn Monroe.

In other words, the structural similarity and the attributive difference (and similarity) are made clear by the comparison. Having detected some areas of similarity, by increasing the number of cases compared, we can gradually approach 'universality'. This also suggests that comparative research finds not only differences but also makes the universality clear.

Second, in the comparative research method that I have just described, you may have an impression that we compare very mechanically the corresponding elements with equal weights. This method may be called a 'hard comparison' in contrast to a 'soft comparison', by which you have a main comparative object in the centre of your concern with a heavy weight and compare it with many other objects without placing an equal value on them. In this case, emphasis is put on searching for the unique characteristics of the main comparative object, which may lead to the discovery of the particular 'key concept' of it.

For example, I think it is possible to pretty well explain the general characteristics of the planning world of England with the key concept of the 'amenity ideal' and similarly the American planning world with the key concept of the 'community ideal'. The 'Watanabe Thesis' would hold that another unique British key concept is the 'country living ideal'. Without understanding the historical and social context of this ideal, it is impossible for a foreigner to answer the question: 'Why do all British town planning professors choose to live in the countryside, not in the city?'

Third, the comparative objects that you choose can be the case of multiple countries in the same period or the case of a single country at different periods. We can understand the former as international comparative research and the latter as historical research. These two research methods can be equally handled in this way, at least structurally. This view is especially important in trying to find the essential characteristics of the planning world that have constantly changed historically in every country.

A theoretical framework and plan of approach have been set out above. When these two are laid on top of each other, what kinds of new understandings and questions are created? I will discuss these two points in order now.

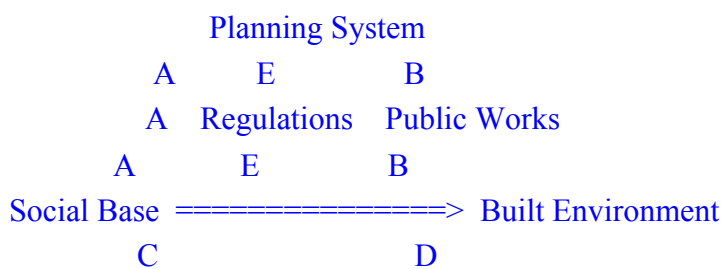
### 3-4. Planning System Intervention

It is worth asking: ‘What does it mean to say that a planning system “makes” the built environment?’ That is to ask: ‘How does the planning system intervene in the process by which the social base creates the built environment?’ In the case of modern Western urban planning, public intervention into the market by governments was a response to the evident ‘failure of the market’ in providing a good urban environment during the Industrial Revolution. The following three are the fundamental technical measures that were developed as planning tools.

The first is ‘public works’. Public works are the direct provision by the government of a range of such urban infrastructure as roads, parks, and others that are not usually provided through the market mechanism. In order to provide such services it is commonly necessary for the government to acquire sites and to build on them by itself. This can be seen as a ‘direct intervention’ by the government in the working of the market.

The second is ‘regulations’. The government can also have a powerful influence on the development of urban areas even when it does not build directly; it can regulate the processes of investment and building of new housing, shops, and factories by the private sector. Such regulations can be seen as an ‘indirect intervention’ in market processes by the government. A common example of such regulations is the land use control techniques such as American ‘zoning’ and British ‘development control’.

Generally speaking, modern Western urban planning tried to control the entire urban space by dividing it into two areas of distinctly different nature and dealing with them with different planning measures. One is the public space for urban infrastructure by public works, which was maintained directly by the government; the other is the privately owned space for private development, which was indirectly regulated by the government.



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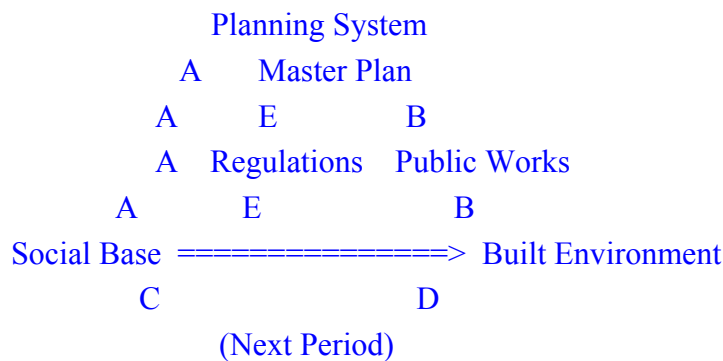
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The third is the ‘Master Plan’, or American ‘comprehensive plan’ and British ‘development plan’. It is often the case that in carrying out public works and regulations, local citizens’ opinions will come up to oppose them. In order to both gain citizens’ consent and to allow greater input from public opinion, it becomes necessary to create a common basis for creating the ‘good’ built environment.

The Master Plan is a public document that shows the concept of a future vision for the

development, improvement, and conservation of the built environment in the form of maps, diagrams, and short text. Its functions are: first, to serve as the basic grounds for individual decisions for public works and regulations; and second, to provide visions to widen the range of choices for future decisions. In this way the Master Plan became an important planning tool for systematising such public participation and evaluation.

The sophisticated two-tier system made up of the Master Plan, on the one hand, and public works and regulations, on the other, is well developed in the West, which is the technical core of modern planning at large.



### 3-5. Social Support for the Planning System

For a planning system to be able to make effective interventions, it is crucial that it has strong and informed support in the social base. What we should pay attention to here is the structure of that support. The point is the question: ‘Which social class benefits most from the practice of planning?’

For the most part, the supporters of modern Western urban planning were the newly developed middle classes whose own homes were in the suburbs, and their aim was to create and protect their ‘good’ residential environment through land use regulations. In fact, the motivation of preserving their own property values was clear but kept rather secret.

A planning profession with its own sense of values and expertise was created to carry urban planning forward. Those professionals developed an image of the ‘good city’, which denied the further growth of large cities, promoted dispersed suburban development, and developed a powerful system of land use controls to ensure that the suburbs remained separate from the central city. This image of the city and of the planning system was widely supported by the middle class. In other words, a planning system that was strongly supported by the social base was established.

The professional planners transcended their particular workplace and became a group that was united by their professional identity. In both the US and UK, the planning profession became established as a separate discipline from either architecture or engineering. The concept of the ‘good city’ is usually left quite abstract in the planning laws, and it is entrusted to the judgement of the profession to gradually define it through practical applications. In practice, therefore, in England the members of the Royal Town Planning Institute are the ones who define what the ‘good city’ is. It is not Prince Charles.

In the West, planning professionals with their own sense of values and expertise have a great deal of social support. If we look at it from a global perspective, though, such a situation is quite unusual. From the perspective of Japanese planners, it is doubly enviable that in the West the planning profession is independently established in this way and that the professionals have such strong social support. I believe many planners outside the West share this envy.



As for the social support behind urban planning in the West, it seems quite natural that it is scarcely worth mentioning. Outside the West, however, there are many countries in which there is very little social support for planning. It means that the planning system intervenes little or not at all in the process through which ‘the society builds the city’. It means that ‘the society is free to build the city itself’.

Many planners in the West, looking at the planning in the non-West, would criticise: ‘You are provided with such a “good” planning system and yet you have such a “bad” built environment.’ But I do not think this criticism is very helpful in two ways. First, all planners would agree that a planning system that intervenes little or not at all is unable to create a ‘good’ city any way.

Second, from the society’s point of view, the city that the society can build with little or no ‘unjust’ intervention IS the ‘good city’. In other words, the viewpoints of the ‘society’ and of planners can be quite different and even contradictory. There, the non-West planners are not necessarily supported as in the West.

Here, let us look at the case of land use controls. A planning system may be well supplied with various measures of regulations, but actually using them effectively is an entirely different matter. In the non-West, it is often the case that various regulatory techniques are used in ways quite different from what was originally intended, or are even not used at all. In the West, because the gap between the intent of planning techniques and their actual use is not so large, it is possible to read the urban planning law and have a reasonably accurate understanding of the facts.

In the non-West, however, it must be examined very carefully. There, even when there is a legally well-established planning system, there still can exist such practices as traditional and community-based controls as well as non-controls including a tacit consent for an illegal situation such as squatting. There, the situation is that ‘the society builds the city’ rather than ‘the planning system builds the city’. We should not overlook the reality and structure of such weakness or absence of effective planning controls. It is certainly the situation of ‘something worth knowing’ within the framework of the planning world diagram.

### **3-6. Transfer of the Planning System**

Well I have spent about 40 minutes now. I had better hurry up because I can see that Professor Ward, who is also a timekeeper, is watching me with growing anxiety. It's OK, please don't worry. I promise to finish this within next ten minutes so that everyone can make it to the pub before closing time.

In this diagram of the planning world, we can understand the worldwide spread of urban planning, which I discussed before, as the transfer of a whole or part of the planning system of one country to other. As for the success or failure of the transfer, we had a rather inadequate viewpoint in the past.

It was often thought that transfer is a success if it results in the replication on the receiving side of a planning system that is similar to that of the sending side. Also, it was often considered to be a failure if the planning system is transferred but results in a very different form from the original or if the transfer that is tried is given up in the end.

The garden city idea is a very good example of the transfer that ended up with a fairly different form in most cases throughout the world, as the transfer of the garden city, in contrast to Howard's

concept, resulted in garden suburbs.

Certainly, in this process it is essential for the receiving side both to have an accurate understanding of the planning system that is being transferred, and to fully grasp the context of the social bases of both the sending and receiving sides. There are also many cases, however, where even though the planning system was understood accurately it did not work in the implementation process of the receiving side. I believe it is in this implementation process that the transferred planning system is socially scrutinised as: acceptable as it is; acceptable only if it is transformed properly; or not acceptable and to be rejected. And we should not see the cases of transformation and rejection simply as failures.

Here I would like to reverse the normal way of looking at it. In other words, when thinking about 'success' and 'failure' in the transfer of planning systems, it is not just a simple matter of it being a success if one transfers the original system intact, and a failure if one cannot.

Generally speaking, there are many cases in the non-West where the planning system does not function at all as it is expected to in the West. In such cases Western planners are often unable to forgive the existence of 'bad' results in the built environment even where a 'correct' theory was applied. But in fact the reverse is true. What may be a 'correct' theory in the West can be quite naturally an 'inappropriate' theory that is, in our framework, even a 'bad' theory in the non-West. This view also may be applicable to the case of the garden city theory.

In this way we can begin to develop a new viewpoint about the transfer of planning systems. A desirable method for the transfer is probably not about results, but about process. In other words, it is necessary for the receiving side to have a pragmatic attitude in critically evaluating, in making any necessary changes to, and in even rejecting, the planning system to be transferred. And the final result should be reported back to the sending side. By this way both sides will learn from the transfer, be it a success or failure. Putting it like this, I believe that truly international planning exchange will be possible that will go beyond the limitation of West or non-West issues.

### **3-7. The Responsibility of Planners**

In the diagram above, my attention is directed at the improvement of the planning system. Why? Because that is the practical purpose of planning research. Here it is important to distinguish between those factors that we can manipulate for intervention, and those factors that we cannot. The former are within our responsibility, while the latter cannot be our responsibility. Generally speaking, we can manipulate the planning system but cannot manipulate the social base.

For example, the miserable slums of developing countries may not be necessarily the result of a failure of urban planning, but are probably a direct reflection of the country's poor social base. In fact, there is no need for practitioners to be ashamed of their country's poor slums at all. It is likely, however, that they will continue to suffer frustrations because they have already seen a 'good' built environment that can be produced by a 'good' planning system of the affluent West.

This interpretation may effectively absolve planners from any responsibility. But 'Can planners really escape from all responsibility for the poor social base?' Of course NOT. It is necessary for them to challenge the society towards a planning system that can actually work, based on firm ideals, and with a strict adherence to realism. Here the development of Howard's garden city movement provides an attractive model.



We all know that Howard's garden city idea has strongly influenced the development of the British planning system from the days of the first Town Planning Act of 1909 to the post-war New Towns policy. In this example, we can see how an idea first conceived by a single individual gradually gained the support of the social base and influenced the development of the planning system. If we look at this diagrammatically, we can see that at each stage of the development, the idea of the garden city as the 'driving force' pushed forward the reality of various aspects of the social base, whereas the reality as the 'checking force' dragged the idea backward. In the somewhat violent interaction of these two forces, the idea makes progress. The thing that we planners have to do is to attempt to win at this tug of war between idea and reality.

#### **4. Conclusion: Toward a 'World History' of Planning**

Now it is time to conclude. Well, 'What can we see when we review the 21st century from this perspective?'

In many non-Western countries, and especially in the developing world, most children will go to bed hungry, and most will sleep in slum-like environments tonight. On behalf of the people of such desperately poor countries, we are against 'the city that the society makes', yet 'How, and in what ways, is it possible to provide a "good city" through a "good" planning system?'

Here again we should remember Howard. If our dear Sir Ebenezer had been born in 1950, and had opened a 'Website of Tomorrow' in 1998, let us imagine what great proposal he would have uploaded on it in the evening of July 11th, 2002, fighting against the frequent lock-ups and crippling virus invasions? For all those gathered here tonight, for planners and citizens throughout the world -- including computer experts -- that is a serious issue to consider.

The crucial question here is: 'How can we prove the modern Western urban planning system, which spread throughout the world during the 20th century and which was proved to be really a useful social technology, as equally useful for the whole world society during the 21st century, particularly in the poor developing countries?'

Therefore, let us go ahead and take the various national histories that we have experienced personally and have each brought to this conference, and by discussing them from the global perspective, begin to weave them together into a contemporary and future 'world history' of planning.

After all, we are all world citizens -- And we are all Howard's students.

Thank you for your attention. Thank you, patient Buddhas.

(End)

**A study on the method of town planning stated in the Spanish  
colonial code, *Ordinances of Philip II***

Akihiro KASHIMA\* and Masao FURUYAMA\*\*

\* Doctorate Course, E.T.S. d'Arquitectura de Barcelona, Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya.  
Doctorate Course, Faculty of Engineering and Design, Kyoto Institute of Technology

\*\* Prof., Dept. of Architecture and Design, Faculty of Engineering and Design, Kyoto Institute of  
Technology, Dr. Eng.

Address : <until July, 2002>  
Akihiro Kashima  
c/Rocafort 102, 6-4,  
08015 Barcelona, SPAIN

<after August, 2002>  
Kyoto Institute of Technology  
Dept. of Architecture and Design, Faculty  
of Engineering and Design  
Furuyama Laboratory, Akihiro Kashima  
Hashigami-cho, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto City,  
606-8585, JAPAN

E-mail : akihirokashima@hotmail.com

## Abstract

This study aims to clarify and interpret the details about the town planning method mentioned in the Spanish colonial code “*Ordinances for discoveries, settlements and pacifications*” (*Ordinances of Philip II*) promulgated in 1573 by the Spanish King, *Philip II*, also to make a comparative study of the urban space composition explained in this code and the examples of the practical town planning before this code was proclaimed. First, the historical process until the code’s proclamation is presented and clarified. Second, an illustration of the planning as stated in the *Ordinances of Philip II* is discussed according to the written description. We give two examples for town planning, one is Santa Fe, Spain, built in 1492, the other is Santo Domingo, the Dominican Republic founded as a strong point of Spanish colonization. Little of its urban space has changed in Santa Fe since its foundation in the fifteenth century. As for Santo Domingo, a conscientious drawing of the town view in the sixteenth century still remains.

This study reveals that the *Ordinances of Philip II* are regarded as one of the earliest codes with town planning laws and it constitutes the fundamental code in the history of Spanish modern town planning that has influenced subsequent Spanish town planning. The result of our comparative study clearly shows that the idea of town planning in the code has much in common with the cases of practical town construction prior to the Code. The argument in the present paper shows that the experience in town planning both in Spain and the Spanish colonies has strongly influenced the lawmaking of the *Ordinances of Philip II*. Moreover, the “Plaza Mayor” which is considered to be the architype square in Spain, which has been formalized in the home country from the sixteenth century on, corresponds to the square prescribed in the *Ordinances*. Implicit in the code is the idea of the “Plaza Mayor” as a key concept in public space planning in Spanish towns and in the colonies.

## 0. Introduction

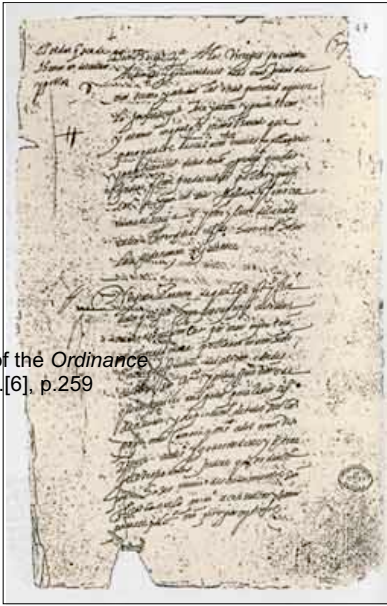


Fig.1 : The first page of the *Ordinances of Philip II*. Ref.[6], p.259

From the beginning of the sixteenth century on, Spain constructed many towns in the Spanish colonies in America. The government promulgated the regulations for town planning as laws. The construction model in the Spanish colonization process, as ZUCKER<sup>[3]</sup> and REPS<sup>[4],[8]</sup> hinted, has conceivably been materialized by the influence of Mayan and Aztec civilization succeeding to Greek and Roman tradition and the theory of town planning in Italian Renaissance period. Spain has promulgated various Laws of the Indies<sup>(1)</sup> and the code "*Ordinances of discoveries, settlements and pacifications*" ("*Ordinances of Philip II*")<sup>(2)</sup> which king, Philip II promulgated in 1573 is especially influential since it is the first compilation that regulated the town planning under the Spanish colonization. It is conceivable that the examples of town making in Spanish society carried great weight in the elaboration of the laws.

Few studies have been carried out on this topic from a comparative viewpoint of town planning in the *Ordinances of Philip II* and the examples of the actual practice of town making prior to the promulgation of the *Ordinances*.

This study aims to clarify the description provided by town planning regulations for Spanish society and, also, to consider historically the influence of actual town construction practices on lawmaking. A comparative analysis of the ideas in the *Ordinances* and some actual construction practices that took place prior to the promulgation of the *Ordinances* is discussed.

### 1. New town construction and the consolidation of the Laws of the Indies

Since Columbus discovered America in 1492 under the auspices of the Catholic Kings, Ferdinand and Isabel, the cultivation of Latin America starts. The Spanish conquerors constructed new towns in conformity with Spanish style in succession destroying the native Indian society. The establishment of a colonial government system and sending royal deputies ("deputy kings") into Mexico(1535) and Lima(1543), Spain gradually prepared the regulations on town making.

#### 1-1 About the legislation of the colonial system of government

There are two representative systems for the administration of the Indies. One is the deputy king ("Virreynato" in Spanish) and the other is the Council of the Indies ("Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias"). Laws from Spain and the King's directions on town making were exported to the colonies through these organizations.

The deputy king system consists in appointing a deputy king to the colony as a substitute king. Government in the colony is under the jurisdiction of its deputy king who maintains the royal prerogative and dignity of the country representing the king in his absence<sup>[5]</sup>. With respect to the legislation, the deputy king, who had decision making power on matters like the division of land, new town making, the retainment of order and peace of a city, had the authority to implement Laws in the Indies established in the home country. The deputy king enforced the laws and was responsible for promulgating individual laws in his own district.

The Council of the Indies is different from the Council of Castile (“Consejo de Castilla”)<sup>(3)</sup>. It is as an independent advisory body for the King’s various colonial governments. With respect to the legislation, this council drafted laws, promulgated, and compiled the collection of the laws. It became firmly established from the middle of the sixteenth century on<sup>(4)</sup>. The *Ordinances of Philip II* are regarded as a representative code of laws compiled in the early period.

## **1-2 The placement of the *Ordinances of Philip II***

New laws were promulgated as needed. This brought about the proliferation of laws, especially at the beginning of colonization. In the second half of the sixteenth century, some attempts to compile the laws in terms of the theme were seen like the compilation by Juan de Ovando, known as *Codes of Ovando*(1571-1574). The *Ordinances of Philip II* are one of them<sup>(5)</sup>.

The Laws of the Indies were originally drawn up referring to the Spanish laws of Castile under the territory of Queen Isabel and were amended to regulate the colonial society. The representative Spanish code would be the *Seven-Part Code* (“*Siete Partidas*”) in the middle of the thirteenth century. In reference to the new town making, however, no concrete laws are seen. Therefore, the *Ordinances of Philip II* in 1573 are considered the legal measures codified in Spain in the early stages in reference to the town making.

## **2. The characteristics of the *Ordinances of Philip II***

The colonial society in the New Continent greatly differed from region to region. Therefore, many laws were adapted in certain areas only. These *Ordinances of Philip II*, however, are not limited to the certain areas in the colonies. They provide general regulations on town making as well as a model of town planning.

### **2-1 Structure of the *Ordinances of Philip II***

The *Ordinances of Philip II* consist of a preface, 148 articles divided into three parts<sup>(6)</sup>, and an afterword. It is described in detail what action should be taken in the forefront of the colony and its description was very concrete and interesting. No explanations with appendices, index, or charts are added.

#### **(1) Chapter 1 of the *Ordinances of Philip II* (Article 1-31)**

The first chapter consists of 31 articles about *discoveries*. There are regulations on searching and discovering the adequate place for town making.

What is emphasized here is that the conqueror’s responsibility to submit the detailed report about their findings to the home country<sup>(7)</sup> and that they should cause no harm to the native Indians<sup>(8)</sup>. The provisions needed for settling the new town as well as the size and number of ships, amount of food, and navigational equipments are described in detail<sup>(9)</sup>. The law particularizes Articles by which are reasonable to deal with the native Indians and some representative foodstuffs to compare in the Indian lifestyle are particularized here<sup>(10)</sup>. Moreover the law requires that the conquerors should employ native people as translator and even pay suitable salary to them in order that they would promote the investigation of the Indian customs, administration system, valuable articles and daily necessities of them, religion and ceremony<sup>(11)</sup>.

#### **(2) Chapter 2 of the *Ordinances of Philip II* (Article 32-137)**

The second chapter consists of 106 articles on the *settlements*. Here the importance of providing laws for the symbiosis and prosperity with the Indians is mentioned. This chapter establishes criteria for selecting an adequate place for new town making in various articles. It also states the organization of the government in the settlement, the establishment of a council, the election of the government official, propagation of

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Christianity and the requirement for settlers to start town making in a certain period.

The town making should be at a standard altitude, the source of a river, and a well-ventilated location. Indians' nature and physical condition should be a measure for the site selection. The land should be blessed with nature, fertile soil, a place of a rich harvest of fruit and berries<sup>(12)</sup>. It is of much importance that the district is suitable for Christian missionary work. The town should have an entrance and an exit towards the sea and towards the inland that should function smoothly for defense, transaction, and escape<sup>(13)</sup>. Specific instructions on town planning are given with the plaza-making at the core in this chapter.

### (3) Chapter 3 of the *Ordinances of Philip II* (Article 138-148)

The last chapter of the *Ordinances of Philip II* consists of 11 articles about *pacification*. Through the whole chapter, it is explained how to influence the Indians and go on to create pacification after establishing a new town<sup>(14)</sup>. It is emphasized that the missionary work of Christianity is essential and those instructions are prescribed very concretely and precisely. Clergymen should wear a white dress for a priest and hold a cross in hand when preaching<sup>(15)</sup>. It is required to start education and propagation of Christianity with children prior to the adults<sup>(16)</sup>.

The settlers are instructed to preach to the Indians that they can obtain the Spanish standard of urban life by getting close to Christianity and its customs. Indians are encouraged to construct a church by themselves in order to establish a parish church community<sup>(17)</sup>.

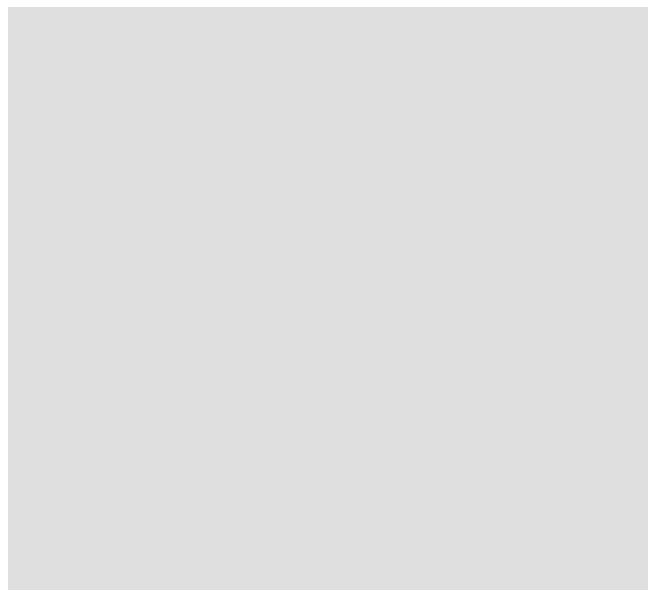
#### 2-2 Regulations on the town planning in the *Ordinances of Philip II*.

Relevant matters on town planning focusing on plaza planning are collected in Articles 71, 103-108, 110-137, 148. To sum them up, we drew Figure 2.

Article 110 says that ".....the settlers are to make planning of plazas, streets, and building lots.....starting with the main plaza from which expand the main streets to the town gates.....are to make a clear standard layout.....always follow this form in case the town spreads...."

Article 112 says ".....in case the town is on the seaside, the "Plaza Mayor" as the center point for the construction of the town should be founded on the seashore. In case of an inland town, it should be in the center of the town. The Plaza should be rectangular and its length should be at least 1.5 times longer in width...." As indicated in Fig.2, x over y is equal or more than 1.5. Moreover, with respect to the size of the plaza, Article 113 says "The scale of the plaza should be in proportion to the population of the town..... About the dimensions, it shall be larger than 83.5 meters long and 55.7 meters wide, and smaller than the 222.7 meter long and 148.1 meters wide. The ideal medium dimension of a good

Fig. 2 : Plan of the central plaza prescribed in the *Ordinances of Philip II*



proportion shall be 167.0 meters long and 111.3 meters wide.”<sup>(18)</sup> Article 114 states: “Lay down four main streets (street “a” in Fig.2), one from the mid-point of each side of the plaza, two streets (ordinary street “b”) from each corner. The four corners are to face towards the directions of the local cardinal winds (See Fig.2) so that the streets (“b”) will not be exposed to the cardinal winds and can avoid much inconvenience. Article 115 says: “In any plaza, construct porticoes around four sides of the plaza and along the main streets. On the corners, however, do not construct the porticoes so that the merchants, who always crowd along those eight streets which extend from the four corners, can go into and out of the plaza without any inconvenience so as to connect directly the streets and the plaza and line up the buildings on the street and those on the plaza”. From this point, we can figure out three patterns for the relation between the corner streets and the plaza. One is that the porticoes around the plaza and the face of the wall along the street “b” are on one line, shown as the pattern “C” in Fig.2, and the others are shown as the pattern “A” or “B” when the porticoes are made along the street “b” also and when the porticoes of the street “b” and those around the plaza are on the same line.

In addition, Article 118 says, “establish small plazas in various places of the town, distribute the cathedral, parish churches, and the abbey for the teaching of Christianity in a good ratio.” Thus comparatively many matters on the construction of the plaza are indicated in this code.

Upon the order of priority, we can recognize a model of town planning taking into account the plan of the “Plaza Mayor”, layout of the streets, and the usage and territorial use and arrangement of facilities, in that order. This represents an idea where decisions for street-layout of rectangular coordinates corresponding to the scale of the plaza must take place first, then the future extension of the town should adapt to this well-regulated rhythm.

### **3. The comparative study on the *Ordinances of Philip II* and an actual case of town construction in the home country**

Here is a study on the influence given to the constitution of *Ordinances of Philip II* by the actual case prior to the promulgation of this code.

#### **3-1 An example of town construction prior to the *Ordinances of Philip II***

We took an example of the town structure of Santa Fe in Granada. Santa Fe is a town constructed in 1492 to siege the Alhambra Palace, a stronghold of Islamic society in the late period of the *Reconquista*. Christopher Columbus and the Catholic Kings, the later sponsor for the discovery of the *New Continent*, signed an agreement on the navigation in this town. This town is not a colonial town but lies in the home country. It is considered very significant to compare this case with the colonial town making regulations from the viewpoint of new town planning on the same age, of the town construction with a strong consciousness of the different religious society, or of town establishment as a strongpoint toward the conquest and pacification. Also according to Reps, the structure of the urban space of Santa Fe has changed very little since its establishment<sup>[8]</sup> five centuries ago.

#### **3-2 The structure of urban space in Santa Fe**

##### **(1) The structure of the main plaza**

The shape of this town forms a clear rectangle as a whole with a rectangular main plaza in the center of the town. Small plazas occupy the parts of the blocks at every turn. The main plaza (“*Plaza Mayor*”) forms one rectangular block. (Fig.3)

Santa Fe is an inland town and its main plaza is located at the very center. Moreover, as concerns the form, the ratio of the sides of this plaza, the width : length is nearly equal to 1 : 1.5. The substance of Article 112 of the *Ordinances of Philip II* that refers to the

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proportion of the rectangular plaza coincides with this plaza in Santa Fe.

## (2) The street pattern

The street pattern inside the town, follow the structure of the rectangular coordinates. The main plaza also composes the rectangular coordinates together with the streets. We can see that a street runs at an angle of 90 degrees from each middle point of the upper and lower sides of the plaza. Judging from the width of the street and its extension to outskirts of the town, it



Fig.3: urban spatial structure of Santa Fe. (Ref. 81, p. 13)

is obvious that these streets used to be the main streets of the town. Meanwhile, those streets that run through the town perpendicularly to the streets mentioned above, judging from the same viewpoint, do not run from the mid-point of the right or left side of the plaza but are an extension of the lower side of the plaza. When we take into account Article 110 it is clear that the first consideration of plaza planning is to make a clear standard layout. Article 114 also states the detailed composition of the plaza and the streets extending from it, the composition of the “Plaza Mayor” and its extending streets forms the core of this standard layout pattern. From the geometrical drawing in Fig.3, we can confirm that the rectangle of the “Plaza Mayor” determines the outline of the town from the street patterns. Both the outline of the plaza and the town have a similar shape.

Also, from the four corners of the main plaza of Santa Fe, as Fig.3 shows, there extend two streets from the upper right corner, one from the upper left, two from the lower left, and one from the lower right. Six in all extend from the plaza at an angle of 90 degrees. These streets apparently correspond to the streets referred to Article 114 on the layout of the eight streets that extend by two from every four corners of the plaza as mentioned above. In the case of Santa Fe, six out of those eight streets hold true.

## 4. The relation between the *Ordinances of Philip II* and an actual example of town construction in the Spanish colony

Santo Domingo is one of the first Spanish colonial towns founded in the *New World*, which is now the capital of the Dominican Republic. It was once established along the Ozama River on the island of La Española in 1496 as the cardinal point for the exploration of the Caribbean area and Latin America. Before long, however, it was destroyed by a hurricane. It was reestablished by Governor, Nicolás de Ovando in 1502 and renamed as Santo Domingo. This area belongs to a northeastern trade wind zone and was considered to be a region of comparatively comfortable climate.

After Ovando undertook the reconstruction of the town, the entire town was founded by 1550 and today it is the old sector of the city. Let us begin our analysis on the formation of the urban space on the basis of the historical map of Santo Domingo in the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig.4).

### 4-1 The location of the construction of Santo Domingo

Santo Domingo is a coastal town that faces the Caribbean Sea to the south and the River of Ozama which runs on the eastern side of the town.

According to Article 40, it says: “.....in case of establishing a town along a river, establish



it on the eastern side of the river. Therefore the sun rises first from the direction of the town prior to the water surface.” This is intended to provoke fear in the Indians of the Spanish town. Judging from Fig.4, however, the town of Santo Domingo is definitely located on the western side of the river. But according to the historical fact of the town, the first construction of the town by Bartholomew Columbus in 1496 originally took place on the eastern side of the River of Ozama where some divided land-lots are seen on the eastern coast of the river in the figure.



Fig. 4 : Santo Domingo

The town was later reconstructed in 1502 on the western side of the river by Ovando because it had been destroyed by a hurricane<sup>[7]</sup>. Therefore, the first construction of the town of Santo Domingo conforms to Article 40, a regulation on the construction of a riverside town.

Article 35 says: “.....it is desirable to select a fertile land for a harvest of food.....a grove to get wooden material for construction, and a location blessed with water in good condition for drinking and irrigation”, and according to Article 39, it says “.....The location of a new town should be near the water source for farming and planting trees. If necessary, cut the trees down to utilize for construction. Reclaim the close-by farmland and put cattle out to graze.” We can deduce from Fig.4 that the view of the town of Santo Domingo conforms to these articles also.

Furthermore, Article 41 says: “Avoid seaside locations for town construction.....except if there is a good harbor where they can observe and set limits to the goods to be carried into the town and there are some suitable points to stand on the defense.” Although Santo Domingo is a seaside town mentioned above, it seems reasonable to suppose that it is a harbor town in good condition with the River of Ozama close-by, similar to the seaside towns in Iberia, and whose location is also very adequate to the export and import of goods. The fortress drawn in the southeastern part of the town is considered to be *the Fort of Ozama* and *the Fort of Loyalty* that Ovando first constructed for watching on ships coming into the River of Ozama from the Caribbean.

Article 129 says: “..... preparing for the extension of the town, appoint some place of adequate size as a common place, as a place for diversion, and as a land for turn animals out”. The open space west of Santo Domingo seems equivalent to this mentioned space.

## 4-2 Urban space composition of Santo Domingo

### (1) The scheme of the town walls

The town is surrounded with walls for the most part and those parts without walls are where the cliffs are. There are two town gates in the west and one in the northwest.

“In the settlement, provide the town with gates looking towards the sea and the inland which are convenient for going in and out and ideal for escape, commerce, political affairs, and defense”, according to Article 37. The position of the town gates in Fig.4 correspond to the contents of this article and the upper town gate in the western town walls is supposed to be the “*Castle Gate of the Conde*” still preserved today.

### (2) Block assignment and residence

The town consists of the streets of rectangular coordinate pattern in good order. The

central block is the largest in the town and is the site of a monastery. This block can be regarded as the standard of the whole pattern of the town's spatial composition.

Articles 110 and 113 of the *Ordinances of Philip II* signify the establishment of a rectangular "Plaza Mayor" in the center of the town and the street plan and its expansion to the whole town based upon it. The *clear standard layout* mentioned in Article 110 suggests that it is the rectangular coordinates. Article 126 says: ".....It is not permitted to utilize the plaza for personal purposes with the exception of its use of the common open space, royal institutions, or churches only....." which means that the construction in the plaza is allowed only if it is a public building. Article 119 says: ".....determine the sites of the cathedral, parish churches, and monasteries. These sites cannot be a part of a block but must occupy an entire block. Do not construct any buildings close by except when it is for some convenience or for decoration". Moreover, ".....the religious buildings should be independent, separate from neighbouring buildings, so that it is visible from any direction to maintain its prestige", according to Article 124. The monastery in the central block in Santo Domingo (Fig.4) occupies the whole block as its site. In the site two small independent buildings stand but they do not obstruct the view of the monastery.

With regard to the buildings, they are built with similar external appearance and they are always distributed along the periphery of each block. In the center of the block, there is an open space like an inner court, and judging from the lines drawn by the court, we can regard the inner open space in the block was divided either to prepare a backyard or garden that belongs to the surrounding houses or for the courtyard of the block itself.

Article 133 says: ".....for a house, provide a courtyard as large as possible to keep good sanitary conditions and to raise livestock". In addition, Article 134 says: "For the decoration of the town, keep a uniform style for buildings in the town as much as possible".

As for the directions of the blocks and streets in Fig.4, they are well-situated with respect to the four cardinal points and the gap between the axis of the streets and the compass shown in the bottom of the figure is more or less 1 degree. It is equivalent to say that the pattern of the streets and blocks of this town composes an axis in the cardinal points. Meanwhile, in Santo Domingo, the direction in which the trade wind blows is north-east as it is said before. The difference between town planning and the district's wind is forty-five degrees. On the other hand, in the *Ordinances of Philip II*, only Article 114 provide information about the orientation of blocks and streets. In Article 114, the relation between the direction of the streets and blocks and the principal direction of the wind is first provided and then the relation between the rectangular plaza and the streets is also prescribed. Consequently, the orientation of sides of the plaza against the direction of the wind will be automatically determined that would be forty-five degrees of difference.

Considering all these factors, with the above-mentioned Article 126 permitting the exception of public use in the plaza block, the composition of the central block shown in Fig.4 coincides with Article 114 about the orientation.

### **(3) Peculiarity of the central block**

The central block in the figure of the town has two streets that are connected on each corner at a right angle except the southeastern corner. Also a street extends perpendicular to each side of the plaza, except for the northern side. From the eastern side, there is a street slightly to the south. From the western and southern sides, a street extends from the middle of each side.

The central block is not an open space. But if supposing that a public facility permitted to be constructed in the Plaza in Article 126 had been constructed, then Fig.4 shows that the spatial composition of the central block of Santo Domingo accords with Article 114 and

the above-mentioned layout of the plaza in Fig.2.

## 5. Conclusion

- 1) The *Ordinances of Philip II* is a code with all kinds of articles that the conquerors should refer to while they were exploring the colonial territories, subjugating the Indians, and up to constructing new towns. Furthermore, this code included details equivalent to what we call the town planning acts. We can consider that this code has clear and concrete regulations about town planning, with a plaza planning as its leading part. It is of great importance that this code is a very early case of town planning acts in the society of Spanish Renaissance that would reflect what was an idealized city in those days.
- 2) The process of town planning is concretely drawn up as follows: a) Planning of "Plaza Mayor", b) Distribution of streets, and c) The territorial use and arrangement of town facilities. What is observable here is the process of planning the whole town by defining the "Plaza Mayor" and the streets around it with a certain composition. Apparently, this is a planning method which the definition of the central part of the town is universalized outwards so that the whole town composition will be determined. Also, the detailed regulations about plaza planning make us recognize that planning the "Plaza Mayor" took the most important role in planning a town.
- 3) The example of Santa Fe shows the coincidence with the layout required in the later *Ordinances of Philip II*. This provides evidence that town construction in Spain had a strong influence on lawmaking for colonial town planning.
- 4) The example of Santo Domingo constructed early in the sixteenth century, also, shows the same view. It is a good example of town construction in the colonies that implies a great influence on the drafting of laws in the *Ordinances of Philip II* in 1573.
- 5) The form of the central plaza which was the most important theme of the town construction definitely corresponds to the type of the "Plaza Mayor" which is seen in many parts of Spain where the plaza is surrounded on four sides with porticoes and a town hall, church, royal buildings, or other public buildings. The formation of this typical plaza space is considered to have been spread out in the whole nation after the reign of Philip II. Consequently this plaza type should be viewed not only in the history of town development in Spain but also in the relation with the lawmaking of the *Ordinance of Philip II* or, furthermore, with the Spanish colonial policy.

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### Notes

- (1) "Indias" originally means the whole territories of Spanish colonies. Therefore "Laws of the Indies" refer to the laws promulgated not only to the Latin American territories but also to the other parts of the world like the Philippines.
- (2) The *Ordinances of Philip II* is titled "*Ordenanzas de descubrimiento, nueva población y pacificación*". It was promulgated by Philip II in Sevilla on the thirteenth of July, 1573. Today it is preserved at Archivo General de Indias in Sevilla. (The text code is "El legajo 427, libro XXIX, fojas 63-93".) Its contents are published in the Ref.[2],[6].
- (3) A conference held with the King as its chairperson in the medieval era of Spain. It was the organization that possessed the authority of judiciary, administration, and legislation and also functioned as the Supreme Court.
- (4) It was originally set up as a part of the Royal Council in 1511. Later on it was upgraded to an independent system under the direct control of the King in 1524 by the edict of the King, Carlos I. Then The New Laws of the Indies in 1542 and the edict of Philip II in 1571 come to prescribe legally its function. The advisory committee of the heretical inquiry was also upgraded to the independent sacred college of cardinals in 1483.
- (5) Other laws are Laws of Advisory Committee (1571) and Laws of Royal Support (1574).
- (6) According to the original manuscript of the *Ordinances*, the articles end up with the number 148. But practically 149 articles appear in this code.
- (7) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, Articles 1, 4, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, and 31.

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- (8) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, Articles 2, 5, 20, 24, 27, and 29.
- (9) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, Articles 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11.
- (10) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, the Article 15 states that the conquerors should bring pepper, clove, cinnamon, nutmeg, etc from Spain.
- (11) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, Articles 15, 24.
- (12) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, the Article 111 mentions that the site for the new town planning should be on an elevation, healthful, fertile and with plenty of land for farming and pasturage. It also instructs that the site shall be open to the north wind and of convenient access and egress and favorably not near lagoons or marshes.
- (13) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, Article 37.
- (14) It is repeatedly mentioned that conquerors should establish friendly relations with the Indians utilizing church organizations without causing damages to the Indians. Here the friendly relation means that everyone of Indians are to be guided under the belief of Christianity. Therefore the conquerors are instructed to introduce to the Indians what had not been seen in the colonial land like costumes of clergymen and their effects, the habit of putting on shoes, foods like bread, wine, and oil, woolen stuff, horse, implements, weapons and occupations unfamiliar in the colonial land and so on in order to transplant the Spanish food, clothing, and shelter to the colonial territory.
- (15) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, Articles 140, 141, 143, 144, 147.
- (16) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, Articles 142, 143.
- (17) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, Article 148.
- (18) The *Ordinance of Philip II*, Articles 112, 113. The original text says that the plaza should not be smaller than 500 pies in width and 300 pies in length nor larger than 800 pies in width and 530 pies in length. According to DOURSTHER (Ref.[1]), this "pie" is an unit of length used in the Old Castilla: 1pie=278.33mm. Here it is replaced with the unit "meter" by the author.

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## **The young Unwin**

by Guido Zucconi

The work and life of Raymond Unwin have been carefully analyzed in many books, especially for what concerns the central part of his activity. What has been more neglected by scholars are the earlier and the latter parts of his biography.

Despite its relevance for his personality, the period of education is still seen and interpreted through some stereotypes which have been promoted by Unwin himself. From this standpoint, the most remarkable ones are regarding his intellectual proximity to Ruskin, his personal contacts with Morris and Carpenter. All these intellectual connections are often seen as a cultural heritage from the “Oxford days”, or sometimes considered as sort of natural imprinting not to be discuss.

It is possible to go further in the interpretation, starting from the personal papers stored in the Unwin Collection at the Kantorowitch Library in Manchester. Two sources seem to be in particular helpful: the private journal he kept from may to september 1887, and the speech he gave in 1935 when the University of Manchester conferred him a honorary Doctorate. In that context, Unwin frankly described the steps of his unconventional education. A supplementary source could be supplied by the letters written to Ethel Parker, from 1885 to 1891.

The period goes from 1881 to 1896 from the end of his education to the very beginning of his career of architect, when he joined in partnership his brother-in-law Barry Parker. Sixteen years run in between, just after he left the Magdalen Choir College in Oxford and got an extremely liberal form of education in the industrial disticts of northern England.

There are some distinct portions in his early career: a first, apparently blank, stage from 1881 to 1884 when he moved to Chesterfield. Then came the years of apprenticeship as a self-made engineer in Manchester from 1884 to 1887. Later he worked for a big company, between Chesterfield, and Sheffield, in the period from 1887 to 1893, and finally, he moved to Buxton after 1893 after his marriage with Ethel Parker.

Until 1881, he lived in Oxford, but he was not attending any course at the local university. This is an important point, often described in a short and ambiguous way. Probably he met Ruskin there, through his father who was a marginal attendant of the academic milieu in the late seventies.

Unwin drew some basic concepts and aims from Ruskin –such as the reconciliation of art and society, of beauty and social needs-. We can moreover find out many similarities to works such *Unto This Last* and *Veins of Wealth*. I guess, however, Edward Carpenter gave him later the opportunity of getting across fragments of Ruskin’s work.

What was more direct is the contact with William Morris in the Manchester years. From 1884 to 1887, Unwin was under training as a civil engineer, engaged in housing design. In the building area of the new city hall he met Ford Maddox Brown, when he was painting the two large frescoes, *The Trial of Wycliff* and *The Dream of Chetham*.

Maddox Brown introduced him to William Morris. It happened in 1885 at a dinner held for establishing the local branch of the Socialist League. Later, Unwin was suggested by Morris as the leader. In Manchester he got also the opportunities of meeting chartist and union leaders.

That was the first chance of real commitment to social affairs, not only to theories as hitherto. Those were the years of Unwin’s contribution to “The Commonweal”, the weekly newspaper of the Socialist League. He was active in the field of both politics –see the article *Socialism and Progress*- and social enquiry on workingmen conditions of life – see the article, particularly moving. *Down to the Coal Pit*.

Before and after the Manchester years, a link was strengthened with Charles Rowley and Bruce Glasier, two prominent leaders of non-Fabian socialism. Long time before writing the Morris’ biography (1921), Glasier was witness of Ethel and Raymond Unwin’s in 1893.

In 1887 Unwin was ready to start his job as a company architect and he was appointed chief-draughtsman of the Staveley Coal and Iron Company. Spent between Chesterfield and Sheffield, those days are described in the journal. In these pages we find for the first time what would be a recurrent expression in Unwin’s thought: “adjusted balance”, as something to be carefully sought. That was not concerning town planning yet, but his own style of life as it was divided into his technical duty and his social commitment.

Beauty and social equality could be finally combined. Morris gave lectures on “Art and Socialism” in 1884, hinting in the title at a synthesis of the two elements. To abolish private property was seen as the *conditio sine qua non* to bring such a synthesis into being.

Unwin was aware of the need of defining a “special list of social tasks” which could suit this goal. Putting stress on design and particularly on the development of plans, he

seems to become increasingly conscious of the importance of a new figure: *the housing planner*. “I am getting into another line of work”, he wrote on the journal, “and my interest is changed to the building of coloured cottages, to the laying out of estates...”

In 1893, the Staveley Company entrusted him to work out the project of a group of “Mechanics cottages at the Warsop Colliery” –one of the first scheme he personally signed-

During his seven years spent on the eastern side of the Pennines, he had a real possibility of comparing the gap between rural life and industrial environment. Unwin was close to Carpenter in his vision of society. At that time he paid many visits -in week-end and holiday- to Millthorpe, the communitarian farm run by the philosopher: a place physically and culturally remote “from the madding crowd”.

Sheffield and the Commonwealth Café gave him the opportunity to meet people of the Carpenter’s circle, such as Piotr Kropotkin the prominent theoretician of the total spread of urban population on the country.

Eventually, Sheffield, Chesterfield and Millthorpe were the three points of an ideal triangle which sums up the Unwin’s experience in those years, his search for an “adjusted balance” between utopia and the real job in a mining company.

In 1893 when he left the Staveley Company and married Ethel Parker, Unwin had probably developed a precise idea about a new possible environment: a blend of handcrafted primitivism and social equalitarianism, artistic anachronism and romantic collectivism.

Such a primitive mood in design pervaded any aspect of the every day life in the cottage of Chapel-en-le Frith. Moreover, the interior design for *The Art of Building a Home* seems to be reminiscent of such an attitude. Even in the early life style in Letchworth we could find something of 1890’s spirit.

A question eventually arises after looking through Unwin’s first stage of his biography: despite his strong radicalism of the beginning, despite his romantic love for the past shown in the early time, it is possible to find out in his work a line of continuity running throughout his life, until the period of the Columbia lectures ?

**Dr arch. Alicja Szmelter, assoc. Prof.**  
**Warsaw University of Technology**  
**Faculty of Architecture**  
**Dep. Town Building History**

**ul. Koszykowa 55**  
**02 659 Warsaw, Poland**  
**e- mail: [012asz@arch.pw.edu.pl](mailto:012asz@arch.pw.edu.pl)**  
**fax: (22) 628 32 36**

**Is there a chance for the harmonious development of the Garden – City? : The case of Podkowa Leśna by Warsaw, Poland.**

### **Abstract**

This paper focuses on problems concerned with the modern development of Polish Garden Cities.

Due to the post-communist statutory transformation in Poland and subsequent modification of the law, new urban plans will be introduced in Poland by the end of 2002. These will provide a direction for urban planning of Polish towns during the next 10 years.

In 2002, such a master plan will affect Podkowa Leśna - one of the best-known garden cities in Poland. The plan should represent a compromise between the two contradictory options, each identified by the local community. These are: a) an option advocating to “freeze” the current urban design, (which incidentally is under conservation protection) or b) an option allowing for modification of the design, motivated by a need to attract new inhabitants and investors to the area.

This paper details the local plans of Podkowa Lesna and discusses them in the context of problems arising from developments of garden cities.

### **1. Background**

Between the two world wars some scores of garden - cities were founded in Poland. Among them, Podkowa Leśna is judged to be the fullest realisation of Howard’s idea to “marry the town and the countryside”. Podkowa Leśna is well known beyond any narrow group of specialists. Ever since its creation in 1925, it has enjoyed a broad public image of a posh, exclusive suburban town with a wonderful location amid intense growth of natural forest trees. Before the Second World War members of Warsaw’s plutocracy and “the world of culture” built their summerhouses and residencies there. In this way it became a fashionable colony renowned for its artistic



atmosphere. An excellent climate also brought holidaymakers – primary families of Warsaw’s upper tier of civil servants. Several hotels were built to accommodate them.

Today, Podkowa Leśna can be viewed as a “green island”, located a mere 25km from the centre of Warsaw. Especially since 1998, Warsaw itself has expanded rapidly. This garden city of 3.7 thousand residents neighbours with two larger towns: Milanówek (approx. 14.6 thousand inhabitants), Brwinów (approx. 11 thousand inhabitants). There are also two villages nearby whose new housing is increasingly encroaching on the boundaries of Podkowa Leśna.

Ever since the town’s foundation, the inhabitants have commuted daily to the Capital, using the same EKD (Elektryczna Kolejka Dojazdowa) i.e. electrical suburban railway opened in 1927. The railway was built at the same time as the original partition of the land into the building lots. It takes 40 minutes to reach the centre of Warsaw by train and, in off peak hours, 25 minutes by car via the built in 1970’s carriageway. According to a 1997 statistical survey, 88% of Podkowa Leśna residents commuted daily to Warsaw. Today, the percentage is likely to be higher.

Thanks to the affluence of Podkowa Leśna’s population the urban plan of the town has, since 1981, been included in the register of protected building complexes as a model Polish garden city. There are 7 urban complexes registered as protected in the area, as well as 47 listed buildings. Moreover, Podkowa Lesna has 3 archaeological sites and, within its administrative boundaries, 3 nature reserves [1]. One of the nature reserves is located inside the town itself. It is a green belt of forest, which originally lay beyond the initial partition into building lots. The green belt has a characteristic form of a horseshoe. It is locally believed that this was the shape of the original belt of forest for which the town is named, as the direct translation of the name “Podkowa Leśna” is “Horseshoe Forest”. The town’s emblem consists of a horseshoe encircling a pine [2]. The other two nature reserves are part of a larger complex of forests located to the southeast of the town. These forests were incorporated into the administrative boundaries of Podkowa Lesna after 1981 and today they are treated as a recreational hinterland. Other protected features of the town are also the street lines of trees and natural monuments, such as trees and erratic stone blocks. Such a meticulous, far reaching protection and conservation of the town and nature was possible because there was practically no new building activity undertaken from the Second World War until the early 1990’s in Podkowa Leśna. In that period only a new primary and secondary schools and a small shopping pavilion were built, and a few villas.

The urban plan of Podkowa Leśna thus remained untouched until 1990's. The original commuter system was never upgraded, as more was not needed. Car ownership became common in Poland only during the last 10 years, and so recently the residents of Podkowa Leśna have begun to feel the need for a 'ring' road that avoids the town. Also, due to the social circumstances of Poland, most houses are preserved in their original form. This is primarily because housing renovation was not affordable to the impoverished descendants of former owners – a class of intelligentsia.

Due to the post-communist statutory transformation in Poland and subsequent modification of the law, new urban plans will be introduced in Poland by the end of 2002. These will indicate a direction of urban planning of Polish towns during the next 10 years. In 2002, such a new master plan will affect Podkowa Leśna. The plan must comply with requirements of conservation and should take into account wishes of the residents. A democratically elected town council will approve the plan.

The local influence on the final shape of the plan is very strong, for two major reasons. Firstly, today's residents are descendants of the pre-war intelligentsia and are, therefore, fully aware of the unique cultural value of their town. Secondly, they recognise a close connection between the image of the garden city and property values. Property values have risen substantially in recent years.

In 1930, the Society of Friends of Podkowa Leśna was created. The society, which remained dormant in the communist era, was reactivated 10 years ago and is currently very energetic. Even in the period of relative inactivity, the society inspired research into the history of the town and its monuments. This research culminated in a published series of works in the late 1970's. These are assembled in the so-called "Teki Podkowińskie" [3], ("A portfolio of Podkowa Leśna"). Other activities of the society include a local magazine and management of a cultural community centre. The museum of Jarosław and Anna Iwaszkiewicz fulfils an exceptional cultural role. The museum is devoted to the memory of one of Poland's leading writers of the inter-war period and his wife. Scientific workshops are regularly organised in a manor house, which houses the museum. One scientific workshop has been dedicated to a history of garden cities.

The 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the town was celebrated in 2000. This gave an opportunity to publicise the town and to remind people about the connection of Podkowa Leśna to the English concept of the garden-city. (Nota-bene, the idea of the garden city had been known to Polish intelligentsia since the beginning of XX century [4]).

The town's anniversary raised interest in Podkowa Leśna and Warsaw's press continues to provide regular information on the town's monuments. Frequently, the press raise the alarm about the deterioration of historical objects, which are starved of funds for renovation.

The second element of rising property values is strongly connected to the original assumption of the character of the town to be a garden city. In the vicinity of Warsaw there are only few settlements located close to a forest and no others quite like Podkowa Leśna, which is build in a beautiful green garden /woodland landscape. In recent years, the social and economic changes have resulted in a new group of affluent. This group is looking for building allotments particularly in Podkowa Leśna since it represents a "good address" and is known to be a quiet, low-crime location.

Work on the new master plan began in 2001. A previous study of the local plan was conducted in 2000 [5]. At present, the proposed space planning considers both merit and social aspects in the consultations.

To date, the planning work in Podkowa Leśna has identified several design problems that are common in other, less known, Polish garden cities. Among them lies the fundamental question – to what extend it is possible to plan the development of a town, which by assumption was planned as a finite space? In the case of Podkowa Leśna, a further territorial expansion of the town cannot take place. The administrative area belonging to the town is still identical to the historical urban and countryside concept. Thus, in concert with the original plans, the town is surrounded by a green belt of agricultural land. The original concept of Ebenezer Howard assumed that when the town reached a certain number of inhabitants and when the structure of the town is fully mature, a new garden city would be created at an appropriate distance from the first. Such a scheme is, of course, not possible in Podkowa Leśna. The only alternative to the designers is therefore to concentrate on a potential restructuring of the interior of the town, in such a way that it would meet modern functional requirements, but with care not to destroy, but to preserve, all its original attributes.

## **2. The major characteristics of the historical plan.**

The well known Warsaw architect and urbanist Antoni Aleksander Jawornicki completed the historical plan of "The Garden City Podkowa Leśna" in 1925. This original plan was conducted at the request of the newly founded local building society whose shareholders consisted of: land owner – Stanisław Wilhelm Lilpop (share 40%), Company "Sila i Swiatlo" - "The Strength and Light" (creators of the suburban

railway – share 36%) and Bank Związku Spółek Zarobkowych (one of the commercial banks – share 24%) [6].

The development of the town was expected to profit the shareholders. Therefore, it was essential for the plan to be attractive enough to draw buyers of the building allotments. This was especially important since after the First World War, the owners of the land in the vicinity of Warsaw were parcelling out their land into allotments on a massive scale. The result was strong competition in the building market. An advertising leaflet for potential buyers was issued circa 1927. It contained a plan of the town with a detailed division of the land shown in scale 1:10 000, together with a text explaining the idea of a garden city, and advertisement of the merits of Podkowa Leśna itself. The text highlighted that the town was to be created on an area of 410ha, with two thirds covered by a beautiful forest. Moreover, the text stated that the Ministry of Public Health had surveyed the location extensively. A decisive attractiveness was attributed to “ A possibility to spend every day at least a few hours in close encounter with nature which, by giving health, energy and bravery to the inhabitants of the town would lengthen their lives and would create a type of citizen who would look at live with joy and would have more energy to fight his faith.”[7]. The leaflet underscored, that the town would be conveniently connected with the centre of Warsaw. Therefore it was realistically assumed that, although the town would have all necessities: church, own administration, recreational area (park), cultural community centre, and an adequate shopping and services infrastructure, it was the possibility of daily commuting to Warsaw that was the major attraction for potential buyers.

The historical plan designed by Antoni A Jawornicki incorporated original elements of the area i.e. topography of the terrain and existing roads. Forest and natural water layout became a canvas of the design for the park and the green belt infiltrating the whole town. Country roads connecting an old farm with the neighbouring villages were further connected to the new elements of design.

The new elements included the tracks of electric railway line, which divided the town into the northern and southern parts. One main station and two train stops were designed, ensuring that the walking distance to the train would not exceed 10-15 minutes. In 1930's at peak time, the trains operated every 10 minutes (they currently operate every half hour) [8].

The area of the town was divided into lots, some of which were forested and some not. The forested lots were decisively larger. Their original area varied between 1000-6000m<sup>2</sup>. Although the street plan was geometrical it nevertheless fitted very well into the hilly terrain. A concentrated radial scheme dominates in the northern part. Three

radiuses of main streets converge to the origin where a church is situated. The centre of the town lies between the railway station and the church. This original design left a large reserve of terrain for future development of service infrastructure. To ease parcelling out, the town was divided into 10 districts. These were recognisable, distinct districts with imaginatively designed small squares. However, these have become blurred over the years and today we can recognise only the square next to the main railway station, 2 squares, more precisely, fork shaped cross roads, in the southern part of the town and one circular in the northern part of the town.

The urban complex of the town shows composition, which can be, related to a well known in Poland design of Letchworth, and to German realisations of garden cities. It is possible that the composition of Podkowa Leśna is also an echo of the XVIII century plan of Karlsruhe [9].

The initial residents of Podkowa Leśna were affluent. This is reflected in the unique designs of the homes, done by famous Warsaw architects. A dominant style is of a detached house with architecture reminiscent of a traditional Polish manor house. The more adventurous commissioned designs from the representatives of Poland's architectural avant-garde in a modernist style. Even the summerhouses built of wood resemble a manor house style. For several properties design house and garden was commissioned as a whole composition. Traces of the old composition in these properties are still there: ponds for water plants and pergolas, which were popular during the inter-war period.

The determination to maintain the forest character of Podkowa Leśna as a garden city resulted in a set of restrictions regulating utilisation of the land. The existence of legally binding regulations has decisively influenced the present look of the town. During a purchase of the building lot a new owner was obliged to respect the following restrictions:

- A secondary division of the lot was forbidden.
- The building area was limited to 1/5 of the total area of the lot. On the lots with area less then 1200 m<sup>2</sup> only one residential house was allowed.
- Axing down trees was forbidden (in exceptional circumstances a permit from the administrators of the garden city had to be obtained.)
- Building of a non-residential house was forbidden. (Building a house for a partial commercial use required special permission.)

- All plans of houses had to be approved by the council of the town.
- The use of non-transparent fences between the lots was forbidden. It was obligatory to leave a gap at the bottom of the fence to allow for free movement of small animals. An architectural form of the fence facing streets had to be approved by the administrators.

After 1937 the administration of the garden city allowed for eventual secondary division of lots larger than 3600 m<sup>2</sup>. However the resulting lot was not allowed to be less than 1800 m<sup>2</sup>. Additionally, a new restriction on the building height was introduced. It allowed only for one floor plus mansard houses [10].

The above laws together with a carefully considered urban plan, allowed for the creation of Polish model garden city.

### **3. Assumptions of the new master plan for Podkowa Leśna**

Today's compulsory conservation recommendations and assumptions prepared for the new master plan are in a large scale, based on the initial principles codified during the creation of Podkowa Leśna. It was not a coincidence that, in a conservationist study conducted in 1981, the set of restrictions on the use of building lots in Podkowa Leśna was quoted "in extenso" [12]. By 1981, some residents were illegally selling divided lots and randomly built objects were spoiling the town. These activities had to be stopped in order to list the urban plan of Podkowa Leśna on the Conservation Register of 1981. It was stressed that in order to maintain a unique character of the town it is necessary to obey the well proven in practice principles.

The pressure to allow secondary division of the lots is currently the most dangerous tendency towards destroying a character of the town. This pressure dates from the end of the Second World War and recently has very much gained in strength. Investors would like to build large number of luxury residencies. Incidences of building law violations occur – some of the new structures occupy as much as 80% of the total parcel.

Many residents rebel against the law forbidding a sale of a part of the land belonging to one allocation. Their listed houses have deteriorated due to the lack of funds for renovation, this despite the substantial increase of the value of the property. It is very questionable whether the new owners of these properties and the listed houses will be interested in conserving their original features.

The problem of determining the minimum admissible size of a building lot has dominated discussion on the new master plan. The authors of the new plan [13] advocate that it is necessary to return to the initial principles worked out by the original building society, which created the town. These state that for a forested lot the minimum area is 2000m<sup>2</sup> and, for others, 1500m<sup>2</sup>. The maximum building area cannot exceed 20% of the lot. The present proposals practically repeat the above historic paragraphs.

Moreover, the new plan proposes a return to full realisation of the original plan. It allows several squares that show in the original design but were not actually built. However one of the features of this supposed, “return to the initial state” is that it would allow for parcelling out of the green belt forest. This idea, previously disregarded would allow 700 additional lots. The trade-off lays in the loss of green belt [15], hence a controversy.

On the request of residents the plan incorporates very detailed laws preserving nature. For example the residents are obliged to build shelters for birds.

In the new plan there are no changes proposed to the transportation system. This is because any prospective widening of the streets to facilitate better through traffic would contradict with the compulsory postulate about the protection of the urban complex. Neighbouring administrative councils will not permit a ring road to be laid within their jurisdiction (along the southern boundary of the town). According to existing law changes in the transportation system are therefore practically impossible, although a creation of a ring road would help to protect the listed urban complex from the excessive traffic. The only possible solution would be to expand the administrative boundaries of Podkowa Leśna into neighbouring areas. This would provide the extra terrain needed for a new road.

The currently prepared plan for a future development of Podkowa Leśna is by definition restricted to the original space of the city created in the 1920's. The conservationist requirement to protect the complex ensures that the town remains a combination of town and country. In the case of Podkowa Leśna this is justified. The program of development assumes the preservation of the essence of the town, its monuments and natural features, with slow and deliberate improvements. It is nevertheless an ambitious plan. During the next few years, the town expects improvements in the water and sewage systems. This is an investment in “invisible” infrastructure, which will positively influence the standard of living for the residents.

Today, Podkowa Leśna is a very attractive and fully realised model of the garden city. It has educational value in showing in practice how good are the living conditions

offered by the garden city. This perhaps is due to its modest existence in an unchanged form for so long.

#### **4. Conclusions and a possible way forward.**

A harmonious development of Podkowa Leśna is possible. Its educational attraction as a model garden city can be exploited. Despite the activities of the Society of Friends of Podkowa Lesna and common awareness of what is a garden city among the residents, an ordinary tourist will still not find information about it. A Tourist Information Centre could be included to promote the town. For Podkowa Leśna the potential future for a friendly development lies in tourism. By 1970's the idea to treat Podkowa Lesna as local tourist attraction near Warsaw was being considered. Those plans were quite drastically out of proportion to the size of town. They had proposed to build a large complex of swimming pools that required converting a local park into an aqua park. Realisation of that plan would damage the ecological system of the town. Unsurprisingly, that plan was abandoned as it met vigorous opposition from the residents, who since then remain mistrustful of new proposals concerning tourism. It is a role of designers to propose creation of recreational objects, which could include swimming pools, but which would not collide with the character of the town. In the new master plan of the town a system of bike cycle roads is designed in response to increased popularity of cycling among the residents of Warsaw. The weekend visitors from Warsaw would probably boost creation of small restaurants, and there is provision to allow such trade by converting the ground floors of some of the houses. There is a possibility that, like other little tourist towns, Podkowa Leśna will become a busy tourist centre at weekends. The maintenance of purist status quo of the town is not likely to be feasible in the long-term, and the residents may need to open to some of the suggested gentle changes in the future.



**Figures:**

Fig. 1 The coat of arms of the Garden-city Podkowa Leśna was designed in 1961 when the city obtained the administrative status of an independent town. Its form is a combination of two symbols of Podkowa Leśna: the horseshoe shape of the city's green belt and a pine tree that is predominant in the woods of Podkowa



Fig. 2 The position of Podkowa Leśna in the administrative structure of the Warsaw's Voivodship, according to the land division in 1993, scale of 1: 50 000



Fig. 3 The original master plan of Podkowa Leśna from 1925, by arch. Antoni Aleksander Jawornicki.

The axial composition in the district "K" and the two squares interconnected by the rhomboidal aleé in the district „H”, have never been executed.

(Archive of The Society of Friends of garden city Podkowa Leśna, Vol: Maps, plans.)

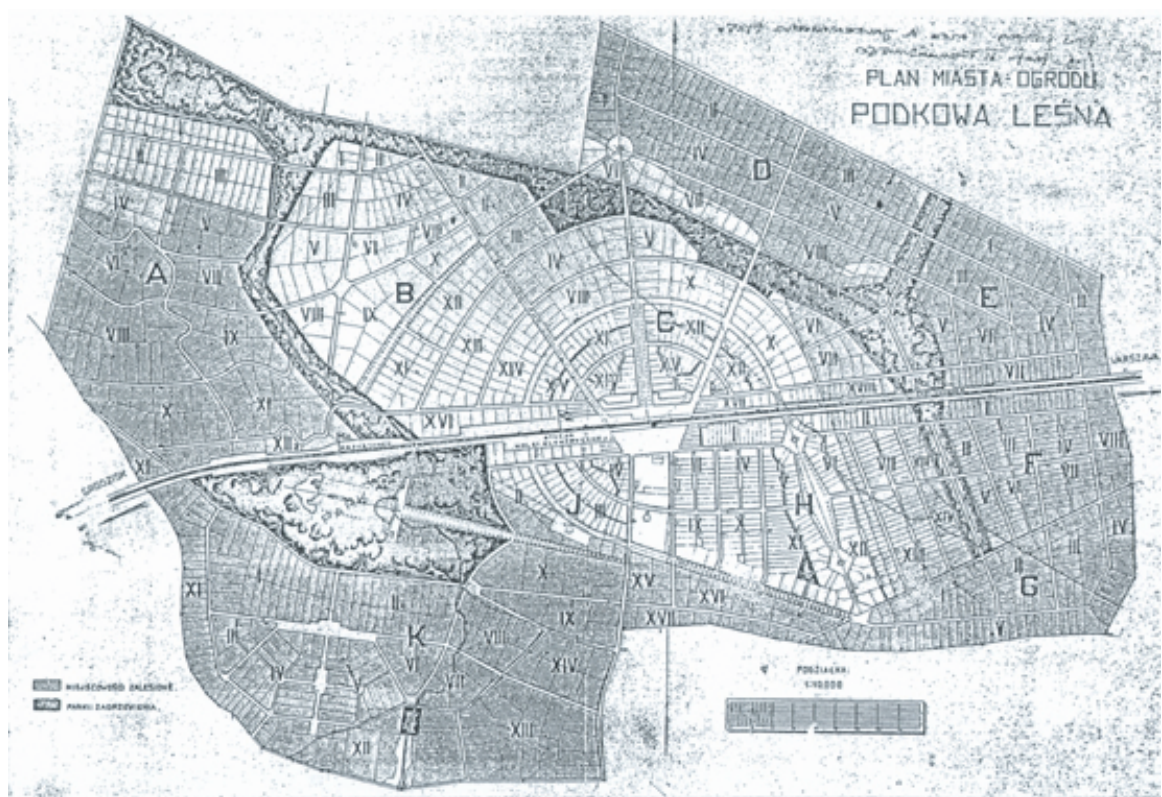




Fig. 4 The placement of Podkowa Leśna in the structure of the „Western Strip of Development” of the Warsaw’s agglomeration.

The red lines indicate the railways. The southern line that crosses Podkowa Leśna became operational in 1927.

The black lines indicate the main motorways.

(diagram is reproduced by the courtesy of K. Domaradzki, the author of the „Study for the master plan of Podkowa Leśna”, 2000)

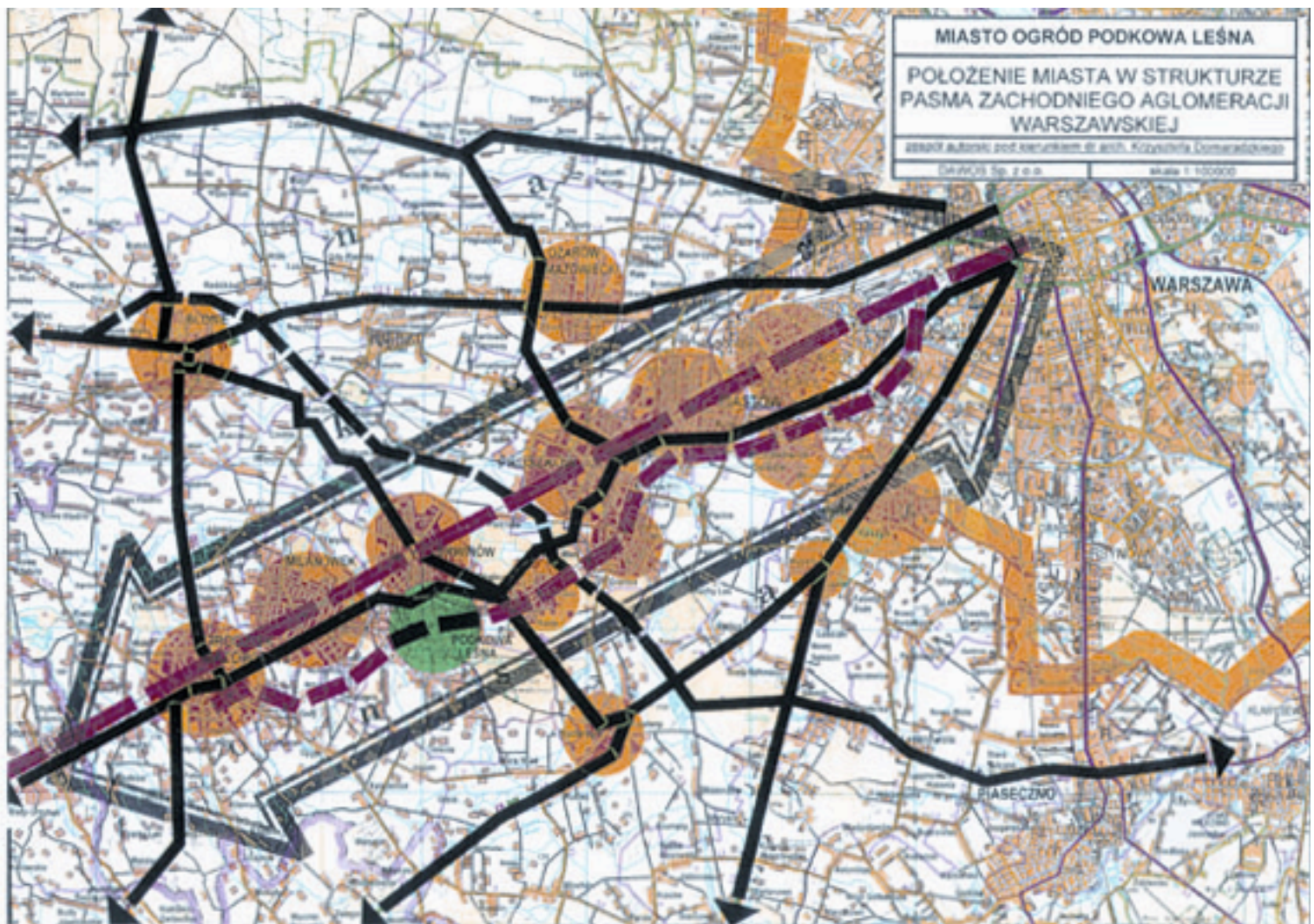




Fig. 5 The cultural values of Podkowa Leśna

The diagram shows:

the protected layout of the streets (white lines)

the monuments and sites listed in National Register (7 elements, seen in the red lines)

the listed buildings (47, red dots)

the protected elements of street greenery (rows of the lime trees and the natural surface of the street, light green colour)

The diagram also shows the proposal for of the restitution of the 3 squares shown on the original master plan. (red lines)

Only the circular one, visible in the north-eastern part of the town has been partly executed.

(diagram is reproduced by the courtesy of K. Domaradzki, the author of the Study for the master plan of Podkowa Leśna, 2000)



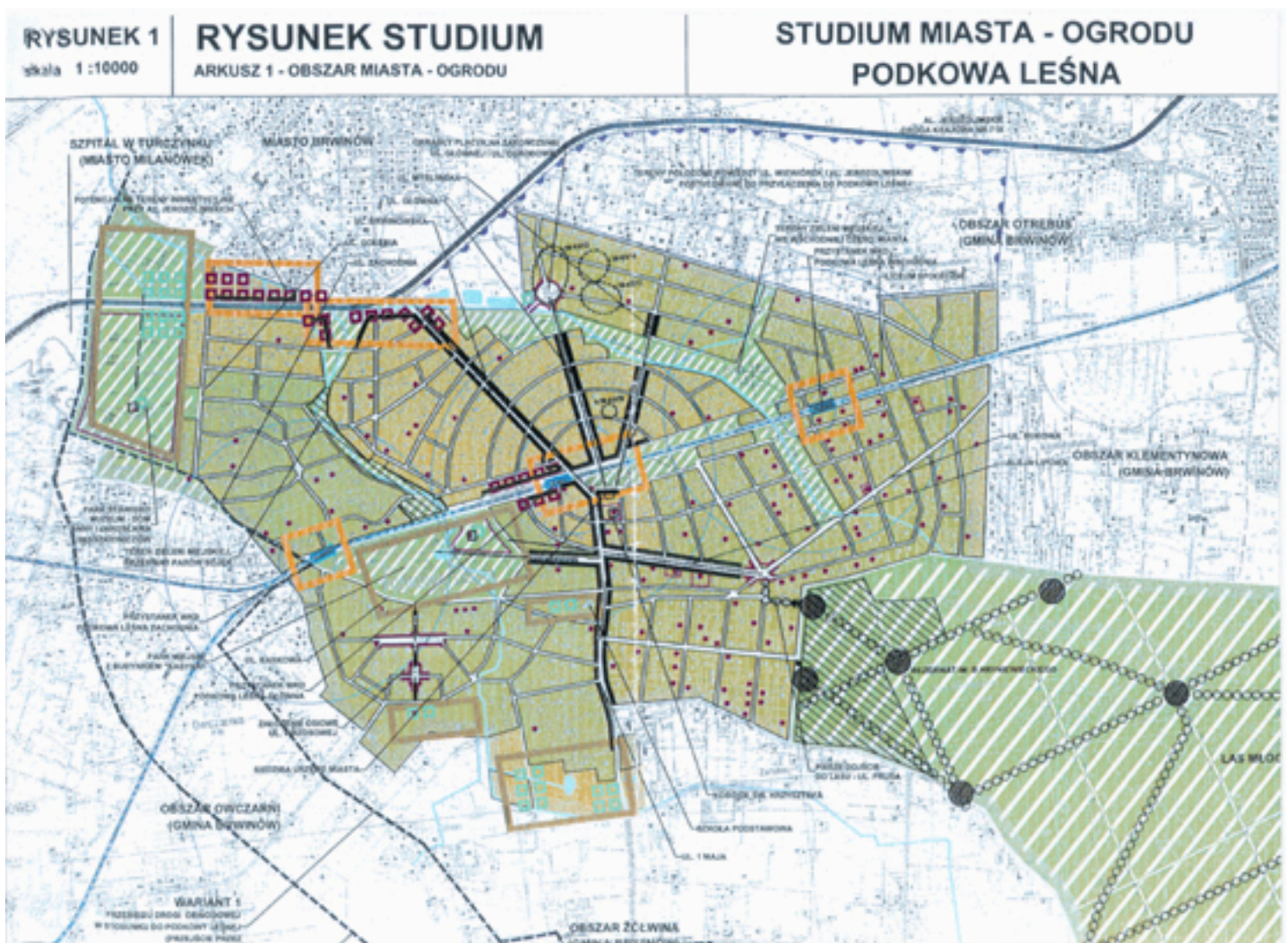


Fig. 6 The proposal of the new master plan for Podkowa Leśna.

Yellow lines indicate the zones of possible new investments.

They are proposed to be placed by the railway stops, and by the north-east boundary, close to the motorway. At the moment the site plan for this location is under preparation.

(diagram is reproduced by the courtesy of K. Domaradzki, the author of the Study for the master plan of Podkowa Leśna, 2000)



## Notes and references

1. There are the 3 forest reserves which together cover, with the Młochowski woods an area of 600 ha. The forest reserve „Parów Sójek” lays within the boundaries of the town (area 3,84 ha, registered 1980). Adjoining the town are 2 other forest reserves: im. Bolesława Hryniewieckiego (area 24,73 ha, registered 1977) and „Zaborów” im. Witolda Tyrakowskiego (area 10,26 ha, registered 1984).
2. The name Podkowa Leśna first appeared in 1909, on the maps of the estate called „Wilhelmów”, that belonged to the Lilpop family. The origin of the name is not known.
3. The most important publications on the subject are: B. Wróblewski, Podkowa Leśna miasto-ogród do 1939 roku. [= „Biblioteka Podkowieńska”, I], Podkowa Leśna 1995; B. Grątkowski, Architektura Podkowy Leśnej. [= „Biblioteka Podkowieńska”, II], Podkowa Leśna 1996.
4. A. Szmelter, Selected Problems in Conservation of the Garden Cities in the Suburbs of Warsaw, in R. Cielątkowska (ed.) *Social Housing in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of XXth century Europe*. Gdańsk: Mirex, 2000, pp. 279-282
5. In 2000, under the direction of K. Domaradzki the „Study for garden city of Podkowa Leśna was prepared. It became the starting point for the master plan currently in preparation.
6. J. Regulski, Historia zgrupowania elektryfikacyjnego S. A. „Siła i Światło” w Warszawie, manuscript in the S.E.P. Library, Warsaw 1963.
7. The archive of the parish church of St Christopher in Podkowa Leśna, Vol I.
8. *Przewodnik po kolei elektrycznej Warszawa-Grodzisk*, 1929 or 1930, *ibid*.
9. A. Szmelter, Miasto-ogród Podkowa Leśna, Prace własne Wydziału Architektury Politechniki Warszawskiej, Warszawa 1998.
10. Local ordinances instituted by The Society of Friends of garden city Podkowa Leśna in 1937. The archive of the parish church of St Christopher in Podkowa Leśna, Vol I.
11. Janusz Kubiak, Krzysztof Rudziński, Podwarszawskie miasto-ogród – Podkowa Leśna, *Mazowsze*, **9-10** (1997) pp. 5-45
12. The team of the following specialists currently working on the master plan for Podkowa Leśna includes: Zbigniew Garbowski ( general architect), arch. Małgorzata Mirecka, arch. Tomasz Majda; technical infrastructure: Marianna Końska, Wiesława Końska, Paweł Krysiak.

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# Utilitarian Approach in Democratic Planning System

Amit Ray  
Department of Humanities & Social Sciences  
Indian Institute of Technology Kanpur  
Kanpur - 208016, INDIA

## Introduction

Land is a mute spectator. It has shown its enormous capacity to tolerate and bear with the continuous torture and abuse. However, when torture becomes unbearable land protests in the form of earthquakes, floods, landslides, melting of the snow-caps, reduction in its green lands and forests resulting in draught, famine, epidemic, etc. A close relationship of love and respect between land and mankind, which has existed for thousands of years, is remotely remembered. Due to the anthropocentric attitude beauty of nature has become a resourceful commodity.

Human being has started considering the advancement of technology and science as a victory over the rest of the members of the biotic community. Use of science and technology to exploit nature for the sake of human comfort and safety has become a common phenomenon. In the process, the technological advancements have not set any limitations on their actions and violated the fundamentals of community ethics. The attitude of interdependence is no longer a part of our modern community philosophy. Rather assertion of supremacy draws respect and attention. The attitude of such unethical practice of non-cooperation among fellow members of the same community (biotic) began with none other than the so-called civilized human being. Peter Singer<sup>1</sup> mentioned in his book entitled *Animal Liberation* that, as long as an action does not cause damage to human beings, man does not react in favour of the other fellow members from the same society. This is absolutely in contrast to the basic philosophy of the democratic society.

The attitude of neglect and disrespect shown by mankind toward the earth and its resources is a fairly recent phenomenon. Since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the attitude of

treating earth as a 'commodity' has caused enormous damage to the earth's environment affecting all the members of the community including mankind. Man and nature had an inseparable relationship since the beginning of the history of mankind. The attitude of man as a conqueror of the land-community is a recent development. Until Homo-sapiens changes their attitude of conquerors to plain members and citizens of the same community to which they belong, the earth would be treated as merely an exploitable resource. The *energy circuit*, which is the most essential component of every living being, may not continue for long. Interestingly, earlier tradition of man's brutal aggression and domination over fellow human being is transformed into economic and political domination. Instead the attitude of man's aggression is being directed towards nature that remains mute spectator. In result, the intolerance of man is directed towards nature in the name of comfort, safety, and pleasure.

In recent years relationship between man and environment has grown on the following levels- based on philosophy (Theo-centric) , economy centric and politics centric. Each of the above appears to promote and advocates its own philosophy to justify its action. The value system changes its characteristics depending on certain philosophy. The author would like to examine the changing faces of value system and its effect on environmental projects.

## **Ethics and Values**

In the early 1930's, Aldo Leopold<sup>2</sup>, one of the first scientists and ecologists in the US had insisted on the inclusion of ethics in land community. According to Leopold the application of ethics in ecology would certainly change the attitude of individuals. *A Sand County Almanac* is an



established environmental classic written by Aldo Leopold. In his book, Leopold discusses and analyzes the application of Ethics and Environmental

Philosophy based on his professional experience as a forester and as a professional ecologist. Leopold strongly felt the need to evaluate environmental issues based on ethics. Ethics in philosophy means 'a differentiation of social from anti-social conduct'<sup>3</sup>; where as ethics in ecology is 'a limitation on freedom of action in struggle for existence'<sup>4</sup>. The majority of ecologists, scientific community and philosophers did not readily appreciate inclusion of ethics, which is traditionally under the domain of philosophy. The old traditional practice of scientific investigations, which used to be considered aristocratic and intellectual in content, started losing its value from the time of the Industrial Revolution. The intellectual growth of the scientists based on philosophy was not considered valuable. There was never any contradiction between science and philosophy. But the application of science through technology rapidly increased the gap between these fields. Therefore, Leopold's attempt to synthesize ethics in ecology created doubts and uncertainty among the fellow scientists and philosophers. It is observed that, even today the environmental scientists or engineers rarely understand the role of ethics in ecology.

The *Golden Rule* of the democratic society teaches us 'to cooperate, co-exist and respect each member of the society'. It is accepted that man is one of the members of the biotic society. Observing the fundamental philosophy of the democratic society, Leopold had tried to extend the philosophy of cooperative attitude among the fellow members of the biotic society. Such attitude would include man as one of the members of the community and help in understanding 'land as a community instead of as a commodity'. The increasing use of land resources by human population for their own benefit without any planning contradicts the spirit of democratic principles. The only concern for saving land is viewed in respect to human usage like any other commodity. The typical

anthropocentric attitude has inspired us to think about land only in relation to ‘human suffering or benefits’.

All ethics hold every individual responsible and to depend on other members of the community. It is a structure in the biotic community where each and every part is interdependent. “Land ethic simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soil, waters, plants, and animals, or collectively: the land.”<sup>5</sup> Leopold <sup>6</sup> continues to write, “The Golden Rule tries to integrate the individual to society; democracy to integrate social organization to the individual”. The interdependency is the foundation of the land ethics and democratic social framework. If the basic rule of the Golden Rule is introduced in the land ethics, it would build an ‘attitude of understanding and cooperation’ among the fellow members for the survival of the biotic society and permit enjoyment of the bounty of the earth resources. Thus, each member would play its role and depend on each other directly or indirectly. Unless we realize the importance of two-way communication, the basic concept of harmonious relationship between man and nature is bound to collapse.

Due to strong anthropocentric attitude, human being has considered the sufferings of the fellow human beings with a great value and passion without considering the effect on other members of the biotic community. The anthropocentric attitude of man as a superior species among other non-human living beings and the right to extract and use the earth’s resources, without any limit for selfish manipulation, is the brainchild of the Industrial Revolution.

Land ethics intend to introduce the value of interdependence among the various elements of land based on cooperation. Unfortunately, the relationship with land is strictly based upon economic criteria where the fertility of the land is calculated in terms of economics of ‘profit and loss’. The question arises out of human action based on values. Abraham Maslow<sup>7</sup> has suggested a

basis for the ordering of values in a hierarchy of human needs, as “ *Survival, Security, Belonging, Self-esteem, and Self-actualization.*” It appears that out of all the above, values of survival dominant in most of the cases. However, the balance between the utilitarian school of thought and ethics in ecology requires an understanding of limits of each and create a synthetic approach in order to maintain harmony.

### **Democratic Principles and Human Values**

Democratic principle teaches us to respect each member of the society and allow every citizen to compete in achieving the goal with in his or her respective social framework. Environment includes both ‘land’ and ‘above land space’. Therefore, the assessment of environmental value involves both living and non-living elements, which are the constituents of the ‘biotic community’, and other living elements. In order to keep the balance of the eco-system it needs to preserve the *integrity, stability* and *beauty* of the biotic community. Land ethics based on cooperation enlarges the boundaries of the human society to include soils, waters, plants and other living beings. The values attached to all these elements cannot be measured through economics of ‘profit and loss’ theory.

Unfortunately land-use ethics echoes the same old practices of the social ethics when the king could use his subjects for his personal gain and strength. Using the subjects like commodity for the benefit of the royal family was a common practice from the ancient time. The majority without much protest accepted such practices. In recent years, due to the changing political scenario, the earth and its resources are substituting the subject. Unfortunately, earth is one of those things, which is being subject to such treatment and is being exploited shamelessly by man. Thus, the subjects have changed but the exploitation has remained same.

Interestingly when one of the non-economic factors is threatened and if we happen to love it, we invent a strategy to hide or escape to give it economic importance. Everything is valued in term of economy in order to be of value, whether it is domestic lizards and spiders or landscaping and beautification. Thus, land and man relationship is still considered strictly on economic considerations, based on privileges but not under obligations. In the process hard choices have to be faced in term of conflicting values.

According to Ian Barbour<sup>8</sup> there are three categories of choices in term of conflicting values attached to human life - *material, social and environmental*. Material values deal with survival, health, material welfare and employment. Under material welfare, human being tends to achieve higher degree of material well being with the help of housing, transportation, etc. Contemporary economic, political and social institutions influence the value system. The value system being a relative realization, it keeps on changing with the prevailing conditions. However, the priority or importance of values may change from culture to culture. Milton Rokeach<sup>9</sup> an American social scientist conducted a survey to rank a set of 20 values in order of importance as a guiding principle. Among the four broad categories of values,- 'pleasure and exciting life' carried the lowest priority while world peace, family security and freedom were ranked from the high to average.

A person views value with favour or belief if it is beneficial to the person or to the society. It is viewed as a general characteristic of an object or state of affairs. Believing such values one acts to promote a philosophy or ideology. It resembles 'preference' or 'desire' to have a favourable attitude towards its realization. Often such values tend to show strong feelings and emotions. Unfortunately individual feelings may not project the general rationale. However, to hold such value is to believe that its realization would be beneficial to the person or for a larger number of

people. Commonly, belief in such a value holds moral obligations and benefits, which in result, tries to justify, defend or recommend it to others.

### **Conflicting Value System**

It is found that norms, beliefs, values and habits that form various values and worldviews commonly emerge out of cultural traditions and are transmitted from one generation to another by respective societies. Barbour<sup>10</sup> writes on the empirical study conducted by Abraham Maslow on the human needs. The study clearly shows the order of the needs in the following way- *survival, security, belonging, self-esteem* and *self-actualization*. The minimum fulfillment of the basic requirements, that is, 'survival and security' is a precondition for the other needs. The above needs are obviously the outcome of the spirit of democratic freedom. In the process it may create conflicting value judgment between a fundamental need and the environmental values. Hence, non-consideration or non-anticipation of such conflicts during the planning stage can create complications during implementation stage.

Environmental values sometimes conflict, especially when they concern livelihood. The priority of survival through employment may dominate at the planning stage so much that, the qualitative judgment of environmental values may be forced to take the back seat. The environmental values are not being ignored or disrespected, but the question of environmental values may not be the best proposition when it comes to survival. Construction of an oil refinery is one such activity, which evokes contradicting values where environmental pollution conflicts with survival. Thus, the environmental degradation and social justice are linked together. The goals of environmental quality, employment, and social justices often can be combined. There are some situations where they conflict and one must sacrifice either for the sake of the other.

Environmental values and planning are closely linked with political strategies. It is necessary to seek such planning policies and political coalitions that would synthesize environmental values and social justices. It is a sorry state of affairs when the planners do not visualize such conflicts in values and forces in implementing a policy. The increasing demand for larger understanding of the spirit of democracy has to redefine its role and commitments.

### **Utilitarian Approach in Democratic Planning System**

‘Utilitarian values’ are conceptualized based on the followings- conceptual clarity, consistency and universality of the ethical principles. Utilitarianism looks into the ethical principle for the policy choice. The fundamental parameters of such a policy depends on, “Cost-benefit analysis and other formal methods used in environmental and technical decisions that are carried out within the framework of utilitarian assumptions.”<sup>11</sup> Barbour goes on to write, “The central principle of utilitarianism is *the greater good for the greatest number*.”<sup>12</sup> Under the utilitarian principle, usually the future does not bear enough responsibility, because the more remote consequences of our actions are more uncertain. According to utilitarianism, events of low probability or uncertainty have lesser importance. The economic policies and planning in most of the cases give priority to short term benefits.

Democratic politics reinforces this tendency to discount the future policy decisions. A political system with elected terms of 3/5 years, is geared to show the immediate results and to the current voters. The promises made during the election campaign to the prospective voters’ demand positive results within the tenure of the elected member. The promises for the future generations may not fulfill the desires of the present generation. The unborn beneficiaries are not going to determine the future of the present elected member and party. Therefore, in practice, planning

entirely depends on the utilitarian assumptions. The continued cooperation and respect for the future generation may not evoke the similar sentiment.

The complex situation of maintaining ideal environmental values and planning implementation would have to face large number of conflicting values. Finding solution under the democratic principles to such complex issues is possible provided both make an effort to consider various emerging socio-political and economic conditions based on ethical considerations?

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## **Developmental Statism and the Extreme Narrowness of the Public Realm:**

### *The 20<sup>th</sup> Century Evolution of Japanese Planning Culture*

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**By André Sorensen**

Ph.D., Assistant Professor

Division of Social Sciences,

University of Toronto at Scarborough

sorensen@utsc.utoronto.ca

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#### **Abstract**

*This paper suggests that Japan had a quite different experience of modernization, industrialization and urbanization than any of the other developed countries, and that this contributed to the development of a highly distinctive planning culture. While there were enormous changes over the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, several related features of Japanese governance have proven highly enduring: the focus of resources on developmental goals rather than public welfare, the persistent tradition of respect for authority and disdain for the people (kanson minpi), the relative autonomy of the state bureaucracy in planning, policy formation, drafting of legislation and administration, and the extremely weak development of civil society and narrowness of the public realm. The paper traces the essential features of the development of Japanese systems of governance and city planning from the beginnings of modernization in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the late 1990s, and sketches the distinctive features of Japanese state/society relations, planning legitimacy, and civil society.*

#### **Introduction**

This paper argues that Japan has developed a distinctive relationship between state and society that has in turn resulted in a rather special planning culture. There is, of course, no particular reason to expect that Japan would develop along similar lines as the Western democracies, and in fact Japan's particular historical background is one feature that makes it a useful case for comparative study. Japan is one of the few countries outside of western Europe that was never colonized, and which retained many of its own traditions of governance, land ownership, urbanization and social organization. In a range of areas, from the relationship between state and society, to the role of civil society, to the meaning of

land ownership, to prevailing attitudes about the legitimacy of the state, and to the role of planning in shaping urban outcomes, Japan is quite different than most of the other developed countries. In plotting this exceptionalist position for Japan, it is necessary to navigate carefully between two patches of dangerous water. The first trap to be avoided is the attempt to explain that Japan is different because of Japanese culture, which can easily end up as merely circular reasoning. The second is the problematic ‘theory of Japanese uniqueness’ (*Nihonjinron*) which was widely debated during the 1980s. Fuelled largely by the need to explain Japan’s exceptional economic performance during the late 1970s and early 1980s when the other advanced countries were experiencing recession and slow growth, the suggestion that Japan’s consensual and inclusive social organization had largely avoided the internal division and conflict of the western democracies was widely argued in the 1980s. *Nihonjinron* theories have already been the subject of a range of critiques, which need not be detailed here, (see Dale 1986; Sugimoto and Mouer 1989), and in any case had largely been abandoned by the late 1990s as Japanese economic performance faltered, and Japan Inc. was found to be less than invincible.

Even if we reject the argument that Japanese society is specially harmonious or consensual, however, it is still possible to show that there are some features of Japanese historical, political and social development that have contributed to the development of distinctive policy making processes, roles of central and local governments in shaping urban change, goals of the planning system, and rights of land owners to develop urban land. That is, to the development of a distinctive planning culture. The challenge is to explain these adequately in a short paper.

In trying to build this argument that Japanese planning culture really is different from those in the other developed countries, a primary focus here is on the persistent idea that the people are there to serve the state, not the reverse. Although this idea gradually lost its power during the postwar period, it has nevertheless been remarkably enduring. This is not meant naively to suggest that other democratic countries have seen some sort of ideal representation by the state of the people’s interests, but merely that at least the concept that ultimately the state is there to serve the interests of the people has served as a powerful ideal in many other democracies. As shown below, in Japan that ideal was actively rejected by government leaders as an unwelcome feature of western civilization that need not apply here. Instead the government actively fostered the ideology of individual sacrifice in the interests of building the nation. While this kind of approach has been common during wartime in many other countries, in Japan it was staple fare in war and in peace during most of the twentieth century, and has only gradually lost legitimacy since the 1970s, much to the chagrin of conservative nationalists.

One important bastion of this view of the role of the state and the duties of citizens has been the powerful central government bureaucracy, which early on emerged as a relatively independent force in Japanese governance, responsible for most policy formation, drafting of legislation and planning. In part because of its real political power, in part because hiring and promotion was highly meritocratic, and in part because bureaucrats

were seen in the prewar period as the representatives of the emperor, and in the postwar period as the engineers of rapid economic growth, the bureaucracy inherited the mantle of state authority which had formerly been borne by the feudal samurai class, from which it initially drew most of its members. The elite and relatively autonomous national bureaucracy worked hard to maintain the feudal tradition of *kanson minpi* – respect for authority and disdain for the people – as a dominant feature of Japanese governance into the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This analysis of Japan's distinctive trajectory during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and its relationship to the evolution of Japanese planning culture is organized in three parts. The first section looks at the prewar period, focusing on nation building efforts, the centralization of government and the development of a powerful bureaucracy, the very weak development of civil society, and the emergence of city planning. The second section describes the transformation of Japanese society during the post-war period, with democratization, rapid economic growth, and the surprisingly slow development of either civil society or of challenges to the bureaucracy-dominant approach to governance and planning. A concluding section outlines the distinctive features of the Japanese planning culture that developed in this context.

## **1. State and Society in the Prewar Period**

### **1.1 Nationalism and State Building**

As many of the distinctive features of Japanese planning culture derive from its historical development, and especially from its highly unusual experience of modernization during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>, it is important to review these briefly. Until its opening to the world in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Japan had been one of the world's most isolated countries, with virtually all contact with the outside world prohibited during the previous two and a half centuries by the ruling Tokugawa military government. During the long Tokugawa period, lasting from 1600 to the Meiji restoration in 1868, Japan was ruled by a hereditary feudal warrior class. On unifying the country after a long period of civil wars, the Tokugawa shogunate established a military bureaucratic regime which maintained peace and stability for the next two and a half centuries. One of the first moves of the new regime was to adopt and promulgate a Neo-Confucian ideology which stressed the static order of the universe, and promoted a society in which a dominant value was placed on the obedience of child to parent, younger to older sibling, student to teacher and vassal to ruler.

As in other feudal systems, the central and enduring purpose of governance was to maintain the power, rights and privileges of the feudal class, and the people existed to serve the state, not the other way around. Legitimate activity in the public realm was monopolized by the military/bureaucratic class (samurai) who were roughly 15 per cent of the population, while the other classes, the peasants, artisans and merchants were allowed to pursue their own livelihoods as long as they paid their taxes and did not challenge the

prevailing social order. If any non-samurai attempted to intervene in public issues even peacefully, it was considered a form of revolt, and was suppressed without hesitation, normally ending with the execution of the leaders and the pardon of others (Walthall 1991). In such a case, civil society can not really be said to exist. The long period of bureaucratic Tokugawa rule entrenched the traditional attitude of respect for authority and disdain for the people (*kanson minpi*), while the Neo-Confucian orthodoxy legitimized it. This system bore many similarities with feudal regimes elsewhere, except that in Japan it lasted until the mid nineteenth century, whereas most European countries had been shifting away from feudalism since well before the renaissance and enlightenment some three centuries earlier.

The overthrow of Tokugawa rule, and the establishment of a new Imperial government in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was primarily the work of a small group of lower ranked samurai and hereditary aristocrats who were frustrated by the apparent inability of the Shogunate to defend Japan against the increasingly assertive Western Powers. The crisis came in 1854 when the American Commodore Perry arrived with his 'Black Ships', whose overwhelmingly superior military power forced the Shogunate to open Japanese ports to American ships. This led over the next several years to the signing of 'unequal treaties' with all the major powers under which, as in the earlier arrangements with China, the Japanese lost control over import duties and tariffs, and were forced to grant the Western powers legal jurisdiction over their own citizens when on Japanese soil. The revolutionaries that established the new government were motivated primarily by the need to create a strong state that could effectively defend itself in an increasingly predatory world. In no sense was the Meiji revolution (named after the Emperor Meiji who ruled from 1868-1912) a bottom up movement to overthrow the old feudal system and move towards democratic rights and freedoms.

Exposure to Western military power, industrial technology, and international domination quickly persuaded the Meiji elite of the superiority of Western science and learning, and of the need to learn from the West. Meiji leaders believed that only by building Japan's military and industrial capacity could they defend themselves against Western colonization. The main priorities of the Meiji government are summed up in the three popular slogans 'enrich the country, strengthen the army' (*fukoku-kyōhei*), 'civilization and enlightenment' (*bunmei kaika*), and 'revise the (unequal) treaties' (*jōyaku kaisei*). The Meiji period was marked by a national consensus on creating national strength in a competitive and predatory external world. As Jansen describes the transition, "With little large-scale violence or class struggle, a consensus was reached on the need for centralization and on the sacrifices of group interests needed to achieve it. The goals of national prosperity and strength were quickly accepted in popular consciousness. Major reforms that established a new social order were adopted and implemented within a short time of their original conception. These are the features that stand out in Japan's rapid transformation from Tokugawa to Meiji," (Jansen and Rozman 1986b: 14). Japan's modernization has been much studied, as the country propelled itself within the space of a

few decades into the ranks of the world powers, (see Jansen and Rozman 1986a; Gluck 1987; Westney 1987; Beasley 1995; Eisenstadt 1996).

The early Meiji period saw a brief interval of relative liberalism and openness to Western political ideas during its 'civilization and enlightenment' (*bunmei kaika*) phase, while the new government was still consolidating its power. By the 1880s, however, a strong reaction had emerged, led by those who rejected the import of Western social and political values and asserted the importance of Japan's beautiful tradition of deference to authority, and established a conservative ideology that was to become the dominant force in Japanese governance until the Second World War and beyond (Najita and Harootunian 1998; Pyle 1998). The earlier tradition of absolutist government by a small oligarchy increasingly characterized the Meiji period. The Meiji government promoted a strong concentration of power in the center, and showed little tolerance for dissent. In order to gain the support of the people for its project of building national military and economic strength, the Meiji government promoted a nationalist ideology of Japan as a unique country with an emperor who was descended from the gods (Gluck 1987), and successfully promoted the values of thrift, frugality, hard work and mutual aid in support of national goals (Garon 1997). The role of government was to strengthen the country while the role of the people was to worship and serve the emperor (Kuno 1978: 63).

The essential features of the new national political structure which was to last until the post second world war occupation were established in the 1880s. In 1885 a cabinet system of rule was introduced, and the Imperial Japanese Constitution was promulgated in 1889 and came into effect in 1890. The constitution was distinguished by the fact that it was conceived as a gift to the people from the emperor, and was not won by the people through political processes, as had been the case in most other constitutional states. A two-chamber Diet was established, with the upper house appointed and the lower house elected by an electorate limited to males over 25 years of age who paid 15 yen or more per year in direct taxes. This resulted in an extremely restricted electorate, comprising only 1.1 per cent of the population in the 1890 elections, and meant that rural land owners were heavily over represented, and urban residents of all classes were underrepresented as the main national taxes were those on agricultural land (Gluck 1987: 67-8). The cabinet was to be the main executive organ, but cabinets were not necessarily to be drawn from the majority party in the Diet, nor were they necessarily responsible to the Lower House of the Diet, whose main power derived from its ability to reject tax increases. The Privy council was given significant power to advise the Emperor, to whom the military commanders also had independent powers of access.

Gluck suggests that the Meiji leadership had in fact been deeply ambivalent about introducing parliamentary democracy to Japan, and were driven primarily by the need to strengthen the country in the face of Western power. As she puts it, "In 1881 the oligarchs had promised a constitution and a national assembly. They then spent much of the next nine years making the legal and political provisions necessary to insure that the beginning of parliamentary government would not mean the end of their bureaucratic dominance"

(Gluck 1987: 21). As she sees it, much of that preparation was tied up in the creation of suitable national myths which would serve to unify the people's energies behind the state. In this sense the parliament was intended more as a means of unifying the people, than of delegating real governing power to them in a representative democratic system. The new nationalism that emerged in the 1890s was focused primarily on unifying the nation behind the government, and encouraging the people to bear the hardships imposed by increased spending on the military and the burdens of the war against China of 1894-5. It was during the second half of the Meiji period, from about 1890 to about 1915 that the key features of Japan's nationalistic ideology were settled. They centered around the Emperor who was at once a constitutional monarch, a deity, and the patriarchal head of the national 'family' whom all Japanese were to follow as they did their own father (Gluck 1987: 36-7). As Eccleston (1989: 12) describes the Japanese family state: "Within this context of the nation as a family the actions of individuals were expected to be based on selfless service to their immediate group, and thereby the state. Self-assertive behavior at whatever level was labeled as a dangerous, anti-social and deviant trait which transgressed the conformist thrust of national familism. Individuals were guided towards the ideals of service and loyalty through a centralized system of compulsory education and military conscription, but for those whose individualism survived these processes, a comprehensive local police force used repression to eradicate dissent." This conception of the emperor as a national father-figure proved very powerful in the pre-war period, as it effectively mobilized the old Confucian traditions of ancestor worship and deference to the family in support of the modern project of nation building (Fukutake 1982: 46-7; Ishida 1983: 5). It was hoped that the nationalistic spirit thus fostered would serve as a key advantage in the competition with the wealthier and more advanced western powers.

Gluck argues that Japan's nationalistic, emperor-centered ideology was not conceived as a piece, but emerged gradually as an expression of the nationalistic movements that emerged during the 1890s, and that neither was it immediately or wholly accepted by all sectors of the population, but had clearly emerged by the end of the Meiji period as the dominant ideology (Gluck 1987: 37). Modernization during the Meiji period was thus a highly top-down affair led by a small number of men drawn from the existing samurai ruling class and from the imperial aristocracy, who were acting primarily to further what they saw as the interests of national strength. It was in no sense a movement towards a liberal democratic society, in which a greater share of political power was sought for the people. This had implications for the government system that was established, which although it included a range of democratic institutions, was never more than weakly democratic in the prewar period.

## **1.2 Centralization and Bureaucratic Authority**

Centralization of governmental authority has been a key feature of Japanese governance since the Meiji period, and was promoted initially because of the pressing need to create a state and military strong enough to counter the threat of the colonial powers

during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the interest of national strength the reforms of the Meiji government were virtually all oriented towards greater central control, and the weakening of local government independence. Whereas the domain bureaucracies of the previous Tokugawa period (1600-1867) had functioned relatively independently, the new prefectures were under the direct control of the central government, and their bureaucracies depended on national, not local connections (Craig 1986: 57; Beasley 1995: 66). The local government system established during the Meiji period was primarily a means of projecting central government power downwards to local areas, rather than an attempt to build independent governments at the local level. Prefectural governments in particular were tightly controlled by the Home Ministry, and prefectural Governors were appointees of central government, normally drawn from the ranks of the Home Ministry bureaucracy. As Yazaki argues, “Regional and local self-government in this period was not genuine democratic autonomy guaranteed by the national political system. On the contrary, it amounted to a system devised to strengthen central powers, backed ultimately by the authority of the Imperial office. The routine work of public administration was parceled out to the regional and local bodies without a commensurate division of real authority that would make possible effective sharing in the decision-making processes of government” (Yazaki 1968: 298). Local government was thus conceived primarily as a vehicle for individuals and communities to fulfill their obligations to the state by carrying out the tasks of government that were assigned to them.

A central aspect of the Meiji system of local government was that local governments were responsible to provide a certain range of services for local citizens, but had no authority to exercise governmental authority over them. Activities such as collecting taxes, fees and rents, and building roads, canals and bridges were all considered legitimate areas of local government activity, while functions such as policing, regulating industrial or land use activities, and education were all the exclusive prerogative of central government. This severely limited the range of activities of local governments. As Steiner put it, “there could be no local police, no local control of nuisances, no enforced zoning, not even a local dogcatcher, unless a national law or ordinance assigned the respective functions to the specific type of local entity in question.” (Steiner 1965: 50). These fundamental limitations persisted – astonishingly – until May of 2000, when one of a series of decentralization bills was passed which allows local governments the legal power to pass their own binding regulatory ordinances for the first time outside the legal framework of a central government law.

From the reforms of the Meiji period to the end of WW2 Japanese municipal governments had little independence, and functioned essentially as branch offices of the central government. Virtually all local decision making authority was left with the prefectures, which were in turn firmly under the control of the central government which appointed the prefectural governors, and ran prefectural governments as an arm of the central government under the Home Ministry (*Naimushô*) which was established in 1873. Steiner notes that in the Meiji period the Home Ministry “became an efficient bureaucracy,

fulfilling their task with a jealous enthusiasm that prohibited the delegation of power to decide even the smallest details. It has justly been said that the establishment of the Home Ministry helps to account for the peculiarly centralized nature of Japanese government and that local government in Japan cannot be understood without reference to this bureaucracy” (Steiner 1965: 26). The Home Ministry, through its control over the police, was also responsible for the harsh repression of labor organizing, opposition political movements, and censorship of the media during the pre-war period.

Within the central government the locus of power shifted considerably in the pre-war period. During the Meiji period the oligarchs who had played key roles in overthrowing the Tokugawa government held the most power, and were consistently able to nominate the prime minister and cabinet. From 1919 to 1931, the ‘Taisho Democracy’ period, the largest party in the elected lower house of representatives selected the prime minister, and he selected his own cabinet. From the 1930s the military effectively controlled the government, and selected both prime ministers and cabinets. Silberman (1982: 229) argues that the main beneficiary of the rather undefined constitutional relationship between the different power centers was the state bureaucracy, because it gained responsibility for much of the actual policy formation, and argues that by the middle of the Meiji period it had achieved a dominant role in the organization of interests and the determination of public policy. He suggests that while the development of state bureaucratic power between 1868 and 1945 can be divided into three main periods; bureaucratic absolutism from 1868 to 1900, limited pluralism from 1900 to 1936 and almost total (civilian and military) bureaucratic control from 1936 to 1945, “the crowning paradox is that despite such pendulum shifts, the bureaucracy continued to enjoy the highest status and the most powerful place in the formation of public policy, a place it continues to enjoy today” (Silberman 1982: 231).

In part because of its autonomous political power, in part because hiring was based on highly competitive national examinations which drew many of the best graduates from the best universities into government service, and in part because bureaucrats were seen as the representatives of the emperor, the central government bureaucracy gained a peculiar sort of legitimacy that was fundamentally different from that of democratic systems elsewhere. National bureaucrats saw themselves as an elite that was responsible for the formation of national policy in isolation from partisan political pressures, and saw the politicians (and especially local politicians) as being untrustworthy, corrupt and beholden to narrow local interests. The independence of the bureaucracy from public pressure or demands allowed it to maintain a highly technocratic policy orientation that undoubtedly furthered processes of military and industrial expansion (Johnson 1982). It also contributed enormously to the unaccountability of government, and the drift during the 1930s into totalitarianism and the disaster of war in China and the Pacific.



### 1.3 Social Mobilization and the Weak Development of Civil Society

During the Meiji period the project of national self-preservation in the face of expanding Western power had served effectively to mobilize popular support, and exhortations to the Japanese people to mobilize their energies and make sacrifices to protect national independence had been very effective. With success in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5 those goals had been assured, and mass mobilization of the people became a much more difficult prospect, particularly as the national project shifted from national survival to imperial expansion (Harootunian 1974). Oka (1982) writes of the distress of the ruling elites over what they saw as the decadence of modern youth, and the loss of consensus over the need to sacrifice individual desires for the national good, and describes the Boshin Imperial Rescript of 1908 as an attempt to unify the population behind the new goals of imperial expansion. The rescript was akin to the sumptuary laws of the Tokugawa period, in that it identified in the people dangerous tendencies towards self-indulgence and luxury, which had to be combated as a threat to the strength of the state. The rescript's exhortations to frugality and diligence on the part of the people to aid the state in pursuing national goals is also similar to the widespread appeals for national mobilization, savings, and discipline by Western governments during the First and Second World Wars. In the Japanese case, however, such appeals were almost continuous in wartime and peacetime, and Japan was in a state of continuous national mobilization from the early Meiji period to the end of World War Two, and after.

Pyle (1973: 57), in his seminal work on Japanese government efforts to use nationalistic social organizing to counter the social problems created by industrialisation and imperialism, contends that central government bureaucrats saw Japan as embarking on an economic war in which the state had to invest in industrial growth and education in order to develop the resources to support the Empire. The people had to pay higher taxes and work harder while consuming less in order to contribute to national strength, as expressed in the popular slogan 'suppress personal interests and serve the public good' (*messhi hôkô*). The primary goal of the Japanese state at this time was thus not individual or even collective welfare, but national strength. The problem of course, is that that strategy inevitably had costs, particularly noticeable among which were the increased burdens on the people, as Yazaki argued, "The benefits accruing from public projects have to be weighed against the involuntary commitment to near-poverty on the part of most citizens in support of national policies of industrialization, expanded overseas trade, colonization and militarization" (Yazaki 1968: 415). Central government bureaucrats were actively involved in campaigns to foster loyalty and nationalism "to mobilize the material and spiritual resources of the population in order to cope with social problems and to provide support for Japanese imperialism" (Pyle 1973: 53). As Garon (1997) has shown, these efforts were broadened in the 1920s and 30s into wide ranging 'social management' and 'moral suasion' campaigns in support of higher savings, diligence and thrift, better nutrition and hygiene, religious orthodoxy, and 'daily life improvement campaigns.' These moral suasion campaigns employed existing grassroots organizations such as army

reservist groups, agricultural co-ops, young men's and women's organizations, and neighborhood organizations to disseminate their messages to the level of individual households, and were able to mobilize considerable public support for and participation in their activities.

By the 1930s these efforts had gelled into a nationwide system of neighborhood associations (*chōnaikai*) in which virtually every urban area was divided into neighborhoods of 100-200 families. Many of these had initially organized voluntarily during the 10s and 20s, but were increasingly integrated into government structures during the 20s and 30s. Their main activities were to organize local garbage collection points and recycling campaigns, sanitation and insecticide campaigns, street cleaning, installation and maintenance of streetlights, and night watches against fire and crime. A key function was to carry information and directives down from central and local government to the people, and they seldom functioned in the reverse direction, to carry requests or protests towards those in authority. During the 1930s the neighborhood associations were gradually transformed into an effective link from central government ministries reaching into every community and virtually every home in the country, providing an impressive means of social control. In 1940 the Home Ministry made them compulsory for the whole country and incorporated them into the local government system, giving them the additional responsibilities of civil defense, distribution of rations, and the promotion of savings associations. They were also actively used by the ministry's thought police as a way of gathering information on deviant behavior and political dissent. As Dore notes, this combination of functions rendered the neighborhood associations extremely effective at exerting pressure on families and individuals, and their coercive aspects were exploited to the full during wartime (Dore 1958 p.272).

One reason for increased government efforts at national mobilization was the fact that the tradition of the domination of legitimate activity in the public sphere by government officials seemed to be changing in the early Taisho period (1912-1926). The growth of an industrial economy led simultaneously to the spread of popular protest movements, and to a growing professional and middle class (Gordon 1991; Duus and Scheiner 1998). Each of these in turn led to the development of civil society. Iokibe (1999) argues that compared to the Meiji period, during which the government had imposed strict central control over virtually all aspects of society in the interest of building national strength, the Taisho period was one of an 'Associational Revolution' in which a period of sustained peace fostered the development of private activity. He describes the Taisho period as one which saw a budding civil society between the developmental authoritarianism of the Meiji period and the militarism of the Second World War "Looking at the rise and fall of private-sector organizations, we can see that the prewar peak falls roughly in the period centering around the 1920s, between the Taisho Political Crisis (1913) and the Manchurian Incident. In terms of numbers, there was an eruption of private organizations formed before the war, an 'associational revolution' in its time; and they were tremendously diverse in purpose and type. Not only were there business-related

groups such as the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, but numerous labor unions and welfare societies in every field of industry, the Japan Fabian Society and ideologically inspired organizations such as the National Federation of Levellers, and cultural and academic societies and international exchange groups such as the Pacific Society. The proliferation of non-profit as well as ‘value-promotion’ organizations was phenomenal” (Iokibe 1999: 75).

The middle 1920s were, however, the high point of this process, after which the areas of social life that lay beyond the reach of the state grew ever smaller as state power expanded, continuing the processes begun during the Meiji period. There was little effective political space for any sort of popular movement directed at influencing government policy. As (Eisenstadt 1996: 35) explains in his description of the central role of the emperor in the Japanese political system, the concept of the emperor as embodying a national community which encompassed all social and political arenas “was closely related to the weakness of any autonomous public space and civil society. The processes of economic development, urbanization, and education gave rise of course to kernels of a new modern civil society – various associations, academic institutions, journalistic activities, and the like. But these kernels were not allowed to develop into a fully fledged civil society with a wide-ranging autonomous public space and autonomous access to the political center. Public space and discourse were monopolized by the government and the bureaucracy as representatives of the national community legitimized by the emperor.” The emerging civil society of the 1920s was, for all intents and purposes, eliminated by the early 1930s through a combination of active repression of independent political activity and the widespread dissemination of social management practices which progressively either banned independent organizations, or integrated them into government control, as in the case of the initially autonomous neighborhood associations.

One of the most important consequences of this strong guiding hand of the state in Japan’s modernization was therefore a corresponding weakness in the development of any autonomous public space and civil society which existed outside the state. The political space available for an independent public realm virtually ceased to exist with the emergence of totalitarianism in the 1930s and the development of civil society in Japan only started once again with the democratic reforms of the post-war occupation. The pre-war history helps to explain the apparent paradox of a weak civil society development in a society which is otherwise characterized by a high degree of social trust and a marked proclivity to form associations [Fukuyama, 1995 #1294]. Although civil organizations and associations are continually being formed, the state is also active in colonizing and incorporating such associations as part of its social management activities, as discussed below.

#### **1.4 The Development of City Planning in the Prewar Period**

It was in this context of a focus on the building of national strength through industrialization and the expansion of the military that the practice of modern planning

developed in the prewar period. City planning was not a high priority in this period, but as in the other industrializing countries of the time, rapid urbanization created a range of serious urban problems, and one significant response was the establishment of a national city planning system in 1919. Until this time the only planning legislation had applied to Tokyo, and was motivated primarily by the need to build a suitably impressive and efficient imperial capitol. The Tokyo City Improvement Ordinance (TCIO) of 1889, commonly regarded as Japan's first planning law, had been designed to further the improvement of existing urban areas inherited from the feudal period, and had been applied primarily through specific development or redevelopment projects. Little attempt had been made to control or structure urban growth, nor were powers sufficient to regulate private land owners or builders. While local governments outside of Tokyo carried out a range of development activities such as building major roads and water supply systems, they lacked sufficient legal and financial powers to do much, and most urban growth was haphazard, unplanned and unserved.

The 1919 City Planning Law and its accompanying Urban Building Law were the first attempt of a Japanese government to create a comprehensive planning system that would regulate whole city areas and allow planned urban growth. It introduced land use zoning, building controls, and a system to plan whole city areas and was a major turning point in the development of Japanese planning. The 1919 law also remained in effect for half a century, until it was replaced by the New City Planning Law of 1968, and thus provided the planning framework during the critical post-war period of rapid economic growth, when Japan's urban population and area expanded so rapidly.

One of the most important results of the 1919 law was its strong centralization of planning authority (Ishida 1987:114-5; Ishida 2000). This centralization was a consequence of the fact that one of the main articles of the law, relating to the designation of public facilities, was almost an identical copy of the earlier TCIO. This article created authority for the designating body to plan, budget for and build public facilities such as roads, bridges, canals, and parks. As the TCIO had been the vehicle for the central government to improve the national capitol, the ordinance had delegated little autonomy to the Tokyo government, but had kept the main authority at the central ministry level. As with the TCIO, therefore, under the 1919 City Planning Law, all plans had to be approved by the Home Minister, and each year city planning budgets had to be authorized by the Home Ministry. This gave central government detailed control over planning policy throughout the country, and city planning became a thoroughly national matter, not a local one. Further, the national legislation established only one set of land use zones and allowed no local discretion to alter them for areas with quite different urban patterns and urban problems. The system suffered greatly from this attempt to impose a solution to Tokyo's problems on the whole country.

The 1919 system was also heavily oriented towards discrete development projects rather than regulatory controls. This was in part a result of the strong influence of the TCIO legislation on the 1919 law. The TCIO had been in essence a series of major infrastructure

building projects linked together by a general plan which designated the overall framework. This approach continued with the 1919 system, and in the 1920s and 30s the most actively used parts of the system, particularly outside the main metropolitan areas, were the provisions for the designation and building of public facilities such as roads and parks. At the outbreak of the Pacific war in 1941, virtually all provincial towns had designated their city planning area and had designated city planning roads, but only about three-fifths had passed a zoning plan (Nonaka 1995: 33). Even in towns which did pass zoning plans, they had little impact on land use patterns, as only three zones were permitted, residential, commercial, and industrial, and these were very weakly restrictive of land use. Factories could still be built in residential and commercial areas, and housing was permitted in industrial zones. The main restrictions were on height and bulk, with the most volume allowed in commercial zones, to which also were restricted noisy uses such as cabarets and theatres. There was no attempt at development control to ensure adequate provision of main infrastructure to accompany building, nor were there any restrictions on land subdivision, or minimum housing standards. This preference for projects over regulation has been an enduring feature of Japanese city planning, and is almost certainly a result of the highly centralized system in which the Home Ministry refused to delegate power to local governments. Operating an effective system to regulate private development activity would have been administratively almost impossible from a central ministry. Instead the main activity was specific infrastructure building projects for roads, etc., which lent themselves to planning, budget allocation and supervision from the center.

The development of city planning in prewar Japan was clearly strongly influenced by the very weak development of civil society. During the formative years of city planning in Japan there were few competing voices or visions of planning outside the central government bureaucracy. There was certainly nothing akin to the coalitions of hygiene activists, workers' housing advocates, settlement workers, co-operative movements, local boosters, and parks campaigners that sought increased planning powers to improve existing urban areas and control the unchecked private development of urban fringe land that provided the political backing to early planning efforts in much of the West. The organizations that did exist, such as the Japan Architects' Association, and the Tokyo Municipal Research Association (*Tokyo Shisei Chôsakai*) were closely integrated into national government structures and priorities. The concentration of technical skills and regulatory power in the central ministries proceeded largely unchecked and unchallenged. Planning became a top-down activity imposed by central government, not the result of the lobbying of municipalities or local groups for better tools to regulate local environmental change. The practice of planning as a technocratic activity designed to permit the effective pursuit of national development goals gained clear ascendancy, while the needs of the people affected or considerations of quality of life in urban areas were largely ignored. Planning legitimacy rested primarily on its use to further national goals, not on arguments about the public good, or fairness, or minimum environmental standards for the poor, or even on local economic development.

During the prewar period centralization at the national government level of legal, administrative and fiscal powers was a key strategy to marshal the resources of a relatively poor country in the perceived competition with the Western powers. Local government hardly existed as an independent sphere of policy making, and instead an efficient central government bureaucracy steadily increased its influence over local areas throughout the country by using local government officers as proxies. While a representative democratic system was established, the powers of the legislative branch of government were weak, as is suggested by the fact that the country gradually slipped into the totalitarian control of the military and civilian bureaucracies during the 1930s without the need of a military coup or even any constitutional revision. A nationalistic ideology was fostered which stressed that the role of the people was to work hard, live frugally, and save money in order to build the strength of the nation. A key role was established for the Emperor as the national father-figure heading the family state and to whom all citizens owed dutiful obedience in an echo of the Confucian system of the Tokugawa period. As representatives of the emperor, national bureaucrats wielded broad policy and regulatory authority, and actively encouraged attitudes of deference and compliance to their own conception of the national interest.

## **2. Postwar Development,**

In a short summary of modern Japanese development, there can be no doubt that the major dividing line is the Second World War, with the defeat of the prewar militarist and imperial project and the subsequent postwar occupation as the main motors of change. While there were clearly major changes resulting from the occupation reforms, however, there are also significant continuities between prewar and postwar practice. In terms of planning culture particularly, it is tempting to conclude that the continuities were more significant than the changes, at least during the important decades of rapid economic growth of the 1950s and 60s.

### **2.1 Change and Continuity**

There is no doubt that Japan was changed greatly by its defeat in war and by the occupation reforms. The American led occupation authorities were determined to root out many of the aspects of the Japanese political system that had led to the development of totalitarianism and wartime aggression. The dismantling of the totalitarian apparatus of the state, the introduction of a new constitution that reduced the status of the emperor to symbolic constitutional monarch from divine and (theoretically) absolute ruler and declared the sovereignty of the people and establishment of universal adult suffrage, the abolition of military capacity, the creation of an independent judiciary, and rural land reform were all major changes that have had long term impacts. As Allinson (1997) has argued, however, the occupation reforms that had strong domestic support inside and outside government tended to be those that had lasting impacts, while other reforms that lacked such support were either hard to implement, or were reversed when the occupation

ended. The attempt to dismantle the huge industrial/financial combines (*zaibatsu*) was strongly resisted, for example, and was largely a failure as they quickly regrouped into new associations (*keiretsu*).

Similarly, the creation of more independent local governments and a more decentralized city planning system was stubbornly resisted by the central government bureaucracy. When the occupation proposed directly elected prefectural and municipal chief executives and legislatures, opposition by the powerful Home Ministry to these and other changes led to its abolition. Local governments and the city planning system, however, remained in practice tightly constrained by the central government officials who worked hard to maintain their old dominance over local affairs. Allinson (1997: 72) sets out the problem clearly: “Allied reformers underestimated the determination of former officials from the old Home Ministry who staffed the new (Local Autonomy) agency – men who never abandoned their desire to preserve every ounce of control over local affairs. Central officials sought control through three avenues: finance, duties, and personnel. They tried to keep local governments dependent by forcing them to rely on central government grants, rather than local resources, for their operating revenues. They subordinated local governments by requiring them to carry out a wide range of duties mandated by the national government, and they tried to subvert local autonomy by appointing incumbent and retired central government officials to the best administrative positions in cities and prefectures.” Each of these three avenues allowed central government to keep a tight rein on local government activity during the post-war period, and central government control over finances and appointments to key positions have been keenly resented by local governments as sharp limits on their autonomy.

The tight control over local finances has allowed the central bureaucracy to keep a tight reign on local autonomy until the present, but it is also clear that bureaucratic control over ‘duties’ has also played a key role in maintaining the power of central ministries. This was a product of the ‘Agency Delegated Functions’ (*Kikan Inin Jimu*) system which was first established during the Meiji period. Under this system, which was only finally abandoned for urban planning matters in May of 2000, central government retained exclusive legal authority to carry out many functions, including education, health care provision and, significantly in the present context, urban and land use planning. In practice the obligation of carrying out the function was normally delegated to a governor in the case of a prefecture or a mayor in the case of a city, but in executing the delegated function the officer is then considered the agent of central government, responsible to the central government and not to his or her electors or the prefectural or town assembly, which had no say in planning matters. As the Ministry of Construction put it in ‘City Planning in Japan’, “Although the prefectural governor is elected by universal suffrage, he is legally required to act as an agent of the national government as far as city planning is concerned” (Japan Ministry of Construction 1991: 13). This meant that all important decisions could effectively be controlled by the central ministry. It also meant that lower levels of

government had no authority to set their own independent planning rules or bylaws but could only work within the national legislation.

Further, although an occupation sponsored tax reform commission headed by Dr. Carl Shoup of Columbia University recommended in 1949 that local governments be granted a stable revenue source of their own, and specifically suggested that town planning be fully decentralized to local control, few of its recommendations were adopted because of intense opposition in the Diet and the central government ministries to its tax reform proposals (Steiner 1965: 108; Beasley 1995: 221). Local governments thus continued to have scant financial independence, with their tax revenues closely controlled by the central Ministry of Finance, and the continuation of the old system of delegation of central government programs to local governments with what many local governments saw as inadequate financial compensation. This is commonly referred to as the problem of “excess burdens” placed on local governments without adequate compensation (Shindo 1984:119). According to Ishida, the Japanese government’s own commission set up after receipt of the Shoup report to investigate local administrative reform also recommended that town planning be decentralized: “The report clearly stated ‘Town Planning and town planning projects shall be the responsibility of municipalities. Laws shall be changed to give municipalities autonomous power to decide and implement matters related to town planning.’ The report even asserted that the legal structure of the 1919 Town Planning Act hampered autonomy of local public entities” (Ishida 2000: 8). In Ishida’s view it was primarily the old Home Ministry bureaucrats in the new Ministry of Construction which resisted changes to the system. Detailed powers to control city planning decisions was to remain in the hands of the central government bureaucracy.

Not, it should be noted, in the hands of politicians, even though the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) which has dominated Japanese politics ever since the merger of the two main prewar conservative parties in 1954 did gradually increase its influence in policy making. The business of drafting legislation, drafting, approving and implementing plans remained overwhelmingly the work of central ministry bureaucrats who enjoyed an extraordinary degree of autonomy to get on with the work of running the country. This was also in part a product of the wartime disaster and postwar occupation, as most of the other prewar centers of political power had been eliminated by the occupation. The military no longer existed, the Imperial institution was reduced to a figurehead, and much of the leadership of the political parties who had cooperated in the war effort had been purged. The main institution that remained was the central bureaucracy, whose status and legitimacy was greatly increased by the fact that the occupying authorities chose to work through the existing government structure, rather than attempt to govern directly. In many of their main activities, including city planning, local governments thus continued to function as extensions of the national administration, and their independence was sharply limited, even after the occupation reforms.



## 2.2 The Developmental State

Johnson's (1982) influential analysis of postwar Japan as a 'developmental state' also highlights the point that there were considerable continuities between the prewar imperial state and postwar democratic Japan. In Johnson's story it is the economic bureaucrats who play the starring roll, emerging in the 1930s in the powerful Ministry of Munitions coordinating national productive and material resources for total war, and with many of the same faces reappearing in the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) in the postwar period as the dominant players in engineering the economic miracle. In the present discussion the most important continuity is that the unusual relationship between the state and the people continued largely unchanged under the new democratic regime. The self-appointed mission of the central government bureaucracy was to build the power of the state, albeit through economic growth in the postwar period, rather than through imperial expansion as before the war. The welfare of the people continued to count for little in the ordering of priorities.

Johnson's theory of the 'developmental state' was a particularly useful exposition of the postwar political economy. His description of the 'triangle' of LDP - Bureaucracy - Business is classic and worth citing:

"The central institutions – that is, the bureaucracy, the LDP and the larger Japanese business concerns – in turn maintained a kind of skewed triangular relationship with each other. The LDP's role is to legitimate the work of the bureaucracy while also making sure that the bureaucracy's policies do not stray too far from what the public will tolerate. Some of this serves its own interests, as well; the LDP always insures that the Diet and the bureaucracy are responsive to the farmers' demands because it depends significantly on the overrepresented rural vote. The bureaucracy, meanwhile, staffs the LDP with its own cadres to insure that the party does what the bureaucracy thinks is good for the country as a whole, and guides the business community towards developmental goals. The business community in turn, supplies massive amounts of funds to keep the LDP in office, although it does not thereby achieve control of the party, which is normally oriented upward, toward the bureaucracy, rather than downward, toward its main patrons." (Johnson 1982:50)

This description presents what was for some time the dominant model of the Japanese political economy, and the 'iron triangle' of bureaucracy, LDP and big business is still widely referred to. In Johnson's conception the bureaucracy is the dominant player, with the LDP functioning primarily as a shield to protect the bureaucrats from particularistic interests that would hinder their pursuit of the technocratically optimal economic growth policy. Sugimoto (1997: 193), another leading figure in the analysis of Japanese society singles out the same players, but suggests that instead of the bureaucracy being dominant, the triangle is in fact deadlocked. The bureaucracy controls the private sector through webs of regulation and administrative guidance, but are dependent on the politicians to pass their bills. The politicians are dependent on the bureaucracy for policy formation and implementation, but are in thrall to big business which supplies copious electoral funds, and also gains leverage over the bureaucracy by hiring retiring bureaucrats

into lucrative positions as executives or directors of firms in a procedure called *amakudari* or 'descent from heaven'. In either analysis the Japanese bureaucracy was relatively insulated from political pressures, and was thus able to pursue long-term policies without the political necessity of short term benefits common in other democracies. The overwhelmingly dominant policy priority was to build Japanese economic power.

The widespread acceptance of the need to rebuild the economy, and the very real material benefits that resulted from economic growth helped to maintain public support for this strategy. The ability of the central government to implement its pro-growth strategy was also reinforced by the fact that during the first two post-war decades the conservatives controlled the central government, virtually all prefectural governorships and most municipal governments. It was thus relatively easy for them to set the agenda for all levels of government. Because there was such clear necessity to recover from the destruction of war, the alliance of central government bureaucrats, the ruling LDP, and big business was given a very free hand to pursue their development strategy. Samuels (1983:168) has called the period from the end of the war to the middle of the 1960s a 'conservative's paradise' in which there was an 'unassailable consensus' on economic reconstruction and rapid growth. The city planning system played an important role here, as the vast expansion of economic activity required better roads, ports, and railways, and a huge supply of new industrial land. The government focused its planning efforts and budgets on the provision of that industrial infrastructure while neglecting residential areas, as shown by Yamamura (1992: 48) who notes that while 41 per cent of the public works budget was allocated to roads, harbors and airports in 1960, and 49.9 per cent in 1970, the percentage devoted to housing and sewer systems was 5.7 per cent in 1960 and 11.2 per cent in 1970. The Japanese government thus spent little on social overhead capital, instead devoting all available resources to enabling rapid capital accumulation and industrial growth.

The enormous difficulties faced by postwar Japanese in validating the personal and private sphere in the face of long traditions urging the suppression of individual desires in favor of the demands of the state is thoughtfully explored by Tada (1978) in his paper on the emergence of 'my homism' after 1955. He explains that whereas before the war private interests were simply considered to be hostile to the interests of the state, the postwar occupation had had some real success in promoting the values of individualism among the younger generation. This set the stage for a serious clash of values in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as young adults who believed that they had some right to value their home and family life on a par with their work life entered the work force. The older generation was appalled at this presumption, which was derogatorily labeled 'my-homism', and "around 1963 or 1964 a fierce campaign was launched to brand my-homism as a disgrace. The issue was discussed even at a cabinet meeting, at which certain ministers indignantly asserted that my-homism is harmful to the development of concern for public good and public interest, national defense, an love of country" (Tada 1978: 211). The old beliefs that it was the duty of the Japanese people to devote all their energies to work, and put up with terrible living conditions in order to contribute to the prosperity of the nation were clearly still

strong in the 1960s. Even today the assumption that men's primary duty is to their company rather than their family remains dominant, as is suggested by the fact that although a law was passed in 1992 granting both men and women the right to childcare leave, only 0.42 per cent of fathers took such leave and many of those who did faced dismissal or demotion on their return to work (Wijers-Hasegawa 2002).

### **2.3 Environmental Crisis and the Emergence of Opposition Movements**

Although the almost exclusive focus of central government on industrial expansion clearly contributed to Japanese economic growth in this period, it also caused serious environmental problems. The strategy of concentrating industrial development in the Pacific Belt corridor, and focusing new industrial and infrastructure investment in clusters of interrelated industries in close proximity to each other on planned sites resulted in the concentration of the negative effects of this industrial and population growth into very small areas, and resulted in rapidly deteriorating living conditions for the populations of the main metropolitan areas. In addition, the weak zoning regulations meant that many of the worst polluters were situated in close proximity to high density residential areas. The result was a severe environmental crisis. Large numbers of people died from water and air pollution, and from eating poisoned food. The first cases of all the major pollution-related diseases appeared in Japan, with hundreds of deaths recorded. Far greater numbers suffered chronic environment related illness, with official government recognition as pollution victims (entitling them to relief and medical aid) extended to over 73,000 people by 1979 (McKean 1981: 20)(see also Huddle, Reich et al. 1975 for a contemporary account of Japan's environmental crisis; and Barret and Therivel 1991 for a review of the development of environmental legislation in Japan).

As Taira (1993: 173) argues, during the rapid economic growth period Japanese corporations vigorously resisted the imposition of regulations requiring installation of pollution control equipment or clean up of environmental hazards that they had already created. The corporations responsible also denied their responsibility when pollution victims protested, and lied, concealed evidence, and did everything possible to prevent outside investigators from determining their responsibility. Although this sort of behavior is reprehensible, it is hardly exceptional amongst private corporations in capitalist economies, which often have seen their responsibility to lie solely in making profits in whatever ways they can get away with. More surprising is the reaction of the national government ministries which colluded in industry efforts to evade responsibility by concealing evidence and shutting down university research programs into the sources of pollution diseases (Reich 1983; Upham 1987; Ui 1992). The priority given by national ministries to protecting industry from the victims' complaints provides further strong evidence that a highly distinctive conception of the state interest and responsibility towards citizens still prevailed in Japan. The self-appointed role of the government was to promote national strength through economic growth, and the people were expected to do their best

to further that growth. The old feudal and prewar idea that the people were there to serve the state, and not vice versa, had clearly not lost much of its potency.

In contrast to the prewar period, however, democratic rights had been guaranteed by the postwar constitution, and when traditional means of petition and protest failed to produce results the number and effectiveness of opposition movements gradually increased. There were two main ways in which opposition to government policies and pollution was expressed. First were the many locally based environmental movements, which were often small and usually arose in response to some specific problem. In the 1950s and early 60s these were greatly constrained by traditional social constraints on protest and victims were marginalized. The victims of pollution were often the poorest members of society, and could be bought off relatively easily with small consolation payments and reassurances (Iijima 1992). As problems worsened, however, many communities whose members were sick or dying became more militant, traditional constraints were thrust aside, and a variety of direct action protest techniques employed and large numbers of court cases were begun. Finally, with success in the main court cases in the early 1970s, such environmental protest was strongly legitimized, and there was a nationwide surge of sympathy for the victims, and of opposition to the growth-first policies of the government.

Throughout the 1960s and well into the 1970s citizens' movements became more and more numerous. According to Krauss and Simcock (1980), for example, in 1971 alone local governments received 75,000 pollution related complaints, and there were as many as 10,000 local disputes in 1973. While most individual groups focused on local issues and tended to have a short life span, either collapsing after defeat or folding up after victory, their very numbers assured their impact. The late 1960s and early 1970s proved an important turning point in the land development arena. Whereas previously developers, whether for industrial or residential uses, were able to rely on the ability of local governmental and business elites to assemble land for their projects, after the late 1960s they often encountered organized resistance by residents and farmers who opposed development (Krauss and Simcock 1980:196). As Broadbent (1998) shows in excruciating detail, however, such opposition faced steep uphill battles, and central government continued to exert strong pressure on prefectural and municipal governments, and through them on local community organizations by the systematic use of bribes, threats, and co-optation.

The environmental crisis and the rise of citizens movements eventually translated into electoral challenges to LDP dominance. During the two and a half decades from 1952 to 1976, the LDP share of the popular vote in House of representatives elections steadily decreased, while the total progressive vote (the Japan Socialist Part and the Japan Communist Party) increased, and while local government had been until the mid 1960s the almost exclusive territory of conservative politicians, by the late 1960s conservative dominance was clearly on the wane (Allinson 1979; MacDougall 1980). According to Ishida (1987:305), one of the key reasons for progressive electoral success was that the reform governments put the concerns of citizens' movements about city planning and

control of development high on their agenda. As Samuels (1983:190) put it, “The left came to power by convincing enough of the electorate that the conservative central government and their allies in the localities were responsible for the pollution, the lack of social programs, and the support of business interests at the expense of residents.”

Krauss and Simcock (1980:196) argue that there was a “veritable explosion of protest in urban and suburban areas” against industrial plants and highway interchanges, and to demand that local governments provide essential services such as sewers, parks and sidewalks. The consensus on growth had truly ended, and a new, more complex period began in which sharply differing ideas of the future of urban areas and of the country were in competition. The progressive candidates for local government office made improving the urban environment through better urban planning, more sensitivity to local people’s needs, and investment in social overhead capital a central part of their program.

#### **2.4 The New City Planning Law of 1968**

It is widely agreed that it was in response to its steadily decreasing share of the popular vote, and the need to win votes from the rapidly growing urban electorate that the LDP passed new city planning legislation in 1968. For example, Calder (1988:405) notes that although the law had been in preparation for many years, it was just before the July 1968 Upper House elections in which they feared they could lose their majority that the LDP announced an Urban Policy Outline and passed the new City Planning Law. Ishida (1987:303) also, in his history of Japanese planning attributes the passage of the new city planning law to the intensification of urban problems and chaotic land use caused by the high economic growth policy and the resulting upsurge of citizens movements and progressive local governments that threatened LDP dominance.

The new City Planning Law of 1968 was the first major reform to the city planning system since 1919. The changes to the system were extensive, and were focused primarily on controlling haphazard unserviced development on the urban fringe. Sprawl was to be controlled by two main measures, an urban growth boundary system which divided city planning areas into ‘urbanization promotion areas’ and ‘urbanization control areas’, and a development permit system, which for the first time allowed local governments to make new urban land development conditional on the provision of basic urban infrastructure such as road improvements, sewerage and public space. Other measures included a much improved zoning system and the delegation of responsibility for preparing city plans to prefectural and municipal governments (Nakai 1988; Hebbert 1994; Sorensen 2002 (forthcoming)).

The beginning of the 1970s was a time of great optimism about urban planning in Japan. A new city planning system had just been initiated, local governments had finally been given both the tools and the responsibility for urban planning, and the first plans were being developed and adopted. Local governments and planners hoped that they would now be able to catch up with infrastructure shortfalls, control the location and quality of new development, and generally provide the better quality urban environment that everyone

agreed was needed. Further, in the early 1970s the reform local governments which had placed the improvement of the urban environment and respect for citizen needs at the top of their political agenda were still growing in strength and electoral success.

By the end of the decade, however, it was clear that there were serious problems with the new planning system. Critically, the new system had failed to halt the worst problems of urban sprawl, and had been weakened both as a result of the initial implementation and by subsequent policy revisions. Sprawl was continuing and even accelerating in the metropolitan regions and a major revision to planning law to create the District planning system, was being introduced to provide more detailed planning control over urban areas. There were a number of reasons why the 1968 system failed to live up to expectations, including extensive loopholes that allowed the majority of land development to evade the requirements of the new development permit system, tax incentives for land speculation, and continuing weak zoning restrictions (see Sorensen 1999; Sorensen 2001; Sorensen 2002 (forthcoming)). In retrospect, however, perhaps the most important factor was the continuing domination of planning policy by central government ministries. In particular the fact that local governments still had no legal authority to set their own planning rules meant that one set of zoning codes and building regulations applied to both the burgeoning metropolitan areas and declining rural backwaters alike. When property developers or farm land owners successfully lobbied the ruling party in the 1970s for expansions of existing loopholes, those loopholes appeared miraculously throughout the country, even in areas that were in fact fighting hard to tighten existing regulations. Even though reform coalitions had gained control of municipal government in most of the larger cities by the middle of the 1970s, often by promising better city planning and better urban environments, the tight control over planning regulations by central government meant that their options were extremely limited. Then in the 1980s the central government implemented a wide range of deregulation policies to spur the property market in Tokyo, even though local planners in Tokyo and elsewhere were strongly opposed (Inamoto 1998). Many planners believe that deregulating the already weak land use planning system contributed to the debacle of the bubble economy period (Hayakawa and Hirayama 1991; Noguchi 1992b; Noguchi 1992a), although it should be noted that some economists believe that even more radical moves toward a completely free market in land would also have mitigated the impact of the land bubble (Miyao 1987; Miyao 1991).

The most important development in city planning during the 1990s was the emergence of machizukuri, or community based city planning efforts. These projects for actively involving local citizens in local environmental improvement and development control quickly spread throughout the country, and have unleashed a tremendous amount of activity and energy at the local level. It is not yet clear to what extent these new bottom up approaches to local planning will be able to influence the extremely top down city planning system, or whether it will simply mean that local voluntary activities will be allocated a whole range of responsibilities for local environmental management and improvement that the city planning system had never addressed.

In any case, the continuing weakness of city planning in Japan, and particularly the fact that unserviced development on the urban fringe continues to represent about half of all new development means that serious urban problems continue to proliferate. Of all dwellings in Japan, some 35 per cent are not connected to sewer systems, and a similar proportion of houses front on substandard roads of less than 4 meters in width. As shown elsewhere, the inability to prevent unserviced land development means that land owners can sell land in tiny parcels and at high prices while avoiding the need of providing services, while local governments (and taxpayers) are faced with enormous costs to retroactively build roads and sewers (Sorensen 1999; Sorensen 2001). As anyone who has visited Japan will attest, chaos and sprawl characterize Japanese urban areas, and few are willing to believe that there has been any city planning at all. The weak planning system, and particularly the low priority put on urban residential environments by the central government, and the extremely limited freedom of local governments to set their own priorities or standards for development have clearly contributed greatly to the persistence of urban environmental problems in Japan.

## **2.5 The Very Gradual Emergence of Civil Society**

It is clear that with the emergence of a totalitarian state during the 1930s Japan's fragile civil society of the prewar years was all but eliminated. What is more surprising is that even after the war, with the restoration of representative democracy and the establishment of the sovereignty of the people, civil society was only very gradually to reappear. While labor unions quickly organized a significant share of the workforce, and popular protest movements, particularly against the military alliance with the United States and against environmental pollution did form, these failed to develop into a strong civil society composed of autonomous organizations and institutions. Indeed, a number of Japanese political scientists have argued that in practice civil society was virtually nonexistent in Japan until its revival in the 1990s (see e.g. Yamamoto 1999; Yoshida 1999). This may be somewhat an exaggeration, because as discussed above, vigorous movements in opposition to the state's growth first policies and their adverse environmental consequences emerged during the 1960s, and a wide range of other elements of civil society such as labor unions and a free press did rapidly develop in the postwar period.

The problem is that although they had considerable success at the municipal level, the citizens movements were unable to influence national government policies, and the local governments that were more responsive to their demands had few resources or powers to comply. Local citizens movements were never able to form into national organizations that had the scale, resources and political power to begin to influence national government policies. One important reason that no organizations such as Greenpeace, the Sierra Club or Oxfam developed in Japan was that until the passage of the new Non Profit Organizations (NPO) law in 1998 it was extremely difficult for private voluntary groups to gain legal status as organizations. Individual ministries retained the discretionary power to grant status to voluntary organizations within their area of authority, without which it was

impossible to even set up a group bank account, let alone rent offices or retain staff. The broad powers enjoyed by the various ministries to regulate non-profit organizations allowed the bureaucracy to take gradual control over those independent groups that emerged through administrative controls, the discretionary payment of subsidies and through retirement placements of ex-bureaucrats in their executives (Yamamoto 1999; Kawashima 2001). Although the established NPO sector in Japan is actually very large in comparative terms, being second only to that of the US in total revenue, that is primarily because most universities, hospitals, and welfare centers are registered as NPOs, and a majority of current NPOs were actually established by the government to carry out various state delegated functions. As Vosse (1999: 37) put it, “To a large degree, the private nonprofit sector has taken over responsibilities formerly covered by the state, and the vast majority of these nonprofit institutions have no relationship to grassroots civic groups. Sub sectors concerned with the natural environment, civil advocacy, philanthropy, as well as international exchange and cooperation had an almost negligible share of the nonprofit sector.” Even with the widely supported passage of the new NPO law in 1998, NPOs still did not achieve the right to receive tax deductible donations because of strong opposition by the central bureaucracy to this dilution of their powers to control public spending (Yamamoto 1999: 114). This issue was finally resolved in 2001 with the passage of an amendment to the law that allowed tax deductible donations to a select group of NPOs for the first time.

While the rapid growth of Japanese civil society in the 1990s is real, therefore, it is still in its initial phases of development, with a proliferation of small groups, and there is still a long way to go before the non-profit sector gains a significant voice in national political debates. The development of organizations that have the resources to prepare their own well researched policy alternatives, or detailed critiques of government policies, or launch and sustain court challenges is only in its early stages. As the 20<sup>th</sup> century drew to close, Japanese civil society was still weak even if growing, and the central bureaucracy was still clearly dominant, even if increasingly challenged.

### **3.0 Japanese Planning Culture**

There are three core features of Japanese planning culture that stand out in comparative perspective, which are summarized here. The first is the distinctive conception of the relationship between state and society, the second is the unusual basis of legitimacy of the planning system, and the third is the weak role of civil society in policy formation and debate.

#### **3.1 The Distinctive Conception of State and Society**

One of the features of Japanese social organization that shaped Japanese planning culture throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and continues to do so today, is the distinctive conception of the relationship between state and society, of which the persistent notion that the Japanese people should be willing to sacrifice individual and even collective welfare for the sake of the national interest is a core feature. The rights and privileges of citizenship



were downplayed in favor of its duties and obligations. While it is not hard to see how this system might have developed in the prewar period, it is harder to understand why it has been so persistent in the postwar period of democratic governments and constitutional guarantees. The main champion of this conception of state society relations was consistently the central government bureaucracy, which saw itself as the only legitimate arbiter of the public good, and worked hard to protect its relative autonomy in the formation of policy, drafting of legislation, and enforcement of regulations. As Iokibe argues, "Respect for the private was fully recognized in principle in Japanese society after the end of World War II, but that did not mean that the tradition of authoritarian rule led by the bureaucracy had disappeared. The power of the bureaucracy to issue permissions and certifications, handle matters at its own discretion, and exercise broad monopolies on information continues to prevail. The bureaucracy still holds many of the privileges of a semi-independent kingdom that are beyond the reach of democratic controls. Many officials in the bureaucracy are convinced that their institutions represent the sole legitimate agencies that possess the qualifications and the ability to formulate state policy for the public good" (Iokibe 1999: 91).

It seems clear that the bureaucracy was able to maintain its independence largely because the arrangement well suited both the ruling LDP and the big business world, as well as because of the very real benefits that flowed from rapid economic growth and a distribution of income that was significantly more equal than in most other developed countries. It is also important to remember that while the bureaucracy was relatively autonomous compared to most other developed countries, its autonomy was by no means complete. Policy was also influenced by the LDP, which was constantly worried about its electoral fortunes, and worked hard to ensure that it maintained its majority in the Diet. As Calder (1988) describes it, the party managed to repeatedly broaden its base of support by including ever more groups in its redistributive networks, particularly when it faced electoral crisis. The rapidly growing economy, and ever increasing tax revenues, made available vast sums that were spent increasingly in the peripheral regions on public works and other pork-barrel projects (Woodall 1996; McGill 1998). The business community also was able to influence policy by providing a steady flow of campaign funds to the LDP, and by providing lucrative retirement posts for bureaucrats. Significant for the development of city planning was that one of the most influential sectors, particularly during the 1980s, was the construction and land development industry which was both by far the biggest donor to legal and illegal LDP campaign funds, and one of the greatest beneficiaries of the ever increasing spending on public works and repeated deregulations of land development controls (McCormack 1996).

It cannot be denied that the electorate also played some role in this drama, even if it was apparently only a bit part. This is not the place to examine Japanese electoral politics (see Pempel 1982; McCormack and Sugimoto 1986; Calder 1988; Muramatsu 1993; Pempel 1998), but it seems that as long as the benefits of economic growth continued, enough voters continued to vote LDP to keep them in power, aided by a gerrymandered

election system that strongly favored conservative rural voters over their urban counterparts. Significant opposition did emerge, particularly after the 1960s, and played a considerable role in changing government policies during the period from 1968 to 1975, but in the longer run was unable either to challenge LDP dominance, or the basic policy orientation of the bureaucracy. At a more local level opposition to specific projects such as dams, expressways, nuclear plants, industrial development and land fills had very mixed results. While those with specific rights such as land ownership or offshore fishing rights were usually able to bargain very effectively, and gained generous compensation and even managed successfully to block projects in some cases, other local residents and interested parties typically had negligible impact on outcomes. In case after case, years and even decades of vigorous and broad-based public opposition to proposed infrastructure projects has been simply swept aside and construction started (McCormack 1996; McCormack 1997). As Tsuru explained the policy machinery of the developmental state, “Some of the readers may remember seeing that classical Japanese film *Ikiru* which was the story of an ailing ward official who, with the support of local citizens, finally succeeded in overcoming all the hurdles and resistance in creating a small park for citizens, and died smiling alone on the swing in the park. Contrast this with the smooth, matter-of-fact way in which hectares and hectares on new land have been created for industries by filling up the shore-line sea. This latter project, once conceived in the minds of some government officials, goes through steps which are well grooved for eventual fulfillment. The contrast is like the one between a large number of people, women and children included, trying to push a heavy cart over an uncharted wild terrain without a road, and a team of trained staff driving a stream-lined train over a polished rail” (Tsuru 1993: 137-8).

That the developmental state was enormously successful on its own terms of creating a fertile environment for rapid economic growth, and that economic growth greatly benefited the majority of the population is clear. What is surprising, however, is how durable has been the relative autonomy of the central bureaucracy, how tenacious the conception that the bureaucracy should be the most legitimate body to define the nature of the public good, and how long it was possible to maintain the particular conception of the public good which downgraded the individual and collective welfare as a policy goal in favor of national economic power and GDP growth.

### **3.2 Planning Legitimacy**

Japan’s distinctive history of governance during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and particularly the dominant role of the bureaucracy and weak role of democratic processes in forming policy priorities and legislation means that the basis and construction of planning legitimacy in Japan is somewhat different than in most of the other developed countries. In particular, the basic premise that electoral processes of representative democracy might serve to ensure that the public will is served, never an easy matter in the best of cases and particularly for city planning issues where interests can be so diverse, has not really applied to Japan because the unelected bureaucracy has made most of the decisions, influenced

only at the margin by political processes. The extreme concentration of power in central government further distanced planning policy from politics, because it is much more likely that city planning policies can be important issues in municipal politics than in national politics, yet in Japan municipal governments enjoyed little latitude to make important planning decisions, and no legal authority to draft planning bylaws or regulations that went beyond the limited menu set by national legislation. The avenues of influencing planning policy through direct participatory democracy of consultation, citizens' movements, and public protest have been similarly truncated, as is suggested by the large number of cases where government projects went ahead despite massive public opposition, and even majority dissenting votes in local referenda. All of these factors served to prevent the emergence of very strong support for or even understanding of city planning among the general public. The planning system has consistently been something imposed from above, with little regard for local opinion or wishes.

Yet it is fair to say that until the 1990s, there was little challenge to the basic assumption that the central government bureaucracy was the most reliable protector of the public interest. In the prewar period the emperor provided the basis of legitimacy of the state, and the bureaucracy was both his representative, and the most trusted guardian of the public interest, while the dominant political parties were seen as deeply corrupt and beholden primarily to the large industrial and financial interests. In the postwar period the central bureaucracy emerged as even more dominant before, as most of the other power centers were swept away by the occupation reforms. Then the spectacular success of the rapid economic growth policies, and the effective coalition of LDP, bureaucracy and big business greatly enhanced the legitimacy of the Japanese model of governance by providing ever increasing wealth, a relatively equal distribution of incomes, and steadily declining taxes. Even the environmental debacle of the 1960s and the rapid growth of opposition controlled local governments was insufficient to significantly undermine the bureaucracy's authority as the primary guardians of the public interest. With the excellent performance of the Japanese economy in the second half of the 1970s and through the 1980s, the Japanese finally shook off their persistent postwar sense of economic insecurity and started to believe that their own system was actually better than those elsewhere. Predictions that the Japanese economy would surpass the American economy in size before the end of the century became common. In this context there were few who saw any need to challenge the basic assumptions of the Japanese bureaucracy-centered government system.

This situation was not to last, of course. The first blow was the collapse of the bubble economy in 1990, and the consequent deflation of asset values, which has exposed serious problems in the financial sector and led to sluggish economic performance during the 1990s. The financial bureaucracy was found to have done too little, too late in reining in the speculative euphoria of the 1980s, to have colluded with financial institutions in concealing the extent of bad loans, and to have failed to adequately deal with the mess during the 1990s. Much more serious in undermining the prestige of the bureaucracy have been repeated revelations of widespread corruption among high level central and local

bureaucrats. In the mid 90s new public information disclosure laws were used by citizens groups to force disclosure of prefectural and local government accounts. By 1996 endemic corruption and falsification of accounts had been exposed in 25 of the 47 prefectures and some 7.8 billion yen were revealed to have been spent by local officials wining and dining each other and central government bureaucrats in Tokyo (Yoshida 1999: 41). As Pempel notes, “fabricated and padded expense accounts, bogus trips, and nonexistent staff were exposed as deeply entrenched ‘norms.’ At least three governors quit and some thirteen thousand officials were disciplined” (Pempel 1998: 143). Hardly a month goes by in which some new revelation of bureaucratic corruption is not reported in the national media. While people have long understood corruption and money politics to be business as usual for politicians, they have been deeply shocked that the bureaucracy can no longer be trusted.

A further blow to the confidence of the Japanese people in their government came with the catastrophic Kobe earthquake, which struck on January 17, 1995 and killed over 6,400 people, destroyed or damaged 250,000 homes, and left hundreds of thousands homeless and without water, electricity and other essential services. The central government, which lacked a clear emergency response system, took half a day to even realize how serious the problem was, and more days to effectively mobilize help, later explaining that the army was not called in because the prefectural governments affected did not make the request. Worse, bureaucratic agencies showed their arrogance and incompetence by insisting that the body-searching dogs of foreign emergency rescue crews be quarantined for six months before being allowed to enter the country, even as hundreds lay still buried alive beneath the rubble, and rejected an offer of free mobile phones for use in rescue work because the phones were not certified for use in the Kobe region (Pempel 1998: 141). As Sassa (1995: 23) argued, “The worst part of the administration's failure in crisis management was that it ‘struck out’ without even swinging at the ball. Nothing could be more shameful than the inaction, indecision, and inertia that characterized the initial response to the disaster.” The strongest basis of the bureaucracy’s claim to legitimacy, its reputation as a highly skilled, dedicated corps of disciplined and honest officials was therefore sharply undermined during the 1990s, perhaps irrevocably. A new more difficult period has emerged, in which the old certainties are no longer valid and new arrangements have had to be established. One immediate change has been the first really meaningful decentralization of planning powers ever, with the legal authority to draft enforceable local bylaws granted to local governments, and the elimination of the Meiji-era Agency delegated functions system in the spring of 2000 (Ishida 2000). City planning is no longer a delegated function, but a local function. It is too soon to know, however, what impact these changes will have in practice.

### **3.3 The Weakness of Civil Society**

The extremely weak role of civil society and the public realm in Japanese society generally, and in shaping city planning policies and agendas particularly is a central feature of Japanese planning culture. The lack of public debate, public interest, or public input into

urban policies has been a very important factor maintaining the skewed system which has valued economic growth above all, even at the expense of people's lives and health, and led to the creation of serious urban environmental problems and the death and sickness of many residents. The absence of a viable civil society greatly aided the bureaucracy in retaining its monopoly on defining the public interest.

In Japan until the 1990s there were few independent organizations that played a significant role in shaping urban policy. Possible exceptions are the architects' and planners associations, but these have been little able to either shape alternative visions of policy priorities, or convince the government to alter its priorities. Many members of these organizations have certainly contributed greatly to policy study councils (*shingikai*) but these are closely managed by the bureaucracy, and only those proposals that fit the bureaucratic agenda are considered, or implemented. The tight controls over the formation of NPOs in the postwar period appear to have played a decisive role in preventing the emergence of a more influential civil society. Few organizations developed that had the resources or staying power to be able to develop effective critiques of the existing ordering of priorities, and even fewer developed the political power to have any influence on state policy. Those that did grow to any significant scale were quickly integrated into existing frameworks of government activity through subsidies, administrative controls, and the parachuting in of retiring bureaucrats to senior management positions. One reason for the persistence of bureaucratic prerogatives to define the public interest and public policies is thus that there have been so few alternative visions or programs to challenge their dominance.

The Japanese experience points to several important roles of civil society in a developed economy and democratic society. First, civil society is important in generating new ideas, new analyses, and alternative ways of approaching issues and evaluating outcomes. Existing power holders and brokers are much less likely to fundamentally challenge existing arrangements than are small organizations on the margins of power. Second, civil society and a healthy public realm is necessary for the spread of such new ideas and approaches from their originating circles to a wider public. Third, a viable public realm is important to the dissemination of the information necessary to allow effective and informed challenges to public policies. Fourth, civil society is necessary to develop the political momentum to ensure that changes in public opinion are followed by changes in public policy. In Japan the weakness of civil society and the narrowness of the public realm was a major factor allowing the continued dominance of the bureaucracy in defining the public interest.

In the 1990s the dramatic decline in the legitimacy of the bureaucracy as policy maker and honest broker was accompanied by a rapidly increasing extent and role of civil society actors in attempting to transform Japanese planning culture. The primary manifestation of these changes was the establishment during the 1990s of hundreds and even thousands of local groups which are organizing to take charge of local environmental improvement and development control issues. It is too soon to know how these changes

will evolve, but they appear to be a first step in the establishment of a much more active and informed citizenry and a more viable civil society.

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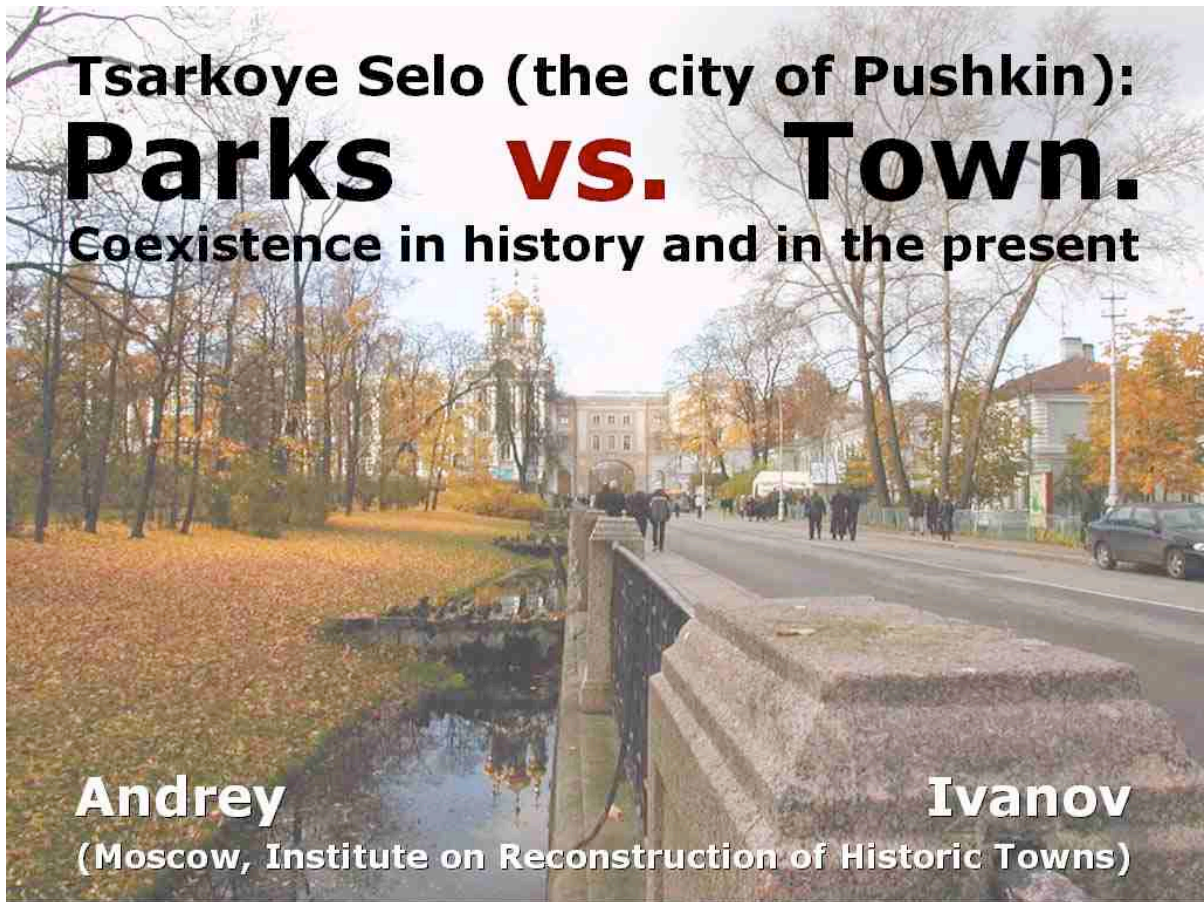
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Andrey Ivanov (Moscow)



**Tsarkoye Selo (the city of Pushkin):**  
**Parks vs. Town.**  
**Coexistence in history and in the present**

**Andrey**

(Moscow, Institute on Reconstruction of Historic Towns)

**Ivanov**

## TSARKOYE SELO' HISTORY: IMPORTANT PHASES. PALACE TOWN. EMPERORS AS MAIN ACTORS.

The Park and Palaces ensemble of Tsarskoye Selo (now – the city of Pushkin) in surrounding of St.-Petersburg is one of world-famed tourist destinations and items of World Heritage List.

But what about adjacent town?

Brief view on this place's town-planning history show two main lines of development:

**FIG. 1. Park vs. Town**



1) target architectural development and symbolical saturation of main ensembles with Russian Emperors as main actors. Greatest inputs occurred during the ownership of the spouse of Peter the Great Empress Catherine Alekseevna, during the reign of the daughter of Peter the Great Empress Elisaveta Petrovna, of Catherine II, of Nicholas I, of Alexander I and Alexander II and, finally, of Nicholas II. It was built activity by forces of best architects of the time F.-B.Rastrelly, Ch.Cameron, G.Quarengi etc. attracted by Imperial court;

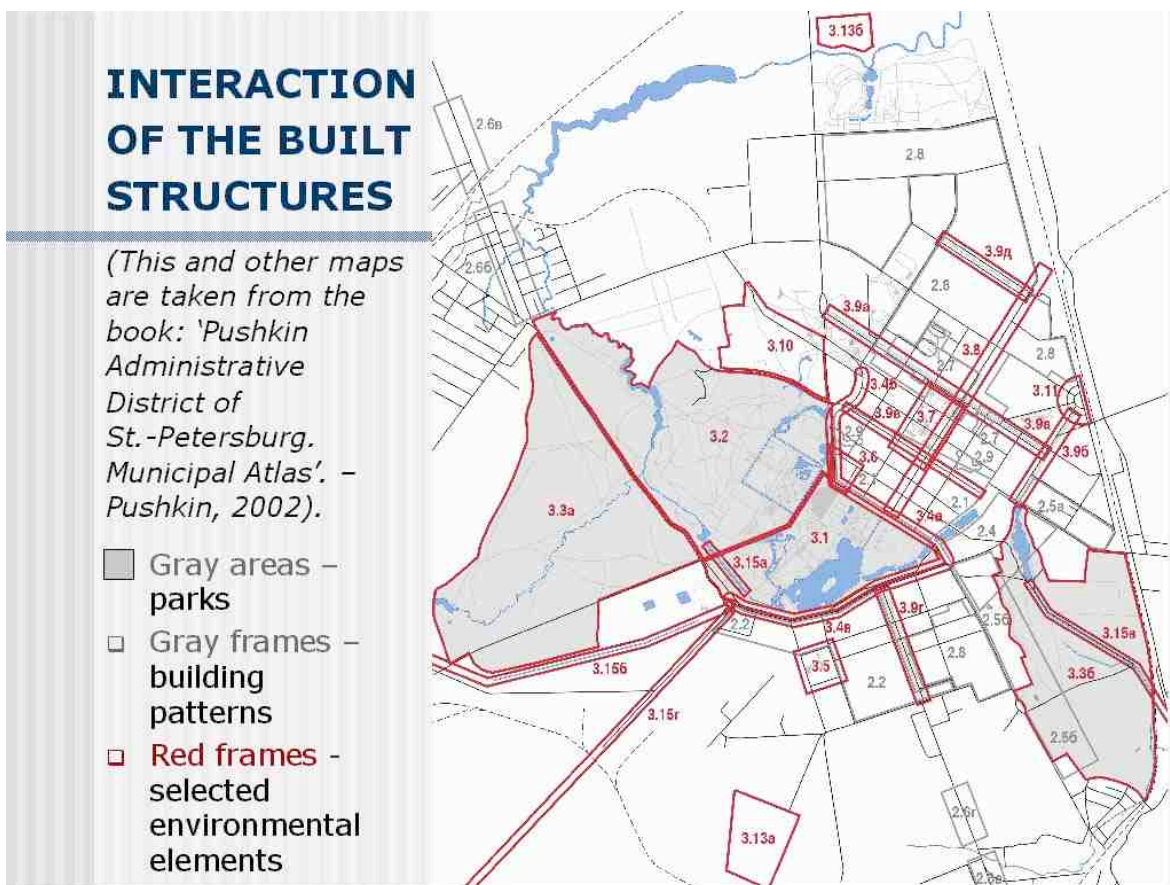
2) in parallel with the first line there was a formation of palace employees' settlement (then the town of Tsarskoye Selo), also under protection of the court-yard, but with elements of an urban self-organization. This line resulted in establishment of rather independent town with its own life and its own centres of activity. Huge residential areas of Soviet time and “New-Russians” development of the last decade add new oddities to this phenomenon.

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## TOWN STRUCTURE. MUNICIPAL ATLAS. DICHOTOMY OF THE PALACE PARKS AND TOWN AS A REPORT'S SUBJECT

Just in the June 2002 we finished in the Pushkin Administrative District of St.-Petersburg an elaboration of the pilot international project “InterSAVE Russia: the administrative tool containing atlas and database on study of architectural values in the urban environment”<sup>1</sup>. There were 2 main outcomes: electronic database about district development and Municipal atlas<sup>2</sup>.

**FIG. 2. Interaction of the built structures on the town territory**



The aims of the Atlas' elaboration were to acquaint the public with comprehensive values of the Pushkin District environment, to attract attention of the local and foreign investors and tourists. Famous palaces and parks of Tsarskoye Selo have had till now a dominating role in the public' and experts' perception. But the Atlas covers all the district's territory. Side by side with the universally recognised masterpieces, the special note is taken of the elements of natural, historical and cultural landscapes, the town development of Pushkin, historical villages and settlements.

Work on the Municipal Atlas of the Pushkin district allows us to draw near to understanding of some topics that were not described before. There are, between others, the relationship between Parks and Town, which we can recognize as main parts of local town-planning system. Sub-



problems are, for example, an arrangement of border between parks and town; a cultural, functional and mental discontinuity between elements of this system: parks, “old town” (former town of Tsarskoye Selo developed mainly in 18–early 20 c.) and “new town” (developed since 1960-s); an inter-osculation of some composition methods (urban irregularity and park regularity etc.) as a way of the gap’s overcoming end so on.

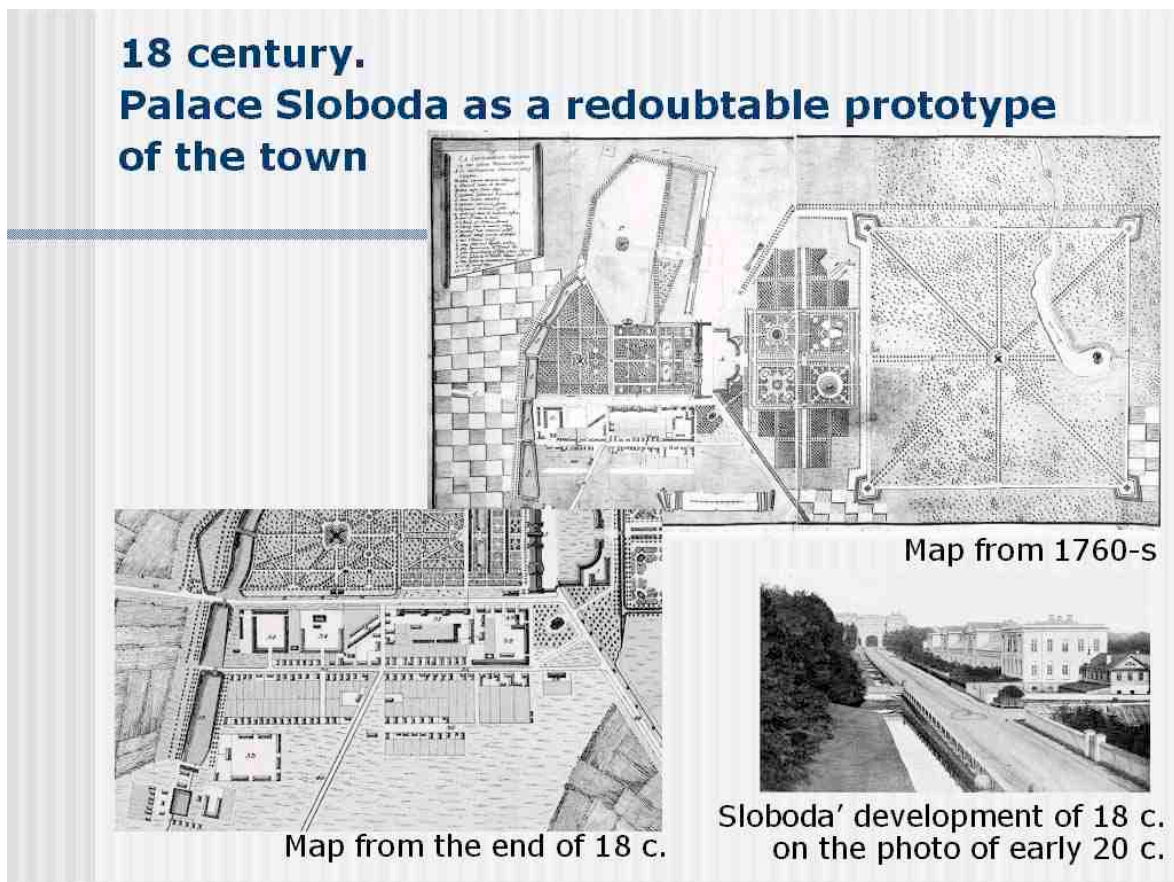
Let us look at the historical genesis of these problems.

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### 18 CENTURY. PALACE SLOBODA (SERVICE OUTSKIRTS OF THE PALACE) AS A REDOUBTABLE PROTOTYPE OF THE TOWN

Just after the first merchant house of the spouse of Peter the Great Catherine Alekseevna foundation and first garden laying out, along the garden, to the northeast from it, the Palace Sloboda (= settlement, neighbourhood) was beginning to be formed. In 1720 here, on “the new line” – future Sadovaya street, the yards of church servants and gardeners were located. Thus the beginning of the town Tsarskoye Selo – modern Pushkin – was set.

**FIG. 3. Palace Sloboda on the first layouts of Tsarskoye Selo**



Sloboda was developed within of 18 c. On the place of wooden apartment houses on Sadovaya street the stone buildings of the palace department – cavaliers houses, Large greenhouse, stables appeared. For the houses of the palace servants the new streets were laid out.

In the middle of the 18 c. Sloboda included several blocks, limited by modern Sadovaya, Naberejnaya, Srednaya streets and Lyceum lane.

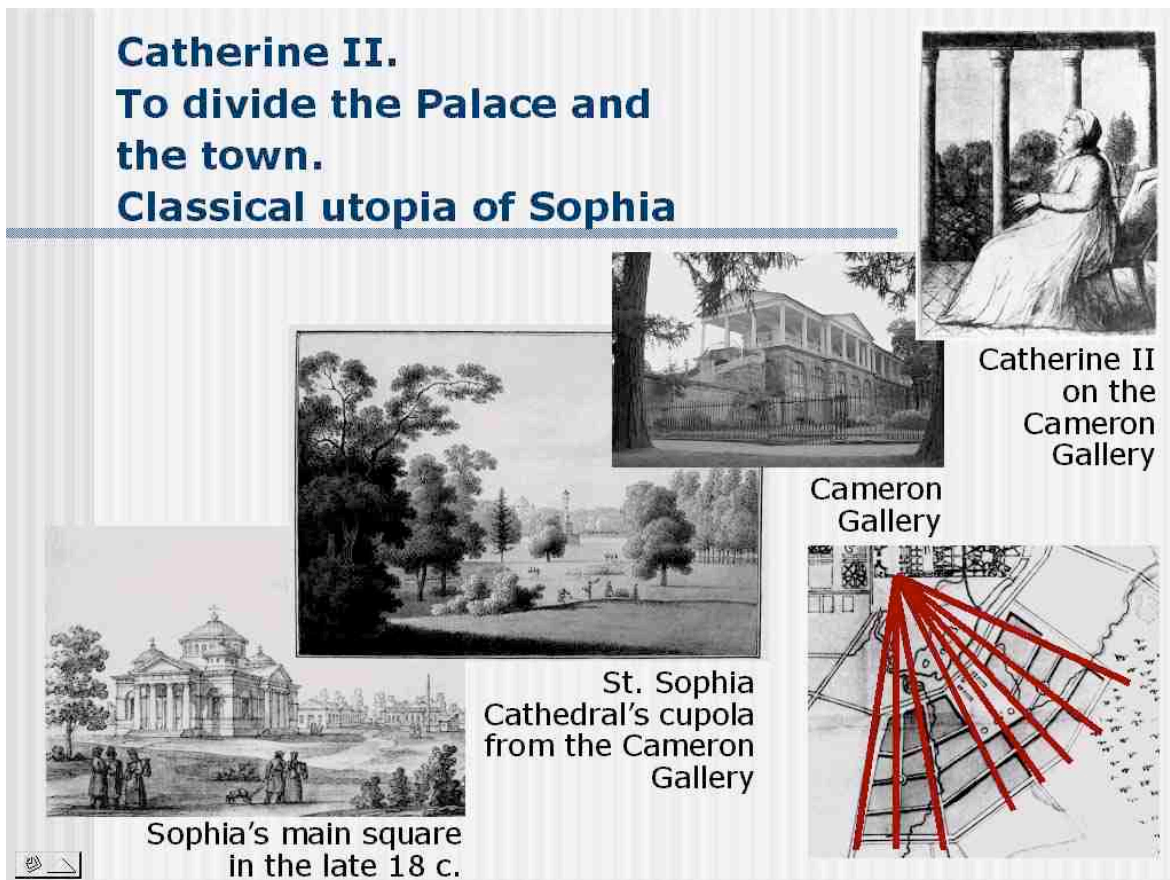
The development of this household settlement was not only ugly, but also rather pretty. In our actual opinion, it characterized by a precise rhythm of buildings with decoration in baroque and classicism style, by a strict and “official” shape. But an opinion of the Empress Catherine II was quite different. She decided to move all this utilitarian activity onto new place, far from the Palace.

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## CATHERINE THE SECOND. TO DIVIDE THE PALACE AND THE TOWN. CLASSICAL UTOPIA OF SOPHIA

According to the plan of Catherine II and the project by Scottish architect Ch.Cameron the new town – Sophia – was founded in the territory to the South from the Catherine Park in 1770-s. The town rounded park in an arch, the rays of its main streets were focused on the Zubovskiy wing of the palace with new cabinet of Catherine II. A square became its main composition unit, in the middle of which the St. Sophia cathedral was erected (arch. I.Starov under the re-elaborated project by Ch.Cameron, 1782–1788). The inhabitants of Sophia met on the fair, which was arranged around the cathedral.

**FIG. 4. Catherine II. To divide the Palace and the town. Classical utopia of Sophia**



The basis of the concept of the new town was the political idea of conquering the Black Sea straits and returning of Constantinople back into the bosom of the Christianity. The cathedral symbolised, for instant, the temple St. Sophia in Constantinople. The other main principle was a composition link between the town and the park layout, the disclosure of the views of the Palace and Cameron Gallery on to the new town and neighboring landscapes.

Besides the political and landscape ideas, the aspiration of Catherine II to transform her favourite residence into an ideal town of the Russian classicism served the basis to its foundation (we must remember that in these years the new general plans of all Russian cities were developed).

But to realize directly this classic concept of Sophia as an ideal town nearby the imperial residence was impossible. Sophia was being built up very slowly. On the contrary, old Sloboda that was located more close to the Palace continued to develop in spite of all administrative restriction. And idea of Sophia started to change in the beginning of the XIX c., when the barracks complexes began to be built here. After the abolition of Sophia as an independent town, the cathedral became the regiment church of Life-guards Hussars. Nowadays in the general composition of Pushkin town the Sophiyskaya square took a peripheral position. Behind the square, to the south and east, there are only industrial zones, the cemetery and remote residential areas.

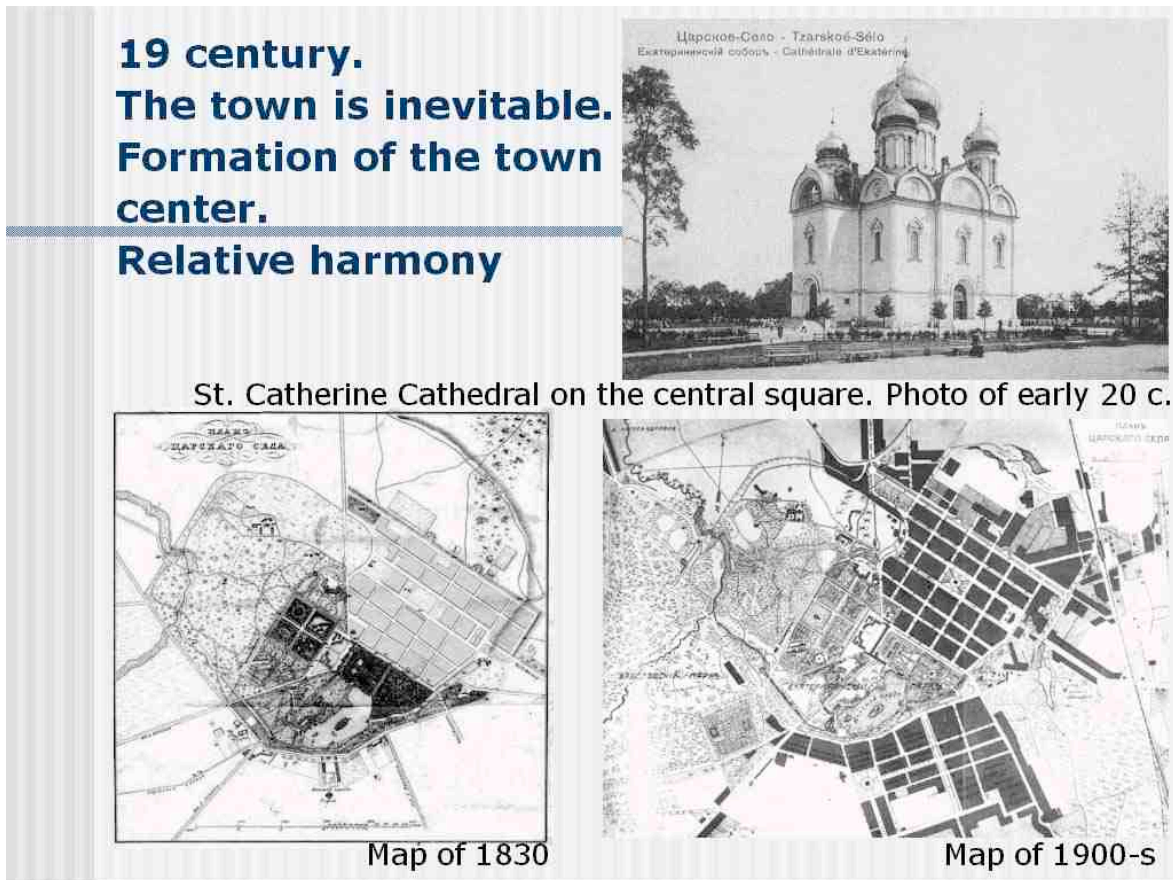
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**19 CENTURY. THE TOWN IS INEVITABLE. TWO TYPES OF BUILT ENVIRONMENT, FORMATION OF THE TOWN CENTER. RELATIVE HARMONY. ONE MAIN (HIGH) SOCIETY.**

The Palace Sloboda, despite the fact that all the new constructions had been banned here, continued to develop. By the end of 1790 three more streets were formed here – Malaya, Leontyevskaya and Naberejnaya. The settlement was limited by the shaft and ditch approximately along the line of modern Moscovskaya street.

In the beginning of the XIX c. the Palace Sloboda was given the status of the town. Realization of its general plan, elaborated about 1808 by the architect V.Geste, determined the compositional connection of Tsarskoye Selo with the palace-park ensemble.

**FIG. 5. 19 century. The town is inevitable. Formation of the town center. Main square with cathedral**



The construction of the first houses according to the new layout began in 1810s. The building was mainly one-storied with maisonettes and two-storied houses under the drafts developed by arch. V.Geste and V.Stasov. At the center a large square with a cathedral was projected. Two smaller trade squares were planned on the wings of layout. The town was surrounded with boulevards.

Soon the marketplace and the fair from Sophia were transferred to the central square of Tsarskoye Selo. On the south-west part of the square since 1818 a trade row (Gostiny Dvor) with market inside was placed. In 1840 the central place of the square was occupied by St. Catherine cathedral (arch. K.Ton). Five gilded domes were seen on the sky from a great distance, having become a dominant of the town silhouette.

The town was inhabited mostly by at court's aristocracy, the elite of Empire, and their people, by craftsmen who worked also for the Emperor court. Only in the end of 19 c. more or less distinctive groups of merchants and lower-middle class were appears here. So, in social attitude there weren't big contradiction between palace' and town' dwellers.

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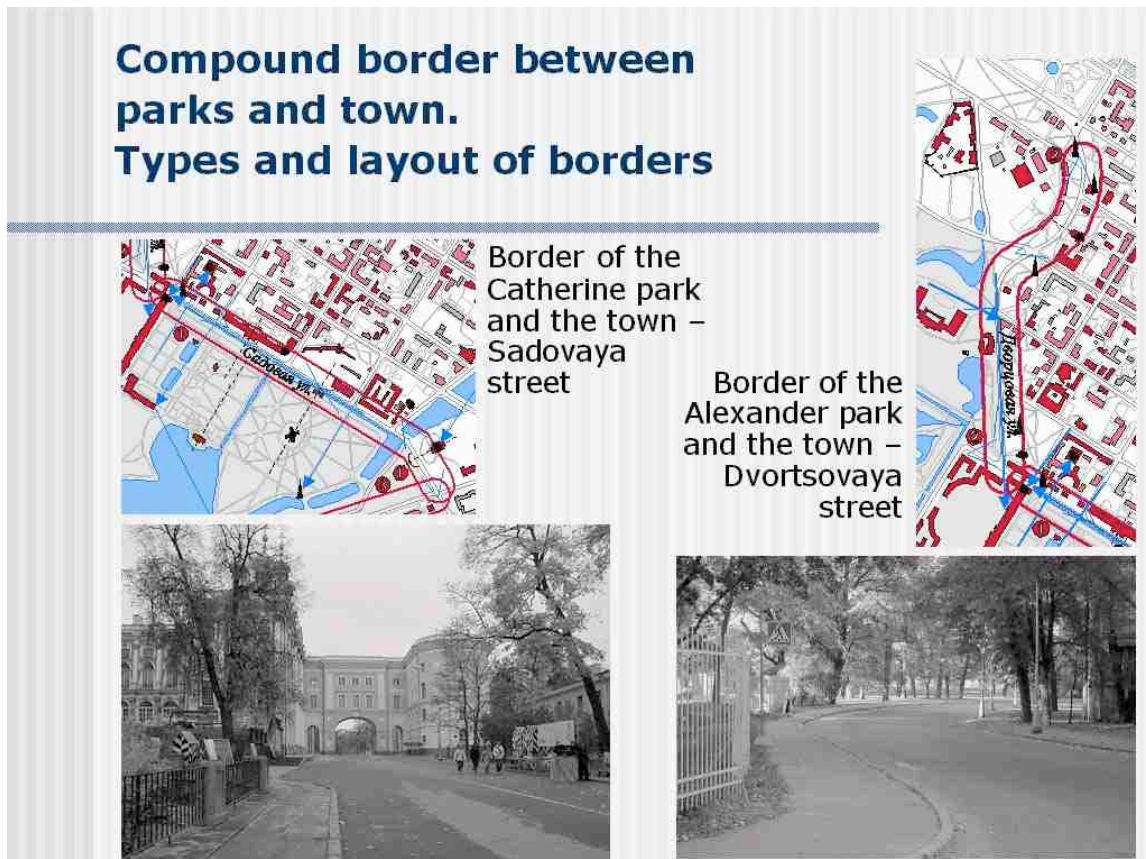


## COMPOUND BORDER BETWEEN GARDENS AND TOWN. TYPES AND LAYOUT OF BORDERS

There were no more great changes in the planning and built strictures of the town before the Revolution, and more or less balanced urban organism was formed during the years of successive development.

The correlation between the zone of parks and palaces and the “normal”, common town seems to be a basic structural dichotomy of Tsarskoye Selo. Accordingly, the main structural “seam” of the urban environment is the border between parks and the town. The degree of the town integrity depends, in the whole, even nowadays upon the character of the organization of this border – its transparency, permeability, saturation with its own micro-accents and micro-ensembles. It is a reason for dedicating of some Atlas’ part to the analysis of the architectural and semantic organization of the “main border” of the town.

**FIG. 6. Compound border between parks and town. Types of border**



Let see on the two main parts of this border.

Sadovaya street is the oldest and the most complicated part of the border between parks and the town. Though it is rather difficult to see the town from the park, as well as the park from the town “through” the Sadovaya street, the deficiency of the large-scale planning connections is compensated here by plenty of cross microaxes, visual connections and environmental accents at a human

level. The sidewalk of Sadovaya street along the channel and park is one of the favourite walking places for townspeople and tourists. As though especially for this purpose the small balcony-ledges of the sidewalk are intended.

Alexander Park is second main park of the park-and-palace ensemble of Tsarskoye Selo – park with its own character. Accordingly, a different type of the border between park and town, corresponding to the picturesque bend of this park, was developed along Dvortsovaya street. A soft bend of the street line, massifs of the green in the “town part” of the street, architectural and sculptural landmarks soften the transition from the “picturesque” to the “regular”.

Walking to the Catherine palace, one can see the whole chain of such micro-accents (from the decorative fountain with the bronze sculpture of a girl up to the Pushkin monument in Lyceum Garden, Znamenskaya Church, Lyceum).

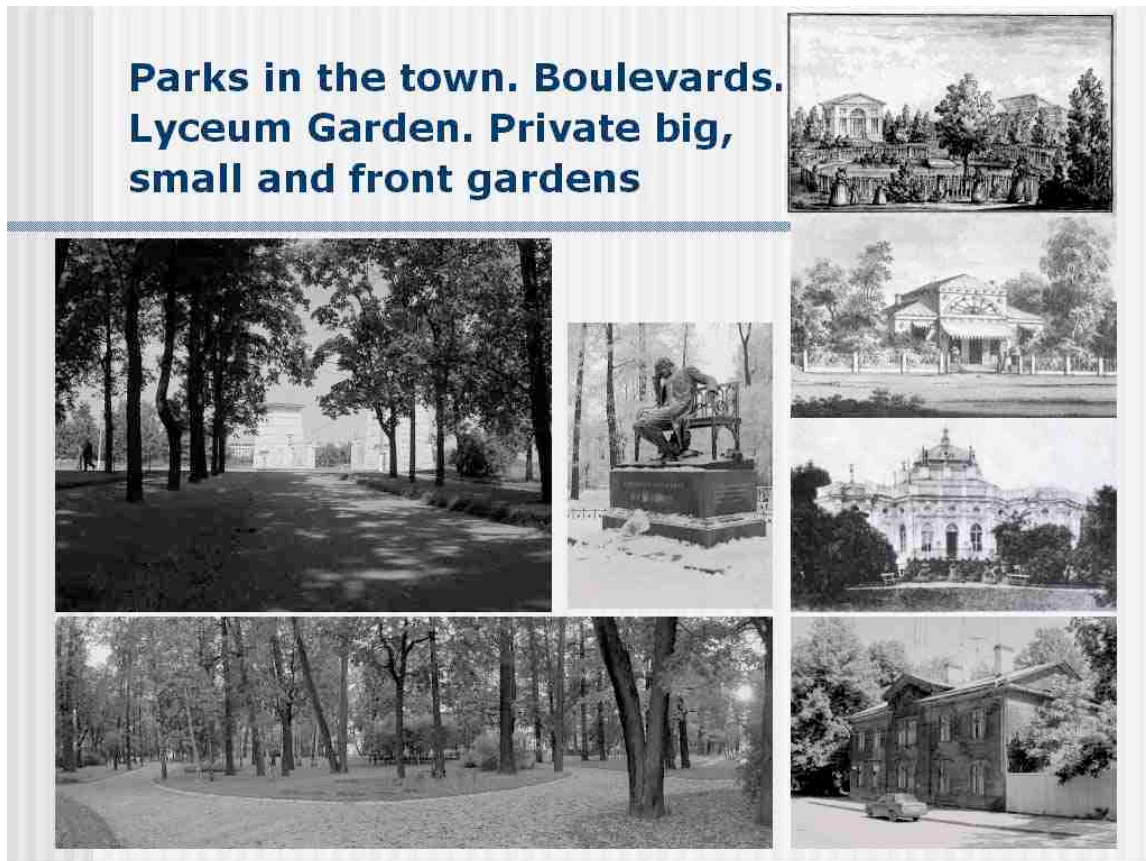
The places of crossing of the borders of different types create environmental micro-ensembles with saturated semantics. So, the biggest in the town density of the concentration of the major symbolical objects can be found in the zone around Lyceum (the joint site of the borders on Sadovaya and Dvortsovaya streets). It is the front entrance into the Catherine park, the fountain “Swan”, the Palace church and Znamenskaya church, the Lyceum with its arch, Lyceum garden with the monument to young Pushkin, the memorial stone “Genio Loci”. Its saturation with tourists, excited crowds, and a general sensation of the emotional expectation of “the meetings with Beauty” form the special atmosphere of this place, unique for the town as a whole.

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## PARKS IN THE TOWN

One more evidence of the unity of the whole town-planning composition – wide penetration of parks into the town.

**FIG. 7. Parks in the town. Boulevards. Lyceum Garden, private big, small and front garden**



There is the net of boulevards (According to Alexander I demand, the town was surrounded with a ring of the boulevards proceeding around Catherine park, connected with landscape roads of Alexander park and Ferskiy parks. Today the boulevards constitute a coherent enough system of pedestrian ways, forming a special townscape type, rather characteristic for Pushkin and “representing” parks in the town);

there are in the town fabric also the Lyceum Garden – a cozy town square as a transitional space from the parks to the town;

many mansions of nobility with big own gardens;

plus almost all town households had private small and front gardens.

Seeing on all this circumstances, we can tell, that Tsarskoye Selo looks as a *garden city* before Revolution.

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## NICOLAS THE SECOND. TO ESCAPE IN THE ANCIENT RUSSIA? NEO-RUSSIAN UTOPIA IN THE FERMSKIY PARK

But this relative harmony in the townscape, which established here towards the end of the 19 c., was not so stable, reflecting the whole unsustainable situation in the country.

During the reign of Nicholas II Tsarskoye Selo became the permanent residence of the Imperial court. The appearance in the beginning of the XX c. of a big architectural ensemble in so-called “Neo-Russian” style on the outskirts of the Alexander park (on the Fermski park’s territory near the neo-gothic Farm by arch. A.Menelas) was connected with the certain ideological views of the emperor (an utopical idea to return to values of the pre-Peter-the-First’ Russia) and with new tastes of a part of the artistic intelligentsia.

**FIG. 8. Nicolas II. To escape in the Ancient Russia? Neo-Russian utopia in the Fermskiy park**



Here appeared Fedorovski cathedral (Blagoveshchenski cathedral of Moscow Kremlin was taken as an example by arch. V.Pokrovski), Fedorovski Gorodok (small-town) (the architecture monuments of several ancient Russian towns served as prototypes, arch. S.Krichinski), the Imperial Railway station (V.Pokrovski), Emperor Armour Chamber (S.Sidorchuk), Barracks of His Majesty Own Kozaks Escort (V.Maksimov). So in the middle of empty unbuilt field beautiful but strange preserve of idealized ancient Russia appeared – nor town neither garden.



The ensemble is visually connected with Alexander palace, giving a picturesque sight from the colonnade and the left wing of the palace with rooms of Nicholas II. So the connection between the various built structures of the town is being realized.

The planned large-scale development of this ensemble was suspended by the revolution. However this area, united by the stylistic unity of constructions and balanced visual connections, undoubtedly, is one of the most interesting and original places of Pushkin.

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## **20 CENTURY. WITHOUT EMPERORS. SOVIET AND POST-SOVIET REALITY. SELF-ORGANIZATION OF TOWN ENVIRONMENT.**

What we are receiving in Soviet time here? Of course not the ancient Russia. The town with his new name given in the honor of famous poet was as though “frozen” and was in a “sleeping status” before the Great Patriotic War. Then it was strongly destroyed during the war both in the garden and town parts.

***FIG. 9. 20 century. Without emperors. Soviet and post-soviet reality.***



For the period of the post-war reconstruction the continuation of the classic town-planning tradition, the ensemble approach to the urban environment organization are the characteristic features. In the second half of 1940-s–50-s, alongside with the restoration of the palaces and parks, many buildings in the “Stalin Empire” style were constructed. Well-detailed 3-4-storied apartment houses simultaneously formed the human public spaces. The most successful examples of such poly-functional “micro-ensembles” are the buildings of Privokzalnaya Square, or a small semi-circular square on Oktyabrskiy blvd.

But since the end of 1950-s the mass construction of residential blocks began. The town extended mainly in the northeast direction, along a line of the railway. Besides, the new quarters have arisen in Sophia and other areas too. Many typical buildings were erected also at the centre of the town, having entered into a sharp contradiction with the historical urban environment. The architectural monotony is supplemented with the monofunctional, only residential usage of the new built areas. Such a development contributes to the creation of a special type of the inhabitants’ behaviour, causing the constant destruction of the elements of the facilities, the littering of the territory etc. The multi-storied residential environment remains a kind of a permanently under-developed, unfinished, no man’s (and no garden’s) land.

In 1990-s in the old part of Pushkin at places of the post-war lacunas and demolished shabby buildings there emerged separate houses and whole complexes of so-called New-Russian development that is oriented to rich enough people who appreciate a charm of a private life in the historical environment of the “garden town”. Such enclaves stand out with the set of expensive conveniences (safeguarded plots, underground garages etc.) and pretentious architectural decoration. However the town-planning role of this development, as well as multi-storied apartment houses in new parts of the town may be evaluated as a positive one. The intensity of the usage of the territory is increasing, the emptiness of the street fronts is being filled in, the buildings – fixing key points in the town-planning composition of new areas – are appearing. However, the impurity of their style and a “mediocre” level of their architecture leap to the eye in the town, full of the brilliant architectural stylisation.

But what’s happened in the whole town-planning composition?

**FIG. 10. Soviet and post-soviet reality. Busy market, empty main square. Self-organized main street**



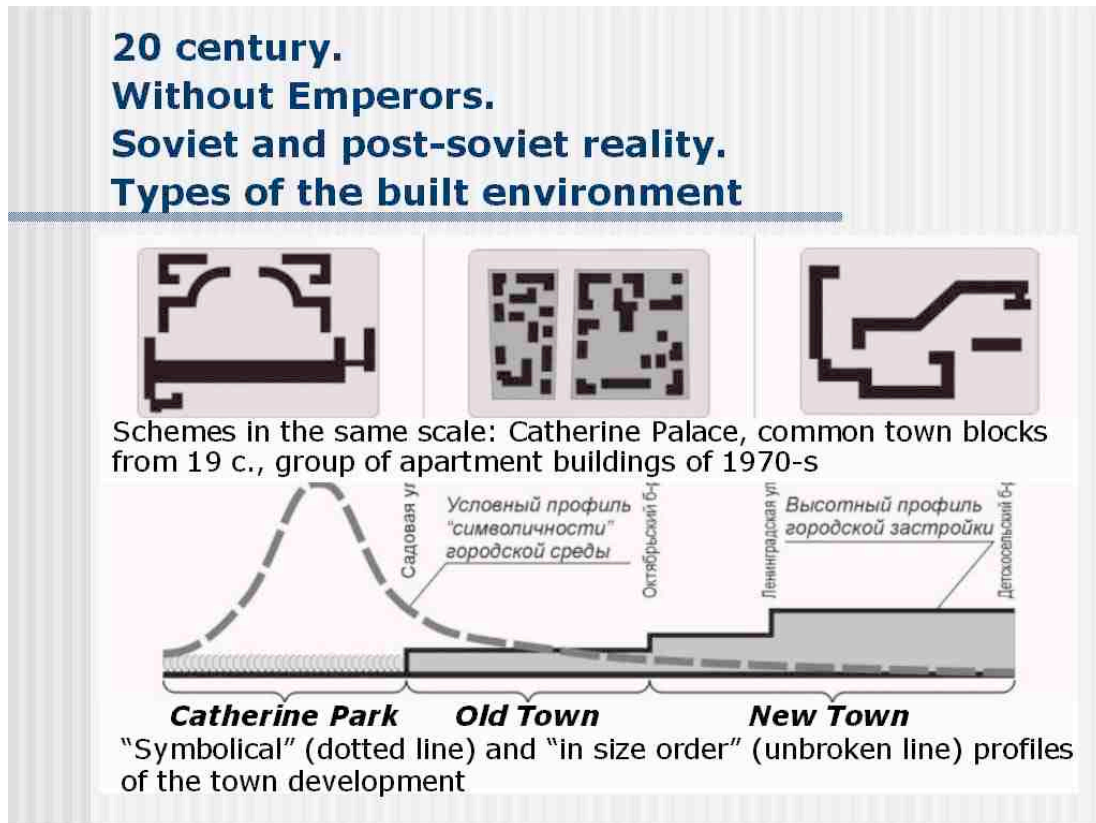
The identification of the Pushkin town centre is one of the key problems. Tsarskoye Selo did not acquire a real “urban image” at once: nor the imperial residence, neither the soviet system did need a town, but a settlement (sloboda) only. The transformation of the servants' settlement into the town is connected with the process of the crystallisation of the urban centre itself, which is not completed, apparently, up to this day.

The main cathedral was blown up in 1939. In 1960 in its place the monument to Lenin was erected, and the main square started to be used as a town public garden. Then a vast square with the standard cinema building appeared here reaching up to Oktyabrskiy blvd. On the whole, this green area (more than 10 hectares) looks exaggerated and desert.

But nearby of this emptiness some active points appear step by step. They are located mostly along Oranjereynaya street that pretends to be the main street of Pushkin. The central role of this street is predetermined by such factors, as a favourable location (it is actually a town-planning axis of the historic zone, and the only street directly connecting Catherine park with historical and new parts of the town); its history (the oldest transversal street), a direct contiguity to the Central square, Gostiny Dvor and Rynok; concentration of the objects important for the townspeople (post-office, shops, cafes etc.).

Oranjereynaya street is the only one self-organising element of the Pushkin environment. It appeared as the result of the combination of life itself with one of the elements of the planning structure, which became the most favourable for developing the central urban role. And this is its uniqueness and importance for locals.

**FIG. 11. Historical types of the built environment of Tsarskoye Selo – Pushkin**



In generally, a discontinuity between different parts of unique urban system (parks, "old town" and "new town") has amplified sharply within last century.

Set of interesting problems of town identity and planning history appeared as a result. There are, between others: a distribution of symbolical qualities of environment all along of town and district area in comparison with population distribution; a not very distinctive localisation of real city centre somewhere between new housing estates and palace ensemble; a real state of stereotype of an eternal "poetry of parks" (common cliché for this town is "The town of muses") in coordination with "prose" of everyday urban life end so on.

There is also a particular organizational discontinuity. The Catherine Park and Palace as a Museum-preserve are now a property of the Ministry of Culture of Russian Federation and are under Moscow governing. The town is under direction mostly from St. Petersburg as a district of this huge megapolis. One of many negative outcomes of this strange situation is the lack of incomes in the municipal budget from big flows of tourists who visit the Museum-preserve only.

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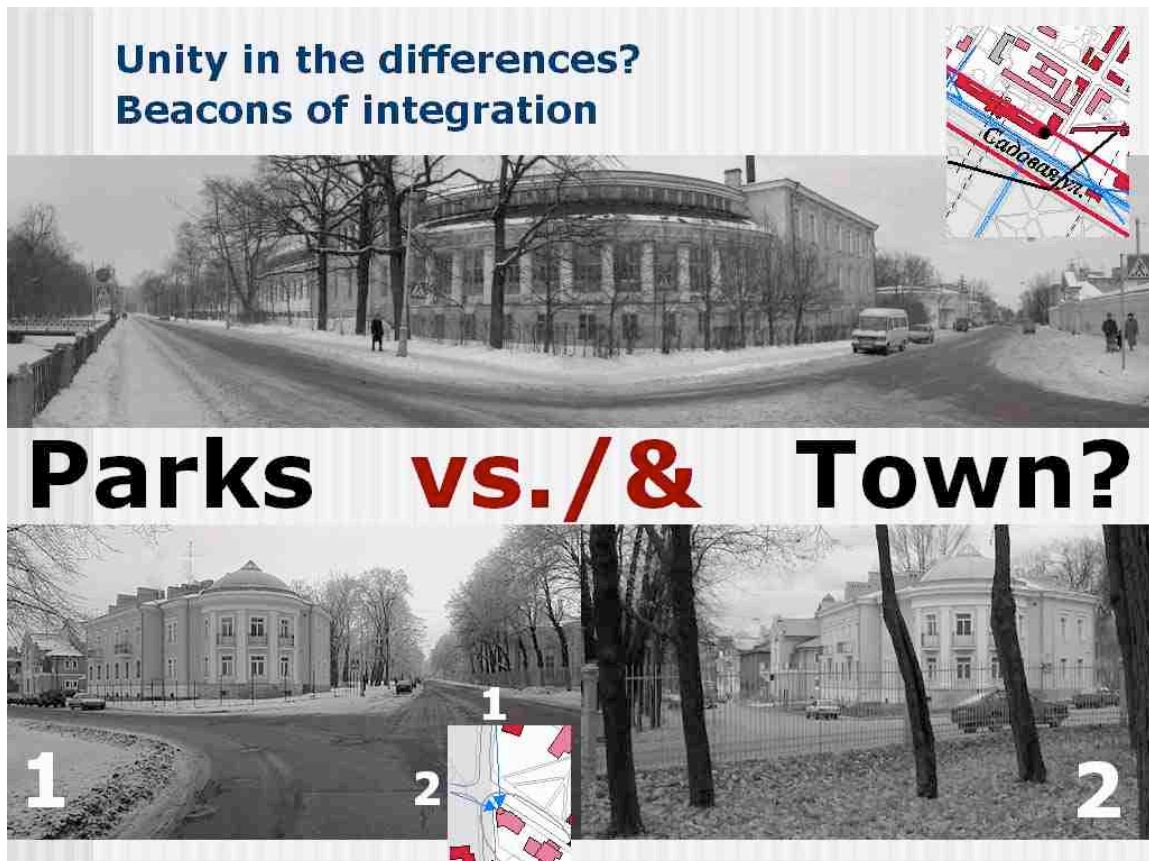


## UNITY IN THE DIFFERENCES? IS IT A TOWN ORGANISM?

Pushkin is an unusual town. It is far from being only “palaces and parks”, as it is considered often. While working on the atlas, we have found a “polyphony” of various elements of the environment, which is expressed here extraordinarily clearly. The parks and the town, literature and architecture, poetry and life, buildings and landscape, the regularity and the irregularity (both may be planned), locals and tourists are interlaced here. The separate built structures – territorial complexes of the heritage, functions and senses of today – are united here into a multilevel complicated system with compositional, visual, semantic connections.

Main outcome is a need in reintegration of the town of Pushkin and its parks and palaces ensemble as the equal parts of the unique town-planning whole. It isn't easy answers how to do it. It should be very narrow and creative process with participation of very many subjects both in material and non-material spheres.

**FIG. 13. Unity in the differences? Beacons of integration.**



I finish with some buildings, which I can recognise as the *symbols* of this wishful unity. First one is the Greenhouse corner building, which was planned in the 18 c., but finished by soviet architect in 1930-s. The conservatory locates on the cross of Sadovaya and Orangereynaya streets. One way leads to the garden, second one – to the town.

But surprisingly another symbol is the “New-Russian” house erected just this year on the place of demolished old one. It locates also on the border between town and park nearby to Alexander palace, forms town-planning reference point along of Dvortsovaya and Malaya streets and is seeing from the park as a beginning of the town correlated with the garden. Or it is just a utopia in my head? I don’t know.

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<sup>1</sup> Project has been realised in the framework of the TACIS “Cross Border Cooperation” Program.

<sup>2</sup> Gorbatenko S., Ivanov A. Pushkin District Administration of St. Petersburg. Municipality Atlas. Research and evaluation of the Built structures and development with the purposes of the preservation of the architectural heritage. – Puskin, 2002. – 64 p.

## **'Slow progress': Town Planning in New Zealand 1910-1940**

Dr. Ann McEwan

Department of Music and Art History, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand

### **Abstract:**

Samuel Hurst Seager represented New Zealand at the RIBA's Town Planning Conference held in London in 1910. Henceforth he became a vigorous and persistent advocate for antipodean town planning, organising the Dominion's first Town Planning Conference and Exhibition nine years later. The conference exhibition was brought over from Australia and exhibited in other centres after its display in Wellington. As such it represented the close links between Australian and New Zealand town planning initiatives, links further evidenced by the local interest in Walter Burley and Marion Mahony Griffin's Canberra plan (1912-).

Although it had little immediate impact on the built environment, the 1919 Conference was a spur to those who sought central government legislation that would instigate a zoning regime and promote the construction of Garden City suburbs. The Garden City was a touchstone in Seager's arsenal in support of town planning. Seager believed that such developments would provide the ideal solution to the nation-wide problem of soldier resettlement after the First World War. His call at the 1919 Conference for such a government response to the current housing crisis was unsuccessful but Seager did undertake two garden suburb developments himself (The Spur, Clifton Hill, Christchurch (1902-14) and Durie Hill, Wanganui (1920)). These subdivisions provided a glimpse of what was to become common suburban planning practice in the decades following the Second World War.

Despite Seager's best efforts, progress towards official acknowledgement of the necessity for town planning legislation was slow indeed. A Town Planning Act was not passed until 1926 and

in 1935 the President of the Town-Planning Institute of New Zealand, A.R. Galbraith, reported that there were concerns about the 'apathy, and even, in some cases, the hostility of the people and of local body members and officials to town planning'.

In a pamphlet titled *Community Planning*, published in the following year, Galbraith put forward the view that '[i]f town and regional planning is necessary for an old-established and conservative country like England, how much more necessary it is for a rapidly expanding country like New Zealand.' Galbraith, who was City Engineer for the Christchurch City Council, had earlier linked the implementation of town planning with 'the development of our Empire and with the evolution of our race'.

In 1928 similar imperial loyalty was embodied in the appointment of John Mawson as the Director of the Department of Internal Affairs' Town Planning Institute. An Englishman who had worked for Lord Leverhulme, Mawson promoted zoning for public health and safety and hailed Great Britain's leading role in town planning. By the 1930s, however, North American initiatives were also inspiring local town planning efforts, revealing the international scope of the movement for better towns and cities.

### **'Slow progress': Town Planning in New Zealand 1910-1940**

The history of town planning in New Zealand intersects, as one would expect, with the wider narrative of Anglo-American planning history. Exposure to international debates and new models for planned environments reached New Zealand via publications and personal contact, facilitated on more than one occasion by Australian connections. In the early twentieth century the architects, surveyors and planners who were advocates of both local planning schemes and a national legislative programme were often frustrated by the 'slow progress' made towards realising their goals. This paper sketches the early chapters of New Zealand's town planning history in order to set the scene for some of the more detailed studies being presented at this conference. It also sets out to consider the reasons why local familiarity with international town planning principles and practices was only slowly given concrete form in the built environment of this colonial nation.

At the turn of the twentieth century an aerial view of New Zealand would have revealed the chequerboard pattern of the colonial grid marking out towns and cities on the coastal fringes of the country's two main islands. Whether on the flat plains of Canterbury or the steep hillsides of Wellington and Otago provinces, the grid was rolled out by surveyors born and, for the most part, trained in the Home Country, Britain. As in North America and Australia, the grid represented a New World *tabula rasa*, upon which certain ethnic and capitalist paradigms were to be written. Making few concessions to the local topography, the grid symbolised colonial aspirations to suppress the natural world, and with it the indigenous people, in favour of an overlay of European 'civilisation'. As historian Giselle Byrnes has written, surveyors looked through a 'cultural theodolite' when they laid down the pattern of New Zealand settlements, making provision for what might be rather than what was the humble reality of colonial life. (Byrnes 2001, p. 51, also Hamer 1990) The future was presaged in the infinitely expandable grid, with its wide healthful streets, parks and green belts for public leisure and underlying desire for a new, improved social order. By design and execution New Zealand was to be a New Britain in the South Pacific.

Some of the promise, and pitfalls, of colonial planning had been realised by c.1910. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century residents in New Zealand's principal cities witnessed the consolidation of central business districts, wherein medium- to high-rise office buildings were built to maximise the commercial value of the land beneath them. In turn the growth of the CBD encouraged the evolution of an urban / suburban dichotomy in which residential subdivisions of detached single-family owner-occupied houses were the norm. Like other New World colonies New Zealand has long been characterised by high levels of home ownership, encouraged by successive governments as a means of establishing a stable civil society through personal investment in property and the social construct of the nuclear family (Pawson 1987). The grid remained the dominant paradigm for surveying new towns in New Zealand well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Hargreaves 1980). Such was its hold on the mental maps of legislators and surveyors that those rare experiments with other types of planning template were highly visible, then as now (Pawson 1987).

Criticism of the grid was decidedly muted (Hargreaves 1980) but a number of issues arose in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to draw attention to the need for a more active and creative approach to town planning. Concerns about the health and living conditions of city dwellers, especially those in the more congested hill cities of Dunedin and Wellington (Pawson 1987), focused some attention upon urban design, as did a central government foray into the low-income housing market, of which more shortly. Greater exposure to British and American town planning through local and international publications, coupled with a growing concern about the prevailing legislative vacuum, also prompted surveyors and their architectural colleagues to consider how overseas experience might better inform local activities (McRae 1989).

One indication of the increasing professional interest in the art and science of town planning can be seen in the fact that a number of New Zealanders attended the 1910 RIBA Town Planning Conference. Dunedin architect Leslie Coombs returned home from the conference with the conviction that local problems would best be solved by the 'study [of] local conditions and [the]

use of our own common sense', rather than by copying 'the huge American schemes of cold magnificence or the forced picturesque German so called "model towns"' (Coombs 1912). Coombs described D.H. Burnham's plans for Chicago as the 'biggest "eye-opener"' of the exhibition associated with the London conference but in the absence of any opportunity to undertake a project of such size or expense, the English Garden City movement showcased at the conference was considered to be much more instructive and immediately useful. Another New Zealand attendee at the RIBA conference, architect Samuel Hurst Seager, has long been recognised as New Zealand's most committed champion of the Garden City during the first three decades of the 20th century.

Seager (1855-1933) had had no professional training in town planning but by word and deed he promoted the adoption of modern town planning principles to both his architectural peers and the general public. In a public lecture hosted by the Christchurch Beautifying Association in June 1912, for example, Seager expounded the view that he wanted to 'create a discontent with the present state of affairs, which he hoped would impel ... citizens to demand that the streets should be well arranged for traffic, that the buildings lining them should be as harmonious as possible, and that they should not be disfigured by incongruous signs, that the city should be in harmony with its beautiful surroundings' (Seager 1912 p 9). At the same lecture Seager recommended regular building set-backs to relieve the monotony of the grid, the construction of roundabouts at intersections to ease traffic flow and the termination of street vistas with 'noble buildings' (Ibid). On another occasion, Seager illustrated a talk on 'English and Continental City Improvement Schemes' with lantern slides which included a view of the new city of Canberra, indicating his familiarity with Walter Burley Griffin's town planning work in Australia (Seager 1916).

In concrete terms Seager put 'his money where his mouth was' by planning two Garden City suburban developments, one on the outskirts of his hometown Christchurch (1902), the other in the lower North Island provincial town of Wanganui (1920) (Schrader 1993). The earlier scheme comprised of just eight small Arts and Crafts bungalows nestled into the rocky terrain of a coastal

hillside. The later project was larger in scale and inspired by London's Hampstead garden suburb. Described by historian Ben Schrader as the 'first modern New Zealand suburb', Seager's plan for Durie Hill in Wanganui featured cul-de-sacs, curvilinear roads and made provision for a variety of community facilities (Schrader 1993 p 33). Situated on an elevated plateau overlooking the river town, the new suburb was served by a passenger elevator that is still in use today. In Wanganui Seager desired co-partnership housing over freehold land title, but in this, as with his advocacy of Garden City villages to address the problem of post-World War One soldier resettlement, he was out of step with both popular opinion and contemporary practice (Schrader 1993, Seager 1919).

Although the impression that Seager was engaged in a one-man crusade to pioneer modern town planning is not entirely misplaced, he was not alone in his efforts during the 1910s. Two national lecture tours by the New Zealand-born town planning 'evangelist' Charles Reade, in 1911 and 1914, strengthened ties between town planning advocates in Britain, Australia and New Zealand (Schrader 1993, Freestone 1989). Like Seager, Reade promoted the practice of road classification according to traffic density; one aspect of Letchworth's model design that he considered advantageous in Australasia thanks to the reduced cost and increased amenity value of narrower roads serving residential areas (Seager 1912, Reade 1914).

Reade's second tour was supported by the British Garden City and Town Planning Association; it included 18 public lectures and was widely reported in the professional journals. On it Reade was accompanied by WR Davidge from the London County Council. Both lecture tours served as a catalyst for the establishment of regional town planning associations throughout Australia and New Zealand (Freestone 1989) and lent weight to the local campaign for town planning legislation.

The campaign for a New Zealand town-planning act was a somewhat drawn out affair, however, despite the positive response given to the ideas of both Reade and Seager. The records of the NZ Institute of Surveyors chronicle the stop-start attempts made to pass town-planning legislation



during the 1910s. As early as 1911 the Council of the Institute had resolved at its March meeting that a letter should be sent to the Under Secretary of Crown Lands recommending that the Government consider legislation along the lines of the 1909 English Town Planning Act (McRae 1989). In response to this communication the Council was advised that the Minister of Lands had introduced a town-planning bill into Parliament. The First World War evidently delayed deliberations on this matter and, no doubt with a sense of mounting frustration, Seager organised the first New Zealand town planning conference in 1919, largely with a view to advancing the cause of planning legislation. This followed soon after the first Australian conferences held in Adelaide (1917) and Brisbane (1918). Perhaps because both occurred during wartime, New Zealand representation was virtually non-existent at either conference, although Seager attended the latter as the official representative of the New Zealand government (Gatley 2000, Official Proceedings 1919).

In May 1919 delegates gathered in Wellington for four days to establish a community of interest amongst elected officials, professional bodies and service organisations, to hear experts discuss the application of town planning principles to suit local conditions, and to review the Town-Planning Bill of 1917 that was already before the House of Representatives. The objects of the conference also included the arrangement of an exhibition of overseas and local best and worst practice, the inauguration of design competitions focused upon town planning issues, and the consideration of progress in New Zealand towns and cities towards the development of garden cities and suburbs. The exhibition was brought over from Australia and toured the country in the months following the conference. It illustrated the history of town planning and depicted examples of modern schemes. While the focus was upon British developments there were also exhibits that showed what was being done in Australia, the United States, continental Europe, North America and India.

Committees of delegates met on several occasions during the course of the Wellington conference to consider specific issues of concern, including the affect of town-planning on various

sectors of society and how 'a garden city on the lines laid down by Mr. S. Hurst Seager' could offer immediate relief to the present housing problem (Official Proceedings 1919 p 227). Out of the committee deliberations on the 1917 Bill came the recommendation that the government appoint a professional town-planner to oversee a new department of Town-planning and Housing. In his report back to the conference, committee chair CJ Parr, who was both an MP and foundation president of the Auckland Town-planning League and the Federated Town-Planning Associations of New Zealand, argued that the person appointed to such a position 'must be a man with a university certificate that he had been through a course of town-planning in an accredited university, and he should have experience in the planning of garden cities at Home' (Official Proceedings 1991 p 196).

Such sentiments were echoed in a contemporary publication, produced by the Greater Wellington Town Planning Association, titled *Town Planning - What is it?* In this text the author, A Leigh Hunt, reiterated the call from the conference committee that a Central Town-planning Commission, chaired by the Government Town-Planner and served by 'experts in engineering, architecture, surveying, and public health', should be established by the government (Official Proceedings 1991 p 196, Hunt c1919). In his concluding remarks the President of the Conference, the Minister of Internal Affairs George Russell, told delegates he would take this particular recommendation directly to the Cabinet for its approval. It was not until 1926, however, the same year in which the Town-Planning Act was finally passed, that Reginald Hammond was appointed the first Director of Town Planning in New Zealand.

In the intervening years, between 1919 and 1926, calls for legislation continued and in most respects it is difficult to detect the impact of the conference on New Zealand's built environment. There is one conspicuous exception to this observation, however, one which suggests that although it took a decade or more before the political process acknowledged the necessity for town planning law, there was at the same time solid support within some sectors of government for one of the key foci of planning activity - housing reform.

Common cause amongst British planners and New Zealand campaigners, housing reform was directed particularly at low-income workers and their families (Sutcliffe 1981). From the Workers' Dwellings Act passed by the Liberal Government in 1905, through the railway workers' cottages of the 1920s, to the state housing of the first Labour Government in the 1930s, government efforts to alleviate the crowded, unhealthy living conditions of the deserving poor were indebted to English Garden City models. In the first workers' dwellings scheme, the emphasis was upon the construction of good quality, stand-alone villas and bunaglows on suburban sections large enough to encourage self-sufficiency and pride in family gardens. The architects responsible for the individualised, region-specific designs, as well as the government officials charged with overseeing their construction, were all aware of the models offered by Bourneville, Port Sunlight, New Earswick and Letchworth. The housing schemes developed by the Housing of the Working Classes branch of the London City Council also validated the design philosophy of the Workers' Dwellings scheme. It should be noted, however, that subdivisions of workers' dwellings were laid out along conventional lines within the existing streetscapes of the four major cities.

By the 1920s, with the construction of settlements of railway workers' housing in both metropolitan and provincial centres, the impact of the Garden City movement was visible at a more fundamental planning level. The Department of Railways under the leadership of George Troup built standardised cottages, with minor external decorative variations, close to railway yards throughout the country. In Frankton village, which is now part of the inland North Island city of Hamilton, the Department built a workers' settlement as well as the house factory (1920-1921) from which pre-cut timber components was shipped around the country by rail. Illustrated in the *New Zealand Building Progress* journal in October 1923, Troup's plans for Frankton, and a smaller settlement at Marton, drew upon the design strategies of the garden suburb in their layout and provision of recreation and community facilities. Using American machinery and inspired by British workers' housing, Troup offered up a precedent that, it was noted in *Progress*, 'should have an important effect in securing the general adoption in New Zealand of more economical methods of house construction' (Standardised Factory Houses 1923).

The social and recreational amenities of the railway workers' settlements were particularly intended to improve the lives of the women and children who belonged to such close-knit communities in which the hazardous working conditions of their menfolk were an ever-present worry (Kellaway 1988). At the 1919 Town Planning Conference a women's committee was convened to consider the impact of Town Planning on 'the Woman, the Child, and the Home' (Official Proceedings 1919) and the state housing initiative of the 1930s also had as a key focus the role of women in the single-income, nuclear family. Both the layout of state house suburbs and the design of individual dwellings paid close attention to the needs of wives and mothers, albeit in 'support of [the] prescriptive gender roles' of the day (Schrader 2000 p 136).

The first state house was completed in September 1936 in the Wellington suburb of Miramar. So quickly did this building type become established as an icon of New Zealand domestic life that a replica was erected at the Ideal Home Exhibition held at Olympia in London in 1950; the first house to be exhibited by a dominion of the British Empire (Skinner 2000). Single-family homes built on spacious sections, no two exactly the same in any given settlement, the state house was constructed by the hundreds in garden suburbs where curvilinear roads and cul de sacs were standard features. In some early state housing schemes community centres were integral to the overall design, but these were abandoned in later plans (Ferguson 1994, De Jong 1994). A small number of apartment buildings were also erected by the Department of Housing Construction in Wellington and Auckland. However, the overwhelming focus of the building programme on the 'ideal' detached single-family home meant that by 1949 less than 2% of all dwellings erected under the scheme were flats (Firth 1949, Gatley 2000a).

The state house and the subdivisions in which it was built established a standard of planning and construction that was to influence New Zealand's entire mass housing market well into the 1950s and 1960s. Bringing to fruition the garden suburb ideas that Seager had first promoted over 30 years earlier, Labour's housing programme embodied the long held belief in the 'redemptive power of the garden city' (Isaac & Olssen 2000 p 111). One of the key figures associated with its

development was Reginald Hammond, a professional planner who had helped to draft the 1926 Act. Hammond, first Director of Town-Planning following the passage of the Act, had studied at University College, London in the early 1920s and so was most likely the first New Zealander to qualify in this field (Millar 2002). While town planning was of major concern to many in the architectural profession in the inter-war period it is remarkable that there were almost no qualified town planners in the country at this time. Contemporary with the debate about the education of architects, the town-planning cause in New Zealand was largely promoted by architects with no special expertise in the field of urban design. Reginald Hammond was one of few men who had had actual training in the discipline, Henry F. Butcher another.

Like Hammond, Butcher's background was architectural. He began his career working in the office of Leslie Coombs, previously mentioned as an attendee of the 1910 RIBA conference. After serving overseas during World War One Butcher studied at the Architectural Association in London before gaining a scholarship to attend the Bartlett School of Architecture at London University, where he studied town planning under Professor Adshead. Upon returning to New Zealand, Butcher worked in private practice and then for the Public Works Department. From 1928 to 1932 he was Town Planning Officer for the Wellington City Council before he was re-employed by the PWD (Obituary 1953).

As a leading planner, Henry Butcher was a member of the special government committee established to investigate the damage to buildings and infrastructure that resulted from the Murchison (1927) and Napier (1931) earthquakes. Another planner closely involved in the reconstruction effort following the later earthquake, which caused significant loss of life and property in the Hawkes' Bay towns of Napier and Hastings, was John Mawson. An Englishman by birth, Mawson first arrived in New Zealand in 1908. He later worked as a landscape architect in Canada and, before returning to New Zealand, practised town planning in England, working for a time for Lord Leverhulme (Town Planning – New Director 1928). In 1928 he succeeded Hammond as national Director of Town-Planning.

After the Napier earthquake Mawson travelled in Canada, the United States and Great Britain for three months looking at town planning schemes, singling out San Francisco and Santa Barbara because of their common history of post-quake reconstruction. On his return, however, Mawson was reported as saying 'I am afraid that I did not learn anything of great value [in California], but what I did see confirms my belief that we are going on the right principles here' (Town Planning – British and American Activities 1931). In spite of considerable interest at the time in the possibilities of new forms of planning and unified architectural design, the business districts of Napier and Hastings were rebuilt along existing lines. This was due in part to the desire to rebuild quickly so as to hasten the economic and emotional recovery of both communities but was also determined to a large degree by the shortfall of anticipated government funding for the reconstruction. Today the streetscapes of both North Island coastal towns are notable for the consistency of their Depression-era architecture but it is only in some of the new suburbs of Napier, created when the earthquake elevated new land for subdivision, that the application of modern planning principles can be detected.

In addition to his government advisory role, Mawson also promoted town planning through public lectures and meetings with civic officials around the country. If the columns of Christchurch's daily newspapers are anything to go by the lectures were offered frequently and received with interest. Mawson discussed his proposals for zoning regulations throughout 1932. Although he cited the operation of zoning laws in 'America in about 1200 towns' in defence of his proposals (Mawson 1932a p 9), he based his model scheme on the example of Vancouver, Canada. And when asked in the same year 'which country in his opinion was leading the world in regard to town planning, Mr Mawson said that pride of place must be given to Great Britain' (Mawson 1932 p 9).

English town planning schemes were undoubtedly best known in New Zealand, but as Mawson himself often volunteered, local members of the planning community were also familiar with American initiatives. American Roy Lippincott, who worked for Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony in Australia before immigrating to New Zealand in 1920, was another architect advocate

for town planning. In a 1925 address to the New Zealand Institute of Architect's Wellington branch he looked forward to the day when town planning schemes were required for every New Zealand community. In his lecture Lippincott was critical of the 'lack of foresight in the laying out of the main towns in New Zealand' and of the chequer-board, or grid-iron, type of town plan which he described as 'uneconomic, inartistic, and unbeautiful' (Lippincott 1925 p 11). Instead he recommended the use of a radial plan, either alone or in combination with rectangular elements. By way of an example of the combination type of plan Lippincott referred his listeners to the plan of Canberra in Australia. In his own work he had some small opportunity to plan environments with his work at the Universities of Auckland and Massey in Palmerston North, but the opportunity to pursue the larger intervention he envisaged did not arise.

The 1926 Town-Planning Act did in fact require local authorities to prepare planning schemes such as Lippincott advocated. However, one of the initial criticisms of the legislation was that it made 'no provision for the failure of a local authority to carry out' such a scheme (Town Planning – the New Bill Analysed 1926, also Firth 1949). Today the freedom of interpretation and implementation available to territorial authorities under current planning legislation is one of the greatest weaknesses of the system.

Another weapon in the arsenal of planners, architects and surveyors concerned about bringing New Zealand in line with modern town planning ideas came about with the establishment of a New Zealand Town Planning Institute in 1930. As the decade of depression progressed, however, frustration with the actual level of town planning activity surfaced once more. In 1935 President A.R. Galbraith reported to the annual conference of the Institute that there were concerns about the 'apathy, and even, in some cases, the hostility of the people and of local body members and officials to town planning' (Galbraith 1936 p 2). Galbraith, who was City Engineer for the Christchurch City Council, had earlier linked the implementation of town planning with 'the development of our Empire and with the evolution of our race', thus echoing early twentieth century links between public health and town planning (Town Planning – Linked with Empire

Development 1930 p 9, also Isaac & Olssen 2000).

Like many of his fellow New Zealanders keen to promote town planning initiatives, Galbraith referenced his remarks against international models, particularly but not exclusively British ones, in order that he might impress upon a local audience the necessity of keeping up with overseas trends. Underpinning the rhetoric of much of this debate was a desire to follow and yet surpass the achievements of the Mother Country. In a pamphlet titled *Community Planning*, published by the Planning Institute in 1936, for example, Galbraith put forward the view that '[i]f town and regional planning is necessary for an old-established and conservative country like England, how much more necessary it is for a rapidly expanding country like New Zealand' (Galbraith 1936). Equally, the language used by Seager and those involved in government housing initiatives from the early 1900s carries with it an air of certainty that New Zealand could become a model of town planning efficiency by combining the youthful potential of New World with the tested experience of the Old.

Given the lack of opportunity to engage in major urban planning, New Zealand planning advocates concentrated their efforts on housing reform. Local planners were especially fuelled by their concern about the potential growth of slum and tenement housing, for fear that such urban ills would weaken the health of the nation. The low density of population, coupled with the inclusion of green space in the early gridded plats of towns and cities, probably did as much as the garden suburb, however, to ameliorate the living conditions of urban New Zealanders (Isaac & Olssen 2000, also Sutcliffe 1981). Nevertheless the model of the Garden City was the most widely disseminated of all early twentieth century planning paradigms. After World War Two cul de sacs and curvilinear streets following the contours of the site became the norm for residential subdivisions, a belated triumph for Samuel Hurst Seager's protracted campaign.

According to Sutcliffe in 'Germany and Britain, urban planning was very largely the product of developing municipal government. In the United States the idea of planning emerged almost



independently of any institutions of local administration' (Sutcliffe 1981 p 102). In New Zealand the work of town planning advocates such as Seager can perhaps be likened to efforts by private individuals and public organisations in the United States to further the cause of planned development. On the other hand, efforts to introduce town-planning legislation in New Zealand are more akin to European, specifically British, precedents.

Town planning in the years 1910 to 1940 was clearly an international movement of which New Zealanders in the field were keenly aware. Government housing initiatives bear witness to the global impact of the Garden City movement and today, somewhat ironically, many state house subdivisions are considered to be highly desirable real estate thanks to their planning and amenity values. With the benefit of hindsight, the sense of frustration that pervades the words and deeds of men such as Seager and Galbraith now seems a little overstated, perhaps due to their failure to realise that the overseas solutions they admired were sometimes writ too large for the local problems they sought to address (Isaac & Olssen 2000). Galbraith's concern at the 'slow progress of the Town-planning movement' does, however, have some resonance in present-day New Zealand, where the frustration lies not in the absence of legislation and models of best practice but in the opacity and arbitrary nature of the planning process (Galbraith 1936 p 2).

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**American Architects in Mexico (1900-1910):  
the Steinway Hall Group, Adamo Boari and the Pan-American Identity**

Annette Condello

The University of Western Australia

annette.conde@bigpond.com

**Abstract**

The impact of a group of American architects who practiced at Steinway Hall in Chicago, specifically Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Burley Griffin and Adamo Boari, were seemingly perplexed by the pre-Columbian and Mesoamerican influences. In creating an American/ Mexican identity, no attention has been given to Boari as an United States citizen and as an urban designer practicing in Mexico and have instead focused on him as an architect of the isolated subject. Despite the prevalent perception of Boari having little in common with the others in the Steinway Hall group, he was perhaps one of the early modernists operating in Mexico, including Brazil. Boari's competition entry for the Legislative Palace (1897) could perhaps be seen as the catalyst for a series of government buildings for Mexico. Past sources suggest that Boari's designs for Mexico were one in a collection; implying a larger urban vision of modernity. This paper will focus on the interaction of American architects in Mexico as a mechanism and expression of modernity. Boari's urban vision parallels this interest in expressing a national identity.

Boari was perhaps a significant precursor to Prairie School architecture. This paper will also challenge the preceding influences of Prairie School architecture, both Wright and Griffin's obsession with Mesoamerican buildings and its impact on American and Mexican urban design. As a result of Boari's experiences in Steinway Hall, he probably inaugurated the Pan-American identity.

**American Architects in Mexico (1900-1910):  
the Steinway Hall Group, Adamo Boari and the Pan-American Identity**

Annette Condello,  
The University of Western Australia  
annette.conde@bigpond.com

Mexico City . . . was a city of wealth, a veritable Venice, with canals, footbridges, ornamented temples, and, above all, flower gardens of extreme beauty.

Georges Bataille, "Extinct America"

At the end of the nineteenth century the course of Latin American architecture and urban planning changed dramatically. Since Brazil and Mexico were third world countries its natural resources, including its architectural influences, began to dissipate into other countries. The modernisation of their infrastructures led to the decline of traditional architectural ideas and practices based on classical models (Lienur, 87). In 1900, in converting Mexico City from a "veritable Venice," due to perennial flooding, to a "city of marble," General Porforio Diaz settled on the plans of his architect, Adamo Boari (1863-1928), to design a collection of buildings for the improvement and adornment of the city. Mexico City's urban layout became a place which attracted the attention of the wealthy, specifically the west sector around the Alameda Park, and created the "real" capital.

Boari was awarded first prize for the Mexican National Capitol competition, otherwise known as the *Palacio Legislativo* (1897), and his design served as a catalyst for a series of public buildings in Mexico City, specifically the Postal Palace and the new National Theatre (now the Palace of Fine Arts). The construction of the theatre was to mark the 1910 centennial celebration of Independence. In 1911 the American journal of architecture *The Western Architect*, in an essay likely by Boari himself, reported that the new National Theatre was "one of a number of buildings," this suggests that it had been "designed for the substantial improvement and adornment of the City of Mexico" (6: 60), implying a larger urban vision

of modernity.<sup>1</sup> Boari's spate of monumental structures before the centennial celebration of 1910 was to portray the Mexican country as a modern nation - adhering to Diaz's plan, to create "order, harmony and progress."

Boari's government buildings were not considered as culturally significant. "[T]he bastard Fine Arts Palace in Mexico City is not Mexican, it is the architectural miscarriage of an ambitious and arrogant dictator, an attempt to crush Mexican tradition and make Mexico pompously European." (Sanford, 1947:291). Despite not making Mexican architectural history, Boari's proposals are not entirely European. Boari's incorporation of gardens combine the indigenous connection with the European classical tradition (Moysen, 1993: 90). His proposals epitomised the search for a national expression - an urban vision of Mexico as a "white" Garden City - merging Aztec and United States cityscapes.

Boari's contribution has not been assessed in terms of his status as an United States citizen or an urban designer. He is hardly mentioned as a member of the American Steinway Hall group, which included architects such as Frank Lloyd Wright and Walter Burley Griffin (Brooks 1972). These omissions compel attention as his urban thinking was shaped by his residence and practice in the United States. Apart from Dietrich Neumann (1995) who mentions Boari's modernist tendencies, specifically in the design of two American skyscrapers using the patented "Luxfer Prisms", there has been little investigation of his impact on early modern Latin American urban design. This paper seeks to affirm that Boari was one of the early modernists operating in Mexico, and earlier in Brazil, predating Le Corbusier's presence in Latin America.<sup>2</sup> The urban considerations underlying Boari's government palaces can be viewed as expressions of a Pan-American identity.<sup>3</sup> Boari proposed urban designs for Brazil, the United States and Mexico and he established the foundations for modern architecture.

### **The Planning of Mexico City**

The Alameda Park zone reflected a shift in the location of the city's government palaces. Originally the site of the Aztecs of *Tenochtitlan*, it became a park as indicated on the earliest colonial maps of the city and now rests on what apparently was an Aztec market (*Park and Cemetery* 1917: 94). Previous to the conquest, the site was submerged by the waters of the lake that surrounded the ancient pueblo. When the ground was reclaimed from the marshes, the lower western part became a small arena area - the

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<sup>1</sup> Here I am referring to Octavio Paz's discussion on modernity. He argued that it was a western concept which had no equivalent in other civilisations. Octavio Paz, 'What is modernity', translated by Anthony Stanton, in *Casabella* 664 (febbraio, 1999): 50-51.

<sup>2</sup> Boari's urban design of the Alameda Park in Mexico City predates Le Corbusier's concept of the landscape of modern architecture as in *The City of Tomorrow*. These ideas appear similar to Louis Sullivan's vision for America. See Elizabeth Meyer (1994:13-14) and Robert Twombly (2000: 28-29).

<sup>3</sup> The term "Pan-American" means the recognition of the cultural achievements that were created in the Americas, for example, the 1901 Pan-American Exposition for the City of Buffalo, in the United States.

*Quemadero* (The Burning Place), where the victims of the Spanish Inquisition were cremated and the ashes scattered into the marshes beyond (Brenner, 1935: 49). When refashioned into a park during the Maximilian regime, the geometry of the French Renaissance erased its Aztec markings. It was deemed inappropriate to enforce Napoleon's ideas and Spanish history into the Alameda Park. The park remains as a French inspired garden with its wide radial paths, however, it is perhaps more appropriate to say that it is based on a Vatican City style as a result of the evidence of a number of Carrara marble sculptures and fountains placed when the Benito Juarez Regime was in power.

In the mid nineteenth century Mexico City's urban landscape was marked by an expansion in two principal directions: one direction was towards the Zocalo, or main plaza, area - the eastern terminal of an axis of power, and another in the direction of Alameda Park - the west end of culture and wealth and through to the Paseo de la Reforma (Johns, 1997: 14 and Lear, 1996: 454-492). This central zone includes the business district and was based on the Spanish implantation of gridded cities. This zone, as Anita Brenner (1935: 48) has noted, "coincides in layout almost exactly within the city Cortes rebuilt." Most of the improvements were made along the Paseo de la Reforma, a stately boulevard of elms set out by the Maximilian. This avenue was an imitation of Baron Haussmann's Paris which stretched four kilometres from the north-western corner of the Alameda Park then west through to the Chapultepec Park (Lear, 1996: 456). The Alameda Park, in particular, was the most

important of the expansionary movements as it comprises to a large extent the bulk of the city's growth in the last two centuries. The extension of this grid (westward) included the site for the Legislative Palace. As a consequence of this expansionary movement, people began to leave the city, repopulating the plain extending out of the city. This produced an improvement in the viability brought about by the property owners themselves. By the end of the nineteenth century and onwards their appeared the possibility of shifting the city outwards. Gradually permission was given to destroy old buildings, giving way to new streets and new buildings. Churches, convents and hospitals fell to real estate interests and government imperatives of sanitation or public construction.

By 1900 Mexico City's population was 800 000, and it was still surrounded by scattered Indian villages (Born, 1937: 4). Boulevards were cut through farmland or tenement districts. Streets had been paved and widened for the insertions of new public buildings and monuments, under the sponsorship of finance minister, Jose Yves Limantour and Guillermo Landa y Escandon (Lear, 1996: 469). Along the axis between the Zocalo and the Alameda Park were modern department stores such as the "City of London" and the Jockey Club ("House of Tiles"), located at the west end of Plateros in a converted sixteenth century colonial mansion that was covered in bright tiles - the club of the town (Johns, 1997: 16-18 and Tweedie, 1911: 252). Wealthy suburbs began to cluster around the Paseo de la Reforma. This broad

boulevard was punctuated with nodes of civic power, celebrated by bronze statues of Carlos IV, Columbus, *Cuauhtemoc* and the Angel of Independence. This boulevard and the diagonal streets that fed into it became the privileged areas of the municipal investment (Lear, 1996: 469). This metropolitan development changed the use of space in the old city. Mexico City was characterised by the design of government buildings within the city that reflected a real construction of the modern metropolis.

### **Boari and the Chicago Milieu**

Boari was born in Ferrara, Italy, in 1863. He trained as civil engineer and headed for South America for work prospects in 1887 (Toselli, 1995: 9, my translation). In Brazil, his projects were of an urban nature, such as the railway constructions at Santos (a leading coffee port) and at Campinas (a rich agricultural region), in São Paulo, and national infrastructure projects. After contracting yellow fever in Rio de Janeiro he may have passed through Mexico before moving to the United States where he stopped briefly in Chicago en route back to Italy.

In 1893 Boari returned to Chicago and soon found work at Daniel Burnham's studio as a technician. There, Boari apparently prepared the drawings for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition (Toselli, 1995: 9, my translation). In parallel, he also commenced his architectural studies in the United States. It is relevant to note that between 1898 and 1902 Burnham was working on the design of Union Station, as a "gateway" to the city, for the Plan of Washington DC.<sup>4</sup> It is inevitable that Boari was influenced by his schemes and vice versa. By 1896 Boari became an American citizen and in

1902 he accepted the post of professor of architecture at Mexico City, a position held until 1912 (Toselli, 1995: 9, my translation).

From 1897 to 1899 Boari worked between Chicago and Mexico City, where the President of Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, looked favourably upon his designs.<sup>5</sup> After Boari's success with the *Palacio Legislativo* competition in 1897, he visited Mexico City and met General Diaz. The Mexican government nullified the competition results, but Boari's impact on the government led him to design four churches on the outskirts of Mexico City. He settled in Mexico City and established his own architectural practice in 1889. Diaz then

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<sup>4</sup> As Mario Manieri-Elia (1980: 59, 132, Note 116) writes: "As 'gateway' to the city, Union Station had to be and become the point of departure of a system of axes, the first of which would lead to the Capitol Building, the most prestigious focal point of Washington and, in turn, the point of departure and belvedere of the monument axis of the Mall." The following note implies that Boari may have directly influenced Burnham as a result of Boari's experience of designing the railway constructions at Santos and Campinas (São Paulo) and national infrastructure projects in Brazil: "It is significant that in Pittsburg, a totally different type of city, at almost at the same time (1898-1902), Burnham built an extraordinary railroad station that was hardly classical in character at all."

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that Porfirio Diaz visited the United States in the mid to late 1860s prior to becoming the President of Mexico, a visit which later turned the City of Mexico into a progressive nation. See A. Tweedie (1911: 386).



contracted Boari for the design of the Postal Palace (*Palacio de Correos*) and to modify the old National Theatre sited in the Alameda Park district in the centre of Mexico City. At the same time Boari moved to Steinway Hall studio in Chicago where he produced a number of competition entries and other projects for Mexico and the United States.

It is relevant to assume that Boari had a significant impact on a group of American architects who practiced in the Steinway Hall studio, especially Frank Lloyd Wright and Walter Burley Griffin, and they also impacted Boari's thinking. Nancy E. Price (1933) mentioned that Griffin "helped Adamo Boari in preparing the drawings for his monumental structures in Mexico." In his book *A Testament*, Frank Lloyd Wright admitted towards the end of his life the zestful figure of the group:

I remember an ebullient Italian, Boari by name, who won the competition to build the National Grand Opera House in Mexico City. He came into our attic space, temporarily, to make plans for that edifice. He was far from all of us but observing, curious, and humorous. . . . What he was then doing is now there in Mexico City but badly affected by the universal settlements going on because the lowering of the water-level beneath the city (1957: 35).

In noting that Boari won the competition for the National Grand Opera House in Mexico City, there was no competition designated for this theatre project.<sup>6</sup> It appears that Wright may have been confused with Boari's design of the *Palacio Legislativo* design (1897). It must be pointed out here that at the time Boari was preparing commercial projects Wright and Griffin were working on residential buildings. Another point is that Wright's first commercial project incorporated a conservatory - a prominent feature in Boari architecture. Although Wright believed that Boari had very little in common with the others in the Steinway Hall group, these architects were seemingly perplexed by the pre-Columbian and Mesoamerican influence, evident in Wright's Unity Temple (1904) in Illinois and later in a cluster of Marion and Walter Burley Griffin's pre-Columbian buildings (1909-1910).

Boari developed an avid interest in ancient Mexican architecture, an interest that soon formulated his prismatic sense of using Mayan and Aztecistic elements in his architecture and urban designs. He visited various archaeological sites surrounding Mexico City, some of the sites which were being excavated for the first time. He sketched buildings, particularly Aztec temples and gods, cultivating a vast personal knowledge of pre-Columbian architecture. If, as Marjorie Ingle (1984) mentions, that a general pre-

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<sup>6</sup> "Adamo Boari, the architect who distinguished himself by taking first place in the Mexican Capitol competition, has been commissioned by the government to prepare plans for a new building to replace the old National Theatre in the city of Mexico. Mr Boari will do the work here at his office in Steinway Hall," *The Brickbuilder* (March, 1901).

Columbian influence began to appear in the work of Wright and Griffin, where they had used Mayan ruins to form the basis for the “all-American” architectural style philosophy (affecting Prairie School architecture), then did Boari inaugurate the Pan-American identity?

It is important to consider Boari’s contribution to early modern architecture in Chicago as his experimentation with prismatic glass show the beginnings of a Pan-American identity. Dietrich Neumann (1995) refers to his competition entry for the architectural possibilities of the “Luxfer Prism”, a nation wide competition held in the United States in 1898. Awarded second prize in 1898, two illustrations in this article demonstrate Boari’s designs of two different skyscrapers, ten and twenty-four storeys high, the latter design to include a restaurant, roof garden and an observatory. These facades were to be covered with this prismatic glass structure.

Much more radical than Wright’s proposal for the Luxfer Prism building, the Boari drawings actually do represent what seems to be the first design for a virtual glass curtain wall for a skyscraper, and certainly deserved the attention of later critics concerning themselves with the search for a predecessor of the modern office building (Neumann 1995: 33).

Boari’s Luxfer Prism drawings of the “virtual glass curtain wall” of the modern office building, particularly within each of the prisms, resembles the dizzying cultural infrastructure of the Mayans. In this instance, the building of the cornice of the Luxfer Prisms in Boari’s designs allude to the multifaceted pre-Hispanic god *Tezcatlipoca* (the Smoking Mirror) - implying the makeup of early modern architecture.<sup>7</sup> The experience in the use of the “Luxfer Prism” proposals presented a technological triumph for Boari. Perhaps he thought that Mesoamerican sources was relevant to Chicago as a way of “acclimatising” the object relations on the site, as a way of producing new spatial images for a progressive society.

In “acclimatising” Mexico City, a facet in Boari’s larger urban vision of modernity incorporates concepts of the Garden City movement in Chicago. This movement complies with Louis Sullivan’s view of Ebenezer Howard’s writings about the first Garden City founded in 1899, as planned for Letchworth, in England (French 2000). As Robert Twombly notes, “the city, repository of art, culture, science, religion, and refined social relations, having removed itself from nature, ‘must be remarried to it . . .’” (Twombly 2000: 24). He then mentions Sullivan’s proposal for the Pueblo Opera House in Colorado (1888-1889) as a plaza in the garden and analyses the presentation drawings of the building within a rural setting on a main street in the city.

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<sup>7</sup> Another project meriting consideration is the Model Tenement housing competition (1900) for New York, which also won second prize. Boari’s plan and urban layout evoke the cornice of an ancient Mexican hieroglyph taken from the Palace of the Columns at *Mitla* - his way of acknowledging the preceding habits of the Mesoamerican culture.

Trees appear to be growing in the streets or, short of that, in vaguely delineated parkland, empty lots, perhaps even wilderness completely surrounding the building.

. . . The view was even more spectacular from the observation deck atop the 131-foot tower and from behind it in the rooftop “summer garden”, which was more fully fenestrated than any other part of the building. . . .

Sullivan had written that good architecture was the “result of a prior and perfect understanding and assimilation of all the data”, including, and this was his first consideration, “climate”, which he said was “the arbiter of material things”, and second, “locality, with all its accidental variations (Twombly, 2000: 28-29).

These implications of the Garden City movement in the United States demonstrate Boari’s method of thinking about the “Luxfer Prism” towers competition drawings and the new Mexican National Theatre project in the Alameda Park, Mexico City. The “rooftop ‘summer garden’” is apparent in a number of Boari’s designs. The theatre provided him, as Neumann writes, “with the opportunity to apply his experiences with the Luxfer competition. Boari provided daylight throughout the theatre and created a literal iron curtain wall, the largest iron curtain ever built” (1995: 50-51). This climatic consideration inside the building emphasises Boari’s offering of establishing a kind of “Pan-American landscape.” He appears to have applied the urban design principles of Louis Sullivan in the Alameda Park from which the first “white” Garden City movement in Mexico emerged.

### **Abandonment of Legislative Palace and Monument to Diaz**

In identifying Boari’s design of the Legislative Palace (1897), it is necessary to question the dilemma surrounding the competition. Both Boari and the French *émigré* architect Émile Bénard proposed quite similar projects in terms of its Beaux Arts tradition, but it was Boari who proposed the winning entry (Bénard 1898 and Chouard 1998, 115-116). In a broader context of urban design, it is interesting to note that Bénard (who worked in the United States and Mexico) had prepared the drawings for the International Californian University competition entry, and perhaps Boari submitted a proposal. Unlike other Beaux Arts architects, Boari sought forms that were new, yet grounded with Mayan or Aztec myths with Roman lustre. The proposal of the building consists of a neoclassical construction with a separate salon and a large room for congress meetings, including a conservatory (Boari 1900). The construction of the cupola of the new Congress building was to include materials which were imported from Europe: marble, granite, a copper eagle (to crown the building), bronze lions, statues and caryatids. Boari’s drawings incorporate the mystery of the Aztecs, particularly in relation to the issue of sacrifice within its buildings. These ideas together with the various historic forms in his buildings would continue to connect in many ways with his Italian heritage. The construction of the Legislative Palace started in 1899-1900, but later was abandoned.

Toselli (1995: 12) associates Boari's design with the government buildings of Washington, familiar to Boari, especially through Burnham's work there, and Diaz at that time. In commenting on its Classical-Palladian style she suggests that Boari's design contains references to the Campidoglio in Rome and the Court of the Thousand Columns in Chichen Itza. The perplex design of the *Palacio Legislativo* reveals traces deriving from Mesoamerican myths, the classical tradition, the Beaux Arts and more importantly Boari's Pan-American experiences of Brazil and the United States.

Boari's proposal for the plan of the Monument to Diaz (1900) may have led critics to believe that it was an Aztec revivalist structure and not a modernist monument. It is suggested that Boari's proposal for a monument to be erected in Diaz's honour in 1900 (when Diaz was still in power) baffled government officials due to its eclectic architectural features, which may have reminded them of the design of the Mexican Pavilion in the 1889 Paris World Fair (Tenorio-Trillo, 1996). Boari may have used the World's Fair Aztec Palace as a model, analysed its pre-Hispanic myths to bridge the gap between North and South America. As a government structure, the proposal of the monument not only represents the architectural and political turmoil of Mayan culture but it unfurls a religious conflict - Catholicism on an Aztec ground. Boari's proposal seems to have uncovered the idea of a "Pan-American" identity" in manner that is congenial, by promoting the similarities between Aztec and United States architecture.

Boari's Monument to Diaz represents the political turmoil which occurred at the beginning of the decline of Diaz' regime. As Moysen writes:

It was to have consisted of three main bodies standing on a gigantic block of marble painstakingly carved by the angelic sculptors. The first section, enclosed with a narrow quadrilateral formed by eight serpents whose tails intertwined at the corners, was to have been a fantastic pyramidal pedestal with beams, stairways and sculptural groups, including replicas of the goddess Coyolxauhqui. Boari was fond of incorporating gardens into his architecture, and this pedestal was to have included a small garden with flowering Agaves and prickly pears. The third section contained a small temple in the classical style serving as a base for the equestrian statue of Diaz, waving a huge banner (1993: 90).

When the Porfirian regime declined in 1912, during the Mexican Revolution, Boari's plan for the *Palacio Legislativo* was later transformed into the Monument for the Revolution by Émile Bénard, designed in 1903-4, constructed in 1910 (Carranza 2001: 262). It appears as though Bénard adapted Boari's plan. In 1900 one major upheaval was when President Abelardo Rodriguez decided to take advantage of Boari's incomplete construction and commissioned Bénard to build a Monument to the Revolution.

## Government Palaces and the Conservatories

The proposed design of the Central Post Office (*Palacio de Correos*) in 1899, adjacent to the future marked project for the new National Theatre in the Alameda Park, was the first building in Mexico to use reinforced concrete (Urquiaga and Jimenez 1984). The construction of the Palacio del Correos (1902-1907) located on the corner of calle de Tacuba and avenida Lazaro Cardenas emerged in response to the need to quickly connect the city with central postal facilities. Boari took into consideration the postal function, by incorporating several classical styles with modern techniques of construction. It is a positive spoliation of Venetian buildings such as the Doge's Palace courtyard, the Giant's stairway (reminiscent of the lost stairway in the Palazzo del Corte of Ferrara), and glazed tiling (used externally in fifteenth century Ferrara). It may have also been influenced by Sullivan's architecture (Lorandi, 1985: 180, my translation). Boari wrote:

Eastern forms have mingled with those of the West. . . . the world is becoming unified and is embarking upon its triumphal march, which nothing will be able to stop. . . . But this does not mean that we should repudiate the past. Today, more than ever, each country must take pride in its architectural forms, by modernising them (Moysen, 1993: 96-97).

Boari's statement assumes classicism as a civilising foundation, particularly in relation to the Venetian references in his design of the *Palacio del Correos*. As a mechanism and expression of modernity, Boari's vision parallels this interest in expressing a national identity, by mingling the Byzantine/ Venetian influences from Europe with Sullivan's and Burnham's decorative echoes of the United States in Mexico City. The Postal Palace served more than a symbolic role in the urban vision of the Mexican capital.

Built on the site where the Santa Isabel Convent once stood, Diaz employed Boari to reconstruct the old National Theatre.<sup>8</sup> Later a decision was made to integrate the new National Theatre within the grounds of the Alameda Park, which was partly a modernisation of the park. His vision of the *Palacio de Bellas Artes*, a white marble cladded building including a winter garden, pergola and plaza, was one of the government buildings that facilitated Diaz's dream. The preparation of the new National Theatre drawings for Mexico City enabled Boari to make frequent visits to Europe, particularly to Paris, Vienna and Italy. His sketch begins to suggest alternative readings of his architecture including a number of essays he wrote in Rome. He read the writings of Leon Battista Alberti, refined the ideas of Tony Garnier, as pointed out in Boari's book *La costruzione di un teatro* (1918), and must have been familiar with Francesco Colonna's *Hyperotomachia Poliphili*. Boari studied current ideas of theatre architecture and he also created an

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<sup>8</sup> See Miquel Adria's "Inside Mexico City, the Historic Center" for the plan of the historic centre showing the monumental buildings of the Viceregal period (1521-1843), in *Lotus International*, 91 (November, 1996): 68-69.

urban study of the streets and open spaces around the Alameda Park. The facades of the theatre resembles a palisade of white marble, suggesting the medieval wall terraces of Boari's native Ferrara.<sup>9</sup> Traces of Colonna's fictional garden resonates in Boari's urban design, particularly when looking at the crystal trellis. Boari's perspective evokes a harmonic composition by incorporating a symmetrical pergola structure that weaves, or rather "meanders", around the existing trees in the Alameda Park, suggesting a miniaturised version of the city plan of São Paulo. "Le Corbusier's observations of the meanders become the basis for a theory about the inevitable of change and progress toward the goal of rationality, purity, and modernity" (Fraser, 2000: 189). Boari had planned national infrastructure projects in Brazil much earlier, predating Le Corbusier's "The Law of the Meander" at São Paulo and at Rio.

The most intense year for Boari was in 1903 when the Mexican capital consisted of wide roads, large parks, offering him to produce an urban vision of modernity (Lorandi 1985: 178, my translation). Boari also introduced an Aztecistic approach in the design of the theatre, in the sense of revealing Mexico City's lustre - as a "white city."<sup>10</sup> Perhaps his experiences in Burnham's office in Chicago, and Boari's earlier preparation of the World Columbian Exposition drawings, maintained the "white city" aesthetic along with Mexico's ancient idea of a "city of white towers." Boari wrote:

The position that the future theatre will occupy is exceptional in every way, and compares favourably with the finest anywhere. It is flanked on one side by a large old park, the main city streets lead into its square, and it will be the real centre of the capital. Thus, what is required is a magnificent building which will epitomise and express the progress of this modern metropolis (Moysen, 1993: 90).

Boari's urban design appears to have erased its French formal garden by replacing it with an Aztec "Garden of Whiteness".

The demolition of the convent where the new National Theatre was built provided Boari with a clean slate by which he could experiment. The theatre (constructed in 1904 and completed in 1934) consists of a series of white-marble interior/ exterior exhibition halls. It may be considered as incorporating the ancient

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<sup>9</sup> In the introduction of *La costruzione di un teatro* (1918), Boari refers to *Ercole d'Este*, the Duke of Ferrara. My translation.

<sup>10</sup> Susan Toby Evans refers to the "whiteness" of Aztec Palaces in the Central Highlands of Mexico and the urban amusement parks of Tenochtitlan. In referring to the 'albino park' as exemplifying the Aztec approach to understanding and revering their own history, she quotes the sixteenth-century chronicler, Fray Diego Duran, 1193: . . . the Aztec nation reached this land. These people, like the others who populated the country, departed from . . . a land . . . called Aztlan. This name means "whiteness" or "Place of the Herons" Because of this the people originally were called Aztec, which means "People of Whiteness" (Evans, 2000: 219). This effect seems to reflect the progressive Pan-American effect in Washington DC's capital buildings.

principles of the skyscraper with traces of an Aztec altar. This altar then formed part of the conservatory (the element that was to be inserted in the roof of the theatre), in order to “acclimatise” Mexico City. The conservatory ultimately became sculptural elements in Boari’s buildings. As Moysen states:

Fascinated by the Mexican climate, he was inspired by the idea of turning the foyer into “a sort of conservatory benefiting from Mexico’s unique climate, which allows plants and flowers to grow indoors throughout the year with no need of heating.” He left no specific plan in this connection, but an indoor garden would have been another original contribution to the theme of theatre architecture (1993: 97).

Boari designed the plaza in front of the theatre which was supposed to have included two marble fountains at the entrance, displaying “glory” and “love”, which never progressed beyond the stage of models. They resemble the imperial Roman marble statues and fountains and Ferranese gardens. In 1907 ten wrought iron gates and a concrete and steel pergola covered with tropical plants were placed in the park, completed in 1912 (Moysen, 1993: 114). His design may be described as a “plaza theatre” made of steel and clad with white marble supplied from the quarries of Mexico and the remainder from Carrara. “‘In covering an area of five acres,’ Boari designed a spacious winter garden, which separates the auditorium from the ballroom. ‘Here is the warm Italian setting with vistas of lawn, shrubbery, flowers and fountains interspersed with pergolas and richly sculptured groups . . .’” (*The Western Architect*, 1911: 60). The reviewer, likely by Boari himself, saw the “winter garden” as embodying a “warm Italian setting” compels attention to his experience there.

Since Boari (1918) was familiar with Leon Battista Alberti’s writings, one could speculate whether or not he was responsible for amalgamating European gardens and possibly those gardens deriving from Ferrara, together with tropical plants. The concrete pergola in the Alameda Park, as illustrated in his perspective, and the conservatory, as shown in the sections of the Palace of Fine Arts, demonstrate Alberti’s notion of the “site of propitiatory sacrifices” that represents a “sacrificial offering” (Leoni 1996) within the Palace of Fine Arts. The building relations in Boari’s urban design of the Alameda Park creates a conceptual connection with the preceding historical layers on the park, which underwent several sacrifices. The Aztec ground became a “Burning Place”, converted into a Catholic altar and replaced with Mexico’s new National Theatre. The incomplete construction of this “marble trifle” was Boari’s sacrificial offering to Mexico City - an open-air Aztec pleasure palace. There were a number of setbacks; the sinking ground due to miscalculations of the foundations and the Mexican Revolution.

The unrealised Legislative Palace and the Monument to Diaz demonstrate Boari's Aztecistic ideas without evoking any of the nostalgic laments that it may have had with the design of the Aztec Palace at the 1889 Paris World's Fair or the Beaux Arts tradition. These two government projects may be seen as catalysing the illustriousness nature of Aztec culture. Both projects bear the capacity to reveal Mexico's preceding "floating gardens" into early modern conservatories for the improvement of the city. Boari's method of reflecting modern and historical references produced elements that tend to rely on the sacrificial presence of the site, rather than from the building itself.

As the English novelist, Alec Tweedie, wrote in her book *Mexico as I saw it*:

The country was in a most flourishing condition. Money was pouring in from England, Germany, and more especially the United States. The streets of Mexico City were well paved, electric trams and electric light had taken the place of older methods. A splendid residential quarter had sprung up on the road to Chapultepec. All was serene (1911: 464).

Tweedie's observation provides evidence of a national and Pan-American identity. Boari must be remembered for the design of his own "white house" stripped of decoration in via Monterrey 107 in 1906, now demolished (Arvea, 1979: 17, my translation). A photograph taken in 1908 remains of Boari standing in front of the first significant constructed example of modern architecture in Mexico City.

The Revolution of 1910, however, diminished Mexico's architectural investigation of a national identity. The sudden closure of the incomplete construction of the Legislative Palace turned the metal structure of its cupola into an abandoned metal cage. Another upheaval that disrupted the monument was the 1911 earthquake which struck Mexico City on June 7th (Tweedie, 1911: 480). As Montgomery Schuyler wrote in 1912:

The metallic skeleton of the cupola of the unfinished Legislative Palace towers over the roofs to the north-westward, unfinished and to remain so indefinitely, testifying by its incompleteness to the disturbed condition of country and capital . . . (412).

"[T]he Mexican Revolution which brought dramatic social change and political transformation to the nation was also a revolution in urban landscape, and in architecture" (Herzog, 1999: 33-34). "[T]he existing structure was converted by Carlos Obregon Santacilia in 1932 to represent the Revolution and its aims" (Carranza, 2001: 262). As a result of Boari's incomplete palace, the bronze lions were relocated to the Chapultepec Park and the caryatids were positioned within his design of the Palace of Fine Arts.



## **A National and Pan-American Identity**

Adamo Boari's collection of government palaces marked the urban landscape as visual symbols, which were planned to form the City of Mexico as a democratic capital. They were designed to improve the oldest areas, heeding the advice of Diaz that planned to undeniably utilise a North American technique, served not only to destroy the unhealthy neighbourhoods but to construct more substantial buildings to glorify Mexico City. Thus, the Alameda Park signified an important attraction as the central zone and Diaz desired a reflection of what Mexico already had - an Aztec city - a white city. "By 1911, Diaz's last year of power, the near west side housed all of the city's treasures. Reforma Boulevard, Alameda Park, the Palace of Fine Arts, and the new post office meant to declare Mexico's entry into the league of modern nations. . ." (Johns, 1997: 5).

Boari took modernity seriously in relation to the merging Mesoamerican culture with Diaz's idea of what a "city of marble" would reflect and how this affected Mexican architecture within the urban landscape. Although his work seems imitative of European models, he had introduced architecture from various other sources in a manner that "acclimatised" Mexico City. He combined the Mesoamerican connection with the North American classical tradition, and more importantly, the incorporation of gardens into his architecture. Boari's urban design of the Alameda Park, including the plaza in front of the theatre, however, was not executed. The Mexican Revolution prevented the implementation of Diaz's dream. Mexico's urban planning after the Revolution provoked the uncontrollable growth of vast urban agglomerations throughout the nation spreading indifferently across the Americas: Boari attempted to convert Mexico City to demonstrate a national identity.

It can be argued that Boari operated as a modern architect. He made important contributions to architecture and urban design in Mexico and in Brazil prior to Le Corbusier's "meandering" in these areas, and prior to Luis Barragan's modern configurations of architecture and landscape. It was Boari who "liberated Mexican architecture from past facile copying of French or other styles," not Le Corbusier, "to assert a Mexican identity in architecture" (Olsen, 1997: 12). Boari's projects are diverse and significant in that they contain liberating possibilities of modernity, especially when re-evaluating the pre-Columbian and Mesoamerican impact on Wright's and Griffin's schemes. Boari was perhaps a significant precursor to Prairie School architecture. As a result of his experiences in Steinway Hall, in Chicago, and Latin America, Boari's proposals communicate the message of a Pan-American identity.

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# **The Garden City in early-twentieth-century Latin America: an Image more than a Model**

Dr. Arturo ALMANDOZ

Departamento de Planificación Urbana, Universidad Simón Bolívar

Edif. MEU, piso 1 / Aptdo. 89000 / Caracas 1086 / VENEZUELA

TI: (58 212) 906 4051/ Fx: (58 212) 906 4038 / E-mail: [almandoz@usb.ve](mailto:almandoz@usb.ve)

## **Abstract**

The key idea of this paper is that, as it happened to some extent in other parts of the world, the 'Garden City' ended up being used as an image, more than as a model, in early-twentieth-century Latin America. When trying to explore the reasons for this simplification, in addition to attempting to classify the process of diffusion of the model in Latin America according to Stephen Ward's typology (1999), the paper intends to explore the loose use of the concept in theoretical and historiographic terms, among other factors. In relation to the former, Ebenezer Howard's proposal was not well known and contextualized at the beginning of the twentieth century, being reduced to bucolic connotations that were borrowed to promote or advertise new areas in the sprawling cities of Latin America. In relation to the historiographic approach to the concept, urban historians and critics have also contributed to the misuse of the term, since new areas designed according to diverse patterns and models have been labelled as examples of 'garden cities', just for the sake of their suburban patterns. On a continental scale, the question of the transfer of the Garden City was slightly addressed by Jorge Hardoy, in a seminal text (1988) in which the Argentine architect and historian concluded that only a 'garden-city idea' came to Latin America by the early twentieth century. However, a panoramic review of the transfer of the Garden-City model into Latin America has not been developed since then. Although this paper relies on secondary literature, I think it could represent a step forward in the sequence of analysing a process of transfer of the Garden City model into Latin American capitals, which remains as a relatively unexplored direction, whose historical review is still missing in both English and Latin American literature.

## **Introduction**

The influence of the Garden City throughout the world can be said to have been more important in terms of its derivative ideas than by the realisation of Ebenezer Howard's proposal as such. Anthony Sutcliffe identified the "Garden-City idea" as one of Britain's main contributions to the crystallisation of planning as an international movement (Sutcliffe, 1981: 168). This idea early differentiated into the images of the garden city and the "garden village" (Buder, 1990: 97-8). Later on - as it has been explained in the genealogy reconstructed by Peter Hall, among others - the

“Garden City solution” was to be an ingredient of the “neighbourhood unit” model elaborated by Clarence Perry in America; likewise, it would also be at the origin of the New Towns that Britain was to construct after World War II (Hall, 1994: 122-35; 1992: 30-48).

The genealogy and transfer of the model between Britain and North America must be completed with other components when trying to trace its diffusion throughout other parts of the world. In this respect, it is helpful to consider Michel Ragon’s comprehensive approach to the “*cit -jardin*” as the suburban response to the question of the “*banlieu pavillonnaire*”, which had developed in France in relation to the problem of the sprawling cities, whose more industrial alternative was the satellite town. According to Ragon, the first garden-city proposal was dated back to Olive’s Le Vesin  (1856-75), among other French antecedents that are useful to understand the report of the model in Latin America, as we shall see. Incidentally, unlike many other historians of urbanism, Ragon labels Fr d ric Le Play’s “*cit  ouvri re avec des jardins potagers*” (working-class city with kitchen gardens) as different from Howard’s “socialist” and “green” city (Ragon, 1986, II: 16-17). For the rest, in addition to the garden village, the new town and the satellite city, the “garden suburb” was another aspect of the garden-city matrix that turns to be very influential when exploring the impact of the model in other parts of the world, different from Britain and North America (Sica, 1976-8, III: 17).

Indeed, all these derivative ideas are worth taking into account when tracing the influence of the garden-city matrix in Latin America, where I think the subject remains scarcely explored on a continental level. Only Jorge Hardoy wrote a seminal text in which, after reviewing some examples that I am to comment on later, he concluded that Howard’s original concept “was never transported to Latin America”, which was attracted instead by the ideas of the “garden suburb” and the “bedroom garden suburb” for the middle and working classes respectively (Hardoy, 1990: 26-7). Ram n Guti rrez, another urban historian of the continent, later confirmed Hardoy’s impression and examples (1996). Roberto Segre has recently reminded the association of Howard’s project, as well as that of James S. Buckingham’s Victoria (1849), with minor towns of Argentina’s province, such as Campana and Miramar (Segre, 1999: 602). However, beyond these brief references, I think that a panoramic exploration of the transfer of the Garden-City model and its derivative ideas into Latin America’s capital cities must be undertaken.

What this paper intends to do is basically to gather and catalogue some supposed examples of the garden-city lineage, most of whose references are scattered in secondary literature about other subjects. At the same time, the paper intends to innovate on the approach – at least from the perspective of Latin American bibliography – by incorporating a perspective drawn from the agenda on urban transference. In this respect, even though this term may be occasionally used in this text in a broader way, I am aware that in pursuing the “transference” of the garden-city ideas into Latin

America, we are probably dealing with the most general expression of “diffusion”, as it is conceived by Stephen Ward, whose approach to the subject can be seen as a methodological reference to this paper. Unlike the “transference” that took place where urban models were “imposed by the government of one country on another, typically in a colonial context” (1999: 55), in republican Latin America could only take place “diffusion patterns”, comparable to what happened in other Western blocs that tried to modernize through the imitation of urban models, among others.

“Here diffusion may be best understood as a highly selective borrowing, often from multiple sources. In such cases the priorities of the importing country (at least understood by leaders of the planning movement) have taken precedence. Imported ideas and practices have frequently been consciously changed and adapted to fit local circumstances. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, for example, ideas such as the garden city and practices such as town extension planning and zoning spread in this fashion around Europe and the US” (Ward, 1999: 56).

Even though during most of the period to be considered Latin America was an economically dependent bloc, what might make it look as the subject of a process of transference – a question that I have discussed elsewhere in relation to other urban models (Almandoz, 2002) – Latin America’s young republics were in any case recipients of urban “diffusion”. It is worth noticing that, since I am not working here on the basis of primary and thorough information for the examples to be referred to, the article will not explore the mechanisms of this diffusion (governmental agencies, individuals, movements, etc.) that would allow a more precise classification in Ward’s typology – a task that I think remains pending for deeper research on each case study.

In order to avoid the rigidity of the diffusional categories, I have taken the liberty of using the terms “model” and “image” to distinguish Howard’s original proposal from its derivative ideas, as well as the ways these were perceived by the Latin American capitals that adapted it. In this respect, although it is not the purpose of this paper to describe Howard’s proposal, let us just remind two of its original principles. Firstly, in addition to Howard’s belief that “town and country must be married” in terms of their advantages, the model included an economic reform in the land ownership (Howard, 1989: 11, 22): secondly, the conception of a “cluster of cities” that were linked by railway to a metropolitan area (Howard, 1989, 103-5; Buder, 1990: 145), among other features of an urban-oriented logic that was very different from the simplistic and popular image of an isolated and bucolic settlement.

Before trying to understand how Howard’s proposal and some of its derivative ideas came to be imagined and imported in some Latin American capitals, let us have a brief look first at the urban panorama of the continent at the beginning of the twentieth century.

## Latin America's urban panorama<sup>1</sup>

Although fostered by the diffusion of Howard's legacy through Britain and North America, the spreading of the Garden City idea in Latin America followed more hybrid combinations, in which the French ingredient seems to have been present, as in other urban chapters of early-twentieth-century Latin America. In this respect, it is useful to have a panoramic look at the trends of urban renewal that were being proposed at the major capital cities by that time.

In addition to the sanitary reforms that took place in the domain of urban administration in some Latin American countries (Almandoz, 2000: 2073-76), the debate on hygiene can be said to have influenced some proposals of urban renewal and extension for their capitals, such as the razing of the Morro do Castelo by Carlos Sampaio, Prefect of Rio (Kessel, 2000). There were also the 'linear proposals' for the expansion of Santiago, developed from 1909 by the Chilean engineer and architect Carlos Carvajal, on the basis of the example of Arturo Soria's 1890s *Ciudad Lineal* (Linear City) in Madrid (Figueroa, 1995).

But most of the energy was focused on the urban renewals closer to the lineage of the "academic urbanism" represented by the *École des Beaux Arts* and, later on, by the Institut d'Urbanism of the Université de Paris, whose journal *La vie urbaine* – published since 1919 – would become highly influential among Latin America's new generations of professionals (Gutiérrez, 1996). The centennial celebrations of Independence were special occasions for organizing architectural competitions and inviting foreign designers to project new public works, as was the case of Emilio Jecquier, Emilio Doyere and Ignazio Cremonesi in Santiago. Preparing the celebration of the centenary of Argentina's Independence in 1910, the *Intendente* (mayor) of Buenos Aires, Carlos de Alvear, invited Joseph Bouvard to the city in 1907. The municipal architect of Paris designed a web of diagonals for the transformation of the centre of the Argentine capital, including the project for a new Plaza de Mayo that was never built (Berjman, 1995; 1998: 175-213). During his 1911 visit to Brazil, Bouvard's proposals for São Paulo used the same baroque conception of monumental space, while making evident his admiration for Camillo Sitte's artistic principles (Segawa, 1995). Visiting Argentina in 1924, Jean-Claude Nicholas Forestier designed the green spaces for a 1925 plan for Buenos Aires, still with echoes of Second-Empire Paris (Berjman, 1994; 1998: 215-71). Léon Jaussely made a similar attempt in 1926, while Forestier laid out parks in Havana (Duverger, 1995; 1994).

The urban sprawl of residential areas framed another chapter of the urban agenda in major capitals of Latin America, what in fact was the result of demographic changes in the first decades of the

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<sup>1</sup> This section is based on the review developed in Almandoz (2002)



twentieth century. The colonial image and urban structure of the most populous cities drastically changed from the 1900s, especially as a consequence of an urban sprawl due to natural growth and both rural-to-urban and international immigration. Buenos Aires jumped from 663,000 people in 1895 to 2,178,000 in 1932; Santiago from 333,000 in 1907 to 696,000 in 1930, and Mexico City from 328,000 in 1908 to 1,049,000 in 1933. São Paulo spiralled from 240,000 inhabitants in 1900 to 579,000 in 1920, and 1,075,000 in 1930, while the urban predominance of Rio was diminished, its population only increasing from 650,000 in 1895 to 811,433 in 1906. The expansion of the capitals was partly due to an incipient process of industrialization by importation substitution, which accelerated the urbanization in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Cuba, which figured among the world's most urbanized countries by the 1930s. Havana's population jumped from 250,000 inhabitants by the turn of the century to 500,000 in 1925. Fuelled mainly by rural-to-urban flows of immigrants, other capitals of the Andean countries also underwent significant increase: Bogotá went from a population of 100,000 people in 1900 to 330,000 in 1930, while Lima increased from 104,000 in 1891 to 273,000 in 1930. Although Caracas rose only from 72,429 inhabitants in 1891 to 92,212 in 1920, the first effects of the oil boom pushed the population from 135,253 in 1926 to 203,342 in 1936. San José de Costa Rica only had 50,580 inhabitants in 1927, but this population represented 11 per cent of the country's (Hardoy, 1990; 1989; 1975).

Having been crammed since the late nineteenth century with administrative and commercial activities, the traditional centres of Latin America's capitals sheltered rural and foreign immigrants attracted by the presence of factories. The upper and middle classes then started to look for new residential locations, the former having a leading role in setting the direction of expansion for their capitals (Amato, 1970: 96-105; Harris, 1971: 249-53). The arrival of the motor car obviously broadened the possibilities of urban expansion, up to then limited to the capitals that already had suburban railways or trams since the late nineteenth century. It was during the first decades of the twentieth century when the 'garden cities' supposedly arrived to some of Latin America's capital cities.

### **The Garden-City imaginary in the capitals**

Following the distinctions established in the first section, and on the basis of the secondary literature available, let us try to identify and catalogue the cases that have traditionally been linked to the garden-city model, exploring the degree to which they can be considered as a mere image or reference. Although it is difficult, I will try to follow a sort of historical order, in the sense that the cases will be presented according to the date in which they appeared linked to the expansion of some of Latin America's major capitals.

Roberto Segre has made a conscious use of the analogy for cataloguing Havana's Vedado area as a sort of garden city. One of the first residential suburbs of the Cuban capital developed from the late 1850s, the engineer's José Yboleón Bosque's original design included some of the characteristics of Ildefonso Cerdá's *ensanche* (widening) for Barcelona, such as the adoption of square blocks with empty space in their cores and tree-lined avenues, both of which were associated with the hygiene debate that started in the island by that time. The ample use of public parks and the inclusion of green areas at the front of the houses; the communication to the centre through horse and later electric tramway; the inclusion of areas for sports and recreation; and the later constructions of bungalows, were all exotic elements that perhaps contributed to labelling Vedado as "the first Garden City in Latin America". As Segre has well concluded, Havana's Vedado was not an "anticipation" of Howard's proposal but rather a "synthesis" of the different options of residential development that were discussed in the late nineteenth century in Europe and the United States - including the natural ingredients of Frederick Law Olmsted's designs, Cerdá's combination of activities within blocks, and the suburban structure of the Garden City as such (Segre, 2000: 573; Segre and Baroni, 1998: 370).

A similar case of association with exotic elements can be said to have happened in El Paraíso, in Caracas. This was the first bourgeois area that had appeared southwest of the centre of the stagnated Venezuelan capital, in the grounds of a former *hacienda* (estate) bought by the developers of tram lines. Since the mid-1890s, "Ciudad Nueva" – as the suburb was originally called – was meant to be a high-standing residential area, with modern networks of services such as water supply, sewers and electricity, and an innovative layout of greenery and squares. The development was speeded up by the 1900 earthquake of Caracas, when bourgeois families decided to build prefabricated houses imported from England and the USA by the engineers Alberto Smith and Roberto García (Núñez, 1988: 255; Troconis, 1993: 190; Vera, 1995). If El Paraíso has occasionally been labelled as a "garden city" (Schael, 1968: 12), I think it was because of these incorporation of foreign elements in the outskirts of a capital like Caracas, that had barely trespassed its colonial boundaries and slightly altered its image only by the turn of the twentieth century (Almandoz, 1997: 171-2).

A more significant reference in the case of Caracas was the early report of the constitution of England's Garden City Association on the September 15, 1899 issue of *El Cojo Ilustrado* (ECI), a magazine that was published fortnightly in Venezuela since 1892, and served at the same time as journal for divulging news from foreign metropolises. Without naming their English creators, the new experiences with garden cities were commented on as a final realization of the "ideal city" originally conceived by the French geographer Elisée Reclus:

"*Garden City* will be the model city, the ideal and type city, built perfectly subject to the hygiene principles, with all the perfectionism of the science. Each private building will gather the advantages of the houses in both the city and the country.

"The streets will be spacious. In each district a huge park will be included, open to the public. In the centre of town, a great garden will be surrounded by a library, a theatre, a Museum, a hospital, the Town Hall and a 'music-hall'" (ECI, 1899: 621).

As we can see, judging from the centre of the garden city reported in ECI, most of the features coincide with Howard's diagrams in the proposal (Howard, 1989: 15-16), though the journal's writer seems to have ignored or forgotten to name the English author of the model. This oblivion would somehow be overcome in later references. Combining both the comfort of urbanization with the healthiness of country life, the advantages of garden cities were opposed some years later, in the same periodical, to the inconveniences of overcrowded metropolises; among the latter there were densities which spanned from New York's 3,810 to Paris's 400 inhabitants per ha, whereas the garden cities only had 18 inhabitants per ha, and boasted a mortality-rate of 5x100 (ECI, 1913: 213; Almandoz, 1997: 197-8).

Latin America's suburbs most directly related to the English fathers of the model apparently were some of São Paulo's new areas, developed with the participation of Howard's collaborators (Rodrigues Porto, 1992: 116-20). A private company created in the 1910s with English and French capital and by Brazilian entrepreneurs, the City of São Paulo Improvements and Freehold Land Company Limited developed in 1915 the first section of Jardim America, a suburban neighbourhood conceived by the office of Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, with a sinuous layout and ample gardens in front of the houses (Segawa, 1995: 34-5). This combination resulted very attractive for a *paulista* bourgeoisie eager to flee the crowded centre of the "metropolis of the coffee", which was already swarmed by immigrants from the Brazilian province and abroad. As Margareth da Silva Pereira points out, from then on São Paulo started to resemble somehow North-American cities, in the sense that the former's fashionable prosperity resulted much better portrayed in the suburban residential areas than in the central 'historical city', which had been the focus of Bouvard's visit in 1911. Having stayed for two years in the booming metropolis, Parker contributed to the diversification of residential patterns in other urban projects in which he participated, such as Pacaembu – where a Cidade Jardim avenue was inaugurated in the 1920s - Alto da Lapa and Bela Aliança (Rodrigues Porto, 1992: 129; Pereira, 2002)

A broad use of the term has sometimes labelled as 'garden cities' some other suburbs of Latin American capitals simply because they were not laid out following the compact patterns of the colonial *damero* (checkerboard) or the *ensanches*, namely the expansion areas in grid layouts that were inspired by their similar counterparts of Barcelona or Madrid. In this sense, Hardoy referred that during the three first decades of the twentieth century, some of the new *urbanizaciones* (urban developments) linked former suburban villages to the sprawling capitals producing a "garden-city

image". This would have been the case of San Isidro and Orrantía, connected to Lima's centre by the Arequipa avenue, laid out in 1917. Another example in this respect would have been the suburban developments along the Río de la Plata, north of Buenos Aires (Hardoy, 1989: 269). Although some *colonias* (urban developments) of Mexico City during Porfirio Díaz's regime (1876-1910) have also been labelled as "garden cities" (Gutiérrez, 1984: 517-18), the use of the "Anglo-American-inspired garden-city planning" was to be undertaken in the late 1920s, in the suburbs of Romita, Santa María and Condesa. The presence of Art Deco, Modern and International Style architecture, as well as the inclusion of parks (McMichael Reese, 2002), were all elements that probably contributed to this foreign image.

A closer yet simplistic reference to the garden-city design was given by Léon Jaussely, when he visited Buenos Aires in 1926. Having translated Unwin's work, the French urbanist had to be familiar with the original model of the garden city, which he proposed to use in some new neighbourhoods of the Argentine capital. By contrast to the traditional *damero* or the *Beaux-Arts* diagonals that had been preferred for central Buenos Aires by previous visitors such as Bouvard or Forestier, the founder of the Société Française d'Urbanistes advocated simpler layouts for the suburbs, with a generalized use of gardens in front of both rich villas and modest houses. "From now on you should propose to fill the spaces which are still free in your plan with new neighbourhoods with a simpler design, be it curved or straight, well proportioned lines, and gardens in front of all houses, be they for the rich or less rich, as therein lies the beauty of modern cities" (Quoted and translated in Gutiérrez, 2002), he recommended to the Argentine audience. However, Jaussely's simplification of the garden city only inspired the development of the Barrio Parque Chas, which would be criticized by local planners such as Carlos María Della Paolera, because of the difficulties arising from dividing the plots in the midst of an irregular layout (Gutiérrez, 1995: 40).

Later examples of the more general use of the "garden city" label for cataloguing suburbs include the references of Mexico City's Colonia Balbuena (1933), Rio's Realengo (1942) and Buenos Aires's El Palomar in the 1940s (Hardoy, 1990: 26-7; Sica, 1976-8, II: 789-90), about which I have not found further references, besides of the fact that they go beyond the temporal scope of this paper. However, my impression is that those cases are probably similar to some working-class suburbs developed during the 1920s and 1930s towards the south and west of Caracas, such as San Agustín del Sur, Catia, Agua Salud and Los Jardines de El Valle (García, 1985: 20-24, 40-1, 51-2); here the association with the garden city resulted from the way these areas were advertised in the local press, as a low-density and bucolic alternative to the crowded centre (Almandoz, 1997: 240-42). In this respect, it is interesting to note that the label of the garden city in Venezuela was even lent to the eighteenth-century city of Maracay, 110 kms west of Caracas, which from 1909 had become Juan Vicente Gómez's headquarters and residence until the end of his dictatorship in 1935. The abundance of gardens in the sort of Venezuelan Versailles made some people baptised

it as the “ciudad jardín”, probably echoing a suburban resonance they were not very sure where it came from.

## Conclusions

After dealing with the imaginary of the Garden City idea in some Latin American capitals, it cannot be said that there was a proper application of the original model, at least taking into account the secondary literature reviewed in this paper. Among the “diffusional episodes” distinguished by Ward, the garden suburbs of some Latin America’s sprawling capitals probably were a case of “selective borrowing” of some aspects of the original model (Ward, 1999: 58). In this sense, perhaps the closer reference to the Garden-City matrix was Parker’s project for Jardim America in São Paulo. For the rest, Howard’s proposal was not well-known and contextualized at the beginning of the twentieth century, being mainly reduced to bucolic connotations that were used to promote or advertise new areas among the snobbish bourgeoisies of some capitals of Latin America. This simplification seemed to have relied on the fact that areas such as Vedado in Havana, El Paraíso in Caracas or Parque Chas in Buenos Aires adopted organic layouts that were different from the colonial *damero* or the Beaux-Arts diagonals and *rond-points*.

More or less explicitly, Latin America’s urban historians and critics seem to have played with the analogy, when labelling as “garden cities” new areas designed according to diverse patterns, activities and architecture, just for the sake that they combined suburban and foreign elements that were exotic in the context of the capitals that had just abandoned their colonial images. This analagous use of the term seems to have predominated in most of the examples considered in this paper. Perhaps this is a valid way of enriching the meanings of a model that, even in England, was more popular because of its derivative ideas than for its original proposal.

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**About The Concept of Regularity In The Western Town:  
From Tacitus To Le Corbusier**

Brice GRUET  
Centre de Recherches Humanistes  
Institut de France  
36 rue des Rigoles 75020 Paris France  
bgruet@noos.fr

*"The curved street is the donkey's path, the straight street, is man's path"*, claimed Le Corbusier in one of his major works<sup>1</sup>. I discovered this odd and authoritative quotation during my own bibliographical investigations, a few years ago. I wondered why indeed this man, one of the leading town-planning theorists of in the twentieth century, thought and wrote this down. For it deeply resounded with other, more ancient quotations: Tacitus, Livy, and Suetonius. The link between them was more than just formal: it revealed a kind of psychological genealogy beyond the centuries I am still trying to understand now. These are the initial results of my investigations<sup>2</sup>.

I wanted to study the roots of our modern conception of the town, and among the different components of the town, the street is one of the most important features in the urban landscape; for this reason, I decided to study the evolution of the "straight street" conception through the amazing example of Rome; because of its antiquity and incredible richness as an urban palimpsest and as a model<sup>3</sup> for western town. I soon realised that studying the rise and evolution of the straight streets, in the case of Rome, was rather irrelevant: Regularity has to deal from the very beginning of the city with irregularity, to form a very dynamic couple that works in a dialectically, as we will discover later on.

In fact, the very concept of regularity proved so changing, was so vague and undefined, that I ended up studying its birth, evolution and meaning. The evolution of spatial representations is often so slow it can be studied on a very wide time scale, to compare periods between then, and, finally, to confront the different psychological, social and spatial rhythms in a unique and coherent manner.

As a geographer, space was my means of approaching the subject. But I also aimed at also taking a more anthropological point of view, i.e. to understand the great categories involved in this secular history. The historical point of view is traditionally focused on the social and political aspects of this question, rather than spatial aspects of the questions. Hence I decided to adopt an ethnological point of view, in order to examine everything in a very genuine and falsely naïve way: Why does a town have streets? What exactly *is* a street ? What are the uses of the street? And in this case, just why and how important is the shape of a street ? The street in Rome was a means of approaching the western conception of the town, from its origins until the present day, and to understand the roots of our modern urbanity.

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<sup>1</sup> In CHOAY F. (1965) *Urbanism, Utopia and Realities. An Anthology*, Paris : Le seuil, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> We apologise for its incompleteness, but our investigation still goes on, and we are still looking for elements that are only hypothesis now.

<sup>3</sup> *Model* has to be understood as a model to be followed, not as a mathematical model, of course.



I First discovered that the street in general was a subject neglected by modern scholars. The square, and built space are far more studied. But when I began looking for any documents illustrating or even mentioning streets, I was once again surprised: the documents were few and far between, most of them allusive, and the street seemed to exist *per se* only from the fourteenth century. Before, where was it? What was it? Mentioned, but obviously as a mere orientation key, or a legal building frontier, whilst it was a central player in social relationships<sup>4</sup>. My research led me to various texts, apparently loosely linked to the town. But in a few words, they contained a whole world, and they were very normative. Thus, through a careful analysis of the vocabulary, it proved possible to enter the roman people's innermost thoughts and dreams of their towns. And understand what they thought what a town has to be to be a town. Something between dream and law...

### **Forma: Between aesthetics and politics**

Three authors give their impressions about what their beloved capital, Rome, had become after different disasters: The invasion of the Gauls<sup>5</sup>, or the dreadful neronian fire<sup>6</sup>. In each case, the town was destroyed, ruined, or heavily spoiled. Good occasion for them to express their woe about the event, even if remote in time, and to complain about what the town was, how it probably was, and how it would, or should have been rebuilt. We insist on the dull frontier between dream, past reality, and pure normativity. Above all, we must consider what authors used and how they spoke about the town; what words they actually used; why they used them and the connotations of such terms.

The way we can understand the use of these words is special: In a certain way, we have to dive just under the visible surface of the language to see and touch upon what lies beneath. For example, the use of certain concepts or expressions by different authors<sup>7</sup> can be defined by them, even if rarely, but other terms considered trivial or undoubtful, remained unexplained. We call these terms and expressions *axioms* because they represent the skeleton of the discourse, its deepest structures, of course never motivated or justified, but omnipresent, like a strong framework. Our work involves bringing to light those "little words" and to questioning them as deeply as possible. This implies a kind of "culture under the culture", like a deeper, less apparent, but more powerful cultural system linked to more personal discourses.

Indeed, one word reoccurs amongst these three authors: *Forma*. It is used in different ways, but always poorly translated, because its meaning appears dull and obvious, but it is not. Danièle Conso<sup>8</sup> carried out some remarkable work on this word: revealing its very rich semantic content, and, highlighting in particular, the connotative sphere of its usage. The use of words is never innocent, and, even if the choice of a certain vocabulary seems banal, even if the author just reuse a semantic field

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<sup>4</sup> See LEGUAY JP (1984) *La rue au Moyen Âge*, Rennes : Ouest France

<sup>5</sup> Livy.

<sup>6</sup> Suetonius and Tacitus.

<sup>7</sup> This idea came to us during the reading of Hegel's *Aesthetics*. The great philosopher used some terms without questioning them for one second. Unfortunately, it *does* have consequences on his demonstration. For another similar intuition, see CHOAY F (1980) *The Rule and the Model: On the Theory of Architecture and Urbanism*, Paris: Le Seuil.

<sup>8</sup> CONSO D (1990) *Forma : étude sémantique*, Paris, unpublished Ph. D.

linked to his own subject, it embodies a special taste, position or viewpoint that unveils some deep attitudes towards diverse aspects of the social life. Let us quickly sum up the main meanings of the term:

Firstly, the word *forma* refers to the physical characteristics of a living being, human or not. It then describes or approves the physical beauty of an individual. Hence, we must bear in mind that *forma* has a strong aesthetic connotation, even if not used in such a context. The word also refers to the “shape”, “beauty” or “configuration” of a given place. And “map”, especially cadastral map. Here we find ourselves on common ground (if we may say) between objective and subjective worlds. A value judgment stands behind what can appear only as something totally free from any kind of subjectivity. In fact, practical and symbolical aspects do merge successfully, as we will later see.

Finally, *forma* meant (we follow the chronological evolution of the semantic shape of the word, as presented in Conso's work<sup>9</sup>) “rule” and “model”. Many other meanings of course do exist apologies for such a brief presentation, but a wealth of meanings would fill many pages. So what are we left with? “Physical characteristics”, “beauty”, “shape”, “land configuration”, “map”, “model” and “rule”. The three examples we shall now study span two centuries, but in a very particular period: The birth and enhancement of the imperial Rome both as a political and cultural centre.

Close attention given to the use of the word and its connotations leads us deep into the Roman mind, and, indeed, this strongly interacts with our modern mind, because the translation of the Latin sentences gives us plenty of information on our own interpretations and prejudices about what the town is or can be. The structure formed by those connotations is extremely thin and intricate:

At the deepest level, we find those axioms that have a life of their own kind. Their evolution is very slow, and it interferes with the main and more visible higher cultural level.

This “visible level” is the historical one, shaped, transformed and influenced by the general social conditions of a certain time, and a certain place<sup>10</sup>. Here appears the conscious use of a certain vocabulary.

Finally, this very vocabulary, as an idiomatic expression or as a trivial sentence, involves a rich network of connotations. This network is more or less controlled by its authors. Let us now explore, how it appears in the following texts:

Livy relates the great destructions committed in Rome by the Gauls during their odious invasion. After Camillus' speech, Livy explains in a very famous sentence:

“[...]The proposed measure for migration was dropped, and they began to rebuild the City in a haphazard way<sup>11</sup>. Tiling was provided at the public expense; every one was given the right to cut stone and timber where he pleased, after giving security that the building should be completed within the year. In their haste, they took no trouble to plan out straight streets; as all distinctions of ownership in the soil were lost, they built on any ground that happened to be vacant. That is the reason why the old sewers, which originally were carried under public ground, now run everywhere under private

<sup>9</sup> This vocabulary study goes from the archaic period to the early Christian age.

<sup>10</sup> See BOIA L (1998), *Pour une histoire de l'imaginaire*, Paris : Les Belles Lettres.

<sup>11</sup> *Promisce*.

houses, and *why the conformation of the City resembles one casually built upon by settlers rather than one regularly planned out*<sup>12</sup>. (We underline).

Then, let us read Tacitus who states the way Nero transformed the city after the great fire of 64:

“Of Rome meanwhile, so much as was left unoccupied by his mansion, was not built up, as it had been after its burning by the Gauls, without any regularity or in any fashion, but with rows of streets according to measurement, with broad thoroughfares, with a restriction on the height of houses, with open spaces, and the further addition of colonnades, as a protection to the frontage of the blocks of tenements. These colonnades Nero promised to erect at his own expense, and to hand over the open spaces, when cleared of the débris, to the ground landlords. He also offered rewards proportioned to each person's position and property, and prescribed a period within which they were to obtain them on the completion of so many houses or blocks of building. He fixed on the marshes of Ostia for the reception of the rubbish, and arranged that the ships which had brought up corn by the Tiber, should sail down the river with cargoes of this rubbish. The buildings themselves, to a certain height, were to be solidly constructed, without wooden beams, of stone from Gabii or Alba, that material being impervious to fire. And to provide that the water which individual license had illegally appropriated, might flow in greater abundance in several places for the public use, officers were appointed, and everyone was to have in the open court the means of stopping a fire. Every building, too, was to be enclosed by its own proper wall, not by one common to others. These changes which were liked for their utility, also added beauty to the new city. Some, however, thought that its old arrangement had been more conducive to health, inasmuch as the narrow streets with the elevation of the roofs were not equally penetrated by the sun's heat, while now the open space, unsheltered by any shade, was scorched by a fiercer glow<sup>13</sup>”.

Then, Suetonius, when he describes the same event, uses a specific way doing it:

“The town was altered by ancient fires and the presence of ruins. He allowed whoever able to do it to take and rebuild unoccupied areas left over without a landlord. Himself he first restored the

<sup>12</sup> Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, V 55 : « [...] antiquata deinde lege, promisce urbs aedificari coepta. [3] tegula publice praebita est; saxi materiaeque caedendae unde quisque uellet ius factum, praedibus acceptis eo anno aedificia perfecturos. [4] festinatio curam exemit uicos dirigendi, dum omisso sui alienique discrimine in uacuo aedificant. [5] ea est causa ut ueteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc priuata passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam diuisae similis ». All those texts and translations are taken from the Perseus Project site, URL : <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>.

<sup>13</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, XV, 43: “Ceterum urbis quae domui supererant non, ut post Gallica incendia, nulla distinctione nec passim erecta, sed dimensis vicorum ordinibus et latis viarum spatiis cohibitaque aedificiorum altitudine ac patefactis areis additisque porticibus quae frontem insularum protegerent. eas porticus Nero sua pecunia exstructurum purgatasque areas dominis traditurum pollicitus est. addidit praemia pro cuiusque ordine et rei familiaris copiis finivitque tempus intra quod effectis domibus aut insulis apiscerentur. ruderi accipiendi Ostiensis paludes destinabat utique naves quae frumentum Tiberi subuectassent onustae rudere decurrerent; aedificiaque ipsa certa sui parte sine trabibus saxo Gabino Albanove solidarentur, quod is lapis ignibus impervius est; iam aqua privatorum licentia intercepta quo largior et pluribus locis in publicum flueret, custodes; et subsidia reprimendis ignibus in propatulo quisque haberet; nec in communione parietum, sed propriis quaeque muris ambirentur. ea ex utilitate accepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere. erant tamen qui crederent *veterem illam formam* salubritati magis conduxisse, quoniam *angustiae itinerum* et altitudo tectorum

stair of the Capitol after the rubble had been removed, and he cleaned his own hill. Then he carefully gathered and restored all that remained from the three thousand bronze tablets that had burnt together[...].<sup>14</sup>

And on Nero's urban work:

"He conceived a new layout for the town and its buildings, in order that each block and house might have a portico to protect them from the burning sun. He financed this at his own expense. Indeed he planned to build continuous walls leading to Ostia and then a canal between the sea and the old town."<sup>15</sup>

At a first glance, a bond links between the form of the town, and its streets: They must be straight to give a true form to a "deformed" shape. So, the town, to be a valuable one, must have straight streets. When Suetonius writes "*Deformis urbs veteribus incendiis*", this *deformis* adjective means that through all the historical processes a town endures, it finally evolves away from a kind of initial shape, this "forma", that can be understood both as beauty and as configuration. The translator of Tacitus himself uses the expression: "regularly planned out", to translate "*divisae similes*". We lack space here to go into further detail, but let us just note that "regularly planned out" is a wide translation of "*divisae similes*"; which could also be translated as "divided into equivalent lots". It certainly does not sound *equal*... The first version implies a "plan". The second translation, the "flattest" one, merely a good repartition amongst the landlords. Anyway, the authors, when writing about the town, write about the streets, the "forma", or both. As if, when talking about the town in general, it were obvious and necessary to talk about the streets.

Thus we have a kind of logical weaving: if a town is destroyed or burnt, this recalls an ancient "regular" canvas, based upon the street shape, especially their size and line. Then, the town had to or has to be "regularly planned out", to be a real town; this comes from the modern translators who force a little the Latin text to insist upon the opposition between regular and irregular. Another example is the translation of Livy's "*promisce*", translated by "in a haphazard way". The expression is good, but the choice hints of prejudice: the whole expression "*promisce urbs aedificari coepta*", could also be interpreted as "that the town would be built with houses each one close to another"; in other terms, that the buildings were built with a rather high density, leaving few free space between them.

Tacitus does not emphasize this link between the shape of the city and its streets, but instead focuses on the complaints of the citizens after the new elements are built: and points out the drawbacks of a certain foolish modernity: the "*angustia itinerum*" could protect from the sun, not the

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non perinde solis vapore perrumperentur: at nunc *patulam latitudinem* et nulla umbra defensam graviore aestu ardescere".

<sup>14</sup> "Deformis urbs ueteribus incendiis ac ruinis erat; uacuas areas occupare et aedificare, si possessores cessarent, cuicumque permisit. ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus ruderibus purgandis manus primus admouit ac suo collo quaedam extulit; aerearumque tabularum tria milia, quae simul conflagrauerant, restituenda suscepit undique inuestigatis exemplaribus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac uetustissimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebi[s] scita de societate et foedere ac priuilegio cuicumque concessis." (*De Vita Caesarum, Vespasian*, VIII, 5)

<sup>15</sup> "formam aedificiorum urbis nouam excogitauit et ut ante insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur; easque sumptu suo extruxit. destinarat etiam Ostia tenus moenia promouere atque inde fossa mare ueteri urbi inducere". (*Nero*, XVI, 1) The Suetonius translations are mine.

wide new spaces. But he uses the expression “*vetera forma*” to describe the main features of the town, and thus mentions the streets as *the* feature characterising the town as a whole. Old and new, narrow and wide, curved or straight: the basic vocabulary of a secular struggle between two lines of discourse is already in place and will last until our own period.

Through those simple examples, we can see that a unique dialogue exists between the town and its interpreters. Three levels appear to interact: the town as a social and representation fabric; the ancient writers or testimonies that interact and put in words, but rarely explicitly common notions about the town. And, last but not least, the modern scholars, who interweave their own prejudices with a very surprising ingenuity. This three-fold discourse is perhaps trivial, and may appear a kind of truism, but is, in fact, far from pointless: It creates a language frame, a text, which is able to interact with other forms, not necessarily written, of discourse.

### The Roman intertext

Another source for understanding the ancient town is the famous *Forma urbis*, or *Forma Marmorea*. A vast collection of stone fragments discovered during the Renaissance and since then patiently gathered, compared and classified in order to reconstruct the appearance of the Severian Rome, since this map dates from the early Severian period. We know just one tenth of the whole map has been conserved, but the little that remains constitutes an astounding testimony to the town. Here is an example of a major fragment:



Modern scholars called this the “*forma Urbis*”, but we still cannot say if there is any written testimony of such an expression naming this object. Anyway, the use of the term and its importance has overcome all objection, and now, when anyone speaks of the *F.U.R.*, everybody knows it is the *Forma Urbis Romae*. As we saw, *forma* means the cadastral map of a considered terrain. And if we bear in mind the other meanings of the word, we literally view a lexical landscape that stretches from the “physical characteristics” of an animal to this “cadastral map”, and, of course, this goes through the “beauty” of this town. But if we pay attention to the map in itself, we have to consider it as much more than a simple administrative document, or a good testimony of the urban ground at the dawn of the second century A.D.: of course it is, but furthermore it represents what both land surveyors and

emperors thought worth illustrating. The whole of society represents itself in this stone map. So let us have a closer look at various aspects of this exceptional document.

First, it is in marble, a solid and beautiful material. Archaeologists believe the model of this map was drawn on a scroll, and then carved, or rather engraved, onto this grand medium. The hypothesis for such a work makes it as old as the Augustan period. So it would not be an *unicum*, a unique object made only once, but something, yet uncommon, rather well-known from the Roman administration. The decision to use stone is pragmatic: the best way to preserve something destined to be presented outdoors. But the stone also safeguards the memory of time: it means the will to inscribe an object in a long period, and to give it a great value. Marble is easy to carve, and rather common in Italy. In addition, it is a noble material, and hence confers a solemn form to a trivial and technical object.

We say trivial and technical, but this is not quite true: technical, yes, but trivial, not exactly: it took much effort to create such an object, and we can imagine how proud its authors were on accomplishing their task. It remains anonymous, so belongs to the Roman people as a whole, at least implicitly and if an administrative tool, it is lastly also a beautiful object, large enough to be seen and admired by many people.

This map, that can be called *forma*, is not purely a technical object: it also has a symbolical aspect. Because the choices of representation adopt and reveal a certain point of view, a certain way of proposing the appearance of the town, plus its reality: and because it is not on a 1:1 scale, it implies, once again, transformations in its presentation: *Re*-presentation. Scale is not innocent, it conveys the kind of detail you want to obtain and illustrate. Then the lines carved in stone represent walls; and, as Lugli<sup>16</sup> and others had demonstrated, the scale varies depending on the importance of the buildings. The key to the map is lost, so we have trouble understanding what structure went there or here... All these choices are not purely technical, they also touch upon what is important for the stone carver and his way of making things clear to the spectators and users of the map. So its representational and symbolical aspects must also be taken in consideration. Many scholars who have studied it have only been interested in topography, but its powerful social and spatial discourse is equally important.

The conclusion is that this map is *both* technical and symbolical: The opposition between those two aspects is vain and dangerous; we will later see why. But, overall, this stone map establishes a link, through its very presence, with the texts where *forma* is used. And this creates an *intertext*, it is to say, a complex relation between all kinds of mediums concerning the town: texts, images, all media, engage a dialogue based upon a rich cultural circulation made possible by society itself and the way it communicates. It means the town can and should be considered a text<sup>17</sup>. But all the information available on a certain town forms this intertext, which is created slowly formed and deeply entrenched in a wide and heterogeneous collective memory.

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<sup>16</sup> LUGLI, PM (1992) Considerazioni urbanistiche sulla pianta marmorea del foro della pace, in *Bollettino di Archeologia*, n°16-18 pp. 19-31.

<sup>17</sup> See DUNCAN J (1990) *The City as text: the politics of landscape interpretation in the Kandyan kingdom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press.

### **A metonymical dialogue**

At this point in our analysis, we must introduce a further dimension: time. Time as rhetorical agent, i.e. something that allows, through its own categories and classifications, to create a certain discourse on its object. This is apparent in the following expressions: Antiquity, Middle Ages and Renaissance, or Modern Age. Those three categories are widely used and reused as three major moments in our times and civilization. True, but we often forget that the use of such expressions is heavily burdened with a strong ideology, particularly regarding the town and its history or evolution. It nourishes a polemical discourse against a certain past.

Here the importance and relevance of the concept of regularity takes hold and becomes a touchstone for our attitude towards the “form” of the town. In the modern spirit, regularity, often merged with geometry and symmetry enjoys positive values. And if we think back to our previous authors, regularity seems to be good from a very old time... Second period, the middle ages, affected by the disappearance of visible regularity. And, then, here comes the Renaissance that deals, for our sake, with perfection, so with regularity. In such a discourse, the succession of three different periods allows a choice between civilization and “gothic” construction, good and bad taste, Antiquity as a model (even if betrayed), and Modernity as renewal, a backlash to genuine past. The age of the middle, with such a name, has just to be forgotten.

If the demonstration seems to be harsh, it has such a strong voice that it covers any other discourse for long. The rise of our modernity is responsible for fixing the attitude towards what the “form” of the town has to be. Let us consider of the ideal city and all the abundant literature about it. The preoccupation for relevance between the physical urban form and the socio-political system it should be able to support and nourish flourishes, as it is well known, at the Renaissance. In this new interest for the city and the form it can assume, the street plays its role. The rhetoric use of time periods generates a general condemnation of the medieval period, and of its towns. The medieval town is a scarecrow, a nightmare compared to the clean, rational and regular modern town. But only a fool could forget to see that this is pure ideology, and the studies about medieval towns totally destroy such a point of view. Unfortunately, the prejudices inherited from the militant 19<sup>th</sup> positivist century are still strong enough to cast their shade on what was a brilliant, though ill-known, period for the growth and life of the town.

In this context, the works accomplished by the early and full-Renaissance Popes, like Sixtus IV or Julius II<sup>18</sup> can be interpreted like a dialogue with a dreamt Antiquity considered as a metaphor of civilization: The straight streets laid out by Julius II especially inscribes themselves in a highly medieval urban context. But the physical inscription of one straight line is enough to recall the supposed superiority of the Ancients in matter of urban constructions, and the magnificence and genius of the modern pope to “restore”, the beauty of the city both as a prince and as a town carver. The urban politics of those popes is very well known and has been very extensively studied, but we insist on the meaning of those constructions: a straight street in the Renaissance context is a little

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<sup>18</sup> See Z Celik D Favro R INGERSOLL (1994), *Streets, Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, Berkeley: University of California Press, especially pp. 151-202.

reminder of the pope's own memory: All the new streets bear names derived from the pope's: *Via Giulia*, *Via Sistina*, *Via Paola*, and so on. Once again, all of this seems obvious, but it is so because it became our own spatial vocabulary: a famous person creates a famous urban shape, this be a street or a monument. But a street laid regularly recalls the power of the prince and it literally talks with the antique past of the City, Rome. And the contrast between the old, narrow and irregular streets and the new ones represents the new age reached by the town and its inhabitants. It is a landmark founded in a way both physical and symbolical, once again, a metonymical element of the urban landscape.

### **Urban form, social form, and the internal point of view**

We can wonder why the middle Ages did *not* insist on regularity. This frenzy for geometry does not seem to preoccupy very much the Roman medieval popes nor than the Romans themselves. We do not really have any treatise about the town<sup>19</sup>, and the graphical representations of the town are very rare during all the period<sup>20</sup>. If we take a look at the different types of medieval towns, disorder seems to reign.

Nevertheless, we have to be careful, because with such a judgment, we commit a certain mistake. The term shape, or form, applies to a very complex entity, a town, it is to say a complex human organisation: and the "shape" of this town, is something hard to conceive. Of course, for us, the morphology of a town can be easily read from its map, but we do not have to forget that such a representation is rather recent, and far from complete: during a long period, only the lords can have such a vision of the city. Then, if you do not have a map to have a general (but abstract) vision of a town, what do you have to chose to describe the *shape* of this town? And at what *scale* will you make this choice? The problem of representation appears once again.

So, if you are immersed in the urban space, at man's height, you can only see a few buildings or monuments. If you can climb up to a higher point, you can see more, but the perspective still impedes having a homogeneous vision. I insist on this aspect because it is very often forgotten: Our modern map vision is not the common, objective and definitive vision, it is a representation among others, and, in fact, rather uncommon because it hardly matches with our everyday reality. But the most important fact to be understood is that, if the medieval town does not present a visible regularity in its outside features, it is deeply structured by a very strong social order. And social order is reflected in the spatial order, up to a certain point. The link and equivalence between those two entities is to be considered as the source of a town's *shape*. The so-called urban chaos of the medieval town proceeds, in fact, of an external point of view, the foreigner's one, ignorant of the social system he stares at. Indeed, if we pay attention to the social fabric of the medieval town, we found a very strong spatial structure based upon many social interactions. So, visible regularity, abusively understood by us as geometrical regularity, is pointless and useless in most cases.

Any city is *always* regular because the social order expresses itself through the spatial order. In such a context, looking for sole regularity is useless. It would be far more useful and interesting to look for the social representations that insert themselves in the built context. This requires to adopt an

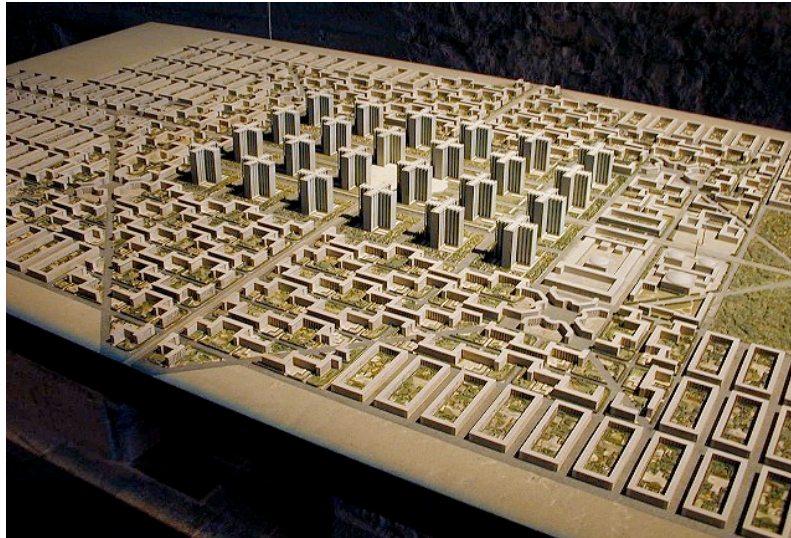
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<sup>19</sup> See CHOAY, 1980 p. 41 (French edition).



internal point of view, a notion more familiar to the ethnologists than to the town-planners<sup>21</sup>. But it is this internal point of view that permits us to understand the logical order working inside a given society; otherwise, it is prejudices over prejudices, and this has nothing to do with science.

Our research deals with the roots of the importance given to regularity. Regularity is often taken as a *good* pattern, the obvious way to give shape to a town. And, of course, the most illustrative example is Le Corbusier, considered, in the twentieth century as a good representative of the modernist and rationalist movement. His *Cité pour 3 millions d'habitants*, stands as a perfect model for all new towns. It reflects a certain geometrical extremism, relayed by the highly effective writings of Le Corbusier himself:



Geometry is the absolute modern reference for expressing social order. But it is a sort of blind thought. On one hand, it presents regularity as the last warranty against disorder, disease, or social wreckage. But in the other hand, we all know that the rationalist (or so-called) town-planning has led to some famous social breakdown, especially in France, where Le Corbusier had the most important influence on many architects and town-planners. Le Corbusier was himself influenced by a certain vision of classical Antiquity. I am still looking for the relations between *his* antiquity<sup>22</sup> and the architectural realisations he tried to make real. The city presented here is the paragon of a composite fascination, made of an external vision of the city.

First, a graphical fascination: the drawing and its accuracy provoke a strong impression on the spectator's eye: it strikes and seduces by its own elegance, but then aesthetics hides efficiency. Second, an order fascination: everything seems to be clear, rational, easily understandable and, logically, this appears as *the* solution. Such a model is the good heir of this modern point of view that departs at the edge of the Renaissance. Seeing from above is the "master" point of view. And the enjoyment of geometry participates to an aesthetic pleasure far from the reality of the town. The gaze toward the town is external, dominant, and generalising. It is an intellectual point of view, regardless what the men actually living down there can feel or accomplish...

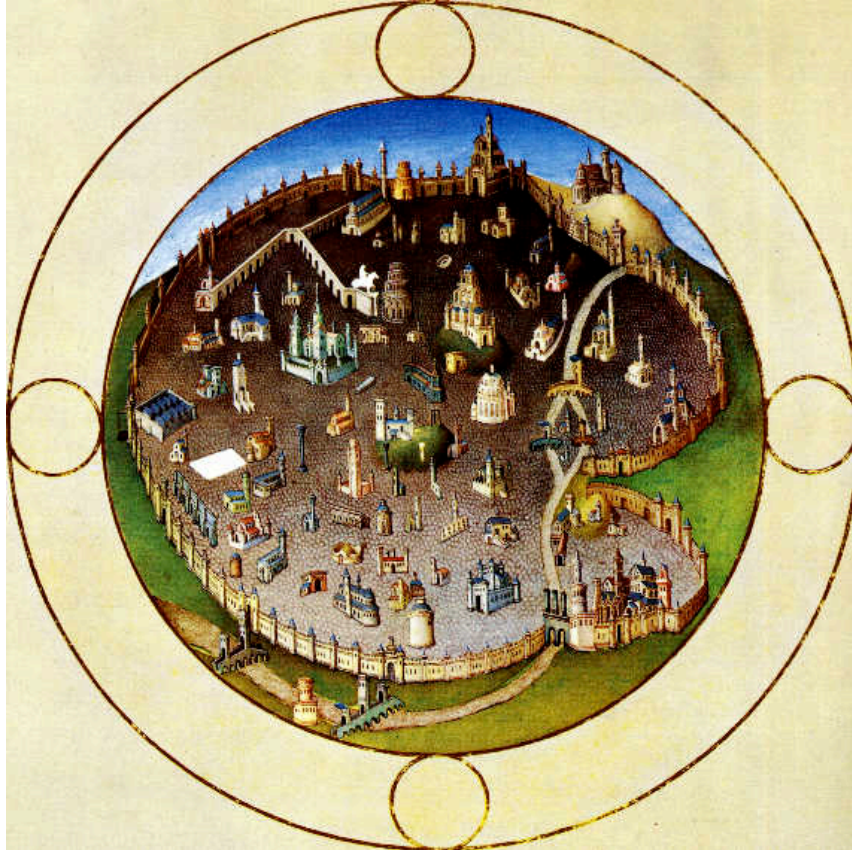
<sup>20</sup> This deals with the landscape history. For more details, see ROGER, Alain, 1999, *Court Traité du Paysage*, Paris, Gallimard.

<sup>21</sup> See HALL ET (1966), *The Hidden Dimension*, New York: Doubleday.

<sup>22</sup> See B. GRAVAGNUOLO (1997), *Le Corbusier e l'Antico. Viaggi nel Mediterraneo*, Naples : Electa.

### **Trajectivity, or how to touch reality**

Let us take just one example, to swiftly conclude, of a late medieval painting, the famous Limbourg's brothers miniature taken from the *Très riches Heures du Duc de Berry*<sup>23</sup>:



This miniature is very famous, but rarely used by the topographers because of its so-called shallow realism. Generic shape for the walls, conventional orientation, lack of a scale. In spite of the beauty of the object, and its graphic personality, it lies outside scientific accuracy and floats somewhere between art erudition and “symbolism”. But we *know* it is Rome, we can recognize it. And this “map” is drawn while the technical means available are sufficient to allow an accurate cartography. The logical deduction could be that this fantasy picture was made on purpose, but obviously, a complex one, *a priori* very different from our way of conceiving a town's map.

For that reason it can be called in many different ways: painting, miniature, map, picture... and it is all of this, and even more. What do we notice? The insertion of this work is not easy to understand, because it does not fit with the rest of the book. Its own presence is enigmatic. It is a rich and beautiful realisation: colours are bright, composition and drawing are thin and accurate, a real miniature masterpiece. We would just like to make a few remarks about this work.

The form, or shape of Rome is not reliable for us: According to various authors, the monuments represented did or does still exist and are topographically well placed; they are well situated and drawn with a certain sense of perspective, even if it is not exactly perspective. Around

<sup>23</sup> Chantilly Castle, Condé Museum, mss. 65, fol. 141v., 15<sup>th</sup> century.

those buildings we find no streets, no places, just a conventional open space that permits a global composition. At last, we can see the walls, the Tiber river and the towers of the walls, and their relative positions are good: the buildings are here to give the essential indications. We have a sort of *mélange* between realism and fancy. Indeed, it *is* a melted vision of the town, because realism was not a relevant category. This startles us, used to make a clear distinction between “reality” and “imagination”.

In fact, those two domains, if we compare them to interiority and exteriority, interfere with each other in a very peculiar way, and create a common image or *representation* of the world shared in the same time by the contemporaries and us: Like a kind of slowly constituted and regularly inherited patrimony, it belongs to many domains and constitute a kind of knowledge in itself: That those representations are true or wrong is without importance, and it could be more useful to ask ourselves about the *uses* that were made of them, and are still made nowadays, because a secular dialogue between the society who produced this image and us still remains, signal and proof of many immaterial representations. Augustin Berque<sup>24</sup> proposes the expression *trajection* to express this perpetual exchange between interiority and exteriority that founds and sustains us, far from the classical opposition between the object and the subject. This *trajection* is expressed in this miniature. Why? Because it is a crossbreed between physical reality and imagination, but, in the same moment, it *does* represent Rome, so it *is* also the town.

Finally, this illustration belongs to our general representations of Rome: It is not false nor true, it is a kind of *proposition* that inserts itself in a general social order and discourse on space. Far away from an external regularity, it deals with this social logic that gives sense to our life and to our world. The Limbourg brothers were able to draw a “real” vision of the town, so, if they did not do so, it is because they *did* chose not to do it. Accuracy belongs to the painting, but it shows something more than pure topography. We can find here a meaningful reality made of various elements.

Morphological regularity acts as a metaphor of civilization, recalled in various ways, but it can be motivated through different modes, both symbolical and rational This is an absolute tendency, present from the very beginning of human history and town evolution<sup>25</sup>. In such a context, social regularity understood as an organised order merges without superseding the spatial one, but informs, enhances and moulds it in a strong feedback process. Forgetting this process can generate serious trouble in the field of town-planning, because it deals with material and overall immaterial representations whose importance remains vital to us, even in our secularised, rationalised societies. Outside regularity (but the term deserves a better definition when it is often assimilated to simple geometrical one) appears as a mere form to many when it is a moving sign, a signal, and also a living reality, that has, again, such a strong importance, but still needs to be interpreted.

Rome, July 2002<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> BERQUE A (2000), *Ecumène. Introduction à l'étude des milieux humains*, Paris : Belin.

<sup>25</sup> See RYKWERT J (1976), *The Idea Of A Town*, London: MIT Press.

<sup>26</sup> My sheerful thanks to my dear Lesley Brown, who kindly and patiently read this paper in order to make my english smoother.

## EARLY PLANNING HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Carroll Brentano  
University of California, Berkeley

Center for Studies in Higher Education  
South Hall Annex  
University of California  
Berkeley, CA 94720-4650

### ABSTRACT

When the new location for the college that was to become the University of California was chosen in 1857, one could look from any point on its westward sloping site out through the Golden Gate into the Pacific Ocean. There were no buildings and almost no vegetation to impede this spectacular view. But the first campus planner complained of the terrain: "It is an accursed country with no trees and no turf and it's a hard job to make sure of any beauty . . ." The planner was Frederick Law Olmsted, whose recent winning design for New York's Central Park, was influenced by the parks and precursors of garden cities he had recently seen in Britain. Now, for the new college he proposed to use a similar model, the first planned garden suburb in the United States; he "proposed to lay out [the ground] on the Llewellyn plan." One of the great ironies is that the university, now known, 150 years later, as the home of radical, activist equalitarianism, should have been originally modeled on this exclusive, restricted, enclave of wealth and class, Llewellyn Park, in Orange, New Jersey.

This paper will illustrate that irony and the others to follow over the long campus planning history of the university where Olmsted's sylvan ideal was superseded in 1870, under the reign of the first Board of Regents, practical men all, by a plan for fashionable grandeur. A new plan embodying a return to unstructured rural serenity followed. Finally, in 1900, after a French Beaux Arts practitioner won the international competition for a full university plan, the symmetrically arranged granite and marble edifices mimicking Chicago's Columbian Exposition, went up one by one over the next thirty years. Only a few isolated and minor buildings here and there along winding paths exist today to illustrate what had become in the surrounding town of Berkeley and the outlying Bay Region the thematic "building with nature."

## EARLY PLANNING HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Carroll Brentano

In the year 1857 the clouds of the approaching Civil War were gathering across the United States as Senator Justin Morrill of Maine was proposing for the first time a law to give Federal land grants to the states for the support of public universities. Also in that year two city planning competitions were being held which would have almost unlimited influence on the future of cities

around the world. One was the competition for that apogee of urban monumentalism, the “Ring” in Vienna (including new buildings for the university), and the other, equally influential, Central Park in New York City.

In Oakland, California, a decade after the huge influx of population caused by the 1849 Gold Rush, a small band of easterners, members of the Congregational church and mostly graduates of Yale, were struggling to establish a liberal arts college. These men of the nascent College of California, were seeking advice on the choice of a site for their college from Horace Bushnell a very famous clergyman from Hartford, Connecticut, (incidentally, a founder of one of the very first public city parks in the country). Bushnell set out on horseback in the winter of 1856-57 to search for a place with the prerequisites of “conspicuousness of position, beauty of prospect,” and a good water supply (Bushnell 1880).

He found such a place, in the Napa valley, but it became unavailable, and another site, meeting all the requirements, was found and slowly purchased, a few miles from the Oakland College. The new site, a cow pasture on a steep east-west hillside, was described as providing “copious streams [that] descend from ravines in the mountains, and long lines of majestic trees stand like sentinels on the banks . . . .In full view toward the ocean . . . the Golden Gate lies lapped in the glorious light that gave it its prophetic name” (Willey 1887 p.251).

The College’s land amounted to 124 acres by 1863 when the United States Congress passed Senator Morrill’s legislation, so that California would soon possess 150,000 acres of federal land to sell for the benefit of higher education. While the state was considering where and how to found the practical Colleges of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts which seemed to be called for by the new Morrill Act, the College of California made the decision to form a Homestead Association. More land around the college site was purchased, and, as stated by Reverend Samuel Willey, the college’s acting president and chief money-raiser, the land to be offered as lots of “suitable size for elegant country residences” and “to the right kind of population” (Willey 1865 p.22).

Willey recalled years later that the idea of financing purchases of enough land to ensure water rights for the college by selling lots occurred to him in a ride into the open country west of



San Francisco where such a homestead scheme was being tried out. In the same way, the new University of Michigan in 1837 was given forty acres of land so that a land company could advertise the sale of adjacent lots much as Willey did: "everything connected with the institution will doubtless be conducted upon a scale of unparalleled munificence [to] make it the most desirable residence in the Great West, for persons of Literature and refinement" (Bordin 1967). The classic American "college town" was being formed.

However, in the still unnamed settlement on the hillside campus-to-be, plans were being made. By 1864 Frederick Law Olmsted, leaving the superintendency of the Mariposa mines estate and looking for employment, was designing the large Golden Gate Cemetery in nearby Oakland. There he encountered Reverend Willey for whose college property he first suggested suitable trees for planting, and later, a long list of suitable names for his development (Ranney 1990 p.407). Olmsted then sent his surveyor to the college grounds.

The next year, as Olmsted wrote to his partner, Calvert Vaux, with whom he had won the Central Park competition, after riding over the College grounds himself he was discouraged: "It is accursed country, with no trees and no turf, and its a hard job to make sure of any beauty" (Ranney 1990 p.325) To Willey his appraisal was more tactful: "I can think of nothing to which the imagination turns with more eagerness in the bleak and open scenery . . . of California, than to memories of shady old lanes running through a close and overarching bowery of foliage, and such an ideal should be fixed before whoever is placed in charge of your improvements" (Ranney 1990 p.461).

Olmsted suggested that the college's two buildings, one for the libraries, records and scientific collections and the other for assemblies, classrooms, and faculty offices, both be placed on a terrace facing west, or on a lower site "less commanding and dignified, but more secluded and protected and in this respect more consistent with the idea of scholarship" (Ranney 1990 p.399). For the students neither barracks nor boarding houses were recommended, but large domestic houses with "respectably furnished drawing rooms" (Ranney 1990 p.568).

In this same letter Olmsted told Vaux that he would lay out the new college "on the Llewellyn plan." He was referring to the first "Villa Park" or "Romantic Suburb" in America,

Llewellyn Park, in the Orange Mountains of northern New Jersey. Founded in 1857 by Llewellyn Haskell, a wealthy believer in the benefits of living close to nature, collaborating with the apostle of the gothic cottage, Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-1892), the two created a “garden suburb” with each residence, including their own, set among winding drives, water courses, natural and imported trees, and plants and flowers, broken here and there by bare rocky areas allowing clear views of the twelve-mile-distant workaday world of New York. The resident “can here meet, almost as it were by enchantment, the calm quiet of the primeval forest” (Wilson 1979). The quiet for the fatigued businessman in Llewellyn Park – the quiet for the musing scholar on the College campus.

Llewellyn Park suggested to Olmsted two innovations in the design of suburbs: the curvilinear road and the unimproved natural open space at the center. At both Llewellyn Park and New York’s Central Park, that area was called the Ramble; on the College site it was a reasonably flat and treeless area, the “park,” that Olmsted saw as the link between the village residents and the College campus -- in what had now become “Berkeley,” named after the bishop-poet who had written “Westward the course of empire takes its way.”

What was surely in Olmsted’s mind as he walked and rode up and down the barren hillside were the impressions of the English countryside he had gathered during a five month walking tour he and his brother and a friend had taken through England in 1850. In his book, *Walks and Talks of an American Farmer in England*, first published in 1852, amid the descriptions of the drainage problems of British soils and the criticisms of British social policy concerning agricultural laborers, Olmsted was unfailingly struck by the special quality of English scenery. “The chief peculiarity of the English landscape is found in the frequent long, graceful lines of deep green hedges and hedge-row timber, crossing hill, valley, and plain in every direction; and in the occasional large trees, dotting the broad fields either singly or in small groups, left to their natural open growth . . . and more beautiful, much more beautiful, than we allow our trees to make themselves” (Olmsted 1967 pp.228, 226) A good picture of the “overarching bowery of foliage” he later held up to Samuel Willey as a perfect accompaniment to the College Neighborhood’s design, was encountered over and over on his English trip.

It has been observed, more than once, that one of the predecessors of Llewellyn Park, although not a “villa park” but a public one, was Liverpool’s Birkenhead Park of 1842. Olmsted visited it on the second day of his English tour when he walked through a gate “into a thick, luxuriant, and diversified garden. Five minutes of admiration, and a few more spent in studying the manner in which art had been employed to obtain from nature so much beauty, and I was ready to admit that in democratic America there was nothing to be thought of as comparable with this People’s Garden” (Olmsted 1967 p.52). This appreciation in 1850 was to be central to his passion for the creating of New York’s own people’s park, and undoubtedly played a part in his campus designs.

Olmsted’s final plan and report for the College of California were sent to Willey from New York – Olmsted having taken up again his position at Central Park – on June 29, 1866 (Ranney 1990 p.546-570). A large and detailed plan of the grounds seems to have disappeared, a smaller sketch, many times reproduced, remains (Ranney 1990 pp.562-563) A lengthy report, subsequently published and presumably ready for distribution to prospective homebuyers, gives Olmsted’s careful and detailed consideration of the choices offered to the College trustees for the ordering of their property and buildings. Across the essentially bare, but undulating terrain, marked by the two, north and south, branches of a creek whose banks bore the only green outcroppings, he created areas for the college, and, for the residents of the College Homestead, lots that would be, as he had admiringly observed at Birkenhead, sold to those who desired to share the amenities of the park.

Two years after receiving Olmsted’s report, the reverend Willey and his impoverished College gave up their property, with the report and plan, to a new entity: the University of California, created by an act of the state legislature on March 23, 1868. A university would fulfill the requirements of the Morrill act for agricultural and mechanical instruction and the superceded College of California would contribute its liberal arts faculty and handful of students. Willey was not one of the fourteen (later twenty-two) new university regents, nor did he have any part in the legislation, the “Organic Act,” that stated:



The Regents shall devise, and with the funds appropriated for that purpose cause to be constructed, such buildings as shall be needed for the immediate use of the University. . . . Such a plan shall be adopted as shall set aside separate buildings for separate uses and yet group all such buildings upon a general plan, so that a larger and central building hereafter erected may bring the whole into harmony as parts of one design (State of California 1868).

Olmsted had advised nothing of this sort, but what the Organic Act had in mind and what for the next five years the unpracticed and uncertain regents tried to carry out, with the adoption of first one, and then another plan by local architects, was similar to the plan adopted in those days across America – one large building (still existing on many campuses as “Old Main”) flanked by two smaller ones. These latter were built, not without financial and political unpleasantness, by 1873 on the Berkeley campus and one, South Hall, rather incongruously, is still there. It is built of brick and was originally flanked by “North Hall” constructed of less permanent, and cheaper, wood. These materials, and their cost, mirror the intended uses of the two buildings -- North Hall was for arts and sciences, South Hall was the College of Agriculture -- still with the symbolic wheat sheaves and fruit swags on relief panels around the exterior.

One of the infant university’s first faculty appointments was the professor of agriculture, Ezra Carr, who made trouble for the new regents by siding with the Grangers, an 1870s political force, who claimed the Morrill Act legitimated their demand for the precedence of agricultural studies over the liberal arts (Scheuring 1995). The Grangers succeeding to a short-lived electoral majority in California, forcing a legislative attack on the university. Carr was fired by the president, Daniel Coit Gilman, and then elected State Superintendent of Education (which made him an ex-officio regent of the university), while Gilman became so disgusted with the whole affair that he resigned and went off to become the founding president of the Johns Hopkins University, 1875. Meanwhile a great deal of the campus land was given over to horticulture and experimental crops.

All this, of course, after Olmsted had returned to New York, Central Park, and the planning of Riverside, his most famous residential project. Promoting this Chicago suburb in 1868, he stressed the same qualities of suburban life: “the most attractive, the most refined, and the most soundly wholesome forms of domestic life, and the best application of the arts of civilization to which mankind has yet attained” as he had used in his Berkeley report. Olmsted was of course not alone in citing “refined domestic life,” even “civilization,” to sell suburban real estate, not then and not since, but the other, more tangible, qualities, of the suburb: “purity of air, umbrageousness, facilities for quiet out-of-door recreation and distance from the jar, noise, confusion, and bustle of commercial thoroughfares” (Schuyler and Censer 1992). were all perfectly applicable to the scholarly life.

The interlude between the demise of the College of California and the presidency of the first real academic, Daniel Coit Gilman, in 1873-75, was marked by several attempts by the regents, amateurs in the art of university building, and with no sure source of revenue, at acquiring a plan for their much-lauded acreage. But their goals were impressive:

[The university] is to be set forth, at the beginning, in dignity and power equal to the munificence that founded it, [and] whether we consider it as an edifice of wood and stone, or an internal organism of intellectual life, it is of the greatest importance that its foundation should not be merely a future promise, but a result and attainment at the beginning (Regents, Organization 1868 p.6).

They must begin immediately to build. After prolonged discussion of the number of structures needed—one, two, or three--whether in wood or stone, whether or not to even stay in Berkeley, the regents made in October 1868 one clear move: they held an architectural competition (Regents, Buildings 1868). The winning firm, after two attempts to please the regents, was dismissed because their price was too high. Their plan, and the less expensive one adopted a year later were very much in accord with the prevailing styles of the post-war period across America—a symmetrical grouping of buildings with the largest, most impressive one in the

middle, surmounted by a central tower. The aim was to make the statement of stability and permanence.

By 1871 the first building following the second of these plans was begun, abandoned for lack of funds, involved in a patronage scandal, but finished, with its companion, in 1873. And in April of that year, a twenty-seven year old self-trained surveyor/civil engineer, William Hammond Hall, wrote to the regents offering to plan their campus (Watson 1996 p.14). His services would be free, a very appealing offer, quickly accepted. Hall, on the strength of his admiration for Frederick Law Olmsted's park designs, including one for Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, where Hall had just been made superintendent, began a correspondence (Watson 1996 pp.10, 30-33) with the older landscape architect in 1871, first requesting a list of books to which Olmsted replied with among others, all of Loudon's works, Uvedale Price, Repton, Steuart, and Hughes (Schuyler and Censer 1992 pp.468-469).

The university plan presented to the regents by Hall in 1874 (recently brought to light and published by Kent Watson), was explained by its author:

The College of California was a private corporation, which contemplated the establishment of a modest institution, chiefly of a classical and literary nature. Two buildings, at most, were to be erected. . . . Subsequently, the land was deeded to the State, upon condition that on it should be established a University, and that the entire site should be occupied for such purpose. . . . I have found it necessary, therefore, to make a renewed study of the subject; substituting for the idea of a rural town, the conception of an educational park, capable of being made complete in the requisite details of agricultural, horticultural, and general scientific study, so far as nature will permit the development of such elements (Watson 1996 pp.41-42).

Although Olmsted was gone, and by the regents, forgotten, Hall needed him not only for advice on the landscape projects, but also as an ally in the struggle against Professor Carr and

his agricultural supporters: “These people would have the University turned into a labor school, and its ground devoted to turnip, gooseberry and cabbage experimental rows” (Watson 1996 p.31). The professor’s wife “who affects landscape gardening” had denounced his terraces. The Carrs had demanded a prominent position for the farm director’s house (Watson 1996 p.27)—presumably to be their own. (The place denoted on Hall’s plan for the farmer’s house was occupied later by the house of the university president.)

The “educational park” of Hall’s design follows the Olmsted philosophy if not the exact plan. Hall laid out the drives and roads following the topography of the site and then located the buildings in the same way. In his final letter to the regents, Hall sets out his requisites: “That the building sites which nature has provided be preserved . . . and set aside for the most appropriate occupation. That the general development of the grounds be such as will . . . enhance the natural beauty of the site . . . And that economy of construction and maintenance be closely adhered to and planned for.” (Watson 1996 p.43).

Hall’s work for the University of California ended here, Carr was fired, Gilman left, an era of short-lived presidencies lasted for the next twenty-five years and during them various buildings in various styles--some given by wealthy donors--a library (with tower), a gymnasium, engineering and science classrooms, seven cottages for students, all went up more or less where Hall had indicated. Trees were planted and athletic fields laid out. It was the era, the end of the nineteenth century, when American campuses were growing by accretion. That what Olmsted had hoped for and described as a “free liberal picturesque” plan, gave the impression of higgledy-piggledy, was hard to deny. A former student complained of the buildings “there is no comprehensive plan among them; they are even of unpleasantly differing shades of brick” (Stadtman 1970).

Another former student was now a successful, San Francisco lawyer. Jacob Reinstein, one of the twelve members of the first university graduating class of 1873, and fiercely loyal to the university. was himself by 1885 a regent and member of its Buildings and Grounds Committee. In that capacity, he prevailed upon the city of Berkeley to refrain from blocking the view of the campus from the train station, suggested creation of a monumental western entrance, better roadways and electrical lighting for the campus, and offered to provide the campus with 100 iron

benches. By 1896 he had joined with a brilliant, if unconventional, young architect, Bernard Maybeck, to present a plan for an architectural competition for a complete redesign of the university.

At the same time the rise of Stanford University across the bay, and the clear indication that the legislature would respond with much needed funding to such rhetoric as: “plan here an adequate and fitting home for the culture of California” encouraged the effort. When Reinstein made his proposal to the full Board of Regents in April 1896 (Jones 1901 p.223) for “a permanent and comprehensive plan for improving the grounds and for erecting a harmonious scheme of buildings,” he warned them that as the number of students was increasing rapidly, new buildings would have to be provided; without a plan these buildings would only add to the inharmonious status quo. Reinstein’s idea, formed in partnership with architect Maybeck, to whom he gave all credit for the idea, was to hold first, an open and international competition, and a second for the restricted number chosen in the first.

Phoebe Hearst, heiress of the Comstock Lode mining fortune, joined whole-heartedly when Reinstein called upon her in October 1896. She wrote: “I would . . . suggest that I be permitted to contribute the funds necessary to obtain, by international competition, plans for the fitting architectural improvement of the University grounds at Berkeley, and I desire to say that the success of this enterprise shall not be hampered in any way by a money consideration. I have only one wish in this matter—that the plans adopted should be worthy of the great University whose material home they are to provide for, that they should harmonize with, and even enhance, the site whereon this home is to be built . . .” (Jones 1901 p.229)

The Competition began in the fall of 1897 with the distribution of 6000 copies of the prospectus published in French, German, and English; it informed competitors:

The purpose is to secure a plan to which all the buildings that may be needed by the University in its future growth, shall conform. All the building that have been constructed up to the present time are to be ignored, and the grounds

are to be treated as a blank space, to be filled with a single beautiful and harmonious picture, as a painter fills in his canvas (Jones 1901 p.233).

The Phoebe A. Hearst International Competition, as it was now called, was very well organized and run; Maybeck, a Beaux Arts graduate, knew Paris and the French establishment, Reinstein was a tireless go-between and orator and used Mrs. Hearst's money lavishly but to good effect. The jury of distinguished architects (Norman Shaw from England, later replaced by John Belcher) chose eleven winners from the 104 entries at a grand affair in Antwerp in 1898, with a final contest in 1899 in San Francisco where a prominent French architect Emile Benard took first place. The eleven finalists' schemes were publicly displayed, for 60,000 visitors, and described by one undergraduate student: "the eleven schemes presented seem—and really are—idealized cities of learning of stupendous proportions" (Brehm 1900 p.19).

Benard's winning design, "Roma" could indeed be said to have "stupendous proportions" it covered the entire campus, provided a building for every known discipline (Brehm 1900 p.21), and arranged them with French precision. The plan was pure Beaux Arts, as were all the other winners. The style, and the grandiosity were very much to be expected in the decade following the 1892 Columbian Exposition, when all America had fallen in love with the Chicago White City—and where the Berkeley competition's chief instigator, Bernard Maybeck, had worked and had been enthralled.

For the California campus, this was the end of the road from the barren cow pasture of 1864 to a "blank space" to be filled in by the winning architect. A fourth-place winner, Beaux Arts trained John Galen Howard, took over the Benard plan and office of campus architect after 1900, and for the next twenty-eight years one white stone building after another went up following, more-or-less, the 1899 plan (Partridge 1988). The university got the money from the legislature and gained worldwide fame, which it has never lost.

From, as Hall said, Olmsted's rural village, to his own educational park, through the attempt to make the campus into an agricultural experiment station, to the city of learning, was probably inevitable as the state of California grew beyond expectation in wealth and population

and as science and technology took up the lion's share of higher education. But there are some today who read wistfully of Olmsted's preference for the "overarching bowery of foliage."

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## Migration Pattern in the Seoul Metropolitan Area in Korea in the 1990s

Yim, Chang-Ho

*School of Civil, Urban and Geo-Systems Engineering,  
College of Engineering, Seoul National University, Korea  
E-mail Address: chyim@gong.snu.ac.kr*

Lee, Chang-Moo

*School of Civil, Urban and Geo-Systems Engineering,  
College of Engineering, Seoul National University, Korea  
E-mail Address: changmoo@gong.snu.ac.kr*

Sohn, Jung-rak

*School of Civil, Urban and Geo-Systems Engineering,  
College of Engineering, Seoul National University, Korea  
E-mail Address: urbang@orgio.net*

### Abstract

Seoul has been expanding continuously for the last four decades. However, the expansions that occurred in each period had their own distinctive pattern: concentration in the Seoul region in the 1960s; polarization reversal in the 1970s; containment policies and increasing development pressure in the 1980s; and massive suburban residential developments in the 1990s. Especially, the recent massive housing supply in the suburban housing market reframes the residential preferences and choices of the residents in the region. This study examines the migration characteristics of the residents in the Seoul Metropolitan Area during the 1990s based on the survey conducted on the residents in the 13 sample areas in the suburban locations of the SMA. The results showed that people still had the tendency to move along the sector looking for new residences in the nearby areas. Also, the sprawled and small-scale residential development areas showed very high residential instability. In terms of target areas for the future move, Bundang (one of the existing new town near Seoul) and Pangyo (expected new town) areas stood out.

**Keywords:** Residential Migration, Migration Pattern, Spatial characteristic of migration, Reason of Migration, Residential Stability

## **Introduction**

In the 1960s, we observed unprecedented population growth in the city of Seoul. The main part of the population growth was the population influx from the rural parts in Korea. People moved to the city of Seoul seeking for job and other economic opportunities. In the 1970s, however, the influx into the city slowed down and the entire Seoul Metropolitan Area (SMA) experienced a polarization reversal, in which the growth of the fringe localities outweighed that of their main city, Seoul (Hwang 1984). At the same time, the inner areas in the city of Seoul were mostly built up and the pressure for development spread throughout the administrative boundary of Seoul (Lee 1994).

However, the Korean government tried to contain the developments within Seoul with a strong greenbelt policy. The growing demand for more housing and developments in the SMA was ignored. As a result of this policy, the SMA suffered from a severe shortage in housing space, and the prices of houses began to soar accompanying severe speculation to housing, which became a political burden to the regime in the late 1980s. As a breakthrough, the government initiated the "Two Million Home Construction Plan". In the early 1990s, five large-scale new towns, including Bundang, Ilsan, Pyeongchon, Sanbon, and Joongdong, were constructed by this plan where about 300-thousand housing units were developed. A bunch of locally driven and also massive residential developments in other areas in the SMA followed. As a result, the housing market in the SMA in the 1990s experienced substantial changes and this massive new housing supply can be said to be a shock enough to reframe the residential preferences and choices of the residents in the SMA.

This study examines the migration patterns in the SMA, induced by the astonishing changes in the housing market in the 1990s. We surveyed the migration patterns of the residents with their socioeconomic characteristics in 13 areas around the city of Seoul including newly developed and old areas. In this survey, a total of 530 residents in those areas were questioned about their former residences and on the reasons for moving to the current residences as well as their intention for moving in future. In this study, the main concerns are on the people who moved, how they moved and why they moved in the 1990s' migration process in the SMA. Furthermore, the overall migration patterns in the 1990s around the city of Seoul are compared with the migration characteristics in the earlier time periods.

## **Earlier Studies on Migration Patterns in Seoul**

Several studies have been conducted to analyze the migration patterns in the city of Seoul or the SMA (Choi & Lee 1984, Yoo 1987, Kim 1989, Lee 1999). These studies provide valuable information on the migration characteristics in the earlier time periods in Seoul. Although their

studies cannot be compared in a perfectly parallel way, their findings can be summarized into three categories: that is, who moved; why they moved, and what the spatial features of their moves are.

Table 1 Provisions in Existing studies

<i>Authors</i>	<i>Major migration groups</i>	<i>Main reasons for migration</i>	<i>Spatial feature of migration</i>
Choi & Lee (1984)	20's or 30's, Blue-collars Low income/education level White collars		
Yoo (1987)	20's or 30's, Mid-incomes High education level White collars/Professionals	Affordable house Fine environment Transportation	Average distance of migration: 11.4km Average migration ratio within a sector: 53.2%
Kim (1989)	30's, Mid-income level White collars/Professionals	Close work place Fine environment Own house	
Lee (1999)		House properties Close work place Fine environment	

All the three studies in the 1980s show that young family was the major age group of migration. The young family usually has low priority for traffic cost than old family and possesses potentially higher mobility with less family members. In terms of occupation, white collars and professionals were frequent migration groups (Yoo 1987; Kim 1989). Also, the main reasons for migration including seeking better residents, closeness to work place, and environmental amenities, though each study showed a little difference in the order of priority. Regarding the spatial pattern of migration, Yoo(1987) reports migration tendency along a sector in the SMA .

## Survey

The massive housing supply and the resulting reconfiguration of the housing market in the SMA in the 1990s need to be comprehensively studied in order to understand its various effects. As a piece of the comprehensive studies, we performed the survey on migration characteristics of the residents in suburban locations in the SMA.

To analyze the migration pattern in the SMA, 13 areas around the city of Seoul were

selected to understand the various types of suburban residential areas in the SMA. Selected areas consisted of three new towns (Bundang, Ilsan, and Joongdong), four large-scale residential development sites (Koyang, Kwangmyung, Suji 1, and Hanam), three old city areas (Kimpo, Eujeongbu, and Anyang), and three sprawled and small-scale residential development sites (Mohyun, Suji 2, and Kiheung). Except for the three old city areas, the other three types of surveyed areas were mostly built in the 1990s.

The new towns were planned to solve the severe shortage in housing in Seoul and the neighboring areas and were developed by government from late 1980s to early 1990s. The districts for housing site were also designed by the government in the mid-1990s to increase supply of housing units in the Seoul metropolitan area. The old cities were already developed before 1990, but they are still carrying out minor housing development projects. The sprawled areas were actively developed in small scale in the late 1990s with only limited regulation. It is said that these areas were poorly constructed so that they are currently suffering from lack of basic facilities as well destruction of natural environment.

Table 2 Surveyed regions

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Dist. from Seoul</i>	<i>Note</i>
Bundang	23.5	New town
Ilsan	23.5	New town
Joongdong	20.5	New town
Koyang Hwajung	9.5	District for housing site development
Kwangmyung Haan	14.5	District for housing site development
Yongin suji 1	24	District for housing site development
Hanam sinjang	20	District for housing site development
Eujeongbu	20	Old city
Anyang hogye	21	Old city
Kimpo gochon	19	Old city
Yongin Mohyun	33	Etc
Yongin suji 2	24	Etc
Yongin kiheung	35.2	Etc

In terms of their locations, most of the study areas are located around 20km from the center of Seoul, except for the small scale residential development sites. Specifically, the surveyed new towns are located a little over 20km from the center of Seoul whereas the large-scale residential development sites with the exception of Yongin Suji 1(24 km) are located a bit closer to Seoul. The old city areas are also located around 20 km from Seoul. However, the three small scale residential areas are located a bit farther from Seoul (24-35 km) and they form the isolated

residential areas. Especially, Yongin Mohyeon is a single-family detached housing site (so called, garden houses in the market).

The survey was carried out around October and November of 2000 jointly with Seoul Development Institute and a total of 530 samples were selected to analyze the migration pattern in the above areas. The questionnaires were made up of the former addresses of the residents, reasons for the move to the current residence, plan for future migration as well as their socio-economic background. The selected areas and their properties are summarized in Table 2.

## **Spatial Features of Migration in the 1990s**

The spatial patterns in study areas were analyzed in two steps. At first, their prior residential locations were analyzed to draw the main flow of migration in Seoul Metropolitan Area in the 1990s. Next, the portion of sectorial movement in each region was calculated as it is an important characteristic in migration.

### **1. Prior Residential Locations**

By examining the former addresses of the surveyed residents in the study areas, we could trace their migration routes. Each section of the study areas showed different migration patterns. First of all, for the new towns built by the "Two Million Home Construction Plan," most of the residents in Bundang and Ilsan came from the city of Seoul (Bundang: 96%; Ilsan: 72%). However, for Joongdong, the main body of residents (48%) came from Bucheon, a nearby locality. The Joongdong new town was built near the established locality located in the conurbation area between the two major cities, Seoul and Incheon. On the other hand, Bundang and Ilsan were sited at a relatively undeveloped portion of the SMA. This locational difference may be said to induce the difference in the portions of immigrants from the city of Seoul, in spite that Bucheon is a little closer to Seoul. Bundang attracted majority of the residents from the nearby southeastern section of Seoul (56% of all the residents), while Ilsan did from all over Seoul.

Second, for the secondary large-scale residential developments (Koyang Hwajeong, Kwangmyeong Haan, Suji I, and Hanam Sinjang), we could only observe a relatively weaker influx from Seoul compared with the cases of the three new towns. In the case of Koyang Hwajeong, the main portion of the immigrants (36%) came from Koyang, a nearby locality. For Kwangmyeong Haan, a majority of the residents came from the city of Kwangmyeong (63%). For the other developments, we could observe a similar tendency. This trend could also be observed at the old city (Eujeongbu, Kimpo, Anyang), which drew people mainly from the city itself—respectively 65%, 65%, 50%.



Table 3 Average distance, Sectorial moves and families from Seoul

don't understand!). This spatial-biased structure usually develops when people's cognition for a region is confined within some specific part. Because people usually migrate within their spatial range of cognition, they tend to move along a sector rather than across it. In the earlier study adopting sector in analyzing the spatial characteristic of the neighboring areas of Seoul, Yoo(1987) concluded that migrants usually moved along each delineated sector and high portion of sectorial migration was accompanied by rather short average distance in migration. The recent massive residential developments in the SMA may have significant impacts on the existing residential preferences and choices. This section analyzes whether the spatial bias still exists in the Seoul Metropolitan Area, which were reported in the earlier studies (Yoo 1987).

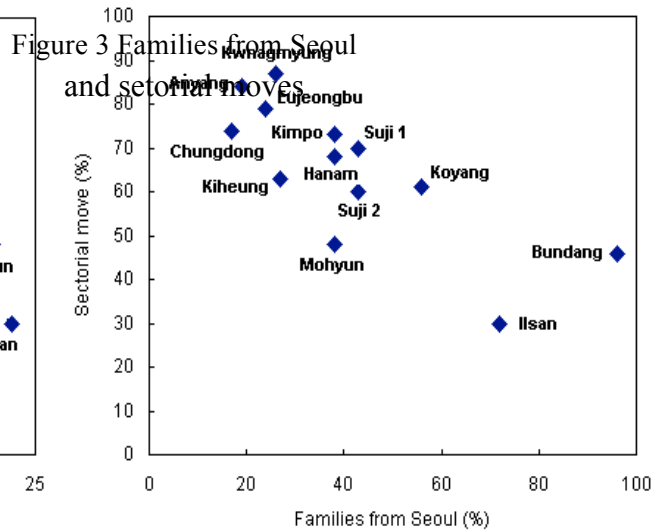
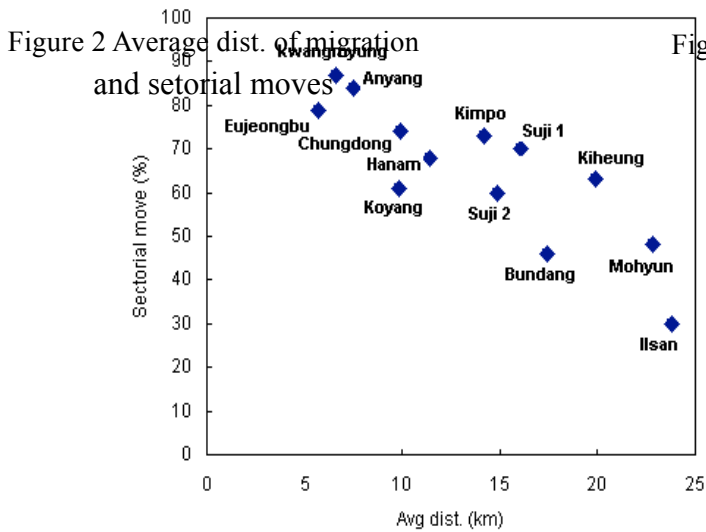
For each study area, 30-degree sector, of which the center line was the connecting line between the centers of Seoul and of each study area, is drawn. This designation differentiates the whole migrations into two types of migrations -- within the sector and from outside of the sector. The percentage for the two types of migrations and migration from Seoul are given in Table 3. In addition, the average moving distance was calculated for each study area.

Overall, the percentage of sectorial migration in the 1990s was 67% and the average moving distance was 13.95km. Also, migrations from Seoul consisted of 41% of the whole migrations.

This means that spatial bias still exists in migration in the Seoul Metropolitan Area. Also, these results considerably differ from those of the previous study in the late 1980s (Yoo 1987). Yoo's study reports that the average moving distance was 11.4km and the portion of sectorial migrations was 53.2%. These temporal differences over 10 years indicate that the tendency of sectorial movement along the direction of growth and traffic axis became stronger, while people's impedance against distance for moving got weaker.

The portion of migrants within each sector was found to be related to the other items-average distance of migration and the portion of the families from Seoul - as shown below in Figures 2 and 3 to elaborate the

<i>Regions</i>	<i>Avg dist. of migration (km)</i>	<i>Within a sector (%)</i>	<i>Families from Seoul (%)</i>
Bundang	17.4	46	96
Ilsan	23.8	30	72
Joongdong	9.9	74	17
Koyang	9.8	61	56
Kwangmyung	6.6	87	26
Suji 1	16.1	70	43
Hanam	11.4	68	38
Eujeongbu	5.7	79	24
Anyang	7.5	84	19
Kimpo	14.2	73	38
Mohyun	22.8	48	38
Suji 2	14.9	60	43
Kiheung	19.9	63	27
Average	13.95	67	41



meaning of 'sector' and also to classify the study regions by their spatial migration pattern. The figures show that high portion of sector-oriented movement results in low portion of movers from Seoul and short average distance of movement. This relation implies that high portion of migration along sector in a region represents that residents in that region is more likely to come there from near neighboring areas rather than far area, namely Seoul.

Therefore, two kinds of regions such as neighbor-attracting region and Seoul-suburban region can be clarified according to the number of people who have moved along a sector. With this, Kwanmyung, Anyang and Eujeongbu shall be said to belong to the former while Bundang and Ilsan to the latter. And the Yongin regions (Suji 1, Suji 2, Mohyun), which have been actively developed since the middle of the 90s, and Koyang, with their relatively high portion of sectorial movement can be said to be part of the latter case.

## Reasons for Residential Location Choice in the 1990s

In the earlier studies, priority over choice of residential location in the Seoul Metropolitan area was not clear. In this section, we will find out what are the main factors that made living in the Seoul metropolitan area in the 1990s.

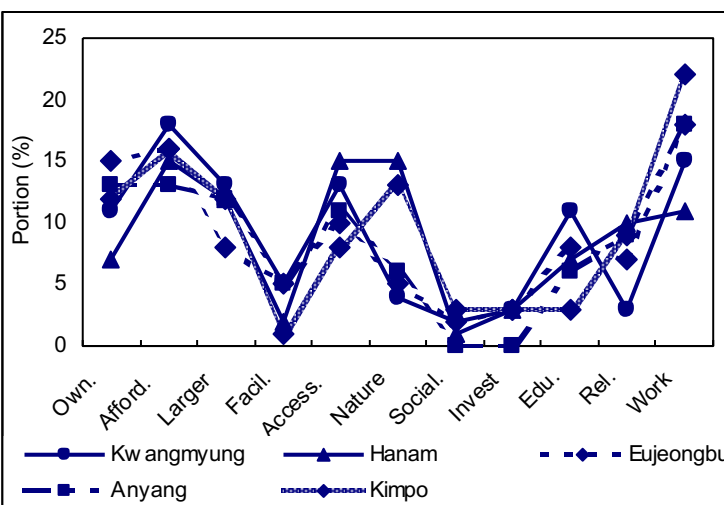
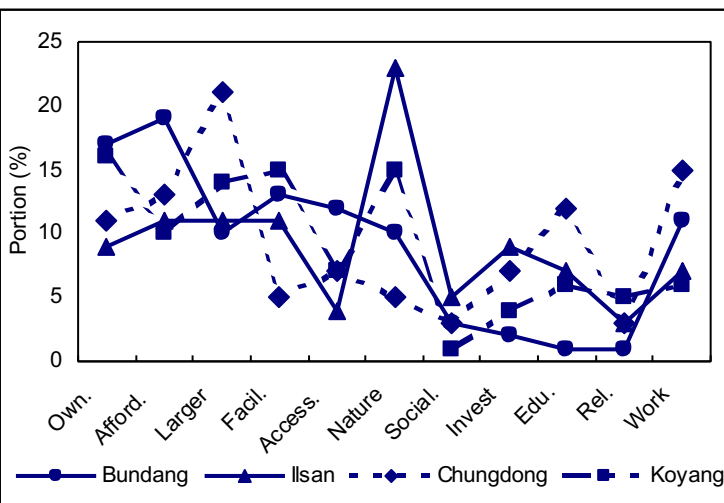
### 1. Reasons by Study Area.

To analyze the reasons for their residential choice, we asked the residents why they chose the current residences. For their choice, four categories<sup>1</sup> of reasons were provided for selection. The selection items are follows:



- (a) Housing related: People who moved mainly for better housing condition belongs to this. It includes owning a house, living in larger houses and purchasing more affordable house
- (b) Environmental amenity related: Convenient facilities, fine natural environment, better traffic condition belongs to this.
- (c) Region related: when a region is considered to be high-class in social aspect or has probability to come up in value, people can be moved in.
- (d) Others: Closeness to work place, Closeness to relatives or better education for kids are good reasons to move in.

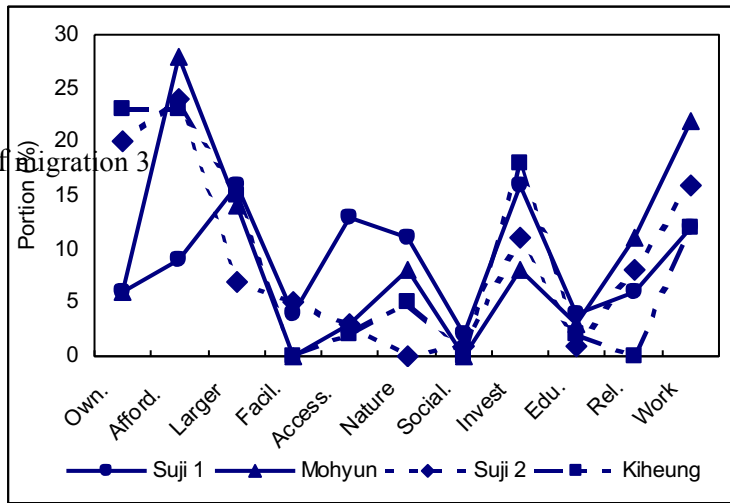
Relative importance of the reasons for their residential choices are shown in Figures 4, 5 and 6 respectively for each region. As mentioned earlier in the existing studies conducted on the



of environment-related reasons (esp. good natural environment) increased noticeably and that the relative portions of the reasons vary much according to the region that they represent.

Specifically, residents in Bundang stated that the main reasons for their residential choice in the following order: affordability (19%), larger home (17%), and convenient facilities (13%). However, the residents in Ilsan and Koyang were found to appreciate good natural environment (23%, 15%, respectively) with a pretty high portion of the three house-related reasons (each 31%, 40%) most. On the contrary, Joongdong residents put more importance on larger

Figure 6 Reason of Migration



homes(21%) and least emphasis on the environment-related reasons, such as convenient facilities (5%), accessibility(7%) and good natural environment(5%)..

Study areas in Figure 5 (Kwangmyung, Hanam, Eujeongbu, Anyang, Kimpo) has similar pattern in the reasons. The residents in this group put emphasis on house-

related reasons (34% to 42%). The residents in this group of areas reveal the least importance on convenient facilities (1% to 5%) and good natural environment (4% to 15%). Additionally, closeness to work place appear to be one of the main reasons for residential choice (11% to 22%).

Study areas in Figure 6 (Suji 1, Mohyun, Suji 2, Kiheung) except Suji 1, had high portion of house related (respectively, 48%, 51%, 61%) and low portion of environment related (11%, 8%, 7%, respectively). One special feature in this group is that investment priority was considered more than in the other areas (8% to 18%).

## 2. Clustering Analysis on Reasons for Residential Choice

The relative portions of the reasons in each region seem to feature some patterns as shown in the figures above, and it is likely to be roughly classified by the type of development of the regions.

To clarify the differences between the impacts of the different development types on people’s residential choice, we performed a clustering analysis on the overall pattern in which the reasons in a region were distributed. The results show that there could be three groups of residential areas for the reasons of residential choice. The first group comprises of Bundang, Ilsan, and Koyang. Two of the three survey new towns and a large-scale residential development site near Ilsan new town categorized in this group. Group I exhibits a relatively high portion of housing and environment related reasons.

Table 4 Classification of regions by reason of migration

Name	Relevant regions	Features in reason distribution
Group 1	Bundang, Ilsan, Koyang	High portion of house and environment related.
Group 2	Joongdong, Kwangmyung, Anyang, Eujeongbu,	High portion of house related and closeness of work place, on the other hand lower portion of

	Hanam, Kimpo, Suji 1	environment related that Group 1.
Group 3	Mohyun, Suji 2, Kiheung	Overwhelming portion of house related and work place and relatively low portion of environment related. Much focus on investment priority

Figure 7 Willingness to Move in the Near Future

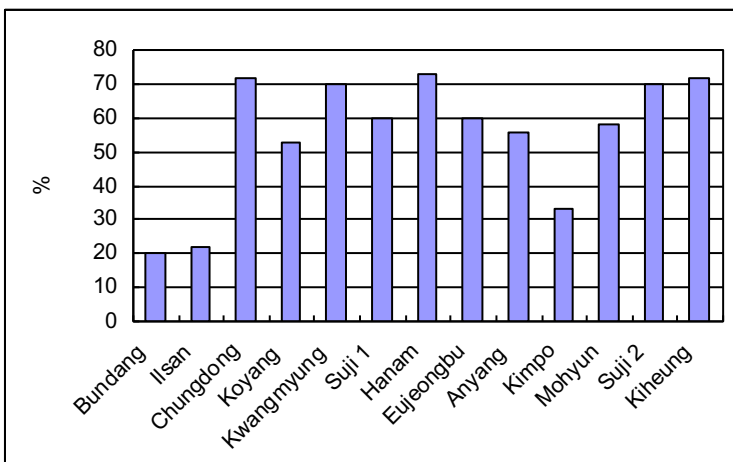
Group II includes Inongdong (one of the three new towns), most of the large-scale development sites, and old city areas. This result indicates that there do not exist significant differences in the reasons for residential choice between the large-scale residential development sites and old city areas. In other words, the large-scale residential developments failed to differentiate themselves in the market from the existing residential areas in the suburban locations. This group exhibits relatively higher portion of house-related reasons and lower portion of environment-related reasons. In a relative sense, accessibility to work place and house properties are the distinctive concerns for residential choice.

Finally, Group III represents exactly the same group of the sprawled and small-scale residential development sites. The residents in Group 3 sites might have poor condition of environment level with major concerns to house and little stress on the environment related reasons. Compared with the other groups, investment priority seems to be a more important reason for their choice.

### Residential Stability

In order to analyze the stability of the current residential choice in the study areas, we asked to the residents in each area whether they were willing to move in the near future and, if they had plans to move, where they would plan to move to, etc. The results exhibit quite a variation by study areas.

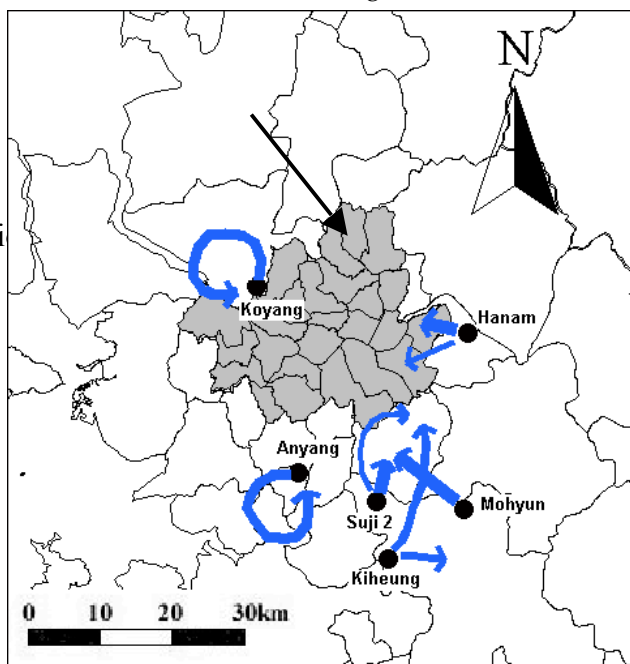
To check out the residential stability of each region, the would-be movers for the next five



years were examined for each region and the results are shown in Figure 7. In Figure 7, Bundang, Ilsan and Kimpo are stable residences with less than 30% of would-be movers, while Koyang, Anyang, Mohyun, Suji 1 and Eujeongbu with 50~60% of would-be movers can be considered as

less stable residences. And, in Kwangmyung, Suji 2, Joongdong, Kiheung, Hanam more than 70% of residents plan to move to other regions in five years. This high probability of migration in some regions may occur when proper conditions for the migration like the increase of income level or more housing supply in other regions are set up.

The expected migrations of the regions of low residential stability (Hanam, Suji 2, Kiheung, Anyang, Koyang, Mohyun) are presented in Figure 8. This pattern shows that most people in Anyang and Koyang wish to move to locations within their boundary. However, the residents in Hanam and in three small-scale residential development sites in the Yongin region (Suji 2, Kiheung, Mohyun) show willingness to move to other regions. Majority of the would-be movers in Hanam are willing to move to the neighboring Seoul areas such as Kangdong-gu(45%) and Songpa-gu(14%).



On the other hand, the would-be movers in Suji 2, Kiheung and Mohyun chose Bundang(40%) and Sungnam city(35%) as their next residential location target. Specifically, in case of Suji 2, the prime choices are Bundang(40%) and Sungnam city (35%); Sungnam(20%) and Yongin city(20%) in Kiheung; and Bundang (39%) in Mohyun.

This pattern of alternative residences for each region has some characteristics when compared to the distribution of the former residences of each region- they overlapped.

This means that the range of alternative residence of a person is highly restricted in certain areas, which results in spatial bias in his migration. Furthermore, the Seoul-oriented migration in Seoul metropolitan area would be outstanding in future family moves, as the figure 8 shows. And for the municipal government in residentially unstable areas, it is necessary to set up adequate policies to tie up their residents.

## Conclusion

There have been massive residential developments and housing supply at various suburban locations in the Seoul Metropolitan Area during the 1990s. This study examined the overall migration pattern induced by the phenomenal changes in the suburban housing market

in this region during the 1990s based on the survey conducted on the residents in the 13 sample areas. These sample areas represent three types of residential developments in the 1990s and the established residential areas at the suburban locations in the Seoul Metropolitan Area.

Our analysis reveals that a large portion of migration was originated from the city of Seoul while a majority of residents came from the nearby areas in the Gyeonggi province. Distinctively, Bundang, one of the five new towns built in the 1990s, drew the most of the residents from the south part of Seoul and the residential developments along the axis between Bundang and Yongin shows a tight connection with Seoul. Overall, the migration pattern in the 1990s reconfirms the old sectorial migration hypothesis even though the average migration distance has increased. Among the sample areas, the two new towns, Bundang and Ilsan, show a notably high residential stability, while the other areas especially the sprawled and small-scale residential development areas show pretty high residential instability. This result indicates that the newly established suburban housing market is not stabilized yet and further residential developments in the other suburban locations could take away the current demand on the sprawled small-scale residential development areas. Bundang-one of the existing new town near Seoul- and Pangyo-expected new town- seem to be two locations that stand out as potential areas for future migration target areas.

The results in this study can provide a useful basis for administration for each municipal government and for deciding the spatial policy for the central government in the Seoul metropolitan area such as development of Pankyo new town. Further consideration, however, should be added on this study for a deeper understanding of how and why people move in this area including regional valuables as well as individual valuables and adjusting the bias in selecting the questionnaires.

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<sup>1</sup> This categories are based on those of Lee (1998).

## **Feng Shui Tradition and Modern Space**

During the modern period, Feng Shui, a principle of organizing space in East Asia declined as Western and modern planning theories were widely adopted. Recently, however, Feng Shui has received renewed attention as an alternative to Western planning for creating environment more in harmony with nature. In reaction, the critics attacked Feng Shui as an irrelevant design guideline for contemporary cities. The debate between Feng Shui supporters and those opposed to its use have focused on the legitimacy of Feng Shui as an applicable science. While many Feng Shui advocates have gone as far as to argue that Feng Shui should be treated as an Asian science equal to Western science, opponents have derided Feng Shui as a pseudo religious superstition of a backward culture. This contentious debate has occurred both in East Asian and in Western academic and professional circles with many of the prominent opponents coming from within the orient. Rather than discussing the specifics of Feng Shui theory, this paper approaches Feng Shui through its historical context and particularly through its transformation during the time of colonization. By examining Feng Shi's continuing practice throughout modern times, we can see its role in shaping modern spatial development in Asia and how modern developed redefined Feng Shui.

This paper compares two historic cases of Feng Shui practice. One is drawn from Hong Kong's rapid urbanization process during mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. The other is Feng Shui's use in Seoul's colonization by the Japanese in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In both cases, there are controversies over Feng Shui between modern regulators and Feng Shui users in the process of spatial transformation. Although the modern state imposed Western policies, the native residents' refusal to abandon their belief in Feng Shui caused

conflicts that required changes in government policy. In the case of Hong Kong, the British took Feng Shui's significance into consideration to maintain a peaceful relationship with the natives. The Japanese colonist, similarly, recognized Feng Shui as a part of Korean culture but with much more hostility. These two colonists' reaction to Feng Shui demonstrates how traditional culture was manipulated by the colonial states and how they successfully concealed the manipulation through of modernity. Feng Shui seen in its colonial context reveals how traditional culture could serve as a political tool for those in power, which today's Feng Shui advocates and opponents must consider.

### **1. What is Feng Shui?**

Feng Shui is a way of designing a good human environment. In Feng Shui, a good environment is a place of vital energy which determines the inhabitants' destiny. A good Feng Shui place can guarantee its occupants' well being and prosperity through the influences of the site's vital energy. The Chinese belief system conceives the world through the interaction of various energies. First by Yin and Yang theory the two contradictory energies of Yin and Yang and their interaction as an essential principle of understanding the world. Yin, the female represented by darkness and wetness is complemented by Yang, the male, represented by light and dryness. Also, the Chinese cosmology offers the Five Element Theory which identifies the five elements and how their combination explains characteristics of individual things and beings.

The Five elements are water, fire, metal, wood, and earth which constantly interact and create a certain type of energy. Feng Shui experts interpret the natural environment through this interaction to find out the energy type. Because the energy



flow can be affected by water, wind, and the orientation of buildings, Shui, Feng Shui experts helped officials and individuals to determine the location of towns, villages, and public buildings as well as the design of gardens, individual homes and their interior spaces. In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, foreign visitors who observed Seoul's flat landscape of single story house which resulted from a Feng Shui prescription to handle fire prone topography. According to Feng Shui, to avoid fires, building heights were regulated (Gijun 1993).

Feng Shui's influence was even greater in burial sites. The custom of ancestor worship in Confucian tradition emphasizes the importance of siting good location for the homes of the dead. The good Feng Shui generated by an ancestors' burial site was regarded as the determinant of a descendants' fortune. Feng Shui experts were frequently consulted by families to divine ideal burial sites for the deceased.

## **2. Two Cases of Feng Shui in Modern Era**

### **2.1. Hong Kong**

In the 1960s, Hong Kong's rapid modernization caused outcries of Feng Shui injury by rural villagers. New town development and the necessary public works such as the new roads, railroads and the creation of reservoirs which followed enraged villagers who feared the disastrous impact on their well being. For the native villagers, the obstruction of Feng Shui was the deprivation of the security that had been guaranteed through the management of the good energy of their place. When the residents of Sheung Kwai Chung, one of the villages affected by the government modernization plan, learned that a salt water reservoir would be created within their community, they saw the Feng

Shui injury caused by the cut of “the vein of the green dragon.” The villagers protested against the plan. In reaction, the District officer and officials of the Public Works Department visited the proposed site and eventually chose a different site so as not to interfere with the village’s Feng Shui (Boxer 1968, 232).

The conflict between villagers and the government over Feng Shui damage was sometimes mitigated by monetary compensation. The Hong Kong New Territory administration set aside compensation money under the category of “Ex Gratia & Disturbance Allowance” and “Grave & Other Compensations” (Freedman 1979). The money was used for direct compensation to villagers whose Feng Shui was ruined by government projects. Also, money was given to pay for Feng Shui rituals. When villagers attempted to ameliorate bad Feng Shui effects, they hired Feng Shui experts to perform the necessary rituals. In 1963-65, When the Hakka village of Ha Kwai Chung, for example, was relocated to a new site due to a major land reclamation project, the government paid for Feng Shui ceremonies that the villagers wanted to ensure the good Feng Shui of their new place (Boxer 1968).

The documentation of Feng Shui conflicts in Hong Kong was an important testimony of culture’s role shaping modern development. Even though the villagers underwent radical change of their environment, they maintained their sense of place by protecting good Feng Shui. The government’s handling of the Feng Shui matter in Hong Kong begs a question as to the meaning of modern space to Hong Kong residents. Modern space is predominantly perceived through the image of placelessness. In the East Asian context, modern cities which were associated with the West were criticized for their lack of regional identity. Had Feng Shui’s persistent practice, however tenuous it

may have been, been considered, these cities have been a meaningful places produced out of the negotiation between modern and traditional ideas. Feng Shui conflicts over modern development in Hong Kong demonstrates how modern space was mediated via tradition.

Feng Shui's role in modernization might be parochial, explaining only a selected area. But the ignorance of Feng Shui is not trivial to the contemporary understanding of human settlement. Hong Kong residents protected themselves through Feng Shui, which in turn helped them to maintain a sense of place and time.

## **2.2. Feng Shui in Modern Korea**

Before the influx of Western and modern ideas, Feng Shui was widely applied to spatial design in Korea. Seoul, the capital of Korea, was established as a good Feng Shui site in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. Not only was the location of the site determined by Feng Shui but also the design of first royal palace complex were made to conform to Feng Shui order.

During the colonial period from 1910 to 1945, the Japanese colonial state introduced modern planning strategies in Korea. Urban development by the Japanese colonial state was propagated as the modernization and enlightenment of Korea. Feng Shui in this circumstance was seen as superstition and a sign of backwardness which barred the nation's modern development.

Specific documented cases of Japanese treatment of Korean Feng Shui during the colonial period are scant. However, orally circulated stories of Japan's manipulation of Feng Shui are abundant. There is a general assertion that Japan deliberately chose the

location of public building sites to ruin the Feng Shui of Korean buildings in order to destroy the Korean nation and culture. The Japanese colonial government house serves as a prime example of Japan's Feng Shui manipulation. This building was built between the front gate and the Kyongbok royal palace. The site of the Kyongbok palace was known as the best Feng Shui site of Seoul as it was chosen by founder King Taejo of the Choson Dynasty as his first palace in 1394. Japan's choice of the site was for Korean Feng Shui believers, a deliberate action to damage Korean Feng Shui and to sap the vital energy of Korea. It is commonly believed among Koreans that the layout of Japanese colonial government house was inscribed with the first syllable of Japan in Chinese characters ( ). In addition, another public building to the south of the Japanese colonial government house<sup>1</sup> was designed to inscribe the second syllable of Japan.

Japan's use of Feng Shui to destroy Korea was outrageous to Koreans. However, unlike common perception of colonial modernization as the deprivation of tradition, it proves Feng Shui's continuity in Seoul during Japanese colonial period. Feng Shui's continuity during colonial period in Korea is also traced in Murajama Gijun's *Feng Shui in Choson*<sup>2</sup>. Murajama Gijun was a Japanese sociologist, who served the Japanese colonial government. *Feng Shui in Choson* was one of his books on Korean folk culture, published in 1931 as the compilation of Feng Shui theories and practices in Korea. Gijun recorded the prevalent practice of Feng Shui among Koreans and concluded that Feng Shui was "would always have great influence on Koreans' daily lives" (Gijun 1993, 18).

Gijun's interpretation of Korea's Feng Shui culture must be seen within the political context of his research. Under what circumstances did Gijun's investigation of Korean folk culture interest Japanese colonial government? As a government employee

whom Japanese colonial government hired to consult colonial policy, Gijun's interest in folk culture and Feng Shui has something to do with Japan's colonial administration. As in the case of Hong Kong, the Japanese government faced difficulties resulting from the natives' use of Feng Shui in the process of modernization. The Japanese colonial government designed the urban space to increase the efficiency of communication rather than harnessing the flow of vital energy. They met resistance by Koreans who wanted to protect their Feng Shui as was the case in Hong Kong.

His documentation of Feng Shui was partly motivated by the government's failure at implementing public cemeteries. In 1912, two years after the annexation of Korea, Japan prohibited traditional burial custom and established public cemeteries through the Cemetery Ordinance. The reform responded to the problems associated with traditional burial customs such as the excessive cost of ideal Feng Shui sites, numerous disputes among Feng Shui gravesite seekers and the improvement of public hygiene. The improper burial of the death by infectious diseased was considered as the threat to public hygiene.

A good Feng Shui gravesite cost people more than they could afford, and cause them to fight over sites. Under the new ordinance, people would bury bodies in public cemetery. But the new ordinance could neither stop Feng Shui seekers nor improve the existing disputes. Instead, violation of the regulation was common although heavy fines were levied on them. Whenever good Feng Shui sites were found, bodies were buried in them and fines were paid as Gijun reported:

The sunny side of the mountains with a good view is made into gravesites regardless of who owns them. If a site was known to be auspicious, recognized by geomancers, people transferred the remains of their ancestors to the new site without hesitation. Even though they knew about the penalties for the illegal transference of graves, they were willing to take a risk. At any rate, people continued to find good gravesites for their ancestors hoping for prosperity. (It is such a problem that people considered the fines as investments becoming successful<sup>3</sup> (Gijun 1993,479).

The forceful change of burial custom led to another problem. As grave sites were designated by law, Koreans began to bury bodies in illegal spots to benefit from Feng Shui.

Japanese colonial state failure to regulate Feng Shui gravesites only escalated Koreans' resentments and complaints for the government's ignorance of Korean tradition. Eventually Japan revised the 1912 Cemetery Ordinance "to take Korean culture and custom into account" in 1919.<sup>4</sup> Gijun concluded that Feng Shui gravesiting was so deeply rooted in Korean custom that it was incorrigible.

What Gijun showed was Korea's persistent adherence to Feng Shui required a change in the state's policy, leading to the official acceptance of Feng Shui as a part of Korean culture. Japanese government carefully operate public cemetery "to respect Korean custom"(Gijun 1993, 479).

The operation of Feng Shui tradition during the modernization has not been appreciated due to the predominant perception of Feng Shui as a pre-modern tradition and superstition. The case of Hong Kong and colonial Korea reveals how the use of Feng Shui in the course of modern transformation impacted the planning process of the colonial authorities.

### **3. Feng Shui Tradition and Colonialism: Ambiguities of Feng Shui Practice**

The continuation of Feng Shui tradition during the colonial period was the result of the people's persistent practice challenging colonial authority. The eventual compromise between native Feng Shui practice and the government, however lead to certain questions as to the colonist' treatment of Feng Shui. Did the colonists believe in Feng Shui? Obviously none of the colonial states cited above did use Feng Shui as a design guideline. If the state did not believe in Feng Shui, how could the British administrators in Hong Kong justify their compensation for Feng Shui damage? If the Japanese colonial state thought that Feng Shui was irrelevant, why was the Japanese colonial government house located to deliberately sap the good Feng Shui of Korea? The attitudes of colonial state toward native tradition are part of the "objectification" of the others' culture as Edward Said criticized (Said 1979). Because of Feng Shui's wide practice and importance among the natives, it could have served as an effective political tool for governing the colonial subjects. Once Feng Shui was used by the colonial government, it became the manipulative site to serve the colonizers.

#### **3.1. The British Use of Feng Shui in Hong Kong**

When the British dealt with Hong Kong villagers in the process of urbanization, the underlying issue was to acquire the necessary property to realize the government plan. Today, the conflicts settle down either by proper monetary compensation or by alteration of the government projects. But when the villagers claimed damage of Feng Shui the matter of compensation could be different from today's land use dispute derived from conflict of private and public interest. Rather, it is more about different value of

understanding individual relationship to community and their physical environment. The impact of Feng Shui violation is not confined to individual property but sometimes to an entire village. If a new road is created in a vital spot, it may not affect an individual property. It is the entire villagers who would suffer from Feng Shui damage.

Consequently, the government has to compensate for the villagers. For the British government, taking Feng Shui seriously was ensued with economic cost that might not occur under the different cultural norm. Yet, Feng Shui was such significant culture involved in any spatial design, its ignorance would have political cost. Even though the British did not believe in Feng Shui, the compensation for the Feng Shui damage was an important political tool to establish a relationship between British administrators and the native residents, and between two cultural values.

The British treatment of Feng Shui, however, was more than a simple maneuver of the native culture for political convenience. Rather, the British had ambivalence and uncertainties of Feng Shui to translate the Feng Shui loss into monetary value. The British did not believe in Feng Shui. Therefore, it was hard for them to believe that the Chinese truly believed in Feng Shui. Some administrators refused to acknowledge villagers' Feng Shui claim even though they were advised to solve the conflict by offering money (Freedman 1979). Urban businessmen in Hong Kong were one of Feng Shui objectors. They criticized the rural villagers' Feng Shui claim as a gimmick to extract more money from government. These businessmen saw the British's willingness to negotiate over Feng Shui unprofitable to them. Even though they might believed in Feng Shui, they derided the compensation for Feng Shui damage as "glorified extortion" (Boxer 1968, 231).



Others were willing to explore whether Feng Shui as a belief system of the Chinese. Austin Coates, an administrator of a mine town in the 1960s, proves a point. As a company began to develop a mine, villagers were outraged with the miners cutting “the spine of dragon.” Villagers feared the retaliation of angry dragon and believed that recent deaths of the villagers were the consequence of Feng Shui damage. In reaction to the villagers’ Feng Shui claim, Mr. Coates investigated the causes of death and proved it had nothing to do with Feng Shui cut but infectious disease. But he could not change the villagers’ perception. The villagers’ complaints of Feng Shui injury, however, raised a question to the administrators. He pondered whether the villagers actually believed in Feng Shui. One day, after listening to the village representatives regarding Feng Shui damage, Coates pondered,

Did the *heung cheung*<sup>5</sup>, really believed the dragon had become malevolent? Or was it that, partly believing it, and knowing that government in the New Territories [sic] was more old-fashioned than in China, he considered he might use it as a convenient weapon of argument? Or was it that he did not believe it at all, but knew that Europeans thought Chinese did believe in such things, so that consequently, when a Chinese *heung cheung* spoke of feng shui, it means that a European official had to sit up and take notice? (Coates 1968, 170).

Thus, Coates himself climbed up to the mountain to look for the dragon spine but failed to figure out the dragon of the mountain that the villagers talked about. Yet, as he more faced the similar cases, Coates concluded that the Chinese response to Feng Shui violation was “based on genuine feeling whatever subsidiary motives there may have been” (Hayes 1967, 22).

Mr. Coates’ question was whether the Chinese manipulated the administrator. He was uncertain whether he should listen to the Chinese claim. But in another case, certainly it was the British who seemed to manipulate the Chinese. Freedman observed a case of the British handling of Feng Shui situation. When a British administrator was

challenged by the villagers in an attempt to protect good Feng Shui, the administrator gave a counter explanation by using Feng Shui language. The administrator's Feng Shui counterargument favorable to the government earned the villagers' respect and was requested to become Feng Shui consultant to the villagers. Did the administrator "genuinely" believe in Feng Shui? Freedman's observation of the British handling of Feng Shui suggested an answer:

Were the government of Hong Kong to share the beliefs of the people, it would be in a position to resist their consequences, for its official would then be able to match their own feng shui opinions against those of the objectors, and if necessary, call in professional geomancers to argue with those retained by the people (Freedman 1979, 321).  
The British' practice of Feng Shui is "an artificial situation" (Ibid) to settle down the quarrel that might have not been solved otherwise.

The British government's "respectful handling of Feng Shui" was a part of colonial operation. From this perspective, "Feng Shui practice" by the British colonist is in question. The British did not practice Feng Shui because they did not believe in it. But they manipulated it. It was the Chinese who practiced Feng Shui. As a result, the Chinese were content with their spatial changes caused by the government action because they were able to secure good Feng Shui, thus to maintain a sense of place and time. The space produced through this process was partly Feng Shui but the site of manipulation by the British. The highly modern Hong Kong landscape may appear as the representation of the Western power. But Feng Shui history redefines the space as the interactive space between modernity and tradition.

Simultaneously, the British use of Feng Shui added the political implication of Feng Shui. Once Feng Shui was operated by the other who did not believe in the same culture, the meaning of Feng Shui to their own culture undergoes transformation. The

natives need to rethink their own traditional culture and its revival to the present time for their culture was a political tool of the colonizers. That does not mean that the native should stop practicing Feng Shui. Rather the acknowledgement of the colonial operation of Feng Shui brings illuminates the role of Feng Shui culture in politics.

### **3.2. Feng Shui's Ambiguities in Korea**

Like their British counterparts, Japan similarly acknowledged Feng Shui in their governing of Korea. Because of Koreans' strong resistance against oppressive Japanese rule, Japan altered their original policies to be more "respectful" of Korean culture. After the March First Movement of 1919<sup>6</sup>, there were approximately 4,100 violations of the Public Cemetery Ordinance in Chungchung Province,<sup>7</sup> but most of the perpetrators were simply warned and released. If all of them were legally charged, "there might be another March First Movement of 1919" (Gijun 1993, 480). Before the March First Movement in 1919, it can be assumed that violators of Public Cemetery ordinance might have faced much more unmerciful penalties and legal actions. Based upon the Japanese handling of Korean burial customs and Feng Shui gravesiting, there is a similarity to the British's treatment of Hong Kong Feng Shui. The British did not believe in Feng Shui but used Feng Shui for the political purpose. Likewise, Japan did not believe in Feng Shui but used Feng Shui to control the resistance of Koreans.

But there is apparent difference between Japanese and British situation which in turn raise a problem. For the British, Feng Shui was part of a foreign culture and appeared as nothing but a source troubles in the first place. There was no doubt that the British did not believe in Feng Shui. The earlier Western encounters with Feng Shui in

the late 19<sup>th</sup> century did not have any ambivalence toward Feng Shui. For them, Feng Shui was clearly a pseudo-religious superstition of the Chinese, “a ridiculous caricature of science,” “a farrago of absurdities” (J.J.M. de Groot, 1897, 938, recited in March 1968, 253), “insane vagaries” (Edwin Dukes 1885, 145, Recited in March 1968, 254). As promoters of natural sciences, trade, and Christianity, these Westerners in China in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century dealt with Feng Shui as a source of frequent conflict with the Chinese. Reverend John Nevius reported the problem of the “childish superstition,”

In consequence of this superstition, foreigners have found it very difficult to erect houses, and especially churches, in Chinese cities. Not a few of the complaints entered by native against foreigners in their consulates relate to their utter disregard of the principles of fung-shwuy, and the injuries accruing therefrom to native interests. Many illustrations might be given of the jealousy of the Chinese in this particular, and the different calamities which they attribute to the houses of foreigners (Nevius 1882, 175).

The frustration associated with Feng Shui conflict continued with the British government of Hong Kong. Yet their handling of Feng Shui matters differed from the British. They did not have the diplomatic respect of Feng Shui that the British had but only contempt. Although the Westerners attempted to understand the unfamiliar Chinese culture, their reactions to Feng Shui were tinged with attitudes of superiority.

Despite Japan’s contempt of Feng Shui, Japan may not be completely dismissive of Feng Shui effect, however. For the Japanese Feng Shui was not an unfamiliar Chinese culture but was its own culture. Traditional Japanese towns and villages were influenced by Feng Shui (Kalland 1996; Steinhardt 1990) when Japan was under the influence of Chinese civilization. When Japan colonized Korea, Japan was already a modern nation and began to adopt Western ways of urban design and planning in the modernization of their cities. While it is unlikely that Japan in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century still applied Feng Shui

as a design principle, they were familiar with it. Whether Japanese colonizers believed in Feng Shui or not is not yet clear.

Gijun's *Feng Shui in Choson* in this context, is an invaluable clue to understanding Japanese attitudes toward Feng Shui. Gijun as a sociologist, adopted a Western social science approach to analyzing Feng Shui in Korea, by categorizing different Feng Shui practices, their origins, and different theories. From modern scientific perspective, Gijun defined Feng Shui as the superstition. Comparing Feng Shui to the modern science of geography, Gijun put forth,

The science of geography considers land as an object. In Feng Shui, the relationship between humans and land is analogous to mother and children. Like an infant, Koreans ask things from the land, like relying on a mother's love (Gijun 1993, 27)

Gijun defined Feng Shui as an essential element of Korean culture that could not be changed by taking Koreans' persistent search for Feng Shui gravesite as evidence. Gijun's Feng Shui study seems to ignore the fact that Feng Shui as was used by Japan in their pre-modern period. Gijun made no single comment of Feng Shui's existence in traditional Japan. Japanese colonial government's perception of Feng Shui as superstition was an inherent part of their colonialism. The source of Japan's power at that time was not Feng Shui and the Chinese tradition but modern idea.

At the same time, it is questionable whether whether Japan completely erased their Feng Shui tradition in favor of modern and Western idea in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. After the Meiji Restoration, Japan's enthusiasm with modernization and Westernization was ensued by anxiety among Japanese intellectuals. Concerned about the dominance of Western culture and the loss of tradition, Japanese intellectuals led a nationalist movement and tried to forge their own national identity. As a result, Japanese modern

architects tried to incorporate traditional motifs with Western and modern forms. Ito Chuta, the first architectural historian in Tokyo University, was the biggest contributor to the creation of Japanese form in modern architecture. Ito Chuta was also a leading member of the architectural preservation committee in Japan, and was probably knowledgeable of Feng Shui' influence in Japan.

The extent to which the Japanese government believed in Feng Shui may be an interesting puzzle that could shed light on the Japanese early modern landscape. More interestingly, Japan's handling of Feng Shui was of great importance in interpreting the symbolic landscape of Korea. When Japan constructed its colonial government house in front of Kyongbok Palace, it is done so as to convey a message of Japan's dominance over Korea. More important than Japan's visual representation of its power was its Feng Shui obstruction. The Kyongbok Palace site was known as *Myungdang*, the best of the best Feng Shui site. Obviously, Japan's choice of that site was an omen to a country already falling apart. Feng Shui interpretations compounded the meaning of the Japanese colonial building as a sinister symbol of the country's bad fortune. In 1995, Korea's decision to destroy the Japanese colonial government building was partly influenced by Feng Shui interpretations. The colonial building was seen as Japan's deliberate attempt to destroy the good energy of the Korean nation. From Feng Shui's perspective, the Japan's building had to be removed in order of the country to prosper.

Around the same time that South Korean government decided to tear down the colonial building, citizens held a campaign to uproot other elements of Japan's Feng Shui damage to Korea. There had been stories about Japan's planting of steel spikes in important Feng Shui spots in Korea. Those citizen groups uncovered the steel spikes and

removed them. Does this demonstrate that the Japanese not only believed in Feng Shui but practiced it in their colonization of Korea?<sup>8</sup> From Gijun's account of Korean Feng Shui, one would assume the opposite, that the Japanese wanted to discourage Feng Shui practice. Like the British government, Japanese colonial government was forced to accept Feng Shui superstitions for the sake of social control. However, Japan's own tradition and Ito Chuta's commitment to preserving traditional architecture and Japan's national identity would indicate the possibility that the Japanese were still believers of Feng Shui.

Ito Chuta was by no means a trivial person in the design of the symbolic landscape of Japanese colonialism in Korea. He was assigned to select sites for both the colonial government house and the Shinto Shrine in Seoul. Even before the formal annexation of Korea, Japan already dispatched Sekino Tatasu, another architectural historian who worked closely with Ito Chuta, to conduct a survey of Korea's traditional architectures. The selection of Kyongbok palace as the future site of the Japanese building was not a coincidence. The Japanese might know about the Kyongbok palace's Feng Shui implication.

Yet, there remain problems with asserting Japan's practice of Feng Shui out of "genuine belief." Even though the Japanese colonial building was built in an important Feng Shui site, it did not exactly followed Feng Shui order. Kyongbok palace faced to the South Mountain, following Feng Shui order. The Palace was tilted 5 degrees toward the Southeast where the South Mountain was located. The Japanese colonial building, however, faced true South according to the compass and aligned with Sejong Street, the north-south axis of Seoul. Also, the improvement plan of Seoul proposed by the

Japanese colonial state in 1912 shows Japan's adoption of Western planning in city design. Under these circumstances, the location of the Japanese colonial government house was a part of the overall modern design which the Japanese wished to instill upon the whole city inspired by Haussmann's Paris.

No Matter what the Japanese really felt about Feng Shui, Koreans and Feng Shui believers were convinced of Japan's malicious manipulation of Feng Shui against Korea. Regardless of Japan's true intention, the Japanese Feng Shui manipulation worked like self-prophecy to Koreans who had already lost a great deal of security and confidence through the fall of the nation.

Japan and Britain faced similar but different situations in terms of dealing with Feng Shui conflicts between foreign rulers and the native population. In the case of Hong Kong, Feng Shui worked for both the British administrators and the Chinese villagers in a positive manner. Villagers were content because they were able to save their good Feng Shui. In the case of Korea, Feng Shui was used to demoralize Koreans. If Japanese planning was done in ignorance of Feng Shui, their acts could be seen as disrespectful of Korean tradition. If the Japanese knew that they were affecting the Feng Shui of the site, their acts could be seen in an even more resentful way.

Yet both cases prove that Feng Shui was used as a political tool to govern the colonized in the service of the colonizers. Feng Shui's meaning is, therefore, transformed, from its original meaning to the natives. To contemporary Feng Shui advocates, the colonial use of Feng Shui sheds light on the political implication of culture. As cultural diversity becomes a popular way of living in a post-modern society,



the respecting of other cultures is an important. Yet, as seen in the case of Hong Kong and Japan regarding Feng Shui treatment, “respect” of the other culture is political.

#### **4. Feng Shui Controversy, connection to modern and colonial discourse**

The conflict between the colonized and the colonizers motivated the British and the Japanese to understand and define Feng Shui. Murajama Gijun, Maurice Freedman, and Andrew March attempted to capture Feng Shui’s essence in response. Their assessments of Feng Shui reflect a particular condition derived from the politics and academic culture of their time. Murajama Gijun’s *Feng Shui in Choson* is a modern social scientific perspective of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, categorizing Feng Shui into a superstition inferior to Western geography and therefore demonstrating the low culture of Koreans. Andrew March and Maurice Freedman respected Feng Shui as a part of Chinese culture different from the West. Their views differed from the earlier responses of Westerners who dismissed Feng Shui as “the jealousy of the Chinese” (Nevious 1882).

In Korea, Gijun’s definition of Feng Shui is still a part of Korea’s academic culture although it was challenged by some as a product of colonialism. Polemic debates over Feng Shui’s importance to Korean culture still occur within Korean universities. While Feng Shui advocates view it as a Korean science. Feng Shui opponents have negated its value due to its negative impact upon Korean society throughout history. Feng Shui has been the subject of a heated debated since Changjo Choi published *The Idea of Feng Shui in Korea* in 1984. Choi was a geographer in the Seoul National University, one of the most prestigious universities in Korea. He attempted to revive Feng Shui as an important guideline of spatial design. He believed that Feng Shui was a

Korean science, which was comparable and even superior to modern science in the sense that Feng Shui was designed to create a harmonious relationship between humans and nature. His claim, however, was rejected by his fellow academics and who ended his career in the university. Even after he resigned from his professorship, he continued to play a key role in promoting Feng Shui in Korea. He claimed that Feng Shui was on the one hand, as science rather than a superstition. On the other he also defined Feng Shui as a cultural element. While Gijun dismissed Feng Shui's validity in comparison to modern science, Choi sought to legitimize it as both culture and science.

Feng Shui's opponents in reaction, argued that Feng Shui is nothing more than superstition, and an undesirable trait of Korean culture. Pointing out the negative history of Feng Shui upon Korean society, the opponents refused to legitimize it as a valuable design guideline. With the growing popularity of Feng Shui in the early 1990s, opponents published an edited volume of *the Lecture Series of Korean History* in 1994 in an attempt to correct "false understandings of Feng Shui" (Lee 1994, iii). The opponents called into attention Feng Shui's political uses. Feng Shui's importance in Korean history, opponents argued, came from its close connection with the ruling powers rather than its actual theory (Hong 1994). Ki Baek Lee wrote that Feng Shui declined in Choson Dynasty, the last kingdom of Korea before Japanese colonization, as the Confucian ruling elite refused to adopt Feng Shui for its superstitious characteristics. Thus, Seoul location was not chosen through Feng Shui but through the rational logic Confucian scholars (Lee 1994).

Feng Shui opponents like Gijun saw Feng Shui as superstition but unlike Gijun they did not associate Feng Shui as an integral part of Korean culture. The different

standpoints over Feng Shui allowed contradicting interpretations of the symbolic meaning of the Japanese colonial buildings and Seoul itself. For Feng Shui believers, the Japanese building was unpardonable, therefore must be destroyed, regardless of Japan's genuine intention. For Feng Shui opponents, the Japanese building was nothing more than a symbol of Japan's conquest.

For the opponents, it was important to find historical accounts of criticism of Feng Shui by fellow Koreans. They did not want to view the Japanese as bringing Western enlightenment to backward Koreans. Ki Dong Lee in his criticism of Feng Shui recollected nationalist renouncement Feng Shui as part of an anti-colonial resistance movement during the colonial period.

The prominent anti-Japanese resistance leaders during the colonial period deplored the superstitious culture of Korea. All of them participated in the national enlightenment movement. They maintained that the first step to enlighten Korea is to eradicate superstition. Of course, Feng Shui was one of the representatives of superstition along with astrology and face reading (Lee 1994, 125).

The revival of Feng Shui in the 1990s, from his perspective, was regression for Korea, further demonstrating that Koreans were not yet enlightened but remained backward.

During and right after Japanese colonialism, Feng Shui captured the attention of Korean historians. As a part of an anti-colonial discourse, Feng Shui's negative impact on Korea was emphasized. As a consequence, Feng Shui was held as superstition by modern Koreans after colonialism ended. When President Park Chung Hee held a modernization campaign, Feng Shui was defined as a superstitious custom to be abandoned, even though he later used Feng Shui in his own wife's gravesiting. This type of contradictory attitude toward Feng Shui is common among Koreans who both want to respect their traditions but at the same time compelled to follow Western standards of

practice. How this will be affected by changes in Western attitudes toward Feng Shui is difficult to predict.

## **5. Feng Shui and the West**

In mid 1990's, the perception of Feng Shui in the West shifted from a superstitious belief of rural villagers to an ancient wisdom of the Orient. In the *Feng Shui Handbook* published in 1996, Feng Shui master Lam Kam Chuen wrote that the purpose of his book was to bring the benefits of Feng Shui to the Western world. "It takes the deep wisdom of the Chinese classics and distills from their complexity essential advice that can be applied in the contemporary world" (Chuen 1996, 8).

The number of publication of other Feng Shui manuals in English surged. The education of Feng Shui was offered in community colleges. The proliferation of Feng Shui manuals, no matter how obscure the authors' backgrounds, became common literature for those concerned with the modern environment. Peter Bundell Jones in a postscript to Su-Ju Lu's "House Design by Surname in Feng Shui" discusses Feng Shui as a counter concept to modern placelessness. Jones pointed out that modern space depleted of meaning is often associated with many psychological problems such as anomie, amnesia and dislocation (Lu 2000, 365). The Chinese practice of space, by contrast, was something that contemporary designers trained in Western discipline should be aware of. Yet, Jones also doubted whether Feng Shui's application to contemporary architecture could be meaningful in the absence of the worldview that generated Feng Shui theory. In a similar vein, Alfred Hwangbo criticized the contemporary revival of Feng Shui in the West as "a response to modern nihilism" and "a naïve taste for the exotic" (Hwangbo 1999). Hwangbo defined Feng Shui as unique to the culture of ancient

East Asian intertwined with its worldview while also repudiating those who would dismiss it as superstition and pseudoscience. If the application of Feng Shui in the Western context is not accompanied with the genuine understanding of the ancient discipline, Hwangbo argued that Feng Shui would turn into a mere commercialization of tradition (Hwangbo 1999, 197).

But Elizabeth Teather and Chun Shin Chow approached Feng Shui as a relevant concept to sustainable development. They claimed that Feng Shui was an influential factor in determining space and would contribute to contemporary geography for its consideration of the balance between humans and nature. Referring to current criticisms of modern urban landscapes as homogenized and lacking in symbolic meaning, Feng Shui could provide a humanistic approach to geography.

The controversies over Feng Shui in the contemporary Western context are a reaction to its growing popularity. Even for those validating Feng Shui principles, its application to the Western world is questionable. However, it can be argued that Feng Shui has always been a subject of contention, inviting various interpretations, arguments, and counterarguments. It has never been a straightforward principle. Yet it survived by individuals and communities although its degree of influence might vary depending on its social acceptance. What the popularization of Feng Shui suggests for contemporary urban dwellers is the desire for various levels of urban order created by cultural norms in addition to modern ones. In East Asia when individual spaces, the spaces of the dead, and public spaces were laid out by modern principles of planning and architecture, the practice of Feng Shui was also applied to create a sense of place and ownership. The loss of tradition and the rise of Western homogenization were followed by the preservation

and reconstruction of traditional buildings. But Feng Shui was an invisible tradition that continued to influence the way individuals perceived their sense of place.

In the West, Feng Shui is a part of alternative discourse, analogous to Chinese herbal medicine. Whether it is true or not in its principles, its popularization will make it part of the art of the mosaic of contemporary Western culture. How it will be developed in the future is still not known. It may end up as just a fad reflecting the spirit of the time. While we may not know Feng Shui's future in Western planning and architecture, we do know that its meaning in the East was altered by colonialism and modernism.

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<sup>1</sup> Current City Hall

<sup>2</sup> Choson is derived from the Choson Dynasty, the last kingdom of Korea before the nation's colonization. Korea was called Choson by Japanese colonists.

<sup>3</sup> Author's translation

<sup>4</sup> In March 1, 1919, there was an uprising of Koreans against Japanese colonial rule. Since then, Japan changed its colonial policy into a cultural policy. Even though Gijun did not say that the March First Movement was the cause of the revision of Cemetery Ordinance, it seemed

<sup>5</sup> village representatives

<sup>6</sup> In March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1919, Koreans took a massive protest to resist against Japanese rule, demanding the nation's independence.

<sup>7</sup> Chungchung Province is located in mid Korea, South of Seoul.

<sup>8</sup> One historian I happened to exchange conversation pointed out that those steel spikes might be planted by Japanese colonial settlers rather than government.

# The Transition of Urban Pattern of a Colonial City (Taichung) in Taiwan

Chen Wen-Liang<sup>1</sup> Wang Huey-Juin<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract

In every city's history of development, all of the ancestors' varies establishment represent their sentiment and concept to natural environment and human society, just like history's gravure, which lasts inevitable traces. The present time of a city is like many compositions, overlapping one another. Each stratum shows the pattern of the different aspects of a city's transition process upon growing that let us feel its own characteristics and its elegant demeanor.

The development of Taichung can be traced to 1716 (Kang Chi 55, Chin Dynasty). Till late Chin Dynasty, around 1885-1895, the basic form of Taichung city appeared. After the World War I, China ceded Taiwan to Japanese government, and colonized Taiwanese cities were incarnated during 1895-1945, totally 50 years. After World War II, Taiwan was returned to the Republic of China. Following these political, military, economical and cultural changes, Taichung's development entered into another era. Therefore, I will try to use a point of view of historical research to analyze Taichung city's forming and changes at different periods, which are: Newly born and starting period, Japanese colonization period, and After Restoration of post-colonization Period (under the regime of KMT). And I try to record them respectively and to use a method of overlapping to observe and analyze the drawings of a city's development in varies periods. Besides, I also use lots of archives and documents to make a specific research over a colonized city under different space and phase's development transitions modes and traces.

**Keywords** : Transition, Colonial City, Urban Pattern, Overlapping Method,

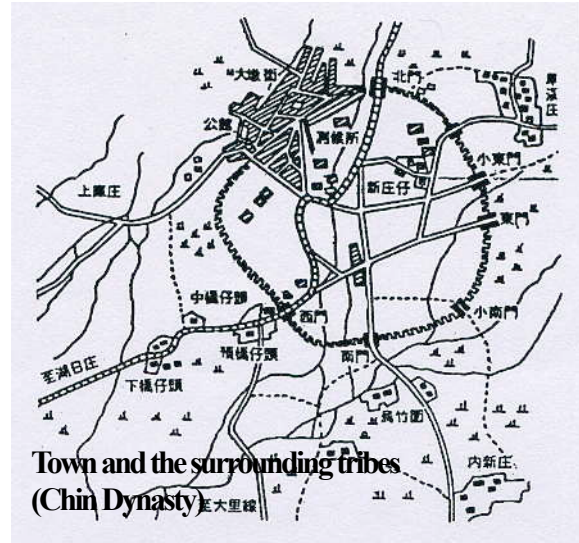
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<sup>1</sup>Instructor, Department of Architecture, Chaoyang University of Technology

<sup>2</sup>Associate Professor, Department of Architecture, National Taiwan University of Science and Technology

## City of New Born and Starting Period

The development of Taichung city can be traced back to 1716 (Kang Chi 55, Chin Dynasty). In 1721, (Kang Chi 60, Chin Dynasty), after the riot of Song Yi-Gui, the general Lan Ting-Zhen recruited immigrants and started to cultivate Taichung basin. That was why people began to be gathered, which made the density of population higher, and many tribes were formed smoothly. In 1862 (Tong Chi 3, Chin Dynasty), a celebrity of



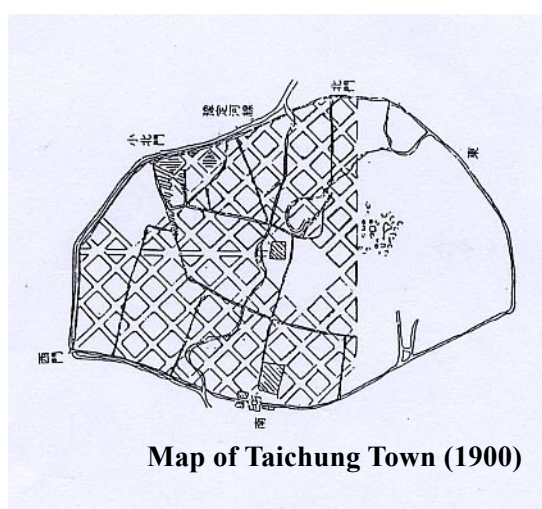
Chi Chang-Li, Mr. Tai Wan-Chian revolted, and Taichung was therefore ruined. Until 1869 (Tong Chi 7, Chin Dynasty), Taichung recovered gradually. Until to 1885, (Guang Xu 11, Chin Dynasty), Liu Ming-chuan, the magistrate of Taiwan, asked Chin government for a budget to establish Taichung as the political center of Taiwan province. However, it was interrupted by some reasons, and it had never achieved. Until 1889, (Guang Xu 15, Chin Dynasty), Liu Ming-chuan asked the chief of County, Huang Cheng-Yi, to set up the city of Taichung Fu of which form was similar to a walled city with nearly round outline, having 8 city gates (big East gate, big West gate, big North gate, small East gate, small West gate, small South gate, small North gate), and 4 buildings (Chuan Yang Building, Ting Tao Building, Chen Ping Building, and Ming Yuan Building). Most of Taichung's different tribes were formed by the immigrants from Zhan Chou, Fu Kian Province. Some of them were from Chuan Chou and Hakka. Tribes with the same family names were also many, such as: Ho family, Lai family, Chiang family and Chou family...etc. The construction of Taichung Fu was stopped after the resignation of Liu Ming-Chuan in 1891 (Kuang Xu 17, Chin Dynasty). The new city outline was thus put away. Four years later, the Japanese army occupied Taiwan and then took over Taichung.

## City of Japanese Colonization Period

Not very long after Japanese occupied Taiwan, it decided to take Taichung for its important military fort at the central of Taiwan, and then sent many armies and troops to encamp at Taichung. The Japanese Department Head of the Internal Affairs

Department, Citizens' Affairs Bureau, General Government, expected to design Taichung as a round city during his tour of duty. In fact, this concept followed the original idea of Chin Dynasty's ancient round city, but added a military point of view to it. He referred to Rome and European plans of cities, and designed it as a concentric circle and a radiation, which could facilitate the convenience of transportation. Besides, he put the military and administration cores on the center of the circle in order to have a better management on the whole city. In August 1896, Citizens' Affairs Department decided to invite a British engineering consultant, Mr. William Kinimond Burton, to Taiwan. He was originally invited by the Japanese government as a professor of sanitary engineering science in Tokyo Imperial University, and he would also serve as a consultant of sanitary engineering. Originally, he was committed to plan the sewer system of Taichung city area, as well as the sanitary investigation and set up Taipei's sewer system plan. In November of the same year, Burton brought up his concept of planning Taichung urban district by using "New establishments of Taichung urban district" and "A report of the streets planning of Taichung urban district", in which we may find more detailed contents. In the suggestions mentioned in "New establishments of Taichung urban district", Burton analyzed some disadvantages of a round city, such as: (1) A city with round streets could cause an unbalance development of the center and its surroundings. (2) The axe of the circle center was too narrow, which could not satisfy the city's complicated operations under growing. (3) On establishing buildings, it would be difficult to match them with round city streets. (4) Constructing a sewer in a round city, the engineering would be less convenient and less economic.

Mr. William Kinimond Burton thought that during Chin Dynasty, the round city street had not been formed yet. He preferred to redesign it to improving it, and he also suggested to design the city streets under a form of straight-lined grid. In "A report of the streets planning of Taichung urban district" and relative design patterns, he used straight streets of grid system to work out Taichung district to become square. Each side had around 13 or 14's squares, blocks of streets (Tian Ding), so that the City could have a balanced development. In order to resolve the inconvenience of traffic of the diagonal line of grid streets, he put a main avenue to cross the urban of



**Map of Taichung Town (1900)**

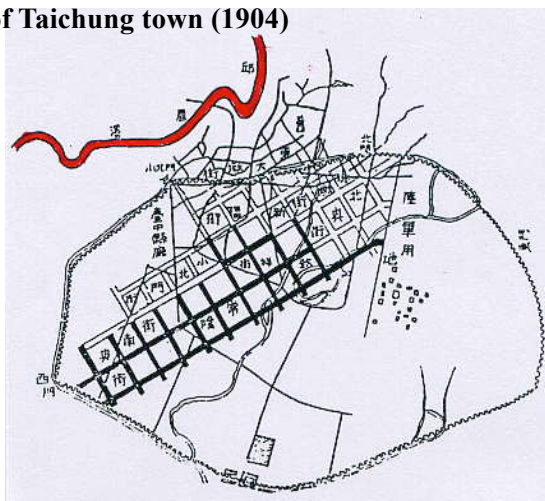
the City obliquely. Based on Taiwan's climate and sanitary condition, Burton also set up the width of streets, and defined that they should be wider than the ones in Japan in order to be adequately ventilated and lighted. General roads should be at least 15 jian (27 meters), meanwhile the ones around parks and main avenues should be at 20 jian (36 meters) in width. As to others specific streets, they should be at 17 jian (30.6meters) to 18 jian (32.4 meters). Each block's length and width would only be 50 jian (90 meters), besides the grid system streets should be oblique to the North and to South by an angle of 45 degree, which allowed sunshine to go through directly into every building on each street. So that they would not only be better ventilation and lighted, but also more easily to keep maintain the environment's sanitary. In addition, Burton left two blocks of the square urban center for the use of public constructions. On its surroundings, he put a green zone of park with the width of a block. In order to prevent floods, which could affect the City's security, for a short period of time, he changed those dangerous river channels and then he would make a global consideration afterwards. From the above, we may know that Burton's Taichung urban district plan presented with sufficient transport, sanitary, precaution against natural calamities, and public facilities... etc, all kinds of points of view for a modern city. In fact, in 1896, Burton's plan decided actual Taichung urban district's streets system and the basic axes, which had a deep influence on Taichung.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of January, 1900, Taichung announced its urban district reclaim which was the earliest urban development plan under Japanese occupation, half a year earlier than the one of Taipei, which was announced on August 23 of the same year. Basically, this plan pursued Burton's, but still, there were some modifications. The urban district area was similar to the ancient one, but bit round, not as square as Burton's original plan. Its surface was bigger than ancient one. In this plan, the West Gate, the North Gate, the small North Gate were kept, meanwhile the river channel originally ran into city district was changed at the West side of the city (exterior of the city boundary). At the East side, most of lands were served for military use, the rest was for the city, which represented sufficiently that the original characteristics of Taichung City were mainly coming from military bases. The new urban plan did not take into consideration, neither the East Ta Tun Street of the ancient city, nor the streets existed inside it, nor the topography of river courses. It used the grid system streets and divided the urban district into the shape of a chessboard. Setting up a park at the center of the urban district, the only one street with East-West direction crossed obliquely with grids system streets, and the extreme top directed towards the park. This part was similar to Burton's plan. After the announcement, public constructions of the urban development plan stared in succession, some of them were

fulfilled, such as: the vertical roadway from Taipei to Tainan and some others roads crossing it vertically, as well as the beginning of sewer system engineering work, and cutting the curve part of the Green River to make it straight so that it might be parallel to street roads.

In 1905, the vertical railroad passed through Taichung, and went to Feng Yuan. It meant that Taichung became the transit center for business and traffic in the central of Taiwan. Because of the engineering works of the vertical railways, some parts of the urban plan were obliged to be modified. The preserved location for a park situated in the downtown of the City was thus served for Taichung train station use. The only one main avenue of East-West

Map of Taichung town (1904)



direction was not started neither. The preserved location of the park was moved to the North side of the urban district, which is its present location. In 1908, while the whole line of the railways was at its service, Taichung Park was constructed to be the lieu for inauguration ceremony use. During the early days of Japanese colonial period, the railway department and the civil works department of the general government could not have a mutual understanding between them, nor could cooperate one another, that was the reason why many architects and civil works technicians from the general governments criticized that the vertical railways could not match each city's urban district developing plan. Therefore, the railway which penetrated Taichung, not only it could not have considered the original urban plan's direction of axes, but also, on the contrary, it limited the development axe of the backyard near the train station, which caused equally the transition and interruption of the roads at the front and back side of Taichung station. It also becomes the reason of today's traffic gem of Taichung station's surroundings. Meanwhile, they have respectively different developments from then on.

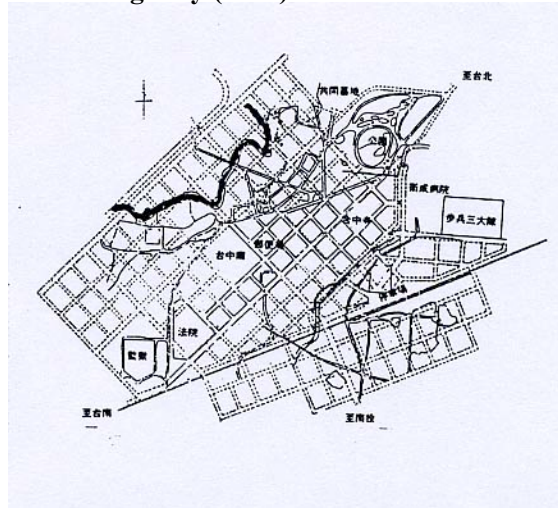
In the announcement of the “expansion plan of Taichung urban district” of August of 1911, the Taichung urban district plan was expanded and modified into:

- (1) expanding the urban district, and planning to develop the new blocks of the South-Eastern and North-Western urban districts of the railway.
- (2) keeping Lio River and Green River to pass through downtown.
- (3) the principal of roads with grid system remained the same, but according to the



**Map of Taichung City (1911)**

new plan, the original width of a square of 50 jians (90meters) should be changed into a rectangle block with a length of one side of 60 jians (108 meters), or even to 70 jians (126 meters).



- (4) dividing the streets of urban district into several categories: 1<sup>st</sup> grade: (10 jians, around 18 meters), 2<sup>nd</sup> grade (5 jians, around 9 meters) and 3<sup>rd</sup> grade (4 jians, around 7.2meters), different streets with different width. The sewers at their right and left sides would be established, a sidewalk of a width of 2 jians (3.6meters) for passengers.
- (5) announcing the expansion plan of the urban district to the public, and destructing the existed houses, which still last on planned roads within a time limit.
- (6) deciding Taichung City Hall, the court, post offices... etc, all kinds of public buildings' dispositions.

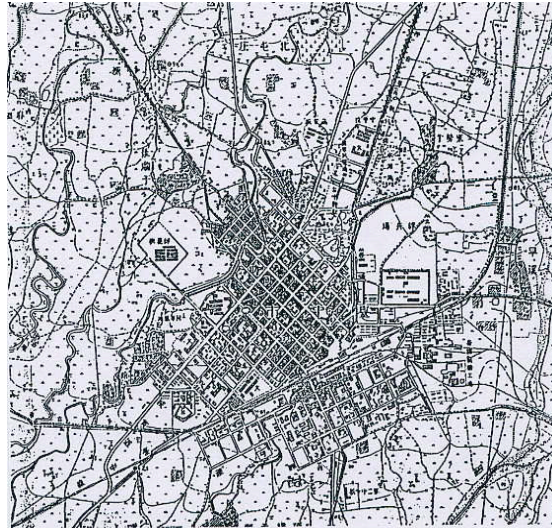
**Map of Taichung city (1921)**

In this urban expansion plan, the modification of the width of roads was less than Burton's half, which was appropriate for the past city activities and traffic flux, but it caused today Taichung downtown's streets are too narrow. In addition, this expansion plan also defined that Taichung Branch of the Monopole Bureau of Taiwan Warehouse Company and Imperial Sugar Company... etc would be disposed to the back street district of the South-Eastern side of the railway station, which became the characteristics of this industry area. In front of the train station, there were many stores, houses, markets, banks spreading all around, which brought the characteristics of prosperity to this business area. As to the expanded streets on North Western corner, they integrated the originally separated Taiwanese and Japanese residences. Moreover, this plan also designed to set up another park and green lands on the hills of North side of the City. At this time, we may say that



## Map of Taichung city (1926)

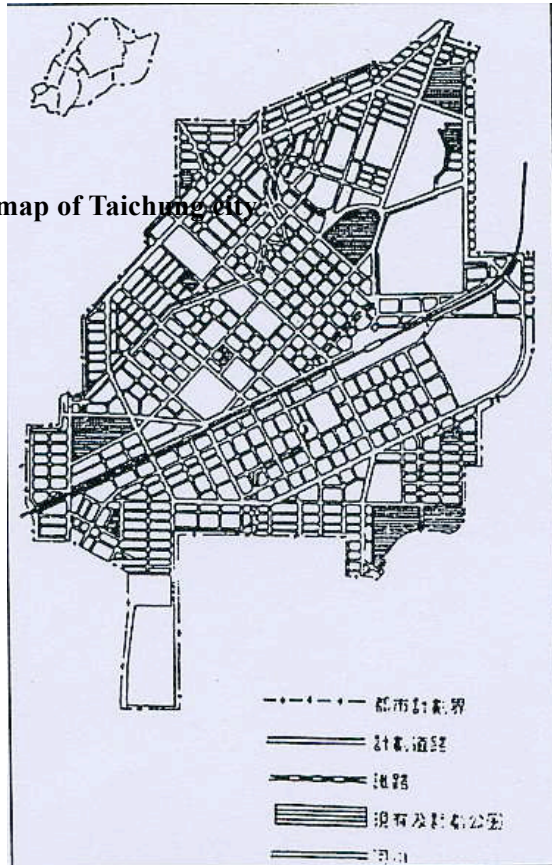
the whole basic looking of Taichung urban district was henceforward achieved. The grid system streets and blocks designed by Burton at the beginning created the unique style of Taichung in comparison with other Taiwanese cities.



After 1921, Japanese general government in Taiwan began to study the regulations of urban developing plan, and thus announced the execution and implement rules of Taiwan urban developing plan which was officially executed only during the period of 1932.

In 1935, Taichung planned again to expand its urban district, of which surface was increased to 2,685 hectares, presumption to accommodate a population of more than 460,000 persons. The expanded parts of the urban, for the first time, we found the plan of a rectangle block with East to West direction, which determined the 3<sup>rd</sup> axe of Taichung urban streets. Outside of the urban district, the first circle of roads around the city was set up. Many parks, green lands and lands for future public facilities uses were also established. From the process of overlapping drawings, we found that in 1935's

Urban Planning map of Taichung city (1932)



expansion plan, Liu River was cut to be straight in order to match the development of grid system streets. In 1941, Taichung urban plan decided to change it.

## Transition after the Restoration Period

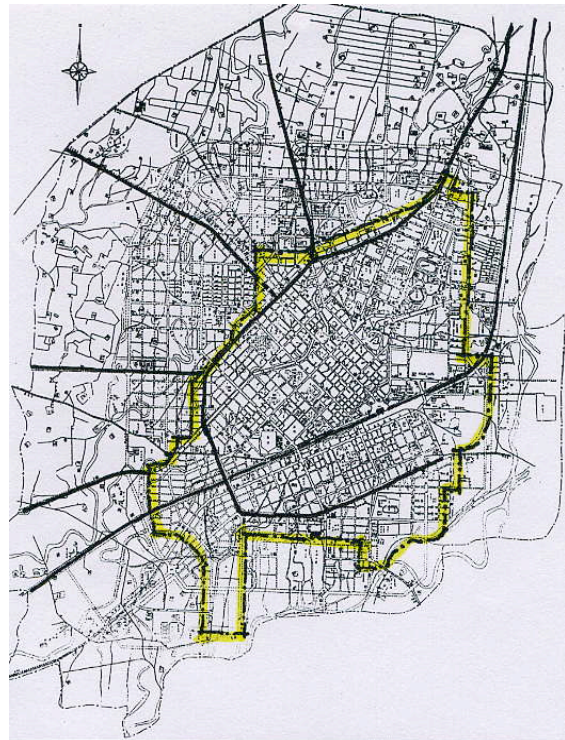
An overall review over Taichung city's 50 years history after the restoration,



basically, we may divide them into 5 periods to make a more precise research and to have a better understanding of the transitions and changes of Taichung city's development.

### **The 1<sup>st</sup> period (1945~1955)**

On October 25, 1945, Taiwan finished its Japanese colonial regime and returned to the arms of the government of the Republic of China. In the same year, Taichung City became one of the cities directly under the Taiwan Provincial Government, and the city hall was hence established. In 1948, the whole city was divided into 8 districts: East, West, South, North, Peitun, Nantun, Hsitun, and Central District which ensured the completed scale of Taichung City. During 1945 to 1955, as this period was a recovering period after the World War II, of which financial, economic and political situation still suffered a lots.



The development of Taichung was centralized on downtown. Even during this period, its population had been raised almost doubled, but it still kept the same scale of communities and blocks as ancient times did, or just filled some vacant spaces. Nevertheless, the scale was not enlarged which always used the same district of Japanese occupation period. At this moment, almost all the engineering constructions were focused on its surrounding connections of main roads and bridges as originally planned of the city.

### **The 2<sup>nd</sup> period (1955~1966)**

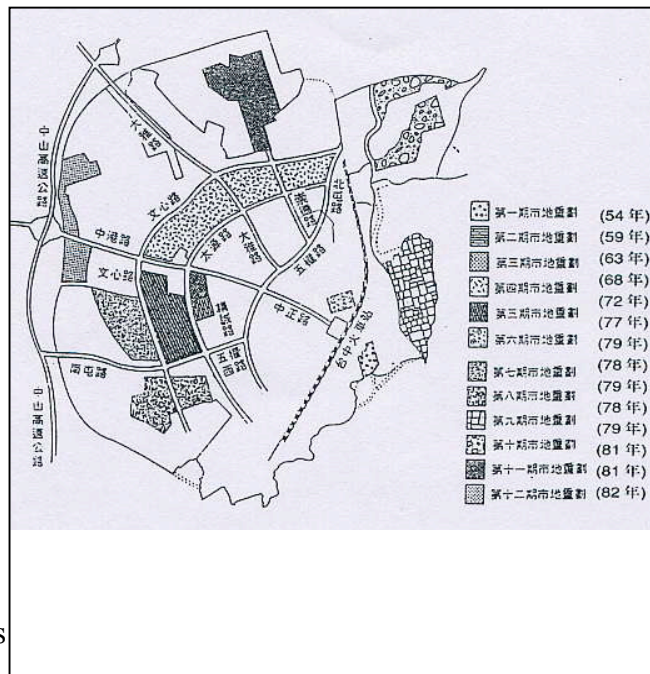
During this period, because that local conscious was gradually matured, Taichung city began to think seriously about what was the role that a city should play and about the space adjustment. Furthermore, after the tests and experiments of several natural disasters (twice serious floods) to the city's spaces, Taichung City's development became more and more concreted. Since the train station was still the pivot of land transportation, from the new created shops on the corner of Chi You Road, Chung Cheng Road, the development of big blocks of business districts commenced. In

addition, the leisure-styled gardens of Taichung Park also encouraged the prosperity of its urban district. As to the suburb, the development was also very quickly. Lacking of plans, it mainly focused on repairing and expanding streets. Besides, after a review on floods, an improvement plan about rivers passing through urban area was thus reported. Only from February 1950, Taichung City began to its own public bus under operation, which pushed forward the initial connections between urban area and suburbs. Between 1955 and 1966, there were totally 13 newly established or newly reformed universities established, spreading all over urban district and suburbs which motivated indirectly some construction developments at suburbs. In 1956, Taichung announced the “Main plan on ancient districts”.

12 phases land reclaim map of Taichung city (1965~1993)

### The 3<sup>rd</sup> period (1966~1979)

After 1966, the business areas of the Southern part of Taichung Park and the Western side of Train station finished their development. Shops setting up one by one motivated the whole citizens' economics. But the saturated population of urban district ceased moving up, in comparison with the increasing population of the surroundings of urban districts, and this situation explained that in the newly added population gushed to those districts with cheaper prices, and it's not so far from downtown. Beginning its development and expansion during Japanese occupation age, Taichung City achieved respectively its land replotting plans during the following periods: the 1<sup>st</sup> period in 1967, the 2<sup>nd</sup> period in 1972, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> in 1975. Even the surfaces were not large within these 3 periods' of land plotting plans, but the result was rather satisfying. Meanwhile, the periphery of the original city was developed to be a motif of expansion towards exterior. After 1960, Taiwan's export policy led Taiwan to a highly growing economy. In 1976, Taichung port commenced to operate. In 1977, the highway was wholly on service. From then on, Taichung City's communication towards outside, from the original train station -- only one point, turned out to be 3 spots. From the original railway transport point, it began to adjust its direction by the help of highway, and became a circulation on transport net

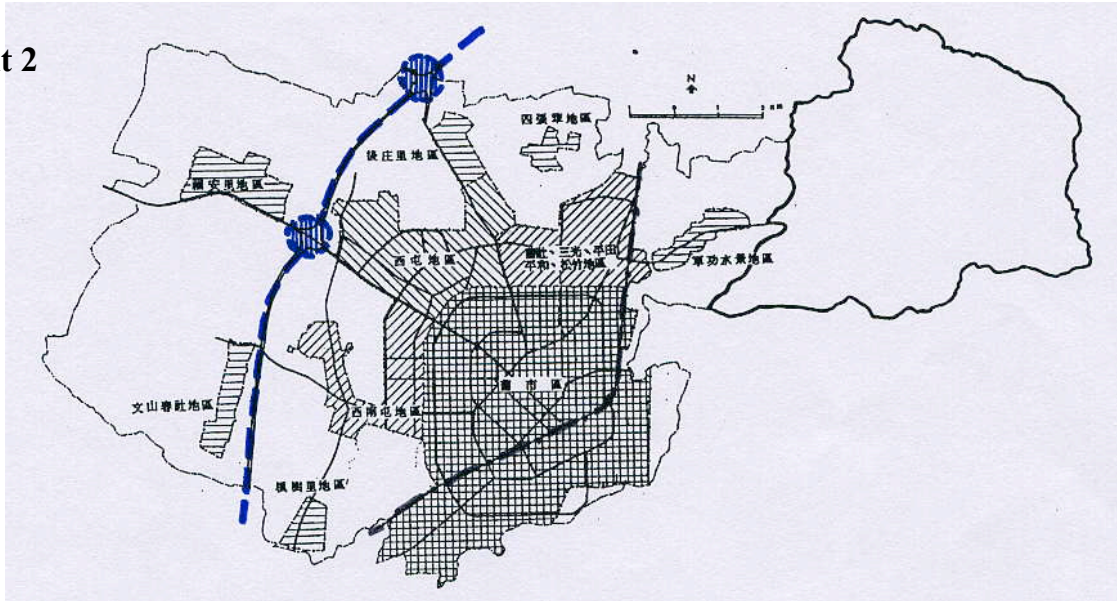




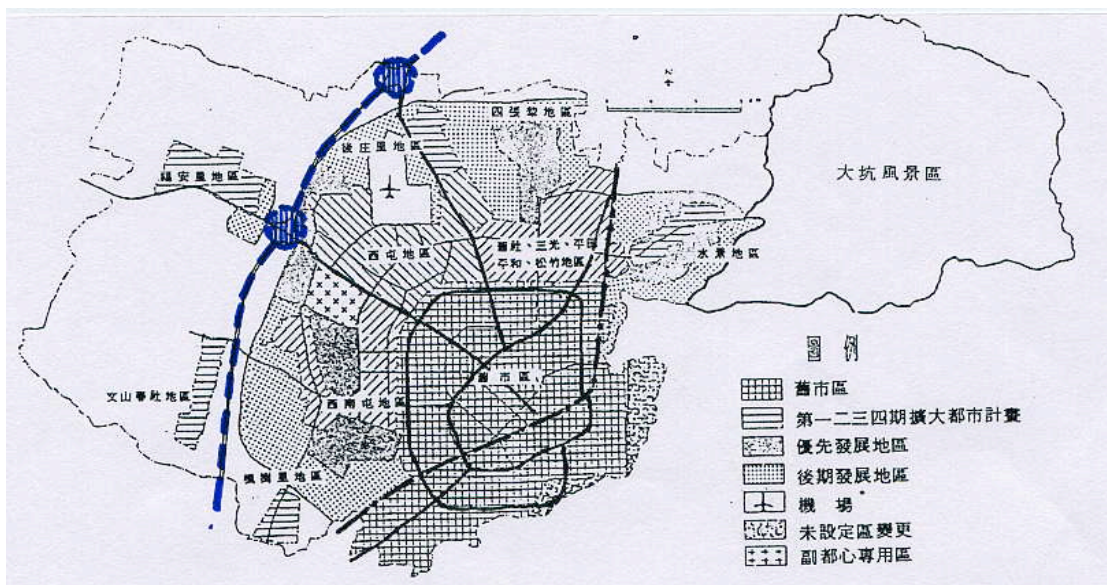
## Exit 1 Highway

Exit 2 little by little. Two exits of exchange, which connected respectively Chung Ching Road and Taichung harbor, could lead Taichung City to a better development. They pushed the development of Taichung City went towards the North West side by using the ancient downtown as the center of circle, and then radiated from this center towards the direction of North West. In this period, the area of urban development used the circle streets formed by Chung Ming Road and Chung Ming South Road as the boundary.

Exit 2



Main development district map of Taichung city (1977)



Main development district map of Taichung city (1986)

#### **The 4<sup>th</sup> period (1979 ~ 1990)**

With a population of around 600,000 inhabitants in 1979, Taichung City became the biggest city of Taiwan Province of the Republic of China.. When Taichung City government referred to the “Taichung plan guidelines”, it decided to set one millions of inhabitants as its goal and thus a plan of expansion was set up in order to achieve this target. In 1981, Taichung City government announced the “Explanation of recreation Taichung City Plan (overall verification)”. The most important changes were:

- (1) Changing the city space construction, from a sole-cored development since Japanese occupation to a multi-cored development conception.
- (2) Establishing a new City Hall center, making it be an auxiliary city center.
- (3) Suggesting to set up a high speed periphery traffic system.

From 1979 to 1990, Taichung city had 9 stages of land redivided plans which helped obviously a lot on resolving government’s financial problem, and let the City’s development area became divergence and bigger. But it caused in the future the increasing of land costs and many real estate problems, and even caused a serious problem of having too many vacant houses. Ancient city’s development was limited by the width of road and traffic jam, besides, the tumultuous use of lands, and the public security was not ensured. So, the ancient city’s development, at the late of this period, became decadent. Two exits of exchange, connecting respectively Chung Ching Road and Taichung harbor, following the increasing of highway’s traffic flux, they led Taichung City’s to be developed towards the North West. Especially, the 50-metered wide Taichung Harbor Road, connecting to seaboard line and Taichung Harbor, became indeed the most significant road for Taichung City’s development. During this period, the City’s development areas were about based on the circle boarder formed by Wen Hsin Road.

#### **The 5<sup>th</sup> period (1990 ~2000)**

Based on the rapidity growing of the City, the government planed the city hall for the new city, and then opened the project to companies coming from all over the world. Overseas architects were gathering together, with totally 130 architect firms of design, finally the Switzerland architect Mr. Juerg Weber won the international competition. At that time, Taichung attracted the focus from international architects, but afterwards, owing to the deficit of the government, the plan was dragged, and till now, nothing has been stepped forwards. In order to match Taichung City’s entire development, after the age of 90’s, the government established a 90-meter wide periphery road, which facilitated Taichung’s city-to-city transportation, and made it

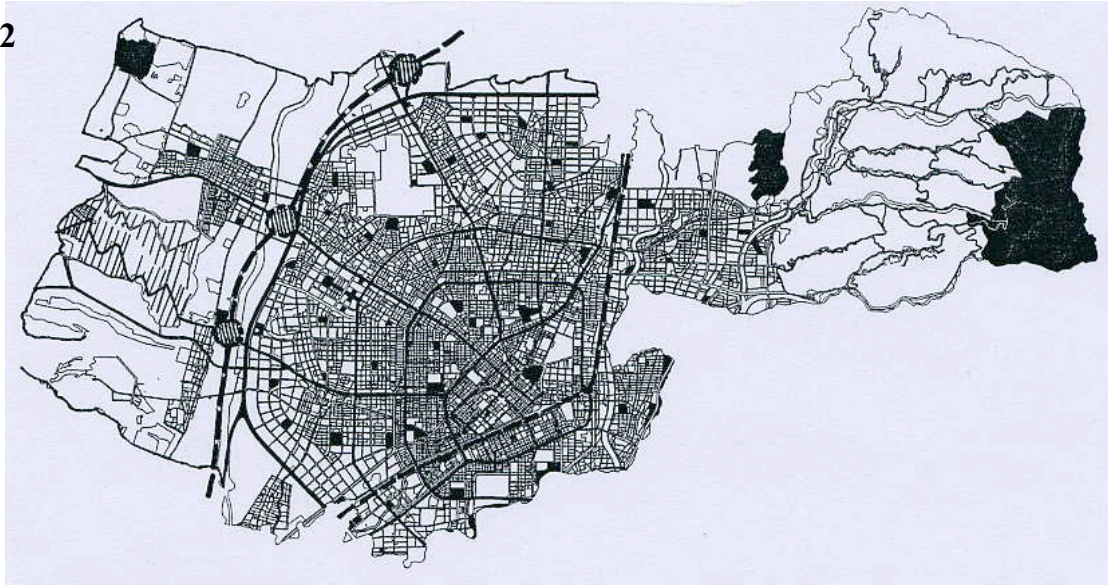
more easily to enter into highway from the East and West sides of the City. The same consideration for matching the whole city's development, North-South highway had originally 2 exits at Taichung, and now a 3<sup>rd</sup> exit was set up on the Southern part of these 2 exists. The City's development has thus almost been completed; the basic structure has also been set up. As to the mass rapid transportation system, it is still under conception, and we hope that it can be fulfilled as soon as possible. We also believe that it can bring more energy to this City.

**Exit 3**

**Exit 1**

**Highway**

**Exit 2**



**Urban Planning map of Taichung city (1997)**

## **Conclusion**

Generally speaking, Taichung City's development can be divided into 3 periods:

- (1). the period of Chin Dynasty
- (2). the period of Japanese Occupation (Colonial City period)
- (3). the period under KMT government (Post-Colonial City period)

During the transaction periods of a city's development process, I compare the filed documentation and drawings, by using overlapped drawings methods, and I try to analyze the trace and changes of Taichung's different development process during each period:

### (1) The period of Chin Dynasty to the early of Japanese occupation

Taichung's development, from Chin Dynasty to the early days of Japanese occupation, we may find that the differences and similarities of Taichung's development during these 2 periods, of which differences are:

- (A) The round block of Chin Dynasty was changed into oval form during

Japanese occupation period.

- (B) During Chin Dynasty, tribes gathered occasionally turned out to be a street form of a grid of 45-degree angle.
- (C) The tribes' way of living during Chin Dynasty changed to care about sanitary, sewer engineering...etc, with a consideration of public sanitary problem's city during Japanese occupation period.
- (D) As to the unchanged part during these 2 different periods would only be the hydrology system.

### (2) The early of Japanese colonial period to late of Japanese colonial period

It is without question that the scale of Taichung City's development was coming from Japanese government's plan while Taiwan was still under their occupation. Nevertheless, there were still some changes from early and late days within this period. The changes were:

- (A) At the early days, except the street system of 45-degreed angle, after the accomplishment of the railway, the grid system street became parallel overlapped with the train station. At the late years of this period, the city was expanded and became 3 axes straightly from South to North.
- (B) At the early period, under the grid system, the blocks were square, meanwhile, at late days, blocks began to have different shapes than square, with different rate of length and width, under the form of rectangle.
- (C) In order to match streets and avenues, the Green River was cut and kept straight in early period. As to Liu River, it was kept straight only in later period.
- (D) In the period of early colonization, there were only urban district street plans or modification plans, until the late period, the plans of urban district were indeed executed.
- (E) In early period, the development of Taichung City was mainly focused on military or politics, so the changes were slow. Until to the late period, after the formation of railway, the transport became heavy, and Taichung played an important role for expeditions to North and to South, which made the urban plans expanded in later years, and it also established the basic concept of cities during the early days of nationalist government period.
- (F) The blocks belonged to early ages totally disappeared during late period. The only thing, which did not change, was the grid blocks system.

### (3). Late of Japanese colonial period to the early age of the nationalist government

During the early age of the nationalist government, Taichung's development was



totally according to those of late years of Japanese colonization. The only job was to fill the blocks with space functions. During this period, the important changes were

- (A) At the early days of the nationalist government, Taichung was divided into 8 districts, including East, West, South, North, Peitun, Nantun, Hsitun, and Central District. The urban development was brought to be a business area.
- (B) The development of Taichung City was divided and expanded to internal circle system.
- (C) During the process of development of Japanese occupation period's street system, the nationalist government began to add facilities, such as: roads for connecting surrounding areas and bridges.

The only one remained the same was the railway which was always the most important tool for communicating with outside. Meanwhile, the development of the area in front of railway station was considered the most important to for execution.

#### (4). From the Early age to the middle age of the nationalist government period

During the early age of the nationalist government, Taichung City's development might be considered to execute the plan of the late of Japanese colonial period. Owing to local conscience becoming mature, people began to think seriously about the City's spaces and the adjustment to which role it should play. Between, there were some important changes, such as:

- (A) At the early age, only the railway existed, and the highway appeared during the middle period. The city's development began to be expanded towards the West and North-South directions. The planned area of Taichung City came from the original internal circle to the middle circle. No matter big or small roads connecting to outside was executed.
- (B) Owing to the financial situation of the government became better, the city plan accelerated, the land reclaim plans were finished little by little.
- (C) Ancient city's development, from the early period's seeding to the middle period's blossoms, became finally the most animated and the most dynamic center.

The unchanged parts were: (1) No matter early or middle development, the location of the urban center district remained the same, and those external forms were always the same. (2) Grid system blocks still existed.

#### (5) From the middle to the recent period of nationalist government

From the middle period to present days, the biggest changes of Taichung City are:

- (A) The 3<sup>rd</sup> exit of highway accelerates the expansion of the City to outside

circle's location.

- (B) Tight reviews on land reclaim make the real estate become more and more expensive. Blind investment and many vacant houses last.
- (C) Because of its cramped streets, traffic jam and old buildings, ancient urban center areas became decadent, which need renovation to give them a new life.
- (D) Under city's expansion, the plans of auxiliary center of the City, and new core of city hall center have been raised and executed.

Things remain unchanged are: (1) The discrepancy between the front and back sides of the train station's development still exist. (2) Expansion under the radiation form is as usual.

The development of Taichung City was from 18<sup>th</sup> century and it lasts till now. Although the whole history is only 200 years, but it can still show us a city's entire process, from its birth, to basic establishment and to the growth and expansion. Between different periods, every transition and pattern change has its own reason. From the history of a city's development, we may learn a lot of precious experience by studying and analyzing them. No matter to the ancient city, or to the new city, we may always give our best suggestions or practical participation.

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## **Urban intensification in previously developed residential areas: the case of Stockport (England)**

Dr Christine Carr  
(Lecturer)  
School of Planning and Landscape  
University of Manchester  
Oxford Road  
Manchester M13 9PL

Tel: (0161) 275 6882  
Email: Christine.Carr@man.ac.uk

Over the last decade, because of the potential contribution to the creation of increasingly sustainable cities, urban intensification has evolved from being a topic of primarily academic interest to having a prominent position in English planning policy. Policies encouraging both intensification and the calculation of urban capacity have been incorporated into the most recent PPG 3: Housing, and the government has published documents which provide insights into the intensification process. While emphasis is frequently placed upon the contribution to be made through the development of city centre accommodation, more peripheral, previously built-up, residential areas are also seen as having a contribution to make in increasing the number of dwelling units.

Through an examination of development control records and field visits to a selection of residential areas, ranging from relatively low-density developments to high-density Victorian terraces, in Stockport (England), this paper considers the scope that different residential types have for the incorporation of new dwellings. Conclusions are then drawn with regard to the congruity of the Stockport experience to the evolution of policy at the national level. The paper finishes by raising issues for future investigation.

### **Introduction:**

Over the last ten to fifteen years, the idea of the compact city as being a desirable urban form has become accepted, not just in Great Britain, but also across Europe (Williams, 1999). The two principle drivers of the compact city cause have been concern over the level of vehicle emissions and the loss of countryside (Breheny, 1997). Concern over the environmental damage done by urban sprawl is not new (see e.g. Sharp, 1932; Sheail, 1979); what is relatively new, however, is the use of the word 'sustainability' in conjunction with these concerns, a shift in emphasis that is perhaps of paradigmatic magnitude.

While compact city commentators (e.g. Elkin *et al*, 1991) have often tended to concentrate upon environmental dimensions of the sustainability agenda, compact cities are also seen as offering the potential to deliver increased social and economic benefits. Environmental benefits are associated with decreased levels of pollution as denser urban environments encourage the adoption of more environmentally-friendly modes of travel, such as walking, cycling and use of public transport. Moreover, the length of journeys taken should be reduced as commuting distances are decreased. Social sustainability benefits may also arise as higher population densities make service provision more viable and, consequently, more equitable and accessible across populations (Burton, 2000). Quality of life benefits in terms of increased vibrancy, access to cultural resources and social interaction are associated with higher urban densities. Economic benefits are also believed to accrue as higher densities draw greater populations into the catchment areas of individual commercial concerns.

There are two principal ways through which the compact city might be achieved; these are through the creation of new built forms and through the adaptation of existing ones (Williams, 1999). A number of techniques have been proposed for achieving the latter, such as the introduction of higher densities at transport nodes (Williams, 1999), the development of urban villages, the conversion of non-residential buildings to residential uses (see e.g. Barlow and Gann, 1993; Heath, 2001) and the infilling of existing residential plots (Williams, 1999). (See also Llewelyn-Davis *et al*, 2000, for a more general discussion with regard to intensification opportunities.) A number of studies of urban intensification (e.g. Larkham, 1988; Morton, 1997; Carr, 1998; Whitehand and Carr, 2001) in existing residential areas have been more concerned with processes and agents of change, and consequences in townscape terms, than in the delivery of sustainability benefits. Moreover, they have been concerned with specific types of residential areas – usually low density. This is undoubtedly as much a reflection of the time in which at least some of these studies were executed as a reflection on the authors' principal interests. Where potential contributions towards sustainability has been mentioned (Whitehand, 1989), it has been to suggest that these areas have little contribution to make. Yet, with the advancement of the sustainability agenda, a re-evaluation of this position is desirable.

Given the nature of the built environment is such that its component parts endure for long periods – buildings usually last for decades, some for centuries; routeways endure for even longer within the morphological frame – it becomes imperative to consider how cities might be adapted to enable sustainability gains to be made, rather than dreaming about how they might be rebuilt from scratch.

Despite the broad acceptance of the compact city / sustainability agenda, certain authors have raised cautionary notes (e.g. Williams, 1999; Breheny, 1997, Breheny and Archer, 1998; de Roo and Miller, (2000). Breheny (1997, 210) points out that 'so enthusiastic have been the political and academic supporters of urban compaction that they have failed to ask if the solution can actually be delivered' and suggests that compaction policies (i.e. intensification policies) should be subject to three tests:

- 1) veracity – does compacted / intensified development actually bring about environmental benefits?
- 2) feasibility – is it actually possible to deliver intensification? Breheny (1997) expresses doubts on economic, technological and political grounds. (The current discussion concentrates on the technical side of things, in so far as whether insertions can be made into the existing morphological frame).
- 3) acceptability – would communities actually find compacted / intensified development acceptable? De Roo and Miller (2000) make a distinction between sustainability and liveability, pointing out that, while sustainability gains are generally perceived as taking place over large areas, they may have negative impacts at more local levels, the latter being the focus of liveability concerns. Similarly, Williams (1999) points out that the rationale for compact city policies is generally expressed in terms of global or national concerns. However, the strategies required to address these may have negative impacts at the local level in certain areas. Thus, what is seen as being sustainable at the national level may be seen as being unsustainable in a more local context.

Despite cautionary notes, the political bandwagon has rolled on. Given that sustainability and the built form are so inextricably linked, it should come as no surprise to discover that the land-use planning system is seen as being key to the delivery of sustainability objectives.

As the 1990s progressed, the developing academic orthodoxy was quickly followed by policy, with successive British governments paying increasing heed to the sustainability agenda. Tentatively at first, but with increasing levels of assurance, consideration was given as how best to increase levels of urban intensification, principally through the reuse of brownfield land (i.e. recycled or previously-developed land). Earliest iterations of policy were tempered with warnings about town cramming (e.g. DoE, 1992). Targets of land reuse were not set until the publication of the 1995 Housing White Paper; by the year 2005, 50% of all new residential development was to take place on recycled land.

The current target of 60% reuse was first promulgated in 1996, in the paper *Household Growth: Where Shall We Live* (SOSE, 1996). At this point, however, the target was an aspirational one, put forward for discussion, nothing more. It took a change in government in 1997, the setting up of the Urban Task Force and publications of statements

such as *Planning for the Communities of the Future* (DETR, 1998) for the target to be widely accepted. Subsequently, it has been incorporated into policy in PPG 3, along with a requirement that LAs should carry out urban capacity studies to indicate the manner in which this target might be met (DETR, 2000a). Complementary to PPG 3 has been the publication of a good practice guide, *Tapping the Potential* (DETR, 2000b), to show how such urban capacity studies might be carried out. Intensification of dwelling densities through the reuse of previously developed land and empty properties, as well as conversions to residential uses, are actively encouraged within this latest iteration of PPG 3. While explicit references to town cramming have been removed, there is still room for interpretation as to how these national policies should be applied in the local context in so far as:

considerations of design and layout must be informed by the wider context, having regard not just to any immediate neighbouring buildings but the townscape and landscape of the wider locality. The local pattern of streets and spaces, building traditions, materials and ecology should all help to determine the character and identity of a development... (DETR, 2000, para 56).

PPG 3 indicates clearly, therefore, how intensification is to be facilitated through planning policy. What is unclear, however, is whether its objectives will be achieved, or, indeed, whether it will have a significant impact, particularly in the kinds of areas under investigation here.

### **Urban intensification in residential areas of Stockport**

Using Stockport Metropolitan Borough as a case study, the rest of this paper is concerned with considering (i) how intensification has occurred in established residential areas since 1990, over which time the sustainability agenda has moved centre-stage, and how they are likely to intensify in the future, and (ii) how far government guidance is likely to bring about significant changes in policy at a local level. Information with regard to local policy has been derived from an examination of a range of planning documents, most notably various iterations of the borough's UDP and supplementary planning guidance. Specific examples of intensified development have been investigated through the use of development control files pertaining to planning applications submitted in each of seven twenty-five hectare squares, the sample having been identified in consultation with the LPA. This information has been supplemented with observations from field visits.

### **Intensification policies in Stockport over the last decade:**

Stockport is one of the ten metropolitan boroughs that, when combined, form the Greater Manchester conurbation. Stockport's location within the wider context of the conurbation gives it a slightly peripheral, largely suburban location (see figure 1). It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that the principal land use in the borough is housing, housing, moreover, which the LPA describes as being, for the most part 'extremely attractive' (SMBC, 2002, 2). Unlike certain other districts of the conurbation, the housing market is buoyant in Stockport, a fact that is reflected in above average house prices (both compared to local and national figures) and the demand which is exerted for additional housing land.

In the early 1990s, pressures for intensification in Stockport were seen as being the result of a combination of factors; these were high levels of housing demand within the borough, a restricted supply of housing sites (a consequence of the tightly drawn greenbelt) and government-set housebuilding targets. The result of these factors was that housing pressure was being redirected towards already built-up areas, expressing itself both as infill developments and redevelopments of existing residential properties to create flats etc (MBCS, 1991), a process that has been identified elsewhere, where land is in short supply (Goodchild and Munton, 1985; Whitehand, 1990, 1992; Whitehand *et al*, 1992). A recurrent claim in the various iterations of the Stockport UDP (drafts, deposit draft and adopted versions) (MBCS, 1992a; MBCS, 1992b; MBCS, 1994; SMBC, 1998) has been the 'major and fairly regular' (MBCS, 1992a, 3/6) contribution that windfall sites have played since the 1980s in satisfying demand for housing land. In 1992, brownfield sites were already accounting for more than half of the borough's housing completions, mostly within older mixed-use parts of

the borough (MBCS, 1992a, 3/2). It was recognised, however, that this resource was finite. It is clear, therefore, that the practice of reusing brownfield sites in Stockport *preceded* national policy by a number of years. The language of the time, however, indicates that sustainability was not a driving force in influencing the practice.

As at the national level, 'town cramming' as a term appears to have fallen from use in Stockport over the last decade. However, it is evident that, while the term has fallen from favour, related issues remain at the forefront of local policy concern. An investigation of LPA documents illustrates this point clearly, demonstrating a remarkable consistency of thought over the last ten years or so.

While there is evidence to suggest that certain types of intensification – notably living over shops initiatives and subdivisions of large detached houses to create flats – were, and continue to be, supported by local planners (MBCS, 1992a; MBCS, 1992b; MBCS, 1994; MBCS, nd; SMBC, 1998; SMBC, 2002), support for suburban infill has been more muted.

As the LPA was in the process of putting together the first draft of its UDP in 1991, the Metropolitan Borough of Stockport Council conducted a survey of residential areas in order to identify those that were deemed to be of 'spacious character and landscape', a response to concerns being expressed about the consequences of infill in areas of low-density residential development, usually areas of Victorian and Edwardian housing. While these were primarily couched in terms of the need to protect the townscape, the underlying root of concern was one of attracting inward investment into, not just Stockport, but into the Manchester conurbation more widely. Infilling in these areas was seen to pose a threat to their attractiveness. As a result of this survey, it was proposed that the following policy be incorporated into the UDP:

In designated residential areas of spacious character and landscape the council will apply additional controls on new development. Design guidelines will be formulated for each area. Development proposals in these areas will be strictly assessed against the council's stated guidelines (MBCS, 1991).

This policy, slightly reworded, appeared in two early drafts of the UDP (MBCS, 1992a; MBCS, 1992b), but was dropped prior to the publication of the deposit draft in 1994 (MBCS, 1994), in favour of a more generic policy that dealt with infill as a distinct type of housing development and that could be applied across all areas. The latter was far more detailed with regard to what was / was not deemed to be desirable, expressed, again, in townscape terms. For the first time, concern was expressed about specific layouts of infill, notably 'tandem' and 'piecemeal' developments. This policy came to be reiterated in the adopted UDP, published in 1998 (SMBC, 1998).

Emerging policy, as articulated in the First Deposit Draft of the UDP, which is currently under review, apparently has removed the distinction between infill and other developments, subsuming infill into the broader heading of 'New Residential Development in Predominantly Residential Areas'. Broadly speaking, however, the draft retains all the previous policies; the most notable changes between the adopted and more recent draft UDP being confined to the inclusion of policy CDH1.1 (xi), which explicitly makes reference to the new density norms advocated in PPG 3 (DETR, 2000). It states that the layout and design of any proposal should make 'efficient use of land, having regard to the guidance in PPG 3 "Housing" that developments of less than 30 dwellings per hectare should be avoided...'. It then qualifies this statement through the addition of the following clause: '... whilst taking account of existing density of buildings in the area (cited in SMBC, 2002, 44). The caveat included in this paragraph make it impossible to know what the precise implications of the inclusion of PPG 3 policies into the UDP will actually mean in practical terms for areas originally developed at lower densities.

The consistency in attitudes towards intensification becomes even more apparent when supplementary planning guidance is taken into account. Although the most recent iteration of *Supplementary Planning Guidance: the Design of Residential Development* (SMBC, 2002) claims to be revised and updated, it is in all fundamentals identical to an earlier version, produced in the mid-1990s (MBCs, nd (circa 1994-5)). Revisions are confined to details regarding the guidance's relationship to the UDP (adjusted to reflect the change in the latter's status from draft to adopted), contact telephone numbers that have been changed and change to one paragraph (to reflect the production of supplementary planning guidance

relating to affordable housing). The wording of the guidance and the illustrations included within otherwise remain unchanged. Given that the revised SPG was published almost two years after the publication of PPG 3 (DETR, 2000), it might be expected that any substantive policy revisions would be reflected within this document.

This consistency of approach is not to suggest that the LPA is unthinking of the national agenda, however. The following question has been raised in the recent *Stockport UDP Review Issues Paper* as one of the key issues facing the authority:

Given the Government's desire to maximise the potential of urban areas to accommodate development, what design standards are appropriate for new housing and extensions? Should we be concerned to safeguard the local character of the existing residential areas faced with infill development? (SMBC, 1999).

Moreover, overt support for urban intensification is expressed within the Issues Paper:

The Council thinks that the main aims of the review in terms of housing and population should be to:

- Provide for new housing in a sustainable manner giving priority to the re-use of previously developed land, bringing empty homes back into use and promoting the conversion of existing buildings within the urban area, as well as preventing the loss of dwellings to other uses... (SMBC, 1999, 23-24).

The use of the word 'sustainable' should be stressed at this point as it hints at the inevitable incorporation of national agendas into local policy in a manner that is more explicit than is the case in any of the other documents produced by the council.

#### **The case study areas:**

The squares (see figure 1) investigated were chosen to typify a range of residential types found within the borough, and are detailed more fully below.

Figure 1: Stockport's location within the Greater Manchester conurbation, and the location of the study areas

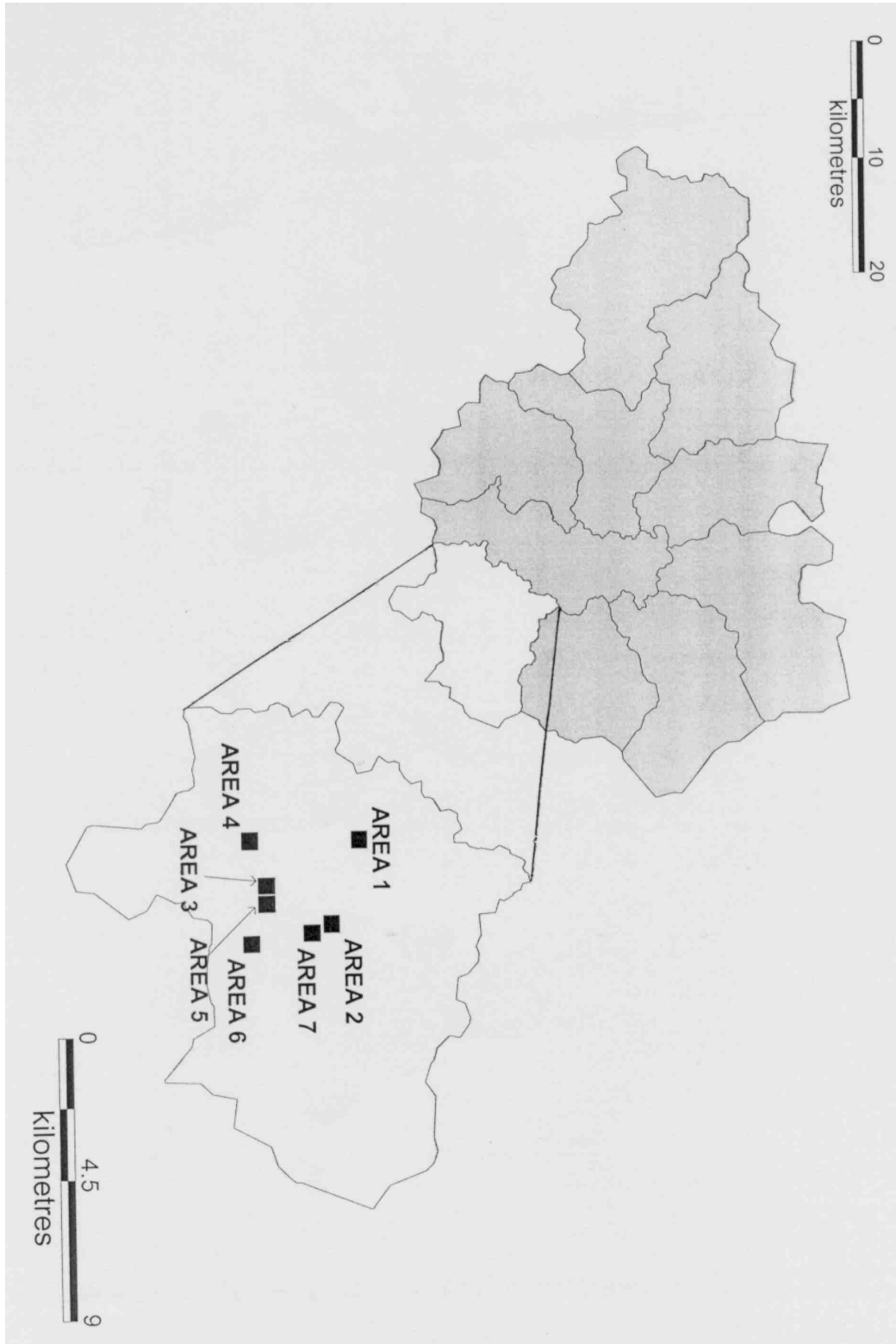
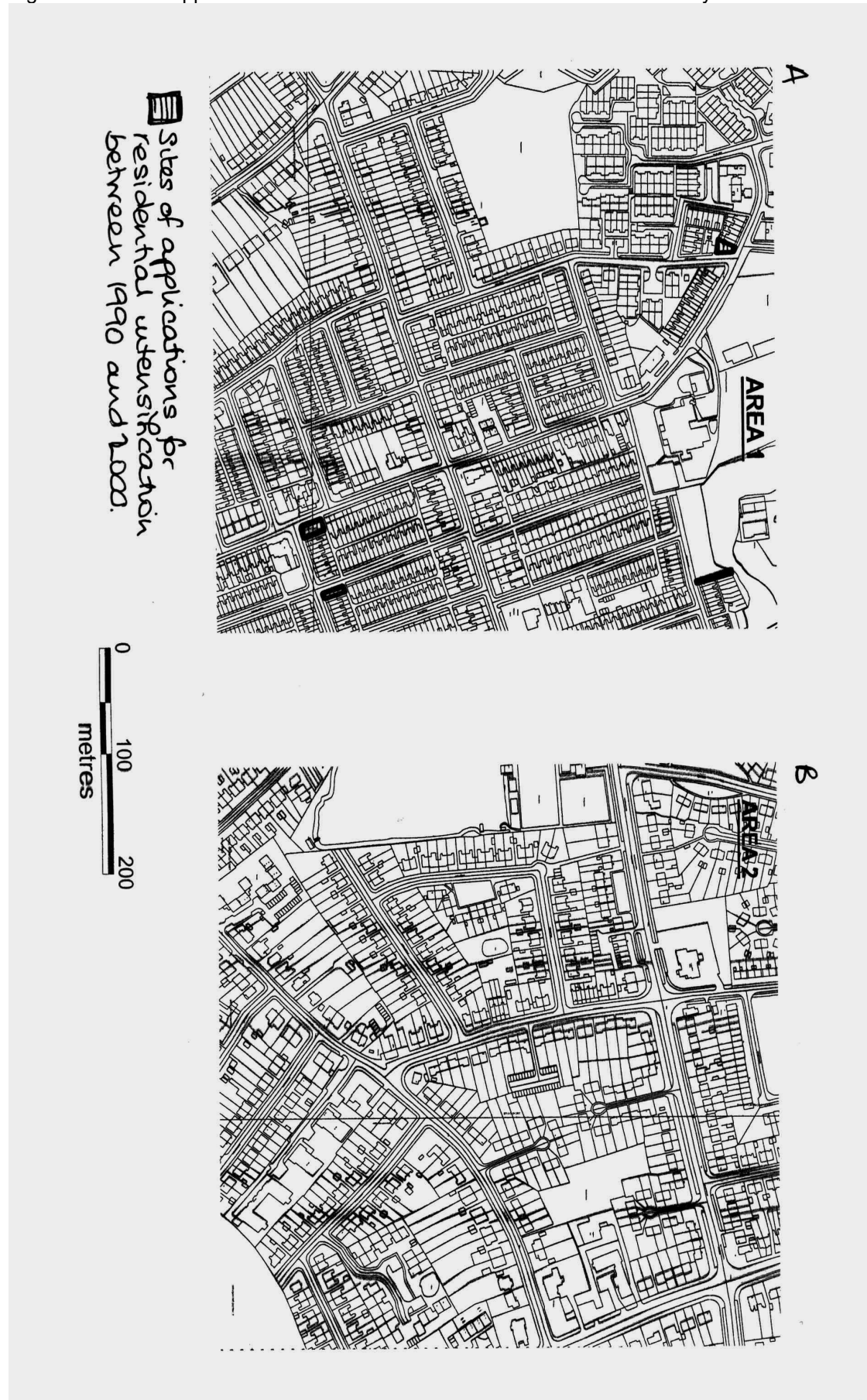


Figure 2: Sites of applications for residential intensification in the seven study areas

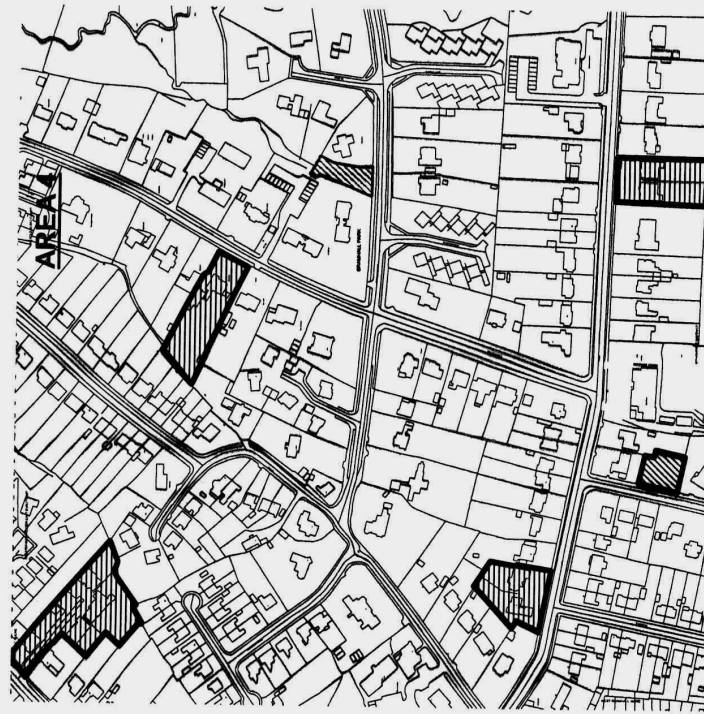




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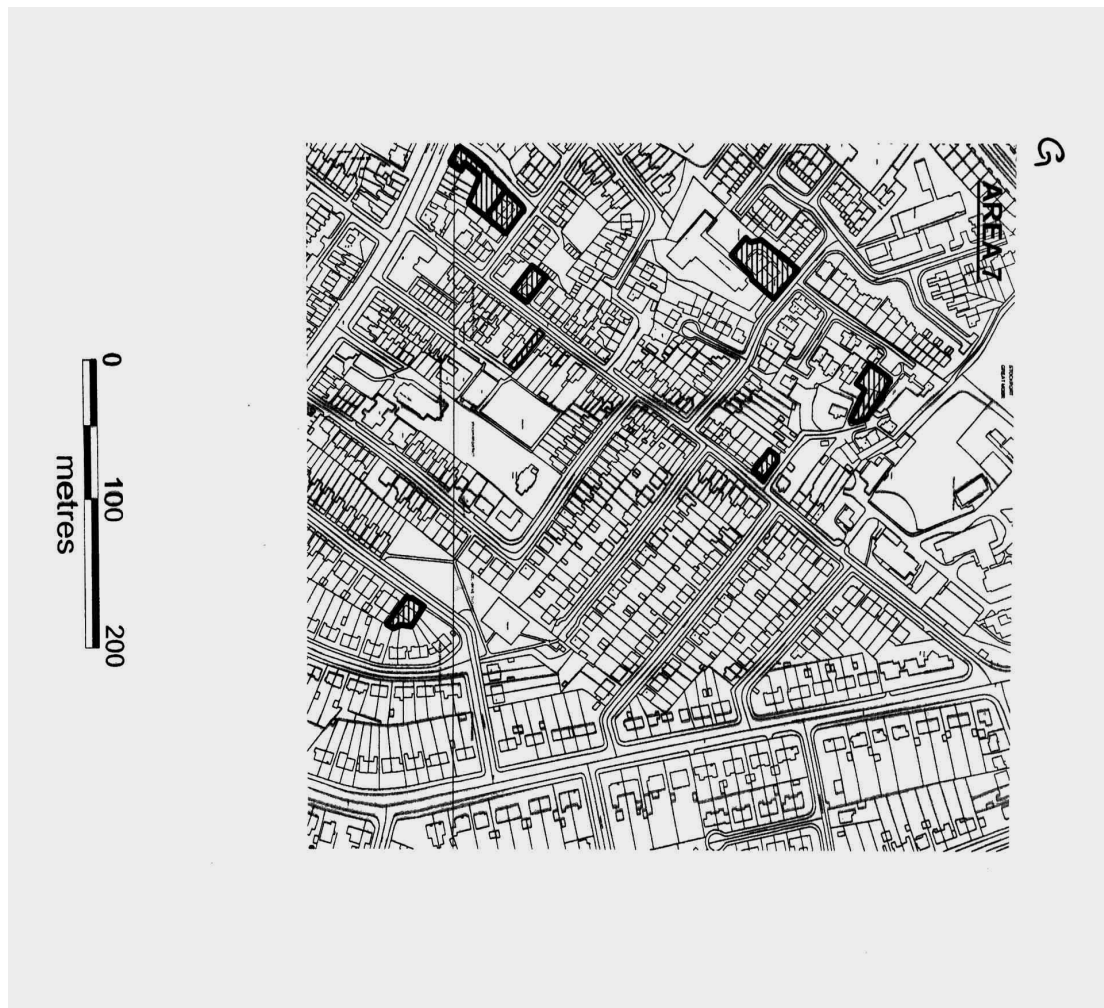




E



F



AREA 1 (figure 2 a) is comprised predominantly of bye-law terraced housing, built in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Net density of development here approaches 63 units per hectare in the most densely developed parts of the square. The houses are mostly two storeys in height, and are accessible via both streets and footpaths at the back of the properties. There is an area of post-war low-rise council housing in the north-west corner of the square.

Although there is a majority of properties dating from the inter-war years, both private and council, in AREA 2 (figure 2b), some earlier houses have been incorporated into the layout. Houses tend to be quite modest in character.

AREA 3 (figure 2c) and, more specifically, AREA 4 (figure 2d) are characterised by low density development, parts of which were identified in the 1991 as being 'areas of spacious residential character and landscape' (SMBC, 1991). Despite never having been formally designated as conservation areas, it is clear that policies designed to protect the townscape are implemented here. Substantial houses, predating the second world war, are set in mature gardens. In AREA 4, the oldest properties (Victorian and Edwardian) are concentrated in the south-west corner of the square. Development has occurred over a long period of time, in sharp contrast to AREAS 1, 5 and 6, where an examination of house types indicates that development occurred over a short period of time.

AREAS 5 and 6 (figs 2 e and f) were developed more recently. Despite having very different layouts, net housing density in both these areas is around thirty units per hectare, and were originally developed, therefore, at the lower end of the density ranges now advocated as desirable in PPG 3 (DETR, 2000).

AREA 7 (figure 2 g) is the most heterogeneous of the areas investigated. There is an area of shops and Victorian terraced houses in the south west of the area, some post-war

development in the north west and some private inter-war development in the east of the area.

Tables 1 and 2 give some idea as to the levels of development activity in the seven areas. It is readily apparent that numbers of applications submitted throughout the study period have declined (and were never very high to begin with), although there are indications that the numbers of new units created (as indicated by the number of full permissions granted) has proved rather more consistent. This conclusion has been verified by visits to check upon actual implementation.

### Applications for new dwellings by year of application<sup>1</sup>

Area	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
1	●● ○ ○		●	○			●			○	
2											
3	●●●● ○○○	● ○	●	●	●●	●					
4	●●●●●●●● ○	●● ○	●●●● ○	●● ○	●		●●	●			○
5	●		●								
6											
7	●●●●●●●● ○ ○	●●●●	○		●●●●	●		○	●	●●	
Total	●●	●●●●●●●● ○	●●●●●●●● ○	●●●● ○○	●●●●●●●● ○○	●●●● ○	●●●● ○	●●●● ○	●●	●● ○	○

Key:  
 ● Permission granted  
 ○ Application withdrawn or deferred  
 ○ Permission refused

<sup>1</sup> Except for PA 51440 (Area 3), for which the decision date is used, as that was the only one available.

Table 1: Applications for new dwellings by year of application (all areas)

### Applications for new dwellings by development type (all areas)

Type	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
●●● Previously undeveloped site		●		○			●	●			
○ Frontage / medial division	●	●	●●●●●	●●	●●	●					
● Plot / lateral truncation		●			○						
○ Tandem / backland development					●●	●					
○ Infill across antecedent boundaries	●	●		●	●						
○ Conversion of existing units			●		●						○
●●●●● Single plot redevelopment		●			●	●	●			●	
○ Conversion of non-residential units			●				●	○		●	
● Demolition / redevelopment of non-residential					●						
<b>Total</b>	●●	●●●●●	●●●●●●●	●●●	●●●●●●●	●●●	●●●	●		●●	○

Key:  
 ● Permission granted  
 ○ Application withdrawn or deferred  
 ○ Permission refused

Table 2: Applications for new developments by development type (all areas)

It is readily apparent that levels of activity have varied significantly between the areas. There is no indication that tenure was an influential factor in determining this; in Areas 5 and 6, little activity has taken place. Overlaying data at the level of the individual enumeration districts from the 1991 census on maps of the seven areas indicates that tenure is not a constraint upon residential intensification, at least at the area level. (It undoubtedly does influence individual agency.) Both Areas 5 and 6 have levels of owner-occupation of between 90 and 100%. Activity of residents therefore is not constrained by their freedom to act, at least in tenure terms. Other constraints must be identified; these are deemed to be morphological in nature. As stated above, net housing densities in these areas are already around thirty dwellings per hectare; it is hard to envisage any way in which infill might take place between houses, and conversion of the existing properties, given their size, is also deemed to be unlikely. As the areas were developed as residential enclaves, there are no obvious opportunities for non-residential conversions, either. Any intensification would have to occur through the development of open space; as the only open spaces in AREA 6 are school grounds and in AREA 5 are identified as open space in the adopted UDP, this also appears to be extremely unlikely.

AREA 2 has experienced no development activity over the ten year period considered, although it evidently has done so in the past (see figure 3). This suggests that the lack of activity over the study period is not a reflection of a lack of interest in the area; rather it suggests that practical sites had already been used up. The implications are, therefore, that this type of area is unlikely to incorporate much, if any, additional development.

Figure 3: Sites upon which housing development subsequent to the original urbanisation of the square has occurred (pre 1990)





Given the focus of attention given in local policy to infill over this time period, it is not surprising to discover evidence of such activity in the lower-density areas (AREAS 3 and 4). Intensification has taken place throughout the post-war period, although it is difficult to determine in some instances whether post-war development occurred as plots left vacant originally were filled in, or was constructed in plots that had been subdivided. As with area 2, it is evident that infill is not a recent phenomenon in these areas. Unlike Area 2, however, there appears to be some scope for further activity in Areas 3 and 4 (see below). Given the variety of the original architecture, infill in these areas is generally not jarringly out of character in terms of either mass or style (although there is a rather idiosyncratic bungalow in one place and a couple of rather obtrusive culs-de-sac of neo-Georgian properties; these developments were built prior to the start of the study period). Moreover, for the most part, the newer developments have been masked effectively by mature trees and hedges. The extent of to which intensification has occurred in Areas 3 and 4 has proved to be surprisingly small, however, especially given the number of new units that have been created in AREA 7.

The manner in which intensification, where it has occurred, has been achieved varies between the areas. Within AREA 1, intensification throughout the ten year period under consideration has been confined to the conversion of ground-floor shop units into flats. While shops remain in the area, this is clearly a finite resource; cursory examination of the area has indicated that a number of these units had already undergone conversion prior to 1990. More significant, in terms of the areas potential for future residential intensification, is the obvious tendency for shops to be converted to provide additional living space to flats above, therefore increasing the size of existing dwellings, rather than increasing numbers of dwellings.

Intensification in AREAS 3 and 4 has occurred through infilling of various types. (Since the cut off time for the study, permission for the subdivision of a detached house into two flats has been granted; the development is currently being carried out.) While a number of large plots remain in these areas, potential for significant amounts of intensification to occur is seen as being limited, partly because of the importance that is attached to preserving the character of these areas and partly, again, because of the number of sites that have already been developed.

Despite the relatively high density of AREA 7, this is the square which has yielded the greatest net increase in dwellings over the last ten years. The heterogeneity of the area's original development has been reflected in the variety of types of intensification that it has been able to accommodate. Some of the applications (notably the subdivision of an end terrace into flats) are making imaginative use of very confined resources. Moreover, and somewhat ironically, it appears that the area's relatively rundown character is actually facilitating intensification. It is worth noting, in this context, that an examination of the development control records indicates that attitudes expressed towards proposed developments varied between the areas. There was clear evidence of resistance to proposals in AREA 3, where residents objected to several applications. By contrast, proposals for intensification were welcomed in AREA 7, where small areas of vacant / derelict land would be redeveloped. There is a clear message here to support Williams' (1999) assertion that planners ought to be clear as to the exact consequences of isolated developments, if it is to be both sustainable and acceptable to residents.

### **Conclusions and future research:**

It is the nature of planning paradigms that they leave their mark in the townscape far more clearly in areas of new development than in established residential areas. Although the latter areas are affected by sea-changes in thinking, these tend to leave their mark in the smaller details of incremental change (Carr, 1998). When we look back in another ten or twenty years' time, it will be easier to say, with the benefit of hindsight, whether the acceptance of sustainability agendas into the policy arena counts as profound a shift in thinking in morphological terms as did the bye-laws of the late nineteenth century, the garden city movement or modernism. In housing terms, given the formalisation of the 60% brownfield target and the endorsement of higher residential densities (DETR, 2000), it does not seem beyond the realm of possibility that this might be the case. It is, however, unlikely, that any pronounced changes in the form of new housing will be reflected to any significant degree in those areas that have been the focus of the current discussion.

Paradigm shifts, if indeed this qualifies as such, do not happen overnight. In the case of the garden city model of development, it took some forty to fifty years from first experiments with the form (e.g. at Bournville) through to wholehearted adoption and endorsement of the garden suburb model into government thinking and policy. The journey from the earliest academic concerns over urban intensification and the contribution it could make towards sustainability through to the broad acceptance of the argument into mainstream housing policy has taken slightly less time – around a decade.

How likely is it that any type of mature residential areas will contribute in any substantial way to meeting brownfield targets? The answer appears to be, in Stockport at least, that the probability of a substantial contribution being made in the future is not high. Research would be required in other parts of the country, where the economic context for development has been different, to discover if these conclusions can be applied more widely. It is evident that many opportunity sites had already been taken up, not only prior to the publication of PPG 3 (2000), but had, indeed, been lost before the study period had begun, some ten years earlier. The areas where most potential exists appear to be those with a degree of heterogeneity of built form, providing a range of opportunities for potential developers. It should be noted, however, that the more attractive sites have almost certainly already been exploited, as is the case in AREA 2.

It is evident that, the sustainability agenda notwithstanding, tensions between local townscape values and pressures for intensification remain in low-density areas. Dense development has been, and continues to be, resisted in those areas where, theoretically at least, there is most scope for increases in capacity. However, because of conflicting agendas with regard to the value that is put upon just such areas, it is doubtful in the extreme that any significant changes in policy will occur; for that to happen would require a change in thinking far more radical than any yet proposed either nationally or locally. Moreover, economic sustainability at the conurbation level could be adversely affected if the character of these areas were to be undermined.

It is too early to say definitively how the most recent PPG 3 (DETR, 2000) and subsequent iterations of good practice are impacting upon the types of residential areas that have been investigated here; a couple more years of development control records to compare with those already examined will prove invaluable to the execution of such a study. However, indications are that little difference will be noticed.

Note: all maps are © Digimap

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## CHARLES READE AND THE INTERNATIONAL DIFFUSION OF TOWN PLANNING IDEAS

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Christine Garnaut  
Louis Laybourne Smith School of Architecture and Design  
University of South Australia  
North Terrace 5000  
Adelaide AUSTRALIA

Email: [christine.garnaut@unisa.edu.au](mailto:christine.garnaut@unisa.edu.au)

### **Abstract**

Charles Reade (1880-1933) made a unique contribution to the international diffusion of early twentieth century planning ideas through his work as a peripatetic planner in Australasia, Malaya, Northern Rhodesia and South Africa. Born in New Zealand but of British landed gentry stock he abandoned a journalistic career in favour of the town planning cause and became a fervent advocate of Ebenezer Howard's garden city idea. Self-educated in planning theory and practice, his career was launched as a consequence of his Australasian Town Planning Tour undertaken in 1914 with William Davidge on behalf of the London-based Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. At the lecture Tour's completion Reade remained in Australia accepting an appointment as Adviser on Town Planning to the South Australian Government and later, Government Town Planner. Subsequently he made it his life mission not only to disseminate the message of garden cities and town planning but also to demonstrate how it could be practically applied through on the ground projects and legislative reform.

## CHARLES READE AND THE INTERNATIONAL DIFFUSION OF TOWN PLANNING IDEAS

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On the morning of 28 October 1933 Charles Reade (1880-1933) was found dead in a room of the Langham Hotel, Johannesburg. There was a revolver at his side and the newspapers reported his death as suicide. It was a somewhat inglorious end to a life that had spanned 53 years and had for over three decades made a significant contribution to the international town planning movement. The timing of his action is bewildering. A mere nine days beforehand he had arrived in South Africa to impart his expertise and knowledge as Chief Town Planning Officer of the Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee. His tasks were familiar and achievable and the initial meetings ran smoothly (Mabin 1992a). Hence the motivation for his suicide remains unclear. Fresh research is unlikely to shed further light on the circumstances surrounding his death as contemporary records no longer survive.

Reade began his working life as a journalist. However his first commissions exposed him to the problems of industrialisation in early twentieth century Britain and Europe and precipitated his decision to turn from reporter to reformer. He identified town planning as the medium through which he could effect improvement and in order to overcome his lack of formal qualifications, undertook an intensive period of self-education. Inspired by Ebenezer Howard's garden city idea, he adopted 'planning on garden city lines' as his theoretical tenet. In his early thirties he commenced a professional odyssey disseminating his message in Australasia, the Federated Malay States (FMS), Northern Rhodesia and South Africa. He established a worldwide network of contacts that included Sidney Webb, George Fowlds, Samuel Hurst Seager, Raymond Unwin, George Pepler, Thomas Adams, John Mawson and John Nolen. From them he drew inspiration, information and support, satisfying his thirst for knowledge and experience (Reade 1926a) through extensive travel in the countries where he practised as well as in places like America, China and Japan. Despite his enterprise and associations, Reade was not 'a key figure on the domestic front' (D. Hardy pers. comm. 1996) and did not achieve a high profile in the garden city movement in Britain. Yet, he 'has come to be regarded as one of the major town planning pioneers of the early twentieth century' (Bristow 2000: 144) and more explicitly, 'the single most important figure in Australian garden city history' (Freestone 1989: 75).

A number of scholarly publications, noted through the paper, examine Reade's work in a particular country or address a specific phase of his career. Fusing existing and new research, a preliminary attempt is made here to consider his entire career as a town planner with the view to uncovering his role in the international diffusion of early twentieth century town planning ideas. The narrative is interwoven with comment and reflection on aspects of his personal life gleaned principally from private and official correspondence. It begins with a biographical overview followed by a brief outline of his motivating values and principles. A synopsis of the nature and scope of his work is included in the discussion where issues of his personal skills and qualities as well as of pressures that influenced his endeavour are raised. The paper is derived from primary archival documents (although no collection of Reade papers survives), published sources and communications with Reade's two children whose recollections offer poignant yet crucial glimpses into their father's peripatetic life.

### **Brief biography**

Charles Reade was born in 1880 in Invercargill, New Zealand, the third son and youngest surviving child of lawyer Lawrence and Margaret (nee Booth) Reade. His parents were both emigres from England where Lawrence had long-established landed connections. Margaret was born and raised in Bradford, a manufacturing centre in Yorkshire. Ties with family 'at home' remained firm. Charles was introduced to the wider world from a young age as he learned of the pursuits of relatives employed in the Indian civil service, social reform movements and literary circles (Tregenza 1981). He also travelled. By the time his secondary education was complete he had lived on New Zealand's south and north islands and, for a brief time, in Australia (Garnaut 1997).

His journalistic period commenced in late 1905 when he set out to follow the fortunes of his cousin Ernie Booth a member of the All Blacks team touring Wales (Reade 1906). His

published reports on the games resulted in an assignment covering industrialisation and its outcomes in Britain and Europe. During the next three years he conveyed his observations in a series of articles printed in several Australasian newspapers. These graphic accounts of living and working conditions in major industrial centres and descriptions of private and municipal initiatives to trigger social and environmental improvement were later compiled as *The Revelation of Britain* (1909).

Continuing his journalistic path he went 'home' to New Zealand in 1911 to take up a job in Auckland as editor of *The New Zealand Graphic and Weekly Mail*. The impact and experiences of his previous years were demonstrated in the articles that he ran in the *Graphic* and in his delivery of public lectures on subjects like slum eradication, the garden city idea and town planning legislation (Schrader 1999). Through the *Graphic* he applauded local efforts notably the preparation of a town planning bill by Auckland mayor Arthur Myers. Reade sent notes on his proselytising activities to the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (GCTPA), to which he had been introduced in London, informing it about slum environments in his homeland. Indeed through *Revelation* he had already made a plea for their recognition and for the young colony to take measures to avoid repeating the mistakes of the 'mother country'. He suggested that the GCTPA arrange a lecture tour, and forwarded his name as a suitable emissary. The proposal was rejected. The town planning movement was only in its infancy in New Zealand and Reade wanted to be closer to the hub of the action. Looking to the larger challenge he returned to London and by 1912 was actively involved in the GCTPA.

Upon entering the Association's offices as a volunteer, he was assigned the task of organising and building up its lantern slide collection. Opportunistically he immersed himself in a range of propagandist activities, impressing the executive with his enthusiasm, initiative and administrative skills. He organised and presented public lectures and delivered conference papers, published articles, and assembled resources including plans and lantern slides. Apparently the Association had been lacking someone of his initiative and organisational ability since, according to its accountant Charles Purdom, the 'simple work [of addressing and filling envelopes] was not organised even in the most elementary manner, and was in a constant muddle...' (Purdom 1951: 37).

In mid 1912 the GCTPA opened a colonial department and Reade was made responsible for answering enquiries (Freestone 1998). Soon after the Association announced that he would organise and lead (with William Davidge) a lecture tour to establish the garden city movement in Australasia. A critical mechanism for exporting the garden city idea, the proposed tour fitted the Association's imperialist and missionary agenda (Freestone 1998). Due to his colonial background and the strength of his 'faith', Reade was admirably suited to the task.

The Australasian Town Planning Tour, as it came to be known, was a personal watershed. At its completion Reade undertook a return lecture series in Australia and then in 1916, his reputation as an expert cemented, he was invited to become Adviser on Town Planning to the South Australian Government. The position, later renamed Government Town Planner, was the first of its kind anywhere in Australia. Reade and his wife Marjorie, whom he had married just one week before leaving England, settled for four years in Adelaide (Garnaut 1995). In December 1920, they left with their young son Michael (b.1916) and daughter Marjorie (b.1917) for a nine-month appointment in the FMS (FMS) where Reade had been invited as Government Town Planner. During 1921 the job was converted to a three-year contract and he tendered his resignation in South Australia. He remained in the FMS as Government Town Planner until late 1929 when he was advised that his services were terminated and that his position would be abolished from 7 January 1930 (Garnaut, 1997).

Intervention by Sidney Webb, then Lord Passfield, Colonial Secretary saw Reade next employed as an adviser on town planning in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). He arrived at his Livingstone base in October 1930 and by April 1931 was Director of Planning and Development (Home 1997). That appointment was short-lived since in March 1933 he was back in London, again out of work. A few months passed before news came of his posting to Johannesburg. Raymond Unwin and George Pepler nominated him for that job and, out of forty-one applicants, he topped a short list of four (Mabin 1992b). The South African venture was described by the *Malay Mail* of 2 November 1934 as 'the most important town planning

scheme ever contemplated by the Union Government'. The Chief Town Planning Officer's position was for a senior planner with a metropolitan view and "actual experience in planning large schemes" (Mabin 1992b: 15). Reade was considered an ideal candidate. To family and friends his future looked rosy.

He sailed from England in September 1933. Michael and Winwood, now teenagers, were in boarding schools. Marjorie stayed behind to recuperate from the physical strain of service in Northern Rhodesia: 'Livingstone had not suited me and he [Charles] was anxious I should have a year ... to pull up. I was to join him there next Summer' (M. Reade 1933). They were never reunited. Charles' suicide brought 'grief, guilt and shame' (Garnaut 1996). Marjorie died in 1967 but did not speak again of her husband to their children. It was not until the 1980s that they began to know about their father's work.

### **Motivating values and principles**

In the absence of personal documents it is difficult to be precise about formative influences on Reade's thinking. However his passion for finding ways to ameliorate degraded human environments was foreshadowed when, as a youngster, he announced his ambition to cousin Sadie Booth: 'I'm going to spend my life trying to improve the slum dwellings of England' (Hill 1934). Moving in London in the same circles as prominent British housing reformers J.S. Nettlefold and T.C. Horsfall provided opportunity for discussion about how this goal might be achieved. Although Reade eventually extended his practice to Australasia and beyond, his concern for slum eradication and the betterment of the working classes remained firm.

Reade's early publications, especially *Revelation*, also bring to light motivating values and principles. Foremost is his belief in the individual's birth right to a decent home (Garnaut 1996). Clearly his journalistic investigations awoke him to numerous instances where this was denied and shaped his understanding of, and fuelled his outrage at, its cause – *laissez-faire* capitalism. A committed socialist and member of the British Fabian Society, he abhorred the fact that individual interest benefited at the expense of the community.

His period as a travelling reporter opened his eyes to British and European town planning developments and was influential in moulding his conviction as to the value and advantage of town planning. His journalistic encounters together with Fabian socialism helped inform his view of planning as a systematic, forward-looking process that was concerned with both new and existing sites (Reade 1917). He repeatedly distinguished between planning (for the public good) and subdividing (for the sake of returning the maximum profit to the developer's purse) deploring haphazard development for its inappropriate land use, social and aesthetic outcomes and economic loss (Barwell 1919). Not surprisingly his unremitting stance against vested interests turned numerous landowners and landlords against him.

Reade concurred with the views of Fabian leader Sidney Webb and his promotion of 'a democratic, scientific form of socialism based on parliamentary organization' (Lang 2001: 145). Socialist conviction coupled with early exposure to examples of municipal reform in Continental Europe steeled his commitment to public control of utilities and to state and municipal intervention in the organisation, coordination and regulation of land use (Hutchings 1986). He stated his view in *Revelation*: '...the well-conducted Municipality is a force for national health and social economy ... The essential of course is that its functions shall not be usurped by any combination or body of commercial interests. The latter can but represent individual gain as opposed to public or communal welfare' (Reade 1909: 9).

*Revelation* also introduced the principles, application and benefits of the garden city idea – ultimately it was this concept that 'lit the fire in his belly'. It exemplified his confidence in centralised, comprehensive planning as the key not only to the eradication of slums but also to development on garden city lines. He was equally convinced that planning could not be achieved without appropriate legislation.

### **Professional activities**

A survey of the nature and scope of Reade's work as a town planner reveals the range of tasks in which he was engaged. As 'the most active of the first generation of self-styled town planners operating in the British Empire' (Home 1997: 157) he was called upon to advise over

legislation and be an administrator, designer and author. His self-imposed educative role underpinned each of his activities. A synopsis of his key contributions follows.

### **Legislation**

Reade raised public consciousness about the need for and rationale behind comprehensive town planning and about the legislative means by which it could be achieved. He was a conduit for information about legislative proposals elsewhere, notably in Britain and America, providing practical advice as to how international initiatives might be incorporated or adapted locally. For example in South Australia he introduced the idea of the city planning commission forwarding a Central Town Planning and Housing Commission for the (rejected) 1916 Town Planning and Housing Bill. He alerted his audiences to ways of attaining prevailing planning goals – ‘comfort, convenience and beauty’ – through legislation. Additionally he brought in ‘a standardised international vocabulary’ (Freestone 1998: 175) of planning terms that included land use zoning; road classification; transport planning; building density and arrangement; provision of public facilities; reserved public open space; preservation of natural and built features; self-contained communities; garden suburbs; local planning schemes.

In drafting town planning legislation for South Australia he provided the stimulus for similar action in other Australian states (Hutchings 2000). His legislative experience led to his appointment as Government Town Planner in the FMS and the introduction of new town planning laws there. He made unsolicited suggestions about legislation to New Zealand colleagues (Reade 1926a). Others have described and appraised the actual measures that he developed and their success and legacy in Australia (Hutchings 2000, Sandercock 1990, Freestone 1989, Tregenza 1981) and the FMS (Bristow 2000, Lee 1991).

### **Legislation drafted**

#### **South Australia**

Town Planning and Housing Bill 1916 (failed)

Garden Suburb Act 1919

Town Planning and Development Act 1920

#### **Federated Malay States**

Town Planning Enactment 1923

Draft Bill for the Town Improvement and Development Ordinance (Singapore) 1923 (with E.P. Richards)

#### **Northern Rhodesia**

Revisions to the Town Planning Ordinance 1929

### **Administrator**

Under Reade’s administrative guidance town planning departments were established in South Australia and the FMS and a scheme for departmental organisation prepared in Northern Rhodesia. Usually working with a small staff (one draftsman and a typist in Adelaide) he undertook routine tasks, methodically answering correspondence, preparing memos and reports, undertaking site visits and advising on planning proposals. Regarding specific projects he oversaw all stages of the design process from preliminary sketches to final plans.

He organised and supported conferences and exhibitions. The First Town Planning and Housing Conference and Exhibition held in Adelaide in 1917 comprised a week-long programme of speakers, tours, town planning displays, model housing and children’s playground exhibits. He encouraged participants from a range of backgrounds and, reflecting an ‘inclusive approach’ (Gatley 2000: 374) sought the active involvement of women. He supplied colleagues in New Zealand with a vast quantity of display material in the form of maps, plans and photographs. In the FMS he organised two exhibitions showing historical and contemporary aspects of town planning as well as progress and prospects for Malaya (Lee 1991). He prepared an extensive catalogue for each.



## **Administrator**

### **Town planning departments established**

- South Australia
- Federated Malay States

### **Conferences arranged**

- First Australian Town Planning and Housing Conference and Exhibition, Adelaide 1917 (with Victor Ryan)
- First Exhibition of Town Planning and Housing in British Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1926 (in association with Malayan Agri-Horticultural Show)
- Second Exhibition of Town Planning and Housing in British Malaya, Ipoh, 1927

### **Conferences supported**

- Second Town Planning and Housing Conference and Exhibition, Brisbane, 1918 (attended, delivered a paper)
- First New Zealand Town Planning Conference, Wellington, New Zealand, 1919 (did not attend but supplied a paper and exhibit materials)

## **Designer**

Reade had the imagination and confidence to turn his hand to design projects of various types and scale. His largest known portfolio of commissions was in South Australia. So was his greatest practical achievement – the Mitcham Garden Suburb known from 1921 as Colonel Light Gardens – inspired by Raymond Unwin’s Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907) but incorporating cutting-edge design ideas from America and Europe (Garnaut 1999). Intended as an object lesson in garden city planning, he also conceived its unique administrative structure – the Garden Suburb Commission – and drafted its enabling legislation that illustrated the principles and means of comprehensive planning at the micro-level. The suburb survives virtually intact as testimony to the fact that the British garden city model ‘was capable of reinterpretation to suit local climate and culture’ (Miller 2002: 16). Importantly it supports Reade’s faith in the endurance of the garden city idea expressed at the level of ‘home and the residential environment’ (Ward 1992: 5).

His ‘minor’ design projects in South Australia were complementary object lessons in particular aspects of garden city planning (Garnaut 1997) and another means to introduce imported design ideas such as the elements and layout of children’s playgrounds. Reade’s promotion of reserved open space led to a number of local government commissions for ‘recreation parks’ featuring areas for active and passive pursuits. The advent of World War 1 realised the construction of various types of memorials to those who died and Reade was engaged to either design or advise on designs for soldiers’ memorial gardens in numerous rural towns. These were formally laid out, self-contained spaces.

Reade’s recorded projects in the FMS include the new town of Kuala Kota Baru near Kuala Lumpur and a Cameron Highlands town planned after a trip to the Philippines where he saw Daniel Burnham’s Baguio (Lee 1991, Home 1997). He was responsible for replanning schemes in Kuala Lumpur (Bristow 2000) Ipoh and Seremban (Shamsudin 1996) and he advised on designs for the ports of Jessalton and Sandakan for the British North Borneo Company. In Northern Rhodesia his main design tasks focussed on plans for Ndola and Livingstone.

## Selected projects

### South Australia

- Plan for Adelaide (1917) (not executed)
- Mitcham Garden Suburb (1917) (now Colonel Light Gardens)
- local government, private and corporate commissions including (with examples)
  - residential subdivisions (Gallipoli Garden Village, Novar Garden Suburb)
  - recreation parks (Thebarton, Prospect)
  - children's playgrounds (Port Pirie, West Terrace)
  - soldiers' memorial gardens (Victor Harbor, Goolwa, Kapunda)
  - suburban and rural town improvement schemes (Rose Park, Jamestown)
  - proposals for new rural towns (Tarcoola, Lake Bonney Garden City (now Barmera))
  - proposals for rural town extensions (Berri, Waikerie)

### Federated Malay States

#### Kuala Lumpur

- Kuala Kubu Baru (new town)
- Cameron Highlands (hill town)
- urban replanning schemes

### Northern Rhodesia

- plans for the towns of Ndola and Livingstone

## Author

Reade developed a modest but useful body of literature. *Revelation* was a vital chronicle of the conditions that motivated his lifelong ambition. His *Planning and Development of Towns and Cities in South Australia* (1919) focused on local, national and international planning examples and on proposed schemes for South Australia. Journal articles dealt with a range of topics predominantly centred on the garden city idea. His annual reports not only recorded his official tasks but also documented achievements, tensions and constraints. Notes to journals in England informed authorities of his activities and of the 'state of play' in the places where he worked. (They also kept his name to the fore.) They are a useful biographical source.

## Selected publications

### Books

*The Revelation of Britain: a book for colonials*, Auckland: Gordon and Gotch, 1909.

### Articles and conference papers

Articles in *Garden Cities and Town Planning*, *Town Planning Review*, *The Salon* (Australia), *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*; *Town Planning and Housing Review* (Australia).  
Conference papers for Adelaide (1917), Brisbane (1918), Wellington, NZ (1919).

### Conference Proceedings

*Official Volume of Proceedings of the First Town Planning and Housing Conference and Exhibition*, Adelaide October 1917, Adelaide: Vardon and Sons, 1918.

### Reports

*Planning and Development of Towns and Cities in South Australia*  
*South Australian Parliamentary Papers*, no 63 1919.  
Annual Reports of the Government Town Planner, Federated Malay States and Director of Town Planning and Development, Northern Rhodesia.

### Exhibition Catalogues

'Modern Town Planning and Housing. Special exhibits for British Malaya Explanation and brief descriptive notes.' *First Exhibition of Town Planning and Housing in British Malaya*. Kuala Lumpur: Department of Town Planning, 1926.  
*Modern Town Planning and Housing Explanation and Catalogue of Second Exhibition in British Malaya*, Kuala Lumpur: Department of Town Planning, 1927.

### **Skills and qualities**

A number of Reade's skills and qualities have been noted. Several others bear mentioning. He was a networker whose ability to establish and maintain links was crucial both for his own cause and for disseminating information. He joined professional bodies including the British Town Planning Institute (Associate) and the American City Planning Institute 'for the sake of getting publications and keeping in touch with ... friends' (Reade 1925). He became a point of contact for contemporaries in Australasia and for international colleagues and acquaintances. When the opportunity arose, he distributed, worldwide, copies of reports, legislation, maps, plans and illustrative materials. By retaining collegial links developed in New Zealand in 1911 he was able to inform and support activities in his homeland (Reade 1926b). As he recognised, in Australia, in the absence of a formal national planning authority, he filled a gap with his 'ability and experience ... and wide knowledge of planning, development, and housing practice in different countries' (Reade quoted in Freestone 1989: 75).

He was able, energetic, quick-witted and adept both at 'getting things done' (Reade 1919) and at turning his hand to a variety of tasks in any given setting. Indeed his colleagues admired 'his enormous capacity for work, and his wonderful facility for extracting and acquiring knowledge' (GCTP 1914: 1). He promoted collaboration and negotiation motivating supporters and attracting new ones with his vision and missionary enthusiasm. He influenced the formation of state-based town planning associations across Australia (Freestone 1989). At the 1919 Conference in Wellington his New Zealand colleagues recorded his local contribution. 'Mr Reade ... was the pioneer. In a great measure he had made this Conference and Exhibition possible, for he was a young man with a vision, and had been in the old lands and among the Continental cities and had seen the need for town planning in this country' (Paul 1919: 93).

He valued and acknowledged collegial support and friendship as suggested in copies of surviving letters penned just prior to his departure from Adelaide (Misc. corres.). Their content indicates a desire to affirm and empower people whose actions he admired. (Conversely he would condemn those he disapproved.) At other times he acknowledged people who sustained his personal ambition. In correspondence with Mayor of Unley, W.H. Langman, over a campaign to preserve a local park, Reade asserted: 'Yours is the task of the Crusader. It requires courage, a big heart, an undying faith' (Reade 1920a). He might well have been describing his own crusade.

### **Pressures**

Reade faced diverse professional and personal pressures. These stemmed from several sources including shifting attitudes to town planning (Bristow 2000, Home 1997); politics; 'economic vicissitudes' (Reade 1932), his peripatetic mission, family situation and personality. Climatic conditions were also a factor. Although 'in parts ... not as healthy as others' he found Northern Rhodesia 'much superior to anywhere in Malaya from the point of view of climate [and] physical health... There are definite seasonal changes [in Livingstone where it] is hotter and more humid in the season ... [but] much better than the torpid and torrid conditions prevailing all year round in Malaya' (Reade 1932).

Reade commenced his career at a time when the nascent town planning movement was perceived as having strong potential for guiding physical and land use planning, managing cities and ameliorating the social condition. Where there was the will to effect change in planning practice and to introduce legislation there was a way to put new ideas on the table and to negotiate their implementation. But if town planning's lofty ideals were to be fully implemented a shift was needed away from established political, economic and social structures. As potential supporters came to understand the nature and likely impact of changes that comprehensive town planning required, interest waned, particularly amongst landholders, and the support base narrowed. This process of declining cooperation occurred in both South Australia and the FMS where loss of political will and changed economic environments were significant factors. The 'flight from gold' (Reade 1932) in Northern Rhodesia influenced its town planning progress.

Reade encountered initially positive governments in Australia, the FMS and South Africa and was buoyed by their apparent receptiveness. In South Australia, and Australia, the support for

his 1916 Bill, model garden suburb proposal and the 1917 and 1918 conferences as well as the number of his private and public commissions suggest a high level of interest and confidence in town planning. But by the end of 1920 the heyday had passed, as opposition to his 1919 Bill demonstrated. Eventually the number and standing of his followers was not sufficient to sway the combined force of the multiple property owners, real estate agents and surveyors. The first group had plural voting rights, the other two were fed from the landowners' purses. Moreover, proposed state intervention at municipal level was an alleged threat to local power and control (Morton 1996). Reade took the more expedient course, reporting to Sydney engineer J.C. Bradfield that: '... the [Town Planning and Development] Bill was passed in the closing hours of the session ... thanks to very strenuous effort and fighting ... We did not get the whole measure but all the provisions of immediate importance were approved ... .' (Reade 1920b). Once promulgated, the Act established a permanent town planning department that could comment on planning applications and design new schemes but lacked technical 'teeth' (Hutchings 1986).

In the FMS politics, money and votes were also closely tied. Reade arrived not long before a review of the success of the policy of centralisation that had realised the union of four Malay states – Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang – but a loss of autonomy for their Sultan rulers (Kennedy 1970). A Federal Council had been formed as a result of centralisation but it was presided over by a High Commissioner and he, and the majority of its members, were British – the indigenous voice was reduced to a discontented minority. Little action was taken to redress the situation until the early 1920s when the effects of economic depression forced a critical review of government administration. Decentralisation policies were introduced in February 1927.

Meantime Reade had overseen the drafting and passage of the *Town Planning Enactment* (1923) that created a Federal Town Planning Department headed by a permanent Government Town Planner. It established development guidelines and rules and regulations for their application. But there were implementation problems and the Enactment was widely condemned. Delays, uncertainty over responsibilities, communication troubles and the seemingly excessive powers of the Government Town Planner were all raised (Bristow 2000, Garnaut 1997, Lee 1991). Landowners, architects and surveyors grew impatient with thwarted development efforts. Reade was heavily criticised. In the event, the 1923 Enactment was revised and the Government Town Planner's role reverted to that of adviser. A new position, Assistant Town Planning Superintendent, was created but its essential criteria called for a person aged 23-30 years with theoretical training at a university or school recognised by the Town Planning Institute of Great Britain. Reade, then in his late forties and without qualifications, was ineligible to apply (JTPI 1928-29: 135).

Denigration of and then changes to the Enactment challenged Reade and the worth of his efforts. No wonder he wrote despairingly to compatriot George Fowlds: 'We have at times to face discouraging failures and opposition both within and outside Government Service...[from] opponents who ... are lacking in any understanding or knowledge of [town planning's] chief purposes' (Reade 1926b). Predictably he did not accept the amendments without protest and was labelled 'recalcitrant' (Guillemard 1929). His reaction led to his dismissal, although it was touted as the outcome of policy review (Garnaut 1997).

### **Personal**

Reade was born into a family with a strong allegiance to the British Empire and to the idea of imperial service. He took up his career at a time when the imperial project was near its peak (Freestone 1998) and 'the colonial mentality to show a better way, to create a patch of England in another setting' (Garnaut 1996) was still strong. *Revelation's* sub-title, 'A Book for Colonials' and its frequent references to the colonies and the mother country show and reinforce his belief in the imperialist agenda. It came to the fore in his missionary ethic and directed his peripatetic impulse.

The very fact of his nomadic lifestyle with its attendant uncertainties and insecurities was perhaps his greatest personal pressure. Although initially self-imposed, it became his only option. The Australasian Town Planning Tour, although a turning point, put him in an invidious position in regard to his relationship with the GCTPA. In the wake of world war the

Association's attention turned from converting the developing colonies to reconstruction projects at and near home. It actually abandoned Reade – near the Tour's completion, when he enquired as to his role upon his return to England, he was advised that he would not have one (Freestone 1998). Without an income and relying on sponsorship for all living and tour-related expenses he had little choice *but* to remain in Australia where there was the promise of a few months' work. With ties to the GCTPA cut, he was left to his own devices to carve his niche and fulfil his personal ambition.

Reade needed regular employment to support his dependents – this and the 'separation for the cash benefit' (Hill 1934) were subtle, constant pressures. His first permanent job was secured in Adelaide in 1918 and two years later he and Marjorie commenced building a substantial home in the seaside suburb of Brighton. But he relinquished the job and the house in 1921 and it was a further four years before he fell again into the 'permanent and pensionable' category. Dismissal from the FMS precipitated another period of employment uncertainty. His children have clear memories of a frugal lifestyle, the insecurity of not having a family home and the tension when their father was out of work (Garnaut, 1996). After his death Marjorie recalled the 'heavy strain he had been under since we retired from Northern Rhodesia' (M. Reade 1933).

It is obvious from correspondence in 1932 between Reade and John Mawson, Director of Town Planning in New Zealand that by then he was hoping, even yearning, for a settled lifestyle. He welcomed Mawson's suggestion that the pair exchange positions as he was '...not really disposed to remain in Africa indefinitely separated from my children ... [B]y 1933 their schooling in England will be nearing completion and I shall be looking for a place where town planning and development work go hand in hand with a fixed abode and a life such as New Zealand alone can give' (Reade 1932). He approved of Mawson's plan as 'a pleasant and welcome prospect' as his family could be reunited permanently and he could renew 'many friend [ships] and connections.'

### **Personality**

Although he believed in himself and his message, Reade was naive about his ability to initiate change. Seemingly over-ambitious, he sought to achieve more than was possible within the existing political and economic framework. In the face of altered political views he pressed on regardless either blind to shifts in thinking or choosing to disregard them. Perhaps in his initial assessment of environments new to him, he did not familiarise himself sufficiently with the local scene. His oft-quoted introduction to the Adelaide Establishment is a case in point. He challenged, even insulted, this well-heeled group with the suggestion that Adelaide was a city of slums. 'When a visitor to your home calls your oil paintings oleographs, your silver spoons brass, and your dog a mongrel, he is hardly the man you would desire to meet again' (Quoted in Tregenza 1981: 66).

Near the end of his time in Kuala Lumpur he was described as 'intransigent' (Martin 1929) and lacking 'persuasion, arrangement and compromise' (Guillemard 1927). He was even a threat to orderly colonial relations (Garnaut 1997). In Northern Rhodesia his requests were considered pedantic to the point of being ridiculous. Administrative reports reveal intense dissatisfaction with unrealistic demands like the request for a close contour survey of a 600 acre site with a 'fixation on every anthill' (Fairweather 1931: 479) and repetitious and expensive surveying and design tasks. Although he faced opposition in Australia, the level of personal hostility in subsequent career phases appears more intense suggesting the need for further enquiry.

### **Conclusion**

Reade not only took the message of garden cities and town planning to several continents but also was responsible for implementing legislative and practical measures to effect its application. He was a propagandist and an educator who through a variety of means advanced the knowledge of people in Australasia, Asia and Africa about the concept, objectives and benefits of town planning. Through his efforts they came to (better) know the garden city idea and its social and environmental aims, physical planning principles and suburban and metropolitan-wide applications. In South Australia he designed a model garden suburb to illustrate its theoretical and practical objectives.

Investigation of Reade's career reveals professional and personal realities faced by an early twentieth century town planning advocate striving to shape a new era of people and cities largely by dint of individual effort. Driven by childhood ambition and an 'instinctive response to what was good and progressive in life' (Hill 1934) he set a course that took him into uncharted waters and to places unimagined at his odyssey's start. His 'crowded' and 'busy life' (Hill 1934) touched countless people on several parts of the globe.

'Planners need to have visions but not visions that are set in stone ... a singular vision, no matter how persuasive and pertinent at the time, can become an impediment in the long term'" (Watson in Freestone 1993: 148). Reade's vision was singular and in the end an 'impediment' that contributed to his demise. As audiences became less receptive to the gospel of garden cities and town planning he did not adjust his message or methods. Indeed the harder he tried to assist 'town planning [to] leave a permanent and indelible mark upon ... growing towns' (Reade 1926b) the more difficult the task became. The steadfastness of his faith eventually blinded him to reality.

Reade is gradually being 'rescued from relative obscurity' (Home 1997: 158) as planning historians uncover the extent and impact of his effort and its toll in 'human terms' (Krueckeberg 1994: 5). He had his faults, as any human being, but these aside, his virtues, magnanimous commitment and enduring legacy as a global planner stand out. As William Saw (1920) a West Australian contemporary predicted on the eve of Reade's departure from Australia: 'his work will live after we have all departed hence.'

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**MODERN MAN IN HISTORICAL TOWN - DIALOG OR CONFLICT**

Dalia DIJOKIENE

Institution: Vilnius Gediminas Technical  
University,  
Department of Urban Design

Address: Didlaukio 38-24  
Vilnius, LT 2057  
LITHUANIA

Tel: +370 2 778550  
Fax: +370 2 751469  
Email: [dijokai@takas.lt](mailto:dijokai@takas.lt)

## **Introduction.**

Town is inseparable from society. Its essence is coded not in the abundance of buildings or architectural constructions but in the attitude of the society.

Throughout the history the attitude of the humankind towards the town has been changing. In the ancient times a town was considered a prototype of the heavenly order on the earth, as contrasted with the chaos. The analogy drawn between the town and the positioning of the center of the Universe frequently determined its location – people often chose hills for that purpose, as the place where „the earth meets the sky“. The Middle Ages brought the town down to earth treating it as an autonomous world created by humans. New elements, such as market-squares and town halls were introduced in towns as symbols of the center of civic, earthly life.

Each epoch has left its trace on the town's face reflecting its perception of existence. A domed roof, a sharp-roofed tower, an open avenue or an enclosed yard not only denote different places of residence but also reflect diverse perceptions of human destiny. As it has been said once, the essence of a town is not beyond but inside us.

Historical town centers are a special inheritance of a modern man. Historical environment generally embeds deep conflicts between a material structure and social requirements dictated by daily life. For that reason old towns should be inhabited by a special type of dwellers, whose demographic features, way of life and interests enable them to blend in the environment and feel at ease. Such inhabitants should like nonstandard flats, value beauty and originality of the surrounding environment and also be prepared to put up with very limited greenery, tiny yards and traffic noise. The composition of the population of an old town determines not only the future of the historical environment but also its public life, which plays an important role in forming the general impression about the town or the block. The only way to preserve a historical environment is to ensure that life in it is a *dialog* not a *conflict*. The question to be answered is ***whether a modern man able to find a common language with the historical environment.***

This presentation is based on the example of one of the Vilnius' historical suburbs.

### **1. Vilnius' Old Town.**

As the capital of Lithuania, Vilnius was first mentioned in written sources back in 1323, during the rule of Great Duke Gediminas. Many centuries later, in 1994, the historical center of Vilnius was entered in the UNESCO World Heritage List. The historical center comprises:

- ◇ Territory of castles,
- ◇ Historical kernel of the town surrounded in the 16th century by a defense wall, and
- ◇ Historical suburbs formed by the mid 19th century (Medieval suburbs).

The network of the town's streets and blocks developed by adapting to the rolling relief and the existing roads. Eventually Vilnius became a town of a clearly expressed circular plan with streets radiating out from the original site of the Castle. No major urban projects were implemented in the town until the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Vilnius one may find historical buildings representing a whole range of architectural styles. Almost 40% of these buildings are deemed to have the highest architectural and historic value and make up a very rich and at the same time harmonious townscape of great diversity.

### **2. Uzupis – one of the historical suburbs of Vilnius.**

#### **2.1. History of Uzupis.**

The center of the town is just at hand - across the river, but it was this natural barrier that caused Uzupis to remain a suburb. During the early phases of the town's development bridges and water mills were built across the gushing Vilnele River. This was accompanied by formation of roads and construction of houses along them. During the 15-17<sup>th</sup> centuries Uzupis was located on the main road to the East leading to Pollock and Vytebsk, the then Russian trade and state centers. The Pollock road was the axis along which Uzupis was developed.

During the 16-17<sup>th</sup> centuries land plots in Uzupis were distributed to public figures, soldiers and officials for devotion at work. They were neither very rich nor famous people. After receiving a land plot they would erect wooden houses of the type of a small estate. The neighborhood comprised minor craftsmen and Slav merchants. The riverbank was dotted by cloth and wax bleaching facilities, while the river was used for raft floating. The building up of the area closer to the town's historical kernel was more dense, while further from the town the density of buildings grew lower, with farmland and hayfields taking up more space.

Life was busy in Uzupis. It was like an independent organism attached to the city, with its own market-square, small church, the rich and the poor. Paradoxically, this suburb was both detached from the town and closely linked to it at the same time. Due to the natural barriers, which are still there today, Uzupis has remained isolated to a certain degree, which enabled it to preserve its special character. The present-day Uzupis is a blend of elements of the old town and the village nicely merging together with the help of the rich natural surroundings.

## 2.2. Uzupis today.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century small-scale trade and crafts perished from Uzupis due to the urbanization processes. Residence became a dominant function of the suburb. It started floundering as it was economically and socially neglected regardless of its location near the heart of the town. Even today many buildings have no heating system other than solid fuel furnaces and no hot water. Moreover, cold water is obtained only through water pumps outside houses.

Since historically this district was a suburb (not a town), its historical-urban value has been neglected for a long time. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century three regeneration projects were drawn up for the Old Town of Vilnius and only the third one covered Uzupis conducting a detailed historical and architectural research in this suburb.

During the eighties of last century Uzupis became an object of an increasing public interest. The press published a number of articles comparing it to such art citadels as the Montmartre of Paris or the Soho of London. A few years ago, the Uzupis community announced its plans to establish a “republic of Uzupis”, free and open to everyone. The suburb provoked extensive and diverse discussions. Some thought that it would soon be turned into ruins, while others started anticipating Uzupis’ rebirth.

## 2.3. Uzupis’ inhabitants.

Uzupis’ inhabitants express the greatest concern over the past and the future of the suburb. On the basis of their involvement in public life and impact on the suburb they could be divided into “active” and “passive”. Table 1 presents three groups of Uzupis dwellers.

Table 1.

<b>Passive</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Native inhabitants</b> – mainly poor population of the old suburb, inheritors of the buildings
<b>Active</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Artists</b> – the ones who received during the Soviet period workshops in run-down buildings of Uzupis and moved to live there after 1990 (restoration of Lithuania’s independence)
<b>Active</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Newly settled entrepreneurs</b> – well-off people who have bought flats or houses in Uzupis during the current decade.

Short description of each of the groups:

Native inhabitants are rather passive. Although they own buildings as inheritance, these people are mostly poor and anticipate an opportunity to sell their property. Lately, Uzupis has become a subject of widespread promotion campaigns emphasizing its architectural-urban value so these inhabitants are raising real estate prices, which deters investors.

Artists – actors, sculptors, painters, architects. They are the most active Uzupis dwellers organizing in this suburb a variety of events, such as entertaining Uzupis independence day festival, erection of monuments, “houseclean” days, fashion shows in Uzupis ruins, arts days, etc. A couple of years ago intellectuals would either avoid passing this suburb or scuttle through it as quickly as possible so as not to run into some gang of drunken commoners. At that time the proportion of these two types of population was not favorable to intellectuals. Today the situation is different and if the contingent change tendencies persist in the future, Uzupis will soon become a major attraction place for bohemia and intellectual public. The Alternative Arts Center located in Uzupis has repeatedly addressed Vilnius municipality asking for premises but has always received the same answer: “well, if you had money then we could...”. Artists esteeming the authentic ancient spirit of the suburb do not want it to become a place built up with hotels and buildings of obscure-purpose architecture. This group of inhabitants most clearly expresses an interest in establishing a *dialogue with the historical environment*. However, they are subject to certain financial limitations.

Newly settled entrepreneurs became interested in Uzupis during the current decade or so. They have been buying buildings in the most attractive spots of the suburb and have been renovating them. In this way the part of Uzupis with a panorama of the Old Town is being revitalized, while the remaining territory was left to flounder.

All the three groups of Uzupis inhabitants have their own opinion about this suburb and express their interests in individual ways. Though it might seem that the material interests of *entrepreneurs* might result in a conflict with the historical environment their patriotic approach towards the suburb is getting more evident:

- *Entrepreneurs* extend to the municipality a variety of proposals concerning renovation of the buildings and display initiative themselves (Kniezaite, 2000; Marcenaite, 1996; Valonyte, 2000).
- *Native inhabitants* show interest in the renovation processes being most concerned about the quality of the works and protection of their property rights. (Dumalakas, 2002; Jarmalis, 2001).
- *Artists* are mainly concerned with the preservation of the “artistic impact and character” of Uzupis (Personyte, 1997; Zemuliene, 2002).

Uzupis’ inhabitants assess this historical suburb mainly from the emotional point of view without having much knowledge of the facts about its value (historical, cultural, architectural, urban, etc.). This should not be considered a negative factor. The strong community relations and active life of the Uzupis dwellers play an important role in promoting the district, which might help to change its image as a slowly dilapidating part of the town and turn a new page in its history.

### **Summary.**

- One of the determining factors of cultural heritage protection is respect of the society to its past, traditions, attitude towards the cultural heritage, ethnical culture, language, fostering and protection initiatives (Purlys, 1998, 2002).
- *Rising of public awareness* is a primary means to assist future generations in gaining understanding of cultural and historical values. Thus one of the key strategies of the Old Town revitalization is *education of the public* (Rutkauskas, 2002; Sostines, 2002). The degree of public awareness will lead to “conscious participation and expressed will of the society in the preservation and enrichment of the values of the Old Town, as well as the volume and quality of investments, investment climate, relations between the private and public sector, social and cultural processes” (Vilnius, 2000, p. 19). Rising of public awareness, nurturing of the identity of the historic environment will encourage social groups which are currently inclined to conflict with this environment (a good example is the *native inhabitants* and *newly settled entrepreneurs* of Uzupis) to start a dialog.
- *Formation and promotion of local communities, and their active participation* in the preservation of the cultural heritage is highly important. The unique character of the historical territories, which has been formed throughout the centuries, may be best preserved by their inhabitants (Uzupis is an evident example). The following are factors uniting the local community:
  - Clear boundaries of a territory;
  - Identification with the place of residence (e.g. it may be reinforced by renovating public suburban areas, squares, etc., which could thus be turned into public meeting places) (Pickard, de Thyse, 2001));
  - Cultural events in the area;
  - Fostering of historical values;
  - Introduction of partial self-governance;
  - Favorable disposition of the municipal authorities towards the initiatives of local communities.
- The role of local communities in the implementation of historical territories treatment programs should be one of the central factors.

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### List of visual material

1. Fragment of Vilnius’ town plan.
2. Plan of Vilnius’ Old Town.

3. Vilnius' Old Town.
4. Panorama of Uzupis, a historical suburb.
5. Culture events in Uzupis (pictures).
- 6-9. Contrasts of Uzupis (views and buildings).

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# PLANNING CAPITAL CITIES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: OTTAWA-HULL

Dr. David L. A. Gordon, MCIP AICP,  
School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, Kingston K7L 3N6  
[Gordond@post.queensu.ca](mailto:Gordond@post.queensu.ca) Tel: 613-533-2188 Fax (613) 533-6905

## Abstract:

There were six distinct phases in the 20<sup>th</sup> century planning of Canada's capital:

1. the Ottawa Improvement Commission, 1899-1913
2. the Federal Plan Commission , 1913-1916
3. the Federal District Commission , 1927-1939
4. the immediate post-war period, 1945-1958
5. the National Capital Commission 1959-1971
6. the transition to regional government 1971-2001

It took five elements – politics, finance, planning, administration and a champion to get rapid implementation of a capital plan in Canada. Ottawa-Hull only saw significant development in the 1950s, when these factors were all in place. The federal government did not have jurisdiction over planning and conflict rapidly emerged after the local and regional governments prepared their own plans in the 1970s. The National Capital Commission (NCC) lost influence over local planning with poor results in terms of protecting the views of Parliament Hill and bridges across the Ottawa River. In recent years, the NCC has re-focused on the symbolic core of the capital, attempting to knit the Ontario and Quebec sides of the river together.

Draft Version 5

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# PLANNING CAPITAL CITIES IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: OTTAWA-HULL

## Context from the Nineteenth Century

Ottawa (founded as Bytown in 1826) was not the first choice as the seat of government of the United Canadas. The politicians could not decide between Québec City, Kingston, Montréal and Toronto. They finally asked Queen Victoria to arbitrate the issue and to select the seat of government for them. She chose Ottawa, a lumber town on the border between Québec and Ontario.<sup>i</sup>

Development of Canada's national capital could not start with a vacant site and a new plan, similar to Canberra, Washington, New Delhi, or Brasilia. When Queen Victoria made her choice in 1857, there were over 10,000 people living in the town. There was no immediate need for a plan for the new seat of government, since Barracks Hill was the obvious site for the parliament buildings, and there was the remainder of a 400 acre Crown land reserve available for future expansion. Perhaps another reason why no plan was prepared for the new capital was that few of the legislators cared for the place. While Ottawa may have been everybody's second choice, it was nobody's first choice either as a capital, or as a place to live.

Luckily for Ottawa, the huge public expenditure upon the parliament buildings made it difficult to re-open the issue of the capital's location when the federal government was negotiated from 1864-67. There was little inclination to discuss the governance of the capital during confederation. One of the negotiators proposed a federal district similar to Washington, but the idea was ignored and Ottawa was left as a city under the direct control of the new province of Ontario.<sup>ii</sup>

The antipathy of the legislators was not surprising, because Ottawa was a dreadful place in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Ottawa was a one industry town in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, and that industry was lumber, not government. The politicians and 350 civil servants occupied only the picturesque triptych of gothic buildings on Parliament Hill. The legislators typically boarded in hotels, and the civil servants barely made a dent in the society of "*one of the roughest, booziest least law-abiding towns in North America*"<sup>iii</sup> The capital had none of the utilities found in a major city of the day: no paved streets, no sewers, no gaslights and no piped water supply. The considerable natural beauty of the site was marred by woods-based industry in the late nineteenth century. The lumber piles gave the twentieth century a rough start from a fire that destroyed large areas of Hull and Ottawa in 1900.<sup>iv</sup>

The federal government of Canada made repeated attempts to plan and develop its seat of government during the twentieth century. The capital planning agencies floundered until the 1950s, when they took off, yielding dramatic growth and improvement of Ottawa and Hull.

There were six distinct phases in the 20<sup>th</sup> century planning of Canada's capital:

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| a) the Ottawa Improvement Commission (OIC), | 1899-1913 |
| b) the Federal Plan Commission (FPC),       | 1913-1916 |
| c) the Federal District Commission (FDC),   | 1927-1939 |
| d) the immediate post-war period,           | 1945-1958 |
| e) the National Capital Commission (NCC)    | 1959-1971 |
| f) the transition to regional government    | 1971-2001 |

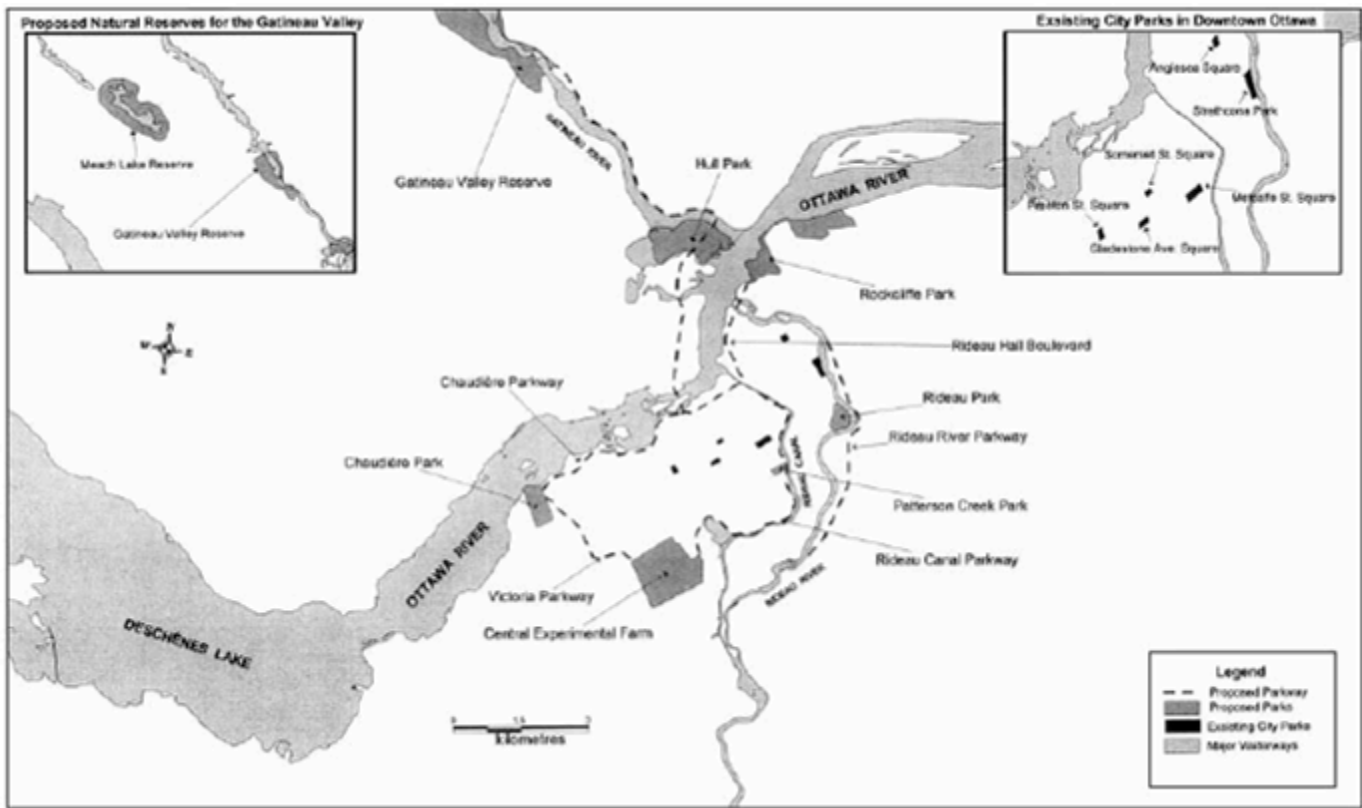
INSERT TABLE 1 – OUTLINE CHRONOLOGY OF OTTAWA-HULL

## The Ottawa Improvement Commission: The Washington of the North? (1899-1913)

The official neglect of Canada's capital began to change in the 1890s, under Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier. Laurier did not have a good early impression of the capital, but in 1893, he promised: *"to make the city of Ottawa as attractive as possibly could be; to make it the centre of the intellectual development of this country and above all the Washington of the north."*<sup>v</sup> Unfortunately, "Washington of the North" became the slogan for Ottawa's improvement as a national capital, establishing a precedent that was not always appropriate. Laurier established the Ottawa Improvement Commission [OIC] in 1899.<sup>vi</sup> The OIC was granted \$60,000 per year and reported directly to the Minister of Finance. Laurier took a personal interest in the work of the commission.

At first, there was general acclaim for its work. The OIC cleared the industries from the west bank of the Rideau Canal and built a parkway that was both popular and improved the view when entering the capital by train. In 1903, the OIC commissioned Montréal landscape architect Frederick Todd (1876-1948) to prepare a preliminary plan for Ottawa's parks and parkways. Todd had trained in the office of Frederick Law Olmsted and was one of Canada's first landscape architects and town planners.<sup>vii</sup> He prepared a preliminary plan for the open space system of the national capital, including the first proposal to acquire Gatineau Park in Québec. (Figure 1) Todd respected the unique natural setting of the city and its Gothic-revival parliament buildings, and recommended avoiding any literal planning of a "Washington of the North." His inter-connected parks system, regional approach and admiration for natural systems reflect the best of the Olmsted tradition and modern ecological planning principles. Unfortunately, the OIC chose to ignore the report and proceed with incremental additions to the Ottawa parks, without the guidance of architects, planners or landscape architects. Rockcliffe Park was enlarged along the Ottawa River, another park was built on the Rideau River and several small squares in the city got their first landscaping.<sup>viii</sup>

FIGURE 1 TODD PARKS PLAN MAP





The new greenery sprouting throughout the city delighted its citizens and the Laurier government. Plan implementation for Canada's capital during this period showed an adequate financial strategy and a good political champion in Laurier, but the implementation agency suffered from a lack of design skills and administrative expertise.

### **The Federal Plan Commission: City Beautiful on the Ottawa River (1913-1916)**

Although Prime Minister Laurier was satisfied with the work of the OIC, criticism of Ottawa planning gradually grew in the first decade of the century. Governor-General Earl Grey, a patron of several English town planning movements, closely followed Ottawa planning issues.<sup>ix</sup> He sponsored tours by British experts Raymond Unwin, Thomas Mawson and Henry Vivian, M.P.<sup>x</sup> Ottawa architect Colborne started a well-coordinated lobby to take control of a new plan for the nation's capital, aided by Noulan Cauchon, an Ottawa railway engineer.<sup>xi</sup> Meredith's objective was an elite commission of technical experts to supervise preparation of a comprehensive plan. This model was based upon Washington's successful experience with the 1902 Senate Parks Commission, which was well known at the time.<sup>xii</sup>

The new Conservative Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, proceeded cautiously, quietly dropping the idea of directly commissioning Mawson.<sup>xiii</sup> The government published a policy paper including a critiques from the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, Unwin, Mawson, and Meredith.<sup>xiv</sup> Borden wanted a process that was under his direct political control, rather than an independent panel of expert professionals. Senior staff discreetly assembled a group of prominent Conservative businessmen to act as a planning commission chaired by Herbert Holt, president of the Royal Bank.<sup>xv</sup> The federal government attempted to co-opt the local governments by appointing the mayors of both Ottawa and Hull as ex-officio members of the new Federal Plan Commission (FPC). Adding Hull to the FPC's mandate was an astute political move, since the Québec side of the Ottawa River had realized few benefits from the Ottawa's designation as the seat of government, and little attention from the OIC.

The FPC retained Edward H. Bennett of Chicago as their consulting architect and planner. Bennett (1874-1954) was born and raised in England, and educated at the prestigious Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. He was responsible for several major plans, including the landmark 1909 *Plan of Chicago*, co-authored by Daniel Burnham. In the absence of capable Canadian planners, Bennett's English heritage, French education and American experience made him perhaps uniquely suited for the Ottawa-Hull commission.<sup>xvi</sup> He prepared a plan for the capital in the City Beautiful style (Figure 2), with comprehensive technical planning for infrastructure and zoning.<sup>xvii</sup> Although the Borden government tabled the FPC report in Parliament in March 1916, it quickly disappeared from sight. The Centre Block of the Parliament buildings had burned a few weeks before, and rebuilding them would absorb any funds the government could devote to Ottawa outside the war effort.<sup>xviii</sup>

FIGURE 2 – 1915 FPC PLAN FOR CENTRAL OTTAWA.



The political structure that Borden's office established for the FPC may also have hindered implementation of the plan. The commission disbanded and its staff dispersed after the report was printed. The mayors changed frequently in those days, so there were no powerful local advocates of the plan when it was released. The FPC's Tory commissioners moved on to other concerns during the war, and they had no political access to the prime minister's office after the Liberal Party won the 1921 election. The FPC plan sat on the shelf.<sup>xix</sup>

This period is a classic "good plan/poor implementation" scenario – the consultant team's technical expertise was wasted for want of political support, funding or administrative capacity.

### **A King for a Town Planner: The Federal District Commission (1927-1939)**

William Lyon Mackenzie King (1874-1950) was Canada's longest-serving prime minister, holding that office for most of the period from 1921 to 1948. Like his mentor Laurier, King was dismayed by Ottawa when he arrived as a civil servant in 1900. Unlike previous prime ministers, King had a strong personal interest in town planning. Although King's main professional interest was labour relations, he regarded town planning as a key component of an overall program for social reform.<sup>xx</sup>

King's interest in planning was complemented by a growing personal commitment to Ottawa's development as a capital worthy of the growing nation. He personally managed almost every planning and design proposal of the federal government over the next thirty years.<sup>xxi</sup> Mackenzie King took control of the Ottawa Improvement Commission during his first term of office (1921-1930), recruiting the energetic Ottawa utilities tycoon Thomas Ahern as the new chairman. King dissolved the agency in 1927 established a Federal District Commission (FDC) with a wider mandate and larger budget.<sup>xxii</sup> Mackenzie King originally favoured the federal district concept, perhaps because of his academic training and reform background, but the idea was unpopular in Quebec due to concerns over language and culture. So the FDC became a parks agency operating on both sides of the river, but with no local government powers and little planning capacity.

The Prime Minister had ambitious plans during the boom years of the late 1920s. Mackenzie King and Ahern planned an urban renewal scheme to create a major public plaza between Elgin Street, the Rideau Canal and Wellington Street. This scheme was loosely based upon Edward Bennett's 1915 proposal for a civic plaza in Ottawa (see Figure 2). After a key building was destroyed by fire, King personally drove a bill through parliament to amend the FDC's act and provide a fund of \$3 million to redevelop the core of the capital.<sup>xxiii</sup> King used the federal investment to push the Ottawa City Council into an agreement that they would relocate City Hall. City Council's agreement was the start of twenty years of poor treatment of the local government by a federal government determined to remake the historic core of the city in its own image.<sup>xxiv</sup>

To give some political impetus to the Elgin Street plaza, Mackenzie King named the project Confederation Square and proposed it as the site for the national memorial to those who gave their lives in the Great War. A memorial had been commissioned from an English sculptor, but its site had not been selected from several locations on Parliament Hill and its surroundings.<sup>xxv</sup> King lost the 1930 election before he could start construction of the plaza, but he never gave up. When he returned to power in 1935, King vigorously pursued plans for the new square, perhaps embarrassed by the delays for the National War Memorial. Despite the Prime Minister's enthusiasm for the project, the complicated tangle of bridges, streetcars, streets and a canal resisted the efforts of a generation of planners to design an elegant solution.<sup>xxvi</sup> Canada simply did not have much urban design talent in the 1930s.

Mackenzie King found his planner during a tour of the 1937 Paris World's Fair site. The chief architect, Jacques Gréber, established a good relationship with King immediately, and was invited to come to Ottawa as soon as possible to prepare plans for Ottawa's core. Gréber (1882-1962) was near the peak of his career as a classically-trained architect, planner and professor.<sup>xxvii</sup> He designed the new square in time for the War Memorial to be unveiled during the 1939 Royal Visit. The rest of Gréber's plans for downtown Ottawa were put on hold during World War II.

The inter-war years saw limited implementation of plans for Canada's capital, because a strong champion lacked political support, the agency was poorly funded and had limited project management capacity.

### **Local Government Planning to 1945**

The federal government's modest planning activity dwarfed most local efforts in the first half of the century. The Québec provincial government did not enact community planning legislation until after 1945 and local governments on the Québec side of the Ottawa River did not engage in formal community planning until the 1960s. The Ontario provincial government passed permissive town planning legislation in 1917 at the behest of federal advisor Thomas Adams. The City of Ottawa then established a town planning commission in 1921 chaired by local activist Noulan Cauchon. However, the OTPC was purely advisory, under-funded and had little impact. Cauchon and his aide John Kitchen prepared several schemes for traffic improvements in the City Scientific mode, and a zoning bylaw for part of the city. Cauchon's esoteric designs and penchant for publicity did not sit well with Mackenzie King, who ignored him and negotiated directly with the Mayor on Confederation Square and the replacement of Ottawa City Hall.<sup>xxviii</sup>

Local governments were under-funded and had weak leadership in the early years of the century: mayors on both side of the river changed frequently. Powerful national politicians such as Laurier and Mackenzie King had the money and staying power to pursue their own interests, often running over the local officials.<sup>xxix</sup> The federal governments appropriated most of the planning initiatives in Ottawa, perhaps weakening local groups such as civic improvement leagues and town planning commissions, which were more active in other Canadian cities. Perhaps the most important local planning action in the first half century was a building height limit enacted by the city of Ottawa in 1914, at the suggest of a reform mayor who was a member of the Federal Plan Commission. The 110 foot height limit was suggested by the FPC's, consultant Edward Bennett, based upon a U.S. law relating to the width of Washington streets. It regulated building heights in Ottawa for a half century, protecting the primacy of the Parliament Buildings on the city's skyline.<sup>xxx</sup>

The Canadian community planning movement collapsed during the Depression and the Town Planning Institute suspended operations from 1932 to 1952. There were only a handful of planners across the country and the federal government almost had the field to itself in the Ottawa-Hull region. Prime Minister Mackenzie King and the federal government made community planning a central element of its post-war reconstruction programme.<sup>xxxi</sup>

### **The Immediate Post -war years (1945-57)**

Mackenzie King intended that construction of a national capital for Canadians would be the principal memorial for those who fell during the Second World War.<sup>xxxii</sup> He established a National Capital Planning Committee (NCPC), independent of the FDC, with representatives from across the country. King chaired early meetings of the committee, and frequent references in his personal diary shows that he followed its every move. Gréber was installed as head of the National Capital Planning Service, with an ample budget, numerous staff and a wide mandate. The mistakes of the Holt era were rarely repeated, since the NCPC consulted with local and provincial governments on both sides of the river. It built public support with newsreels, radio interviews, newspaper inserts and exhibitions of a large model of the future capital held in cities across Canada.

King's health was failing in 1948, but he hung on as Prime Minister until the draft plan was prepared and pushed an unusual commitment of \$25 million to implement it through Cabinet as his final act.

After five years of research and consultation, Gréber's *National Capital Plan* was published in 1950 (Figure 3). It built upon previous plans including:

- relocation of the railway system and industries from the inner city to the suburbs
- construction of new cross-town boulevards and bridges
- decentralise government offices to the suburbs
- slum clearance urban renewal of the LeBreton Flats district
- expansion of the urban area from 250,000 to 500,000 in neighbourhood units
- surround the future built-up area with a Greenbelt
- a wilderness park in the Gatineau hills and a parks system along the canal and rivers

The railway relocation was the key element that unlocked the rest of the plan. Removing the east-west Canadian National line and its adjacent industry in the centre of Ottawa re-connected the road grid, separated noxious industries from residential areas and provided rights of way for cross-town boulevards. Relocating the two railway stations to the suburbs permitted construction of a union station and freed up the yards in the heart of Ottawa for a convention centre, shopping and a hotel. The tracks leading to the station were replaced by a parkway along the east bank of the Rideau Canal. These proposals were an elaboration of the previous plans, except for the station relocation, which was not contemplated as late as the 1938 Gréber plan. The railways were replaced by new boulevards and an expressway.

Government departments and national institutions that were essential for diplomatic or parliamentary purposes were located in high-quality masonry buildings close to Parliament Hill. Research laboratories, back office functions and administrative departments were decentralised to four suburban office parks in Ottawa, and Hull. This decentralisation enabled the many “temporary” war-time buildings to be removed from the central city and freed sites for national institutions like a library, theatre and art gallery. It also allowed many civil servants to purchase inexpensive suburban houses with a short drive to work.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

FIGURE 3, NATIONAL CAPITAL PLAN 1950.



The 1950 *National Capital Plan* became a landmark in Canadian planning history, setting the standard for the comprehensive plans which followed in the next decades.<sup>xxxiv</sup> Despite its status as a war memorial and Mackenzie King's legacy, the 1950 plan had a slow start. The FDC initiated some railway relocations, but the remaining elements stalled due to weak provincial planning legislation and lack of consensus amongst the local governments. Ottawa and Hull were given strong links to the plan by appointing both mayors to the FDC and councillors and senior staff to the NCC. Ottawa's major complaint, the fiscal impact of tax-exempt federal property, was addressed by adjustments to the grants-in-lieu formula in 1944 and 1950.<sup>xxxv</sup>

Ottawa established its own planning department in 1951 but the City did not adopt an Official Plan until December 1967. Instead, the 1950 National Capital Plan served as a quasi-official regional plan: the city adopted its infrastructure maps and the OPAB tried to defend Gréber's greenbelt in the surrounding townships with little success. The problem was that the federal government had no legal jurisdiction for local land use planning. In the end, the NCC had to expropriate the Greenbelt on the Ontario side to prevent the suburban townships from filling it with unserviced residential subdivisions. The local property owners and suburban municipalities complained bitterly and appealed all the way to the Supreme Court, where they lost. However, the Greenbelt was quietly dropped on the Québec side of the river.

The major political issue on the Québec side was the spectre of a federal district similar to Washington or Canberra, which would detach Ottawa, Hull and environs from their municipal and provincial governments. This idea was popular in Ottawa and it was the first recommendation of the 1915 Holt Commission.<sup>xxxvi</sup> However, a federal district was completely unacceptable to Québec politicians at all levels. They were not willing to give up the protection of their language and culture afforded by their local and provincial governments, so the "federal district" issue poisoned all attempts at regional planning. Mackenzie King raised the issue again in Parliament in 1944, but did not take action.<sup>xxxvii</sup> The Prime Minister finally reversed his position in 1946, but the issue continued to cloud politics in Québec. Even the name of the relatively toothless Federal District Commission was an affront, so it was re-christened as the National Capital Commission / La Commission de la capitale nationale in 1959.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

Implementation of the 1950 plan was slow in the first decade due to suburban opposition, but the FDC built its capacity for project management. The FDC hired expert landscape architects, planners, engineers and project managers, developing a reputation for good fiscal management. As their organisational competence increased, they were given responsibility for landscaping federal buildings in the capital, project management of infrastructure and land use planning approval for federal properties. However, responsibility for constructing public buildings remained with the Department of Public Works, setting the stage for conflict in the 1960s.<sup>xxxix</sup>

### **The National Capital Commission (1959-70)**

A 1956 joint Senate/Parliamentary committee concluded that the federal government would have to act alone. The new National Capital Commission (NCC) absorbed the National Capital Planning Committee and Gréber's staff. It was given powers to expropriate land, build infrastructure and create parks. It used these powers to expropriate the land for the Greenbelt.

The NCC's good managerial reputation in the 1950s and 1960s allowed them to move quickly to implement elements of the Gréber plan. By 1956 it was clear that the \$25 million National Capital Fund would not be enough, due to inflation, expropriation of the greenbelt and better cost estimates for the infrastructure. The joint Senate-Commons committee recommended that the NCC's annual capital grant be at least doubled.<sup>xi</sup> By 1970, when most of the plan had been implemented, the NCC had spent \$243 million.<sup>xii</sup>

Surprisingly, much of the work was carried out after the Conservative party took power under John Diefenbaker from 1957-63. Mackenzie King had given the project enough political momentum to last almost two decades. The FDC /NCC was virtually unstoppable as an implementation agency for twenty years after the war. All the elements were in place – political support, long term finance, skilled planning staff and strong project management. Ottawa and Hull were transformed from dreary industrial towns into a green, spacious capital that was visited by millions of Canadian tourists.

### Local and Regional Government Planning after 1960

The City of Ottawa supported the FDC by establishing the Ottawa Area Planning Board (OAPB) in 1946 to control unregulated suburban expansion. However, the suburban townships continued to approve low density subdivisions without municipal services. The City reacted in 1948 by attempting to annex all the land to the proposed inside boundary of the Greenbelt. The rural townships fought the annexation, and lost. They also fought the Greenbelt, refusing to incorporate it into their zoning bylaws and approving subdivisions. After six years of conflict, it became clear that Ontario and Québec planning legislation was not strong enough to establish a greenbelt by regulation, as in the London model.<sup>xliii</sup>

However, Although planning remained co-operative in Hull, where NCC planning staff were consultants to the City of Hull, preparing an urban renewal plan in 1962 and expansion of Gatineau Park into a major regional wedge of open space. The NCC lost its first major battle with the City of Ottawa in 1965 over building height limits. A private developer with close connections to the national Liberal Party convinced Council to abandon the 110' height limit to create a high-rise central business district. Once again, the NCC lacked the legal jurisdiction to prevent development that did not conform to its plan, and the view of Parliament Hill from the south was lost.<sup>xliii</sup>

The NCC's primacy in regional planning disappeared in the 1970s. The Ontario government established the Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton (RMOC) in 1968, and the Communauté Régionale de l'Outaouais (CRO) was set up by Québec in 1970. They both completed regional land use plans in the mid-1970s which co-ordinated with suburban township plans prepared by local professional staff. The plans called for extensive low-density, automobile-serviced suburban development on land held by private developers at the periphery of the metropolitan area.

The NCC countered with a technically sophisticated plan for a higher density growth corridor served by public transit, and a new town on a site already assembled by the federal government south-east of the Greenbelt. The 1974 *Tomorrow's Capital* Plan was developed in secret, and it outraged local and regional governments and community groups when it was released. They refused to consider it, and lobbied the federal government to remove the NCC from all land use planning activity. RMOC assigned the federal new town site its lowest priority for development and eventually dropped it from the regional plan altogether.<sup>xliiv</sup>

Gréber's 1950 plan guided the growth of the Ottawa-Hull region from 250,000 to 500,000 people from 1946 to 1966, filling out the area inside the Greenbelt. The local and regional plans guided growth as the region doubled its population again to 1.1 million by 2001. The regional governments on both sides of the river developed into sophisticated planning agencies and began to question the decentralised suburban model during the 1990s, with the RMOC developing an advanced bus transitway system co-ordinated with nodes of federal employment.

However, true regional planning was almost non-existent, since there was little co-ordination of transportation and land use across the border of the Ottawa River. The two provinces do not co-operate and the federal government has built all the bridges. As noted by John Taylor: "either the major roads have no links to the bridges, or the bridges have no links to the major roads..."<sup>xliiv</sup> Urban development of the region was becoming unmanageable with overlap and conflict between numerous local, regional, provincial and federal planning agencies. Both provincial governments took action early in the new century – Ontario dissolved all the local governments and the RMOC to create a new City of Ottawa which embraces almost all of the National Capital Region south the of the river. Québec consolidated most of its urban municipalities into a new City of Gatineau. Regional planning in the 21<sup>st</sup> century should have only three actors at the table – Ottawa, Gatineau and the NCC – with perhaps a better chance at reaching a working consensus.

### Federal Planning in the Late 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Powerful independent implementation agencies like the NCC may have been needed in the early stages of planning and development of Ottawa but they became less relevant as their cities became properly established. The benevolent dictatorship implied in the powers vested in these agencies is harder to justify once the principal activity shifts from rapid physical development to routine local governance, especially after the rise of citizen participation in the 1970s.

The National Capital Commission lost control of federal planning initiatives in the mid-1960s. Although all federally-built buildings were approved by the NCC, the Department of Public Works (DPW) began to lease space from private developers to accommodate the rapid growth of the civil service at lower cost.<sup>xlvi</sup> The DPW never agreed to prohibit leases in private buildings which did not conform to the 1950 plan, so most of the mediocre high-rise office buildings which block the view of Parliament Hill are occupied by federal agencies.

After Pierre Elliot Trudeau was elected prime minister in 1968, other changes to the national capital occurred quickly in response to rising Québec nationalism. The National Capital Region of Ottawa-Hull was officially declared the seat of government and 18,000 federal employees were moved to buildings on the north side of the Ottawa River to ensure that 25% of the civil service were in the Québec portion of the region. Hull's urban renewal plans were implemented almost overnight as large privately-built office buildings sprouted in its downtown, and the DPW built a bridge to central Ottawa. The Trudeau government also located major new public buildings for the national museum and archives in Québec.

The NCC was given added responsibility for programming the national capital, ensuring that its image was bilingual, while its planning capacity was reduced. The agency produces major public festivals which animate the capital and promote national unity, including Canada Day, Winterfest and a host of special events. Canada Day festivities are televised, other events are promoted nation-wide to encourage tourism. The NCC organises and interprets the national capital for visitors.

The NCC did not withdraw completely from planning as its local critics demanded in the 1970s. It re-focused upon the portfolio of federally owned property in the region, preparing large-scale master plans based upon ecological principles for the Greenbelt and Gatineau Park. The agency regained the initiative in the core of the capital through urban design projects which improved public spaces, most notably in the Parliamentary Precinct and a Confederation Boulevard creating a ceremonial route linking Ottawa and Hull. The continuing lack of co-ordination across the Ottawa River gave the NCC an opening as a facilitator in regional transportation and land use issues. These themes were integrated in new plans for the core of Canada's capital and the national capital region prepared with much public consultation over the turn of the century.<sup>xlvii</sup> These plans are controversial, but the NCC is still in the game, using land ownership, financial resources and professional talent to influence the development of Canada's capital. The game is quite different from the mid-twentieth century, when the federal government was the only player, but the recent changes in local government structures may allow the NCC to continue to play an important role in planning the future Canadian capital.

## **Conclusions:**

It took five elements – politics, finance, planning, administration and a champion to get rapid implementation of a capital plan in Canada. Ottawa-Hull only saw significant development in the 1950s, when these factors were all in place<sup>xlviii</sup>.

### *Politics and Champions:*

Planning the Canadian capital in the twentieth century had particularly difficult political issues, since the National Capital Region spanned two provinces, three regional governments and scores of municipalities. The Canadian government had no jurisdiction over planning issues and had to use federal land ownership, spending power and persuasion to implement its plans. This strategy was expensive, but reasonably effective in mid-century, when there was little local planning activity. However, the NCC was unable to prevent high rise buildings blocking the view of the Parliament buildings, a toilet paper factory across the river from Parliament or unserviced subdivisions in the Greenbelt, to name just a few of the

problems on lands it did not own. The 400 acres of Crown-owned land in 1857 looked big for the limited needs of the government of that era, but proved woefully inadequate over the next century. The federal government spent large sums in the twentieth century buying back land it had given away in the nineteenth. The lesson here is not to underestimate the land needs of a new capital and acquire more at the beginning when it is free or cheap.

The Ottawa-Hull region was an ideal compromise choice for the seat of government for the United Canadas in 1857, since it straddled the two main provinces and cultures. It was also distant enough from Montreal and Toronto that each city did not believe that the other was benefiting from the capital. The disadvantage of this strategy was that the Ottawa and Hull were remote from the centres of power in their respective provinces and treated with benign neglect on urban development issues. Québec and Ontario seemed determined to have the federal government pay for most infrastructure, while they concentrated on facilitating the growth of Montréal, Ville de Québec and Toronto. However, the provinces were unwilling to cede any of their jurisdiction over planning issues and stepped in forcefully to create regional governments in 1970. The lesson here is not to underestimate the difficulties of planning a capital region which straddles multiple states.

Ottawa competed fiercely to obtain the seat of government in 1857, but the honeymoon with the local government was over by the early twentieth century. Unlike major private employers, a national government has no credible threat to leave a region, once it is established. Large private businesses often had more influence at City Hall than the federal government, whether the issue was lumber piles in 1900, high rise offices and suburban sprawl in 1965, or the high tech industry in the 1990s. These industries can invest elsewhere, should the city prove unsympathetic. While there is often political pressure to de-centralise federal civil servants to the provinces, the local governments largely did not view these moves as an economic development issue. Canadian local governments are mainly funded by property taxes, and private commercial development is regarded as a financial bonus to the municipality. Federal buildings are institutional uses that were tax-exempt in the first half of the century, creating a major drain on the municipal treasury. After the federal government provided full grants in lieu of taxes in 1950, it lost its negotiating leverage compared to other employers.

The feds still had the power of the purse – they could buy co-operation on some issues by subsidising the construction of municipal infrastructure such as sewage treatment plants, parks, parkways, bridges and expressways, which they did to the total of C\$ 1.5 billion (\$1999) to implement the 1950 Gréber plan. However, once the big money spent on municipal responsibilities was gone, the NCC had few friends in local government. The agency was used to acting in a top-down, technocratic manner in 1970 – in their view, they had the best planners, the best plans and implemented them in the national interest. This attitude did not work in the last quarter of the century, as local government planning became more open and participatory. Private developers learned to work this system to ensure that municipal plans incorporated development of their property. The NCC was regarded as secretive and anti-democratic and they suffered defeat after defeat at the local and regional level, even on issues that were important to the implementation of their plans. At the end of the century, the agency was more participatory, but they still lacked local support, even when announcing plans to invest \$250 million in the core of the city.<sup>xlix</sup>

The federal government now has no jurisdiction and little credibility in local and regional planning matters, even on issues that relate to its interests in a national capital. The lesson here is that if a national government wants special consideration above and beyond those of a private property owner, then it should bargain for them when the seat of government is designated. Land and the powers of a federal district might have been given by the municipality and provinces at the beginning of a capital-building effort, but the Ottawa-Hull experience demonstrates that you cannot easily add them later. Provincial and municipal interests become entrenched.

Strong champions for capital development were needed to get the agencies established [c.f. Laurier; King; Trudeau] However, even a committed prime minister could get little done without some measure of bipartisan support. In a parliamentary democracy, a prime minister with a majority can push a lot of things through the legislature, but implementing a capital plan take decades of work, outlasting most political administrations. If the champion leaves office without establishing consensus on the need for implementation, then the next regime often puts the project on hold, as we saw with the FDC [1915] and



FDC [1930] in Canada. It therefore appears that the 1956 Canadian parliamentary inquiry was an important consensus-building exercise that allowed creation of an implementation agency with the necessary powers to get the job done.

An essential role of a project's political champion is to protect it during the critical early period of consensus. There is only a small window of political and economic opportunity when the financial, administrative and planning powers needed for implementation might be obtained. The federal government missed opportunities in the mid-1920s and late 1940s, but got it right a decade later, after the parliamentary inquiry. It appears that the champion does not need to be in place throughout implementation. Mackenzie King left office in 1948 and died in 1950. His ghost kept his party implementing the plans. Development of the capital continued at a rapid pace after the 1957 change of regime as a result of the political consensus and solid public relations work by the NCC.

#### *Financial Management and Administration:*

It takes a great deal of time and money to develop a new town. A national capital has additional costs to construct the key government buildings, monuments and public spaces to a standard that inspires national pride. The infrastructure, which has no political benefits, has to be built first. Good financial arrangements need to be locked into place during the short early period of political consensus, as King did in 1948. The successful projects' champions had to deliver the long term funding, but only political consensus prevented the money from being cut off after the champion retires or a change in regime.

An independent agency with the ability to hire the best quality staff appears to be essential to implement a major plan. Retaining consultants to prepare a plan and then trying to implement it using existing staff and interdepartmental co-operation often failed [OIC, FPC, FDC]. Seconded staff often have little stake in a project's success since they can usually return to their sponsoring departments.

The most effective implementation agencies [NCPS, NCC] could recruit their own staff from the best talent available, independent of civil service personnel policies. To maintain the independence needed for effective action, an agency must be politically adept, financially prudent and produce visible results. Since a capital takes many years to build, an effective agency manages the symbolic content of its project to meet the political need to demonstrate results. Ottawa used war memorials as important early elements in their plans. The FDC and NCC also helped their sponsoring governments by maintaining vigorous public relations programmes that built national pride in their work and encouraged visitors from across the country. Building parks and ceremonial routes that are valued by both tourists and residents also helped maintain the image of progress, while the more expensive and slower development of buildings lagged behind.

#### *Planning and Urban Design:*

It was difficult to implement a plan for a rapidly growing capital without land use planning capability within the agency. The FDC and NCC established in-house planning departments that did important work and reduced reliance on the staff of other ministries. The agencies hired good urban designers [Todd, Bennett, Gréber] when they needed the advice. It was neither necessary nor desirable to keep a top designer on staff since they often lack the political and administrative skills needed to implement a project plan administrators who were sensitive to design issues and willing to implement the plans at a high level of design quality generated better results. Engineer Sandy Hay [FDC] and architect Eric Thrift [NCC] were professionals who led their organisations effectively, but did not need to hold the pencil themselves. At the other extreme, the Ottawa Improvement Commission refused to hire landscape architects to design the parks envisioned in Todd's plan. The OIC's construction superintendent laid out the open spaces and parkways, which were later criticised.

Good design may not appear to be important in the short-term, but long after the political and financial battles are over, a capital is often judged by the quality of its physical environment.

The urban design centrepiece of the region is still Parliament Hill, the Canadian capitol complex. It was originally designed as a Gothic Revival triptych picturesquely sited on the cliff-top at Barracks Hill. A Gothic Revival parliament on the river's edge has obvious colonial ties to Westminster, yet the rugged setting near the rapids of a wild river reflects the Canadian identity. The original grouping of the three buildings turned away from the river, creating a great court facing the Ottawa townsite to the south. The irregular nature of the cliff-top resisted all future attempts to expand the complex to create a Baroque composition. During the last two decades of the century, the federal government has attempted to tie the cores of Ottawa and Hull together in a larger composition that is centred on the river itself. The new art gallery, museum, and departmental offices cling to the inside of the loop of a Confederation Boulevard joining French and English Canada across the river which was the original gateway to the nation's interior. This is an urban design initiative to strengthen the "Capitol Complex as Microcosm" of Canadian society, using Lawrence Vale's typology of symbolic representation.<sup>1</sup>

### Planning History:

The National Capital has been the locus of the most sustained urban planning effort in Canada. The urban planning movement was weak in Canada at the beginning of the twentieth century, but grew rapidly in size and competence after World War II. Ottawa was a demonstration project for the fledgling profession. The plans commissioned for Ottawa-Hull over the past century reflect many important themes of Canadian planning history:

- the *Parks Movement*: Frederick Todd's 1903 *Report to the Ottawa Improvement Commissioners*
- the *City Beautiful*: Edward Bennett's 1915 plan for the *Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull*
- *Garden Suburbs and Garden Cities*: Thomas Adams' 1919 plan for the first federally subsidised housing project, Lindenlea; Gréber's greenbelt.
- the *City Efficient*: Noulan Cauchon's 1922 plans for the Town Planning Commission
- *Comprehensive Planning*: Jacques 1950 *Plan for the National Capital*
- *Regional Planning*: plans of the RMOC and CUO (1970s)
- *Urban Design*: the NCC's Confederation Boulevard plan (1985+)
- *Ecological Planning*: the NCC's 1996 *Greenbelt Master Plan* and the 1998 RMOC Official Plan

Many of the elements of these plans were imported from other countries in the first half of the twentieth century. Todd's 1903 report on the parks system was prepared shortly after his departure from Olmsted's office and Edward Bennett brought his City Beautiful approach from Chicago. Both were clear examples of "Undiluted Borrowing" from American practice in Stephen Ward's typology of international diffusion of planning.<sup>ii</sup> Although both Todd and Bennett warned against creating a "Washington of the North," the City of Ottawa's quick and unquestioning adoption of a 110 foot height limit demonstrates the local lack of sophistication about physical planning and urban design issues. The U.S. legislation was based upon the 110 foot width of L'Enfant's streets Washington but Ottawa, a city with 66 foot wide streets, should have a 66 foot height limit for similar street enclosure, or even lower, if solar access in its more northern latitude and climate were a consideration.

The 1950 *Plan for the National Capital* played an important role in re-launching community planning in Canada by importing ideas from abroad. The federal government's actions in preparing the plan are another example of "Undiluted Borrowing". The role of indigenous Canadian planners was moderate, with Fiset, Kitchen and Cousins assisting Gréber, who was the most important influence as the prime consultant for the plan. While the Canadian professionals certainly deferred to Gréber's obvious expertise, they had plenty of contact with British and American planning practice.

The plan implementation showed "Selective Borrowing", (in Ward's terms) from both the plan and the planner. The urban wilderness park wedge in the Gatineau hills, originally planned by Canadian professionals Todd and Cauchon, was expanded immediately. The railway plan, which was also prepared with indigenous leadership, was implemented immediately, and with a major change in the union station location designated by Gréber. The Greenbelt was delayed and rejected in Québec and adopted by land purchase in Ontario, after the Canadian planning legislation proved inadequate to

implement Gréber's regulatory proposals in the mode of London or Paris. American planning models replaced the cross-town boulevard, which became the Queensway expressway and the proposed satellite towns, which became dormitory suburbs.

The 1950 *Plan* should have had a fairly low potential for distinctiveness, based upon Ward's diffusion typology. However, Gréber's plan appears to be an unusual conglomeration of planning ideas from French, British, and American sources. Perhaps this is because Gréber himself was engaged in "Synthetic Borrowing" (from Ward's typology) at this stage in his career. He abandoned his exclusive reliance on Beaux-Arts methods found in his Fairmount Parkway in Philadelphia, and imported a wide range of planning traditions into the Canadian capital's plan. His promiscuous borrowing of external models thus continued Gréber's important role as a trans-Atlantic pipeline for planning ideas.<sup>iii</sup>

The high-rise downtown and auto-dominant suburbs of the 1960s were adapted from American planning and development prototypes. However, Canadian planning relied less on American and British models in the last decades of the twentieth century and emerged as a somewhat distinctive strain of practice.<sup>iiii</sup> The planning within the National Capital Region has included several components which are distinctive:

- The RMOC's transitway and express bus system co-ordinated with government office nodes;
- The NCC's 1996 Greenbelt Master Plan, which applied ecological planning to a landscape buffer;
- The RMOC's 1999 Official Plan, with intensification within the Greenbelt and ecosystems planning outside; and
- The NCC's Confederation Boulevard, Parliamentary Precinct and Core Area plans using urban design to tie central Ottawa and Hull together and focus the capitol on the river.

Twenty-first century planning for the Canadian capital will build on this framework to search for a plan that reflects the elusive national identity.

**TABLE #1: OUTLINE CHRONOLOGY****OTTAWA-HULL**

1857	Queen Victoria selects Ottawa as Capital
1866	Parliament Buildings completed
1867	Canadian Confederation
1899	Ottawa Improvement Commission
1903	Todd Report on Park System
1913	Federal Plan Commission established
1916	FPC Report shelved
1921	W.L. Mackenzie King (MK) elected
1927	OIC becomes Federal District Commission
1937	J. Gréber imported by Mackenzie King
1939	Gréber's preliminary plan
1939	War; many temporary buildings
1944	Joint Parliamentary Inquiry
1945	Gréber recalled to Canada
1948	Draft plan published, MK retires
1950	<i>National Capital Plan</i> published
1956	Joint Parliamentary Committee on Ottawa-Hull
1959	FDC becomes National Capital Commission
1968	Trudeau elected PM; Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton established
1967	First City of Ottawa Official Plan adopted
1969	Outaouais Regional Community established
1974	First RMOC plan approved; <i>Tomorrow's Capital</i> plan (NCC) shelved
1976	Special Joint Parliamentary hearings on NCC
1985	<i>National Capital Act</i> revised to change mission
1998	Draft <i>Capital for Future Generations</i> plan released
2001	City of Ottawa amalgamation
2002	Ville de Gatineau amalgamation

**National Capital Region Population Growth**

1890	est.
	64,500
1912	est.
	122,500
1925	est.
	169,000
1945	est.
	238,000
1951	
	311,587
1956	
	367,756
1961	
	457,038
1966	
	528,774
1971	
	602,510
1976	
	693,288
1981	
	717,978
1986	
	819,263
1991	
	920,857
2001	1.1 million est.

Source: Statistics Canada,  
Census, NCC plans.

## Notes and References:

### Abbreviations for Primary Sources:

CPM	Colborne P. Meredith papers, National Archives of Canada, MG 29 E62
FIN	Department of Finance, Ottawa Improvement Commission papers, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, RG 19, Vol. 551.
NC	Noulan Cauchon papers, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, MG 30 C105
NCC	National Capital Commission Reference Library, Ottawa, special collections
NMC	National Map Collection, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa
OA	Records of Olmsted Associates, Inc., Manuscript Division, U.S. Library of Congress, Washington DC, Job File 5070, "Ottawa City Plan, Ottawa Canada 1913-1914"
OIC	Ottawa Improvement Commission papers, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, RG 34
WL	Sir Wilfrid Laurier papers and correspondence, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, MG 26 G
WLMK	William Lyon Mackenzie King papers, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, MG 26 J1, J2 William Lyon Mackenzie King diary, National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, MG 26 J6

## END NOTES

<sup>i</sup> Knight, D. 1991. *Choosing Canada's Capital: Conflict Resolution in a Parliamentary System*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press. 2nd Edition, especially pp. 67-70; 90-91. Queen Victoria's governor-general, Sir Edmund Head recommended Ottawa as a compromise site: "Confidential Memorandum containing reasons for fixing the seat of government for Canada at Ottawa," 1857, reprinted in Knight op. cit., p. 250-254. For more on the political influence of the governors-general and prime ministers in Canadian capital planning, see David L. A. Gordon, ">From Noblesse Oblige to Nationalism: Elite involvement in planning Canada's capital," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 28. No. 1, November 2001, pp. 3-34.

<sup>ii</sup> Young, Carolyn A. 1995. *The Glory of Ottawa: Canada's First Parliament Buildings*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press; Gray, John Hamilton, quoted in W. Eggleston, *The Queen's Choice: a story of Canada's Capital*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961, pp. 145-6.

<sup>iii</sup> Gwyn, Sandra *The Private Capital: Ambition and Love in the Age of Macdonald and Laurier*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1984, p. 40.

<sup>iv</sup> Taylor, John H. "Fire, Disease and Water in the Nineteenth Century City - An Introduction." *Urban History Review*, vol. 8, no. 1, June 1979, page 7-37; Warfe, Chris "The Search for pure water in Ottawa, 1910-1915." *Urban History Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1979, pp. 90-112. Fear, Jon, "Ottawa's Lumber Interests and the Great Fire of 1900." *Urban History Review*, Vol. 8, no. 1, 1979, pp. 38-65. The best general history of Ottawa is John Taylor's *Ottawa: An Illustrated History*. Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1986.

<sup>v</sup> Laurier, Wilfrid *Dearest Émilie: The Love Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Madame Émilie Lavergne*, Toronto, NC Press Limited 1989, Letter dated August 9, 1891, p. 84; *Ottawa Evening Journal*, "The Washington of the North", June 19, 1893, p. 3.

<sup>vi</sup> Aberdeen, Lady I. "The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen," Toronto, 1960, pp. 478-479. Nov. 19, 1898; *An Act Respecting the City of Ottawa*, 62-63 Vict. Ch 10. 7 (c), assented 11th August, 1899.

<sup>vii</sup> P. Jacobs, "Frederick G. Todd and the Creation of Canada's Urban Landscape." *Association for Preservation Technology (APT) Bulletin*. Vol. XV No. 4 1983, 27-34. F.G. Todd, *Preliminary Report to the Ottawa Improvement Commission*, Ottawa: OIC. 1903.

<sup>viii</sup> Gordon, David L.A. "Frederick G. Todd and the Origins of the Park System in Canada's Capital" *Journal of Planning History*, Vol. 1, No.1 (March 2002) pp. 29-57; Ottawa Improvement Commission. 1913. *Special Report of the Ottawa Improvement Commission, from its inception in 1899 to March 13, 1912*. Ottawa, and OIC Annual Reports, 1900-1914 NCC Library, Ottawa.

<sup>ix</sup> On Grey and Letchworth, see Miller, Mervyn. *Letchworth : the first garden city* Chichester UK: Phillimore, 1989; Miller, Mervyn and A. Stuart Gray, *Hampstead Garden Suburb*, Chichester UK : Phillimore, 1992

<sup>x</sup> Unwin's address was reported in the local newspapers: "Ottawa has opportunities, for obtaining ideal city." *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, May 22, 1911, p. 1; "Movement for Garden City." 1911. *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, May 23, 1911. See also "Canada and Town Planning: Interview with Mr. Raymond Unwin" *The Record, Hampstead Garden Suburb*, 2 (2), Feb. 1914, pp. 87-89. Thanks to Mervyn Miller for providing this article.

<sup>xi</sup> Meredith chaired the conference of the Ontario Association of Architects in Ottawa 1911, and also headed the Ottawa chapter of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada that year. He arranged for the RAIC and the associations of Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba and Alberta to send briefs to the government attacking the policies of the Department of Public Works and the OIC. The RAIC report is included in a “blue paper” issued by the federal government: *Report and Correspondence of the Ottawa Improvement Commission*. 2 George V. Sessional Paper No. 51a. Ottawa: C.H. Parmelee, 1912. For Meredith’s behind-the-scene orchestration of events, see CPM Vol. 6, files 42-44; Cauchon’s articles are preserved and cross-referenced in his scrapbooks, NC papers, Vol. 2, 3, 4 & 5.

<sup>xii</sup> For the McMillan Commission see C. Moore, (ed.) *The improvement of the park system of the District of Columbia*, 57th Congress, 1st. sess. S. Rept. 166. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1902. Also John Reys, *Monumental Washington: the planning and development of the capital center*, Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967 and J. A. Peterson, “The Nation’s First Comprehensive City Plan: A Political Analysis of the McMillan Plan for Washington, DC, 1900-1902,” *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 55, No. 2, Spring 1985, pp. 134-150. On Daniel Burnham’s role as principal consultant to the commission, see DHB papers, and T. S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1974, Ch. 7. The District of Columbia political model was also popular in Ottawa at the time. In May 1912, Ottawa electors decisively supported the creation of a Federal District. See John Henderson (City Clerk) to Borden, May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1912, RLB Reel 4047, 70623-4.

<sup>xiii</sup> Borden to G. H. Perley December 19, 1911; Perley to RLB, February 5, 1912. RLB papers, Reel 7975, PR457#-71 & 4597-99.

<sup>xiv</sup> *Report and Correspondence of the Ottawa Improvement Commission*, op. cit.

<sup>xv</sup> For the circumstances of the formation of the FPC, see the 1913 correspondence of the Deputy Minister of Finance in the OIC papers. Herbert Holt, president of the Royal Bank and Canadian Northern Railway was recruited as the chair. Other Commission members included Montréal lawyer Sir Alexandre Lacoste, Toronto developer Robert Home Smith and architect Frank Darling. For Holt’s background, see T. Regehr, *A Capitalist Plans the Capital*, unpublished paper to the Canadian Historical Society 1984 meeting. Professor Gilbert Stelter’s suggestion that we review this paper is appreciated. The background of the other members was obtained from the *Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography*, H. C Charlesworth, (ed.) (Toronto, The Hunter-Rose Company, Limited, 1919) and *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Canadian History*. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1926) and *Who’s Who and Why*, (Toronto: International Press, 1914).

<sup>xvi</sup> For Bennett’s background, see Draper, Joan. *Edward Bennett Architect and City Planner, 1874-1954*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1982; Burnham, Daniel H. and E.H. Bennett, *Plan of Chicago*, Chicago: Commercial Club, 1909; Gordon, David L. A. “A City Beautiful Plan for Canada’s Capital: Edward Bennett and the 1915 plan for Ottawa and Hull.” *Planning Perspectives*, 13, 275-300, 1998.

<sup>xvii</sup> Canada, Federal Plan Commission for Ottawa and Hull. *Report of the Federal Plan Commission on a General Plan for the Cities of Ottawa and Hull 1915*. Ottawa: Federal Plan Commission, 1916; Gordon 1998, op. cit.

<sup>xviii</sup> FPC Commissioner Frank Darling’s firm got the commission for the new building, in joint venture with Omer Marchand of Montréal. See Kalman, op. cit. pp. 712-72.

<sup>xix</sup> The plan was attacked by opponents of the City Beautiful approach. See Adams, Thomas “Ottawa-Federal Plan”, *Town Planning and the Conservation of Life* Vol. 1, No. 4 pp. 88-89, 1916. The federal district proposal was a complete non-starter in Québec, and Hull refused to pay its share of the costs. The court case dragged on for years, souring local opinion of the plan. See Department of Finance OIC files 142-1; Gordon 1998a, op. cit.

<sup>xx</sup> WLMK diary, May 24, 1900; While a graduate student at the University of Chicago, he was an intern at Jane Addams’ pioneering university settlement house: King, W.L.M., “The Story of Hull House.” *The Westminster*, November 6, 1897, pp. 350-353. Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910. King did a post-doctoral year in England in 1899, when Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City was promoted in social reform circles; King, W.L.M., *Industry and Humanity: A study in the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918, p. 359. Copy annotated by WLMK, held in his library at Laurier House, Ottawa.

<sup>xxi</sup> See Gordon, David L. A. “William Lyon Mackenzie King, Town Planning Advocate,” *Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 17 (2) 97-122, 2002. Landscape design was also an element in King’s peculiar personal life, as he devoted his modest financial resources to enlarging his country estate in the Gatineau Hills, siting relics from demolished Ottawa buildings within its grounds. See Von Baeyer, Edwinna, *Garden of dreams: Kingsmere and Mackenzie King*, Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990.

<sup>xxii</sup> King letter to Robb and Fraser, July 24, 1925; King to Casgrain, July 25, 1925; The Prime Minister also personally pursued the heads of the CPR and CNR to get their co-operation in creating Gatineau Park. King to Beatty (CPR) April 26, 1926, WLMK r-3448, pp. 108540-8; King speeches, April 6 & 7, 1927, *Hansard*, pp. 1975-1980; 2039-2047.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Ahern letter to King, June 14, 1927; Balharrie to King, Sept. 15, 1927; King to Balharrie, Oct. 27, 1927, WLMK reel 3257, 119584-7. See also David L.A. Gordon and B. Osborne “Constructing National Identity: Confederation Square and the National

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- War Memorial in Canada's Capital, 1900-2000" forthcoming, *Journal of Historical Geography*; King speech, April 24, 1928, *Hansard*, pp. 2313-2319.
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- <sup>xxv</sup> National Capital Commission, *Sculpture Walks: Sculptures and monuments in the National Capital*, Ottawa, 1985, pp.36-40.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Sproatt to WLMK, June 6, 1929, WLMK reel 3277, pp.143941-2.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Delorme, Jean-Claude "Jacques Gréber: Urbaniste français" *Metropolis* 3:32, 1978, pp. 49-54; Lortie, André. "Jacques Gréber urbaniste", *Les Gréber: Une dynastie, des artistes*, Musée départemental de l'Oise, catalogue de l'exposition, 1993; pp. 325-375; Lavedan, Pierre, "Jacques Gréber, 1882-1962" *La Vie Urbain*, January 1963, pp. 1-14. Lortie, André. *Jacques Gréber (1882-1962) et L'Urbanisme le temps et l'espace de la ville*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Université Paris XII 1997.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Gaffield, Chad. 1997. *History of the Outaouais*. Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université Laval; Simpson, Michael. 1985. *Thomas Adams and the modern planning movement: Britain, Canada, and the United States, 1900-1940*. London: Mansell; for Ottawa planning see Taylor 1988 op. cit.; Coutts, Sarah E. 1982. "Science and Sentiment: The Planning Career of Noulan Cauchon." Unpublished M.A. report, Department of History, Carleton University; Hillis, Kent. 1992. "A History of Commissions: Threads of An Ottawa Planning History." *Urban History Review* Vol. XXI, No.1 (October), pp.46-60; Ben-Joseph, Eran and D. Gordon "Hexagonal Planning In Theory and Practice," *Journal of Urban Design*, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 237-265, December 2000.
- <sup>xxix</sup> Taylor 1988 op. cit.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Gordon 1998 op. cit.; Gutheim, Frederick 1977 *Worthy of the Nation: the history of planning for the National Capital*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- <sup>xxxi</sup> Gordon, David L. A. "Ottawa-Hull And Canberra: Implementation of Capital City Plans" *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, forthcoming 2002; Wolfe, Jeanne M. 1994. "Our Common Past: An Interpretation of Canadian Planning History." *Plan Canada*, July, 12-34..
- <sup>xxxii</sup> King speech to House of Commons, April 21, 1944, *Hansard*, pp. 2237-8.
- <sup>xxxiii</sup> Office decentralisation was also promoted for civil defence against bombing, although this argument disappeared after the power of the hydrogen bomb was understood. See FDC 1956 op. cit., p. 44.
- <sup>xxxiv</sup> Gordon, D.L. A. "Weaving a modern plan for Canada's capital: Jacques Gréber and the 1950 plan for the National Capital Region" *Urban History Review*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Spring 2001 pp. 43-61.
- <sup>xxxv</sup> Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons. 1944. *Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons appointed to Review the Special Problems Arising out of the Location of the Seat of Parliament in the City of Ottawa, Final Report, August 1, 1944*. Ottawa: King's Printer. Ottawa 1944; City of Ottawa brief to 1956 Parliamentary Committee, op. cit.
- <sup>xxxvi</sup> See Holt 1915, p. 13; Cauchon, Noulan "A Federal District Plan for Ottawa" *Journal of the Town Planning Institute of Canada*, Vol. 1, No.9, 1922, pp.3-6.; Ketchum, Carleton *Federal District Capital Ottawa*, n.p. 1939; Rowat, D. C. "The Proposal for a Federal Capital Territory for Canada's Capital." in *The Confederation Challenge*, H.I. Macdonald, (ed.), pp. 216-281. Toronto: Queen's Printer, Ontario Advisory Commission on Confederation Background Papers, 1966; Carter thesis, op. cit.
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> Hull city council refused to pay its share of the Holt Commission's expenses, OIC papers, File 142-1; the major regional French language newspaper *Le Droit* continuously opposed a federal district. See Carter, Aidan, "Planning A 'Capital Worthy Of The Nation:' The federal district controversy and the planning of the Canadian capital, unpublished Master's thesis, School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, 2001; WLMK speech to House of Commons, April 21, 1944, *Hansard*; Bronson, F (FDC Chair) brief to the 1944 Committee, p. 70; Nationalist groups in Hull reacted with inflammatory language, see Western Québec Chamber of Commerce brief to the 1944 committee; St. Jean Baptiste Society brief, to 1944 Parliamentary Committee.
- <sup>xxxviii</sup> Letter from Joseph Jolicoeur, Managing-Director of *Le Progres de Hull*, to Mackenzie King, February 6, 1946; Letter from King to Jolicoeur dated February 9, 1946, King papers Vol. 464 File 0-25-2(A); Canada Joint Parliamentary Committee 1956, Final Report, op. cit.
- <sup>xxxix</sup> The Department of Public Works continued its role as the client and lessor of federal buildings, see Wright, Janet *Crown Assets – The Architecture of the Department of Public Works: 1867-1967* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997
- <sup>xl</sup> FDC brief to 1956 Parliamentary Committee, op. cit., Appendices C, D and E, pp. 92-4; 1956 Joint Committee final report, p. 1055.



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- <sup>xli</sup> NCC 1969-70 Annual Report, Appendix "NCC Expenditures from April 1, 1947 to March 1970". Corrected for inflation this is \$1.5 billion in C\$1999. All prices in this paper were adjusted using Statistics Canada, *CANSIM, P 10000 Consumer Price Index*; the pre-1914 CPI was adjusted using Gordon Bertram and Michael B. Percy "Real Wage Trends in Canada 1900-26: Some Provisional Estimates," *Canadian Journal of Economics* Vol. 12, No. 2, (1979) pp. 299-312.
- <sup>xlii</sup> City of Ottawa brief to 1956 Parliamentary Committee, op. cit. The greenbelt boundary moved outward in the final versions of the plan leaving pockets of Gloucester and Nepean townships in the urban area; The Nepean Township reeve referred to the greenbelt as the "weed belt" and suggested that it be developed with half acre lots using wells and septic tanks for servicing. See D. Aubrey Moodie brief to the 1956 Committee, p. 557, "Nepean Bylaw not to Assist in Greenbelt" *Ottawa Citizen* April 30, 1955, p. 17. "Greenbelt non-existent for Nepean councillors" *Ottawa Citizen* July 29, 1955, p. 2. "Gloucester councillors rap 'secret' Greenbelt policy" *Ottawa Citizen* August 15, 1955, p. 1.
- <sup>xliii</sup> Collier, R. W. *Contemporary Cathedrals: large-scale developments in Canadian cities*, Montreal: Harvest House, 1974; Babad, Michael and Catherine Mulroney, *Campeau : the building of an empire*, Toronto : Doubleday Canada, 1989; McCormick, Denise, unpublished Master's thesis, School of Urban and Regional Planning, Queen's University, 2000.
- <sup>xliv</sup> Regional Municipality of Ottawa Carleton, *Official Plan*, 1976; J. Taylor "Whose Plan: Planning in Canada's Capital after 1945"; Paper presented to the International Planning History Society Conference, Greece, 1996.
- <sup>xlv</sup> Taylor 1996 op cit., p. 792
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Wright, *Crown Assets*, op. cit.
- <sup>xlvii</sup> Canada, National Capital Commission *A Capital for Future Generations*,. Ottawa, 1998.
- <sup>xlviii</sup> This argument is expanded in comparison to Canberra in Gordon, D. L. A. "Ottawa-Hull And Canberra: Implementation of Capital City Plans" *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, forthcoming 2002.
- <sup>xlix</sup> NCC, *Core Area Concept of Canada's Capital, 2000*. Initial public reaction to the seven major proposals for the core area in this plan focused upon an inappropriate design for widening Metcalfe Street to recover a view of the Peace Tower from the south. The proposal was quickly dropped, but there was little support and much political opposition for the other six proposals which include spending almost \$250 million on improving public space downtown and along the Ottawa River. Any other city in Canada would likely be pleased to have the federal government invest similar sums in its downtown – compare to the reaction of Toronto to proposals to invest \$150 million in its waterfront.
- <sup>1</sup> Vale, Lawrence *Architecture, Power and National Identity*, New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1992, Ch. 10.
- <sup>ii</sup> Ward, S.V. 2000, "Re-examining the International Diffusion of Planning" in R. Freestone, (ed.) *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, London: Spon (forthcoming 2000).
- <sup>iii</sup> Gournay, I. "Revisiting Jacques Gréber's L'architecture aux Etats-Unis," *Urban History Review*, Vol. 29, No. 2, Spring 2001 pp.6-19.
- <sup>liii</sup> Ward, S.V. *Planning the 20th-Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World*, London: Wiley, 2002.

# Re-planning and Re-using urban Riversides 1840-2000: Cycles and Constellations in the role of rivers as urban spaces in Germany and Britain

*Session 16 “Infrastructure and Public Realm II”*

Prof. Dieter Schott  
Centre for Urban History  
University of Leicester  
Email: ds68@le.ac.uk

## **Abstract**

Rivers have been essential for the foundation and growth of many cities. However, to consider the location of a city on a river simply as a natural asset does not do justice to the complex relationship of cities and their rivers. Rivers have been threats and sources of deadly danger through floods and diseases as well as invaluable transport routes and sources of energy and drinking water. Cities have traditionally used rivers in a multiplicity of ways and have striven to manage and domesticate rivers accordingly. Especially since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century we can observe an increasing scope and scale of these attempts by cities to manage and utilise their rivers. These attempts have been supported and facilitated by technological innovations as well as mental and cultural re-interpretations.

The paper will retrace this transformation process of riversides in German and English cities from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It will map the change of usage of river shores and land close to the river, identify the principal actors behind these transformations, their aims and the ways how they succeeded in realising their objectives. The role of riversides for cities will be analysed in terms of economic function as well as cultural significance. By comparing the inland port of Mannheim on the Rhine with the maritime port of Hamburg on the Elbe and the English inland city of Leicester different types of rivers and city-river-relationships will be discussed. The obvious decline of urban riversides as vital areas of transport and industrial activities since the 1970s and their re-use as post-industrial leisure and residential areas will be interpreted in terms of life-cycle models and cultural remapping and redefining of urban spaces.

## **1. Rivers and Cities**

There is hardly a major city in Europe which will not have at least one, sometimes several rivers and brooks within its confines. Wolfgang Braunfels (1988) remarks that Paris and London are situated at very similar points on their rivers, namely as far upstream as the river was navigable for seagoing vessels at the time of their foundation and with natural assets like river islands and tributaries offering natural harbours. Architects and the general public appreciate rivers within city limits as elements of nature and as a most welcome contrast to the dense jungle of masonry and concrete experienced in city centres elsewhere. This perception tends to overlook that rivers and riverscapes in industrialized countries of the western world are usually the products of many years of human intervention and modelling. This of course does not rule out natural forces like excessive rainfalls and hydrodynamic mechanisms but it reveals that so-called natural disasters are by no means only the product of nature but also of the new complex configurations into which human intervention has transformed natural water-courses. This paper will retrace the process of transformation, of creating a man-made second “river-nature”, of re-planning and re-using the riversides in accordance to the respective needs of the cities and their dominant interests. This will be discussed in the light of rather diverse examples: Hamburg, a major city on the Elbe and the most important German maritime

port, Mannheim, an inland port and industrial town on the Rhine and Leicester, a town of textile industry in the English midlands, located on the small river Soar, almost as far from the sea as you can be in England. Nonetheless I hope this paper will show certain common patterns in the ways these cities were re-planning and re-using their rivers.

Let me start with some observations on the significance of rivers and potential conflicts in their usage. Rivers and their shores are contested resources, user interests were and still are divergent and potentially antagonistic. Planning of riversides thus automatically meant to prioritise certain usages and thus involved values and power relations. It implied social construction in the sense that meanings of rivers to different strata of the population had to be re-defined in often controversial processes.

Obviously some of the usages (illustrated in a diagram) virtually exclude each other: Excessive emissions of chemical wastes will eliminate fishing and severely question the use of rivers for recreational purposes. And the exploitation of the energy potential through weirs and milldams will massively inhibit shipping.

## 2. Hamburg: Turning the river into a port

The Elbe is one of the major European rivers. The river originates at the Riesengebirge, flows through the Bohemian basin of the Czech Republic. After breaking through a mountain ridge near Dresden it flows with only a slight fall roughly from south east to north west till it reaches the German Sea near Cuxhaven. Hamburg is situated about 100 km from the sea and the Elbe is a tidal stream from its mouth up to Lauenburg 65 km upstream from Hamburg.(Kempe 1992)

Near Hamburg the Elbe flows in a 9 km wide diluvial marshy valley where the river is split into several arms, with many small islands and old rivers arms between them. This valley has seen a long history of drainage, cultivation and construction of flood defences, this map from around 1700 shows some of them. A strict regime of social control has evolved from this never-ending struggle with the water. It forced all inhabitants of marshlands to take part in the building and maintenance of dikes and trenches which were so essential to survival in these potentially dangerous lands.( Oberbeck, 1992; Aschenberg/ Kroker, 1992)

Hamburg which means "castle in the swamps", was founded in the 9<sup>th</sup> century on a ridge of high and dry land. For many centuries the town literally was a port: several natural arms of the Alster and artificially created canals were the sites where loading and unloading happened right within the city from ships to the houses adjacent to the watercourses. The Elbe provided easy passage upstream and downstream with the tide. But from the 15<sup>th</sup> century increasing trade and the larger size of ships turned the open Elbe into an additional harbour. The city of Hamburg, by taking control in 1395 of the island of Moorwerder, where the two arms split, could direct a larger volume of water through the northern arm and force ships coming downstream to take the northern route.(Müller, 1992)

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Elbe acquired an even greater significance due to new constellations of factors:

- steam shipping brought new ship sizes and new requirements
- The emancipation of Latin American colonies and the rapid economic growth of the United States opened new spheres to Hamburg shipping, trade volume increased rapidly, especially after 1830
- Port facilities had been neglected during the Napoleonic Wars due to political occupation and economic depression. Thus water courses had been silted up, the capacity of the port had decreased.
- Technological progress had brought steam dredges to deepen water course again and to intervene much more radically in the shaping of the river.

- A disastrous storm flood in 1825 devastated large parts of port facilities and flooded portions of the city, raising the question of future protections against such events.
- Finally, in 1842 a huge fire led to the destruction of large tracts of the city centre. The disaster burnt down 100 warehouses and 1750 dwellings, leaving homeless 20,000 people, or more than 10% of the total population. Fifty-one people lost their lives and another 130 were injured. (Faulwasser 1892)

This fire pushed the Hamburg elites to a comprehensive programme of urban modernisation. The central figure in this process was the English civil engineer William Lindley. With larger building blocks and wider streets he created the modern Hamburg. (Evans 1987) Lindley also convinced the Hamburg Senate that a new comprehensive water and sewage system would be essential for Hamburg. (Faulwasser, 1892; Ahrens, 1993; Roscher, 1993) Thus Hamburg became the vanguard in urban water management for many years to come. The Elbe was used in this modernisation projects as drinking water resource some way upstream and also for discharging sewage further downstream.

How did the port now feature in these debates? There were two opposing concepts from the mid 1840s: Lindley and the Hamburg director of hydraulic engineering Hübbe favoured a plan to create a dock port closed against the open sea. But there was much opposition towards that and after Lindley had left the city in 1860, the new director of hydraulic engineering, Dalmann convinced political elites of the concept to keep the port open and include flood protection in the port facilities. Based on these plans from 1862 onwards quays were built where steamships could dock onto and unload straight onto the quay or onto freight waggons by using steam-driven mechanical cranes and pulleys. (Bracker, 1992)

With the decision to construct an open tidal port Hamburg embarked on a technological path which had consequences right to this day. A tidal port offered functional advantages but the open connection with the sea implied significant risks in terms of flooding. The new port facilities in marshy, flood-prone lands, had to be protected against floods. The city's whole system of dikes and flood protection came to be based on the storm flood of 1825 as a benchmark. This flood had reached 5.24 m above NN, so with a security margin the required height of dikes was set at 5.70 m.

Politics governed the next steps: In 1881 Hamburg decided to become member of the custom system of the German Empire but to create a 'free port area' where transshipping would remain free of customs. This involved a major physical restructuring with housing removed, 20,000 people relocated, many side arms filled in, and new artificial basins created. The 'free port' gave Hamburg a major stimulus for the development of harbour-related industries, but the construction of the "storage-city" also separated the city permanently from the river. The free port and thus the river was only accessible for those employed there.

In 1892, Hamburg was hit by a catastrophic cholera epidemic. The Elbe played a major role in this, because cholera-bacteria from sewage carried upstream by the tidal river had entered the drinking water system and thus spread the disease to almost 17,000 inhabitants, killing 8,600 of them. This was caused by the lack of sand filters which Lindley had proposed already in the 1840s but the city had never installed them for financial reasons. Top priority for shipping and commercial uses of the river over keeping it clean was in keeping with traditional Hamburg policies where all aspects of port development took precedence, but here this neglect had most serious consequences. (Jochmann, 1986; Evans, 1987)

Over most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Hamburg's port expanded further into the Elbe valley until it covered almost the whole valley between Hamburg and Harburg on the southern high shore. At the same time the river was continuously deepened to adapt to changes in ship sizes. One inevitable result of all this port construction and dredging was, that the water volume of the Elbe and the port areas was much larger in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century than it had been before World War I.

## 1962: The Storm-Flood – Catching the City Unaware

In February 1962 a storm flood swept across Hamburg in the middle of the night. Persistent strong winds from West-Northwest had pushed large amounts of water towards the German coastline and the Elbe, directly in line with the direction of the gale received the full force of the storm,.

The extraordinary high tide of 5.70 m, 46 cm higher than the disastrous storm flood of 1825, overwhelmed Hamburg's flood defences. Dikes broke in 60 places, almost 20 percent of Hamburg's territory was flooded. The natural disaster claimed 315 lives, including five members of rescue teams. About 20,000 inhabitants had to be rescued and evacuated from their flooded homes. (Aschenberg/Kroker, 1992)

Most of the casualties had lived in small huts or allotment cottages in Wilhelmsburg and Moorburg, particularly low-lying areas. The storm flood of 1962 made a large imprint on the public memory of Hamburg and exposed the city's inherent vulnerability to high storm floods.

How did Hamburg now react to this challenge? Expert reports pointed out that the disaster had also partly been caused by former human interventions and changes into the natural river system by deepening the shipping route, shortening of dike lines, the shutting off of the Elbe by the locks at Geesthacht. By reducing natural flooding areas where the waters could spend their force these factors had contributed to the extreme height of the flood. (Möller, 1999) In relatively short term the system of emergency alarm and relief in such natural disasters was reorganised and unified. Most importantly, the shock of the general public allowed for a completely new and comprehensive system of flood protection to be put in place. To date, it has served Hamburg well in fending off further disasters from the sea. Since 1962, several so-called "Century-Floods" have tested these defences, making their cost of some 800 mio DM appear to have been an extremely good investment. (Aschenberg/Kroker, 1992) However, there seems no end to this. The increasing height of these floods and the general scenario of global warming and rising sea levels have prompted Hamburg Senate to set new benchmarks. Now the whole system of flood protection is to be raised to a height of between 8,00 and 8.50 m above NN by the year 2007 with additional expenses of roughly 1 bn DM. These huge costs seem the price the city is forced and grudgingly willing to pay for the fundamental decision to exploit the functional advantages of an open tidal port. (Möller, 1999)

### 3. Mannheim and the Rhine: From inland entrepot to industrial centre

Mannheim is located at the confluence of the rivers Rhine and Neckar in the so-called "Upper Rhine Valley", a 30 km wide and basically flat basin with fertile soils and favourable climatic conditions. Founded as a new city with an absolutely regular grid plan only in 1607, Mannheim flourished in the eighteenth century as glamorous capital of the Electors of the prosperous Palatinate. When the Elector Karl-Theodor moved his residence to Munich in 1778, the fashionable and sophisticated Mannheim sank into stagnation and provincialism for almost half a century. The city fell as outpost on the northern fringe to the newly created Grand Duchy of Baden in 1802, where it played only a secondary role in relation to the capital Karlsruhe. A new rise in the 1830s was closely linked to making best use of Mannheim's location. The Rhine shipping treaty of 1831 liberalised shipping on the Rhine and abolished former restrictions like the staple duties in Cologne and Mainz. This together with the formation of the German Tariffs Union in 1834 put Mannheim in a very favourable position. The city became the terminal point upstream for large-vessel shipping on the Rhine. The government of Baden, recognising the potential of this strategic location, invested generously into port facilities and a railway line between Frankfurt in the North and Basel in the South. Mannheim thus became the major port of transshipment for the whole of South Western Germany. It concentrated on the reception of bulk cargo, like coal and cereals, and further distributed these goods to Switzerland and even Northern Italy. After

Germany had been unified in 1871 trade volume virtually exploded and the state of Baden further enlarged port facilities at Mannheim.

Precondition for this trading success was a systematic and long-term restructuring of the riverside in the region near Mannheim. Maps from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century still show the typical picture of meandering rivers with many old arms and flood-prone shores and river meadows. But after disastrous floods along the Rhine in 1816/17 the state of Baden embarked on a comprehensive policy of river regulation which was successful in so far as floods were reduced, the water-table lowered and agricultural productivity greatly raised. In a region frequently haunted by starvation crises this was absolutely essential. Tulla, the engineer in charge, became the leading authority for hydraulic engineering for large parts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. (Bernhardt, 1998; Felkel, 1995)

Near Mannheim a major measure was the Friesenheim cut, started in the mid 1820s but only used as official shipping line in the 1860s. A little later the river Neckar was prolonged in straight direction to the new Rhine. After 1870 the newly formed island „Mühlau“ was developed to hold an enormous port complex of basins, storage houses, cranes and transport facilities, joined with the railway. (Schott, 2000)

Due to these favourable trading conditions Mannheim, a city of some 80.000 inhabitants in 1890, became the centre of commerce in South Western Germany, the main banking place and the headquarter of many insurances. Around 1890 however, plans emerged to improve the Upper Rhine South of Mannheim for larger vessels. The city of Mannheim naturally opposed such plans because they feared massive decline in trade and the vital transshipment. But since the project seemed inevitable, the city council decided to stimulate a shift of the city's economic base away from the function of a trading and transporting city towards a stronger emphasis on industry. (Schott, 1907b) This decision to transform Mannheim into an industrial city largely rested on making imaginative use of river resources.

Mannheim developed this old arm of the Rhine created by the cut as an industrial port. But this time the city had to finance this project itself. The state, which had paid for ports and reaped their immediate benefits so far, refused to step in. To protect these areas against floods - the last and most devastating one had just occurred in 1882/83 - extensive raising and drainage measures had to be carried out. Idyllic river meadows and quiet backwaters of the old river arm were transformed into an utilitarian landscape of concrete, fortified embankments, warehouses and railway-sidings. The industrial port qualified Mannheim as prime industrial location and helped to bring about structural change from entrepot to industrial city. (Schott, 1999)

The result of all these measures was a fundamental reshaping of the riverside near Mannheim which completely transformed the Rhine from the 1820s through to the second half of the 20th century. (Tümmers, 1994; Internationale Kommission, 1993)

#### 4. Leicester and the Soar: From shipping over industrial use to leisure

The Valley of the river Soar in which Leicester is situated, constitutes the dominating relief in the county. Forming a wide flood-plain over most of its course the river first runs almost in a straight line from south-west to north-east until it passes Leicester and then, behind the confluence of its main tributary, the river Wreake, turns towards North-west until it falls into the Trent south of Nottingham. Meadow lands on the flood plain were fertile but settlements tended to avoid the flood plain. The Soar has been prone to rapid and serious flooding which is due to its low fall, only 1 m on 21 km, and the impervious soil of its main catchment area.

When in 1778 Loughborough, a county town some 20 km from Leicester was linked to the Trent this breakthrough led to a sudden rise of Loughborough and to "canal mania", a boom in canal building in the whole county due to the huge success of the Loughborough canal. In 1794 the Leicester navigation was

opened, and the canal led to a dramatic fall in commodity prices in Leicester, especially of coal, and promoted rapid growth of the city.(Milward, 1985; Simmons, 1972) With the opening of the Grand Union Canal in 1812, Leicester received a shipping outlet to the Thames and London, which created a huge potential market for the already well-established hosiery industry in Leicester. The economic effects of these canals were quite considerable in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Soar and its navigation helped Leicester, an inland town far away from the sea, to become fully integrated into a national economy, increasingly dependent on coal as the dominant fuel and with a high degree of national and international division of labour.(Simmons, 1972)

What role did the river now play for the physical growth of Leicester? Leicester Canal and the Soar ran parallel in the flood plain of the Soar. Up to the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the town had remained restricted to the right bank of the river because the flood plain presented a rather difficult and dangerous ground to build on. With the industrialization drive of the 1860s however, the traditional family-based hosiery industry became replaced by steam-driven hosiery mills. Locations on the river now became very attractive for these new factories to use water access for transport of coal, cooling and industrial processes. Thus areas close to river and canal became increasingly built over, especially with factories, but also with working-class neighborhoods, while on the other hand the environmental problems linked with that usage of potential flood land increased. This dual challenge of industrialisation of the riverside and increasing threat of floods on the other hand forced Leicester Corporation to tackle the problem. After severe spring floods in 1867 the corporation acquired several acts of parliament for the improvement and drainage of the Soar in 1868, 1874, 1876 and 1881. The problem with these parliamentary acts was that for one they had to spell out very clearly which measures were to be taken and for two the acts left a rather restricted time frame to carry out these measures. The summer floods of 1880 brought a new urgency to the issue showing that success so far had not been as desired. Leicester council comprehensively reconsidered the improvement program and the resulting "Leicester Improvement Act" gave the corporation more flexible powers to acquire land and carry out necessary measures. In the public debate these very costly measure were mainly discussed in terms of public health and property values, flood protection promised a good investment in avoiding substantial damage and raising property values and thus municipal taxes.

How was this project now publicly debated? Apart from flood protection major arguments brought forward by the municipal leaders were public health and property values. Flood protection effectively could be sold as a good investment. Reports of these meetings show a fairly complex assessment of factors. Not only extensive rainfalls were blamed, but also badly maintained weirs and dams, installations in disused shipping canals, too narrow railway bridges, disused mills and obstructions due to the silting up of rivers. Major responsibility was also attributed to changes in agricultural practices in the uplands: Improved drainage of upland fields had led to much faster run-off of rainwater so that flood peaks coincided and added up to much higher overall floods. The lack of any general authority in charge of managing the river as a whole was particularly criticised. In order to finance future measures the landowners from the lower areas asked the government to step in and force everybody to share this burden.(Brundell, 1881)

The Improvement Act of 1882 brought a comprehensive reshaping of the river and canal area. The major change was a completely new course for the navigation channel from Freeman's lock in the south to West Bridge: the bed of the channel was deepened there and its course was completely straightened, creating a stretch of almost one mile which came to be used for boat racing. New bridges and roads across the flood plain significantly improved communications between the old city centre on the right shore and new neighbourhoods now developing on the left bank. This bundle of improvement measures was the greatest project undertaken by the corporation over the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The overall costs ran up to £300,000 which compares to a rateable value of just over £500,000 in the early 1890s.(Millward, 1985)

The Improvement measures also addressed leisure needs: Abbey Park, created on a large island between the navigation channel and the river, became quickly very popular as a prime civic site. In times of flooding the park area served as an overflow area where the damage would remain comparatively low, as opposed to built-up areas.(Storey 1895) Finally, the Soar improvement also drew the Council's attention to the problem of river pollution and prompted a comprehensive sewage drainage schema to prevent the river from becoming more polluted with household sewage . This scheme in turn led to the incorporation of several neighbouring villages in 1891.(Storey, 1895) Re-planning the river to counter challenges of flooding and overusage thus inaugurated a significant qualitative change in the scope of Leicester's municipal development strategies towards a far more interventionist and activist approach by the turn of the century.

## **5. Re-using urban Riversides: 1970-2000**

Over the last three decades riversides and waterfronts have again undergone major changes in many cities of Europe, North America and other parts of the world, only to mention Battery Park in New York, the London Docklands, Toronto Harbourfront or Rotterdam (Hoyle, 1988; Gordon, 1996). The fundamental problems of technological change, deindustrialisation and erosion of function experienced by these waterfront areas in metropolitan cities can also be traced in my case studies.

In Hamburg the containerisation of port traffic has made the famous storage city obsolete, which had been constructed in the 1880s within the free port to hold the goods exempt from customs. After controversial debates the "Storage City" was listed as a first-grade monument and thus the city, initially planning to demolish the structures in favour of expansion of the modern port, was forced to look elsewhere. The "Speicherstadt" with its extraordinary architecture, fairly close to the city centre, is currently being reused as a site for services and offices as well as a major tourist attraction: A private society has started to illuminate the whole area at night-time thus bringing out the attractive architectural features of the area as well as tempting visitors to cultural institutions like theaters there. An adjacent area of the port, the oldest port basins of the modern port, constructed from 1860 to the 1890s, is currently being replanned for new residential and commercial non-port uses. In 1997 the City government has announced a major urban redevelopment program for this area under the title of "HafenCity", "PortCity". On the site of 155 ha, of which 60 ha are net building land, 5.500 flats and 20.000 jobs are to be created over the next 20 years. The project will mean, that the CBD will be enlarged by about 40% in a way which corresponds to the historical identity of city centre architecture of Hamburg and is inspired by the vision of the "European city". The project aims to increase the share of people actually living in the city centre and advocates urban living with mixed residential and commercial uses. This is also promoted as complying with the goal of sustainability and the Agenda 21. In historical terms the city of Hamburg sells this project as "return to the river" after an interruption of 100 years when the Elbe had been inaccessible to the general public because that area had been part of the free port and had been banned for any housing. The project furthermore forms part of an ambitious urban policy drive featuring a bid for the Olympic Games for 2012. So far the Council has staged several architecture competitions and secured high-ranking investors like the software house SAP which will build a training centre in the area. The city has also improved links to the area in the form of bridges and water-barges because studies of waterfront redevelopments have shown that it is essential to guarantee good access for the commercial success of such redevelopments.(Gordon, 1996) A general promotional campaign culminating in a major festival at the end of June with displays, guided tours, entertainment and discussions have striven to put the "HafenCity" as a new concept onto the mental map of Hamburgers.



In Mannheim the industrial port has experienced considerable economic decline and the city of Mannheim currently attempts to regenerate the area using EU funds to attract more employment and companies.

In Leicester the riverside has experienced economic decline due to several factors: The closing of the Great Central Railway in the 1960s which had used the River area for its rail yard and tracks meant that the extensive rail yard turned into a rather sad-looking scrap yard and the architecturally very interesting railway tracks fell into disrepair. Generally the area around the river became a medley of unattractive, extremely polluting and low-value economic activities. The river was not easily accessible, paths along river and canal were not well maintained, overgrown trees and bushes blocked the view to the river and created a rather unsafe, not easily surveyed environment. In the early 1990s the city council successfully applied under the City Challenge Programme for regeneration funds. The central idea was to upgrade the derelict and contaminated area into an attractive environment for offices and housing which could also serve as recreational areas for other parts of the city.(Leicester City Council 1999) After a difficult process of compulsory purchase and site reclamation redevelopment started in 1997 and was completed in its major aspects by 2000. The main elements of the 14 ha project are 1) a local centre, created around a former water pumping station turned into a pub and a public square with shops; 2) parks along the river and the canal with improved access, treelined alleys and playground; 3) 440 dwelling units, including 240 student flats; one local university is very close on the other side of the canal, and 4) 14,000 sqm of business units thought to create over 800 jobs. These office complexes are partly occupied by Banks and telecommunication companies.

Bede Island also constitutes part of a more comprehensive project of the city council to improve access to the riverside over the whole municipal territory. The city council has declared the whole stretch of the river Soar and the Grand Union Canal as a "Riverside Park" and publishes well-designed brochures which point out where to access the paths, inform about places to visit on the way, about spots of natural or historical interest. This initiative seems to have been fairly successful, the river paths are well frequented, especially by cyclists during the summer and provide an easy escape despite leading almost through the heart of the city. On some parts of the path the strong presence of industry still cannot go unnoticed but the river is being reclaimed by the urban population to a larger extent as probably for the last 100 years.

## 6. Summary: Re-planning and Re-using riversides

If we try to compare the role of these rivers for their respective cities, we can first of all observe a clear hierarchy in their relative significance: For Hamburg the Elbe as the access for maritime as well as inland shipping was of paramount importance throughout the whole city history and this reflects clearly in the persistent territorial river-related policy as well as in the long-term hydraulic engineering to improve shipping conditions. In Mannheim the main period of supreme relevance of the river was the time from 1840-1900 when the function as an entrepot, granted by the unique location at the confluence, supported the rapid growth of the city. For Leicester, the main importance lies in the period from 1794 to about 1860 after which the railways increasingly substituted canal transport. The river then became more important as attractive location for industrial production. In all three cases the river was thus in varying degrees and for periods of different length a vital resource for urban development.

The dual role of rivers as assets as well as liabilities has been demonstrated in the disastrous floods suffered by Hamburg and, of course to a lesser extent by Leicester, forcing cities to engage in extensive and costly flood defence programs. In terms of personal experience living and working near a river was certainly not a very desirable thing around 1900 as river pollution from industrial and domestic effluents was

considerable, often overstressing the self-regenerative capacity of rivers thus producing rather unpleasant stench. Despite this urban growth and the development of factory districts along the riverside pushed development beyond the high shores onto the flood plains which again forced local authorities to undertake projects which might minimise flood risks.

If we ask for cycles in the re-planning and re-using of riversides these seem to depend on a combination of economic incentives, technological means and political decisions. In Hamburg the economic upsurge of the 1860s and then again the decision to create the free port in the 1880s gave decisive impulses towards turning the river into a portscape. In Mannheim the combination of de-regulation of Rhine shipping with economic opportunities after 1840 and especially after 1870 was crucial. In both cases new technology of steam-ships and steam dredges created new requirements as well as new potential for interventions and changes of the riverscape. The notion that rivers could thus be permanently stabilised and made controllable was however repeatedly challenged by natural disasters like the Hamburg Storm-flood of 1962. By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century large stretches of the riverside had in all three cities been turned into concrete embankments, flanked by industrial premises or utilities. With the exception of anglers and boaters the riverside was not an attractive place to be at, let alone permanently dwell there.

With the dawn of the post-industrial age many of the shipping-related structures and facilities lost their economic purpose; also for industry water-access has mostly ceased to be of such prime significance, other locational factors like access to good road network and telecommunication infrastructure have gained far greater weight. The decline of these areas which had a rather negative image has forced town councils to devise regeneration strategies which might give the area new economic role while at the same time using their potential environmental qualities and natural beauties for the whole population. Thus we can observe in many urban riverside redevelopment projects of the last two decades a general tendency to reclaim the river for the city, to overcome former separations and reintegrate the riverside in a physical as well as mental sense into the city. Hamburg's re-discovery of the Elbe and Leicester's Riverside Park are cases in point. This reclamation was accompanied by a persistent effort to change the popular image of the riverside from the dirty, loud and unhealthy aspect of the time around 1900 to a more serene, peaceful and leisure-oriented focus by 2000. The decline of polluting industry, the success of sewage treatment and stricter environmental regulation has lent substance to such claims whereas on the side of popular activities increasing leisure and consumption have created a substantial market for these new kind of residential spaces like living on the waterside.

It remains to be seen how successful these changes will be in the longer run and if they actually help cities to become more sustainable.

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Dieter Schott

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# 10<sup>th</sup> International Planning History Conference 2002

Theme: COLONIAL PLANNING

## GUILDFORD

**“A little bit of England” in Australia’s unintended egalitarian experiment.**

### Introduction

Australia represents an audacious act by the most powerful maritime nation of the period. In 1788 Britain claimed New South Wales, the eastern two thirds of the continent of Australia for a penal colony. This was to resolve the problem of overcrowded prisons as it could no longer send its felons to the American possessions which were lost in the American War of Independence. The Botany Bay – Sydney establishment then expanded to Van Dieman’s Land (Tasmania), Brisbane and Norfolk Island to enable a range of more varied penal settlements to cope with the large number of convicts being transported to NSW. 38 years later in 1826 the western third of Australia was seized thus completing the almost bloodless possession of the last continent without opposition from other nations.

The Swan River Colony (Perth) was established in 1829 before the full imposition of Wakefield Theory conditions on Australian settlements. Wakefield’s theory was a formula for colonial settlement that set out to create a mirror of English society throughout it’s expanding empire. (no convicts, land sold not granted, labour and landowner status clearly defined)

The founding governor, Captain James Stirling, used trade opportunities as well as strategic defence in his argument for the creation of the settlement. The location on the Chinese traders route, the link to India for convalescence and supply plus the favourable wind patterns for sail. The fear of French interest (such as Baudin’s expedition in the early 1800’s) being transformed into a foreign occupation between New South Wales and India and Britain fed on the strategic problems recently experienced in the Napoleonic period where the British trade routes could be attacked from overseas bases.

There was an element of opportunism in Stirling’s advocacy as he was seeking a more secure future than as a peacetime naval officer. His investigative expedition in 1827 reported excellent prospects for a free colony for British interests. These were subsequently found to be very optimistic as the soil was not of a high quality and rainfall was less than expected. The first years saw much hardship as settlers struggled firstly through a lack of essential food production and secondly with significant labour shortages.

Despite these hardships, the small colony survived and it is argued that this initial era contributed to the development of independent thought and action with

disrespect for rigid authority. It is held that it was the only egalitarian settlement in Australia.

This argument will be pursued through the stories of colonial settlers set against the planning and development of the most British of colonial social expressions, the idyllic country retreat.

#### Colonial Context 1829-50

Guildford, named after the British town and home of Governor Stirling's wife, is some ten miles upstream from the capital Perth and is at the confluence of the Swan and Helena Rivers. Its geography is unique as it is almost surrounded by these two ancient river systems with its only land connection some 100 yards wide.

In the early days of the settlement the roads across the 20mile wide coastal sand plain were not suitable for horse drawn wagons and the rivers became the main transport system. Hence Guildford developed as an important transport hub being the interface of river transport and the inland routes to the alluvial plains of the adjoining Swan Valley and the Avon Valley hinterlands. The first land grants were along the river and extended far inland reflecting the capital investment of the owner but these were constrained by narrow frontages and were known as "ribbon grants". The early established axis of Fremantle (port) – Perth (capital) – Guildford (inland port and rural retreat) remains evident today.

Stirling's instructions to his surveyors Roe and Sutherland were to lay out a town on British Colonial practice with the role of a rural retreat for what he envisaged as the established civic leaders in the colony. It was to be "a little bit of England" and clearly implied that the elite would settle there and enjoy British colonial pursuits in a sylvan setting.

The first plan shows the residential lots around the town periphery overlooking the rivers with the centre having large spaces between civic functions. The remainder was set aside for residential infill on lots large enough for domestic food production. In the first years this plan was developed with greater detail and formed the basis for the later pattern of grand houses around the river and more modest housing in the centre (placed appropriately as not to intrude on the grand civic spaces)

Stirling clearly signalled his intentions for Guildford to be a gentleman's retreat as he allowed many of his senior officers to take up grants along the rivers near Guildford. His own grant was a substantial holding north east of Guildford with frontages to both the Swan and the Helena rivers.

#### Richard and Mary Smith

The "First 500", as the initial settlers were called, included indentured servants Richard (1800-70) and Mary Smith (1809-80). Mary was the middle daughter of a

manor in Kent and her husband Richard, the coachman to the manor. They were sent out in some disgrace at such an affront to social values. In 1830 they are recorded as owning lot 38 Swan Street, one of the modest lots allocated to labourers and servants.

The regulations set down by Governor Stirling were that before receiving title to their land, an owner was required to fence and improve it. Government control of development was therein clearly established from the outset in Western Australia. With slow growth between 1829 and 1850 due mainly to the scarcity of labour and capital, the town developed slowly. However, the social phenomenon of egalitarian achievement emerged and the Smiths are examples of a unique event in Australian history.

Their story contrasts sharply with that of Thomas Peel, cousin of the British Prime Minister. Peel was a wealthy colonist but conditions in the colony did not enable gentlemen farmers to operate as in Britain. The scarcity of labour allowed servants to demand high wages while still owning their own domestic property. If they worked hard, they prospered and gained wealth and more property to work.

Peel, gradually lost most of his workers as they worked on their own properties. He even lost a court action against one of his employees. His one million acre land grant was gradually subdivided and sold to enable him to survive but he ended his days in poor circumstances. This would have been rare in Britain in these times.

The Smiths on the other hand prospered to the point that when the inaugural Guildford Town Council was established in 1849, Richard Smith was elected an Alderman. He also had purchased Clayton's Farm a substantial land holding in the Helena Valley just east of Guildford where his family of ten grew up.

In twenty years Richard and Mary Smith had risen from the bottom to the top of settler society. Despite their wealth and position they never returned to Britain.

### The Convict Era 1850-68

The labour problem was resolved by the introduction of transported convicts to the colony in 1850. This was a very contested decision and only accepted on condition that the convicts possessed trade skills or were of sound body for labouring. (this is reflected in modern criteria for Australia's immigrants!)

The government used this labour force for civil works such as roads, bridges, public buildings etc as well as hiring out surplus men for pastoral and farm duties. Convict depots were established in various centres in the colony and one was in Guildford. It was to the Guildford convict depot that Benjamin Newman (convicted for robbery at the Ipswich assizes) was assigned after arriving in the convict transport *Marion* early in 1852.

Benjamin Newman (b.1826) worked as a road construction labourer around the district until he was granted his Ticket of Leave late in 1852 and subsequently his pardon in 1856. By 1859 he owned 10 acres of land in the Guildford District.

In 1855 he married Elizabeth Cook and their eighth child, John married Sarah Moody, daughter of a pensioner guard at the Guildford convict depot and the grand daughter of Richard and Mary Smith.

I am a grand son of this marriage. It is now something of a status symbol in WA to have descended from transported convicts, let alone the "First 500".

This needs some interpretation.

The convicts were seen as a much needed labour force and not as a blight on the colony. They worked industriously as they now could envisage a hope for their future. In England they would have been always stigmatised for their earlier misdeeds and their families looked down upon by a stratified society. In Western Australia they were considered as citizens and hard workers. They often possessed needed trade skills, which were in demand in the rural areas, and perhaps for the first time in their lives they were respected for who and what they were. They could be landowners and later, able to participate in civic affairs.

Benjamin Newman and his son John became railway workers and led well respected and happy lives. Among their descendants are doctors, accountants, builders, war heroes, farmers, schoolteachers, architects and town planners.

#### The 1890 Gold Boom Era

By the end of the 1860's, the convict era had passed and the colony slowly gained economic sustainability. By the 1890's, gold discoveries had turned a modest agricultural/pastoral settlement into a vigorous young state with its own elected self government. Goldfields to the east of the established farming districts meant not only more pastoral expansion but also meant migrants from overseas settling in the dry and remote region seeking their fortune. Despite the harsh conditions, the wealth of this region filtered through prospectors down to established settlers and little capital was exported without a substantial contribution to the state coffers.

Through the gold boom, another layer of successful settlers without society roots became evident. One became Lord Mayor of Perth, others created successful mining companies and businesses which melded into an already egalitarian style socio-economic community. The impact of this boom time saw substantial homes established around the periphery of Guildford on the banks of the Swan and Helena rivers. It could be argued that the gold boom period repeated the original settler and convict period eras phenomenon.

One of the examples of the effect of increasing wealth was the establishment of Guildford Grammar School in 1904. Designed by Sir Walter Tapper RIBA, it was designed as an 'establishment' institution but has developed into a major private school with substantial links to rural WA

#### Australian Federation

In 1901 the states of Australia became the Commonwealth of Australia and Western Australia has since that date been the primary mineral exporter. Miners are internationally renowned as being "of independent spirit" and, in the progress of WA, have contributed to this sense of egalitarianism.

#### AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IT RETAINS THE BASIC LAYOUT OF THE ORIGINAL DESIGN

In 1983 the National Trust of Australia declared Guildford an Historic Town. This recognition was not only for retaining its demonstration of a way of life but also for its contribution to interpreting history.

THE BASIS FOR THIS HISTORIC STATUS WAS THAT IT RETAINED ITS TOWN PLAN IN ITS RIVERINE SETTING AS WELL AS SUBSTANTIAL BUILDING STOCK REPRESENTING THE WHOLE OF THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL VALUES SINCE 1829

Its lessons are;-

- 1 Indomitable spirit
- 2 Adventurous outlook to seize opportunity
- 3 Authority respected but able to be challenged
- 4 Faith in the future.

It is my view that this modest town has demonstrated a social phenomenon and deserves greater attention by historians with special emphasis on family history's as traditional researchers tend to devalue or ignore the contributions of individual storylines in cultural research

Note this is a continuation and development of the 1978 thesis of Colonial Settlement in Australia (Polytechnic of Central London).

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## From Townscape to Civilia: The Evolution of a Collective Project

In the April of 1972, making the concluding remarks of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, Nikolaus Pevsner bemoaned the state of city planning and urban design. He argued that the "missing link between the Picturesque and twentieth century architecture" was the English picturesque theory of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. (*The Picturesque Garden and Its Influence Outside The British Isles* 1974, p. 120) As he had done eighteen years ago within the pages of *The Architectural Review*, Pevsner stated his conviction in the affinity between modern architecture's foundational principles and the operating principles of picturesque improvement.<sup>1</sup> (p. 120) He ended his remarks by adding that he "always [tried] to preach the application of Visual Planning principles instead of the pernicious gibberish of sociological planning." (p.121)

Pevsner's sentences stand out as affirmation of *AR*'s policy on town planning between 1940 and 1974, when H. de C. Hastings, its chief editor for almost fifty years, retired. This editorial policy was formulated by him, (owner and editorial director of the Architectural Press between 1927-1973, chief editor of *AR* between 1927-1973), J.M. Richards (joined as assistant editor in 1935, editor between 1939-1970), and Nikolaus Pevsner (editor between 1941-1970). During this period they published several series under the titles "Townscape" (1949) "Outrage," (1955) "Counter-Attack," (1956) "Manplan" (1969) and finally "Civilia" (1972). In the form of campaigns intending to mobilize public opinion, Gordon Cullen, Ian Nairn, Kenneth Browne and H. de C. Hastings (writing under the pseudonyms Ivor de Wolfe or de Wofle) had a particularly central role. Nikolaus Pevsner describes Hastings as a figure that preferred to remain in the background. However, being the chief editor of *The Architectural Press* and *AR* he certainly was the policy maker. A comprehensive reading of his essays and the books he has written, I will argue, reveals that he had a more central role than any other editor that worked for *AR*. The idea of "Townscape" has been assessed by several scholars usually as an urban design methodology or as a refusal of theory. (Bandini 1992, the Gordon Cullen Tribute in *Urban Design Quarterly* 1994 and Ellin, 1996.). Instead of isolating "Townscape" as a methodology or resistance to theory--it was openly so--, this paper analyzes the historical and cultural assumptions that framed *AR*'s policy and the implicit social ideal in Hastings's writings that aimed to reinterpret the Romantic movement for a new British society. Nested within a wholistic program to establish cultural continuity, *AR* attempted to define Englishness in an attitude towards urban planning and design.

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<sup>1</sup> The article I am specifically referring to is Nikolaus Pevsner, "C20 Picturesque" *The Architectural Review*, April 1954. I will refer to the journal as *AR* in the rest of the paper.

**Romantic Foundations:**

The formulation of "Townscape" dates back to the early years of the Second World War when H. de C. Hastings commissioned a book to be authored by Nikolaus Pevsner. This book was to investigate the history of the "picturesque" landscape movement and speculate on its possible applications to the twentieth century city.<sup>2</sup> Among Pevsner's studies for this book, which was left only in manuscript form, is a three-page note entitled "My Explanation of the Rise of the Romantic Movement" written by Hastings.<sup>3</sup> This note reveals how Hastings understood the connection between British Romanticism and the emergence of the landscape movement. He explains in it that what differentiated the rise of the Picturesque movement was its general outlook to the environment:

To explain the Picturesque Movement it isn't really enough to bring up the rise of the Whig aristocracy or the Civil War, or the Romantic Movement. To get as near as it is polite to get to a First Cause we should be wise to consider the outlook of the period, and that which preceded it, to the Environment in general.<sup>4</sup>

Hastings' argument can be briefly summarized as such: Newtonian science absolved Nature of its status as Chaos and elevated its laws to the level of God's laws. The apprehension of Nature having a divine order obliged man to follow Nature's rules instead of imposing on Nature an inferior order of his own. However, this moral inference that the Romantic movement derived from the findings of science did not prevail longer than a century. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, man employed these laws to exploit and to dominate Nature. Between this moral turnaround, meaning from the reverence to the order of Nature to the rise of man to its most efficient exploitation, was the English landscape movement. Landscape movement branched out from the Romantic movement to materialize this awareness in the environment. Hastings concluded his note by stating that: "The decision to leave of trying to order nature and instead to learn nature's order was the basis of true Picturesque Theory, the painter being stuck up on a pedestal because he was the chap most sensitive to Nature's order." The moral lesson that Hastings derived from Romanticism and Picturesque theory would provide him with an analogy for urban intervention, as we will see, in the later years of his editorial career.

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<sup>2</sup> The incomplete manuscript is now at the Getty Center among the Nikolaus Pevsner papers. The foreword has a dedication which was later crossed over that still reads "To H. de C. without whom this book would probably not have been started, and certainly never have been completed."

<sup>3</sup> The note is in Box 25 of the Pevsner papers.

<sup>4</sup> Uppercase letters as in the original.

The note also sheds light on Hastings' preparations for *AR*'s role in Britain's reconstruction. For even though Pevsner's book was never completed, *AR* published several articles from this research along with other authors' works on the Picturesque.<sup>5</sup> Pevsner later took up this research for his book "*The Englishness of English Art*" and dedicated it to "H. de. C." (See dedication in Pevsner, 1956.) The sporadic appearance of *AR*'s interest in the picturesque, which began in the early 1940s was transformed into policy by a public declaration in January 1947. The editors made a call for a "visual re-education" in the "Second Half Century" program of the journal. They declared that *AR* would heed this call in search for a proper attitude towards the environment and the "visual culture." This program stressed Picturesque theory's exaltation of the painter as the omnipotent judge of visual arts. It demanded from architects that they become "master-coordinators" of the environment by following the visual sensibilities of the painter.<sup>6</sup> Architects, in other words, were to translate the raw products of the technical and social disciplines into a "favourable environment." The editors thus stressed that increasing the visual quality of the environment was not simply a cosmetic activity:

Obviously the purely visual goal cannot be pursued in isolation by the total human being, since the activities of seeing are bound up in many deep functions of the human soul, besides many not-so-deep requirements of the physical body. But the particular purpose a magazine can serve is to isolate specific targets for attack, and it is the REVIEW's function to emphasize the problems and potentialities of visual design, to recreate a visual culture which will help to recreate a civilization. (*AR*, January 1947, p.25)

The call for a visual re-education also stemmed from the editors' discontent with the "impact of the revolution [of modern architecture] on the human environment." (p.31) The editors argued that the "technical mastery of man" in the nineteenth century was accompanied by a "social awareness" expressed in the works of pioneers such as William Booth, Ebenezer Howard and Patrick Geddes. The social system could have provided "the framework within which technical advances could safely be made without danger of over-specialization" had the forces of laissez faire capitalism given way (p.31). The speed of technological progress had surpassed that of social progress and the chance for a "balanced society and environment" was lost. Therefore many of the planning ideas that developed in the early twentieth century, for them, had remained "isolated images of [these pioneers'] new ideas" and not as outcomes of an overall environmental policy. In order to overcome the destructive tendency of technological progress, social and cultural forces had to be deployed and planning had to acquire the full support of the society. This support mainly meant the cultural acceptance of planning practices. Out of such convictions, the

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<sup>5</sup> Among these articles are Pevsner's "Heritage of Compromise" (February 1942) "Genesis of the Picturesque" (November 1944) "Humphrey Repton" (February 1948) "Sir William Temple and Sharawaggi" (December 1949).  
<sup>6</sup> *AR* published a series of architectural criticism written by painters under a series titled "Reassessment."

editors wanted to integrate the Picturesque into the environmental project of Romanticism for the twentieth century and to disseminate this project on a cultural level.

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### The Cultural Assumptions of "Townscape":

In 1949, Hastings made his first attempt of translating this cultural attitude into urban design theory in his article "Townscape: A Plea for an English Visual Philosophy founded on the true rock of Sir Uvedale Price." (*AR*, December 1949). In the beginning of the article, Hastings explained his task as an investigation into the political sources of "Picturesque Theory" in order to be able to generate "a functional vocabulary for the art of landscape" in the postwar twentieth century. In Hastings' opinion, the birth of "Picturesque Theory" corresponded to the "rebirth of the democratic idea" in Europe (p.356). He contrasted two different versions of the democratic ideal, the French vs. the English, to illustrate their realization in two different kinds of environments. The French ideal was based on a leveled social structure, treating each individual as equal but nonetheless indifferent from the unanimous mass, while the British sought a "higher organization" by allowing the expression of difference.<sup>7</sup> Out of these two different understandings of liberty two styles of landscaping were born: the "Grand Manner" or the "French tradition" vs. the "Landscape Movement, [which he defined as] the English revolt from the Latin tradition." (p.358)

By means of this article Hastings aimed to add a layer of political legitimacy to "Picturesque theory" in addition to the underlying morality of the Romantic movement. However, he still had to legitimize this concept against the planning ideas of the Modern Movement codified by the Athens Charter of CIAM. He thus separated the teachings of Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight from the work of Capability Brown and of Humphrey Repton in order to distinguish what he called the "radical"

<sup>7</sup> "To distinguish between them let us confine the term *rational liberal* to the French side of the Channel, where it was born, and call the other the Rousseauesque or English form, by the specific English label *radical liberal*. The one looks to found the social structure upon the basis of the unanimity ultimately predictable of all individual minds in virtue of the ultimate identity of reason; the other seeks the higher social organization in the differentiation of the individual from the mass. One cultivates the universal, the other the particular. The pattern and the atom philosophy.

Out of rational liberalism springs all that we mean by French classicism; out of the temperamental radicalism of the English springs, to choose at random, *laissez-faire*, protestantism, nonconformity, empirical philosophers, singular Englishmen, parliamentary government, the Common Law founded upon a multitude of single cases, the absence of a Constitution, the Balance of Power and the Whigs." (Ivor de Wolfe "Townscape: A Plea...", *Architectural Review*, December 1949, p.358) However Hastings did not articulate what he meant by "difference" in terms of traditional class or bourgeois wealth until he dealt with this issue in his book "The Alternative Society" thirtythree years later.

Picturesque theory from "debased" versions that reduced it to simple visual formulae. He named the Picturesque as the "first Western radical aesthetic" that recognized the values of the "genius loci in a non-archetypal sense" to appeal to the avant-garde sensibilities of modern architects (p.360). The picturesque, for Hastings, was a reaction in the form of a deviation from the idealizing norms of classical beauty aiming to empower the particular.

As Reyner Banham later called it "betrayal and abandonment"( in *Essays Presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, p.265) of the modern movement's ideals, the Picturesque looked totally out of place within *AR*, which had established itself as the mouthpiece of the Modern Movement in Britain. However Hastings directed his attack towards modern city planning and not architecture. He stated that modern town planning theory was in its "Lancelot Brown phase, with Corbusier, The Professor, busy about his clumps--clumps in the twentieth century of buildings rather than trees."(p.361) This fascinating analogy compared and equated Capability Brown's tendency of leveling the existing topography to create smooth lawns to Le Corbusier's 'will to demolition' as exemplified in the "Plan Voisin." He argued that in Britain, a resistance existed against modern planning practices. According to him these practices tried to overcome a cultural and social problem by technical procedures left to the operation of specialists detached from society. In order to overcome this resistance one had to apply to the community for which the plan was intended. When the task was to create a new philosophy of planning, this community could be none other than the "nation":

Each age has its own *priorities*, and ours are social and technical, living as we do in an era of advanced scientific industrialization. But each age also has its *constants*; and of these by far the most potent is that temperamental bias of a whole community which under the name of national character continually demonstrates its enormous power of survival. (p.361)

*AR* aimed "to unite national character with the Spirit of the Age" to reconcile the values of the former to those of the latter. Consequently, Hastings defined "resistance to theory" as an attribute of Englishness to clarify a mode of operation for this "radical visual philosophy." This philosophy operated on the one hand with "a dislike which amounts to an inability to see wholes or principles and an incapacity for handling theory; but on the other hand a passionate preoccupation with independent details, parts or persons, an urge to help them fulfill themselves achieve their own freedom; and thus by mutual differentiation, achieve a higher organization." (p.362) He therefore theorized the "anti-theoretical" by suppressing abstraction and replacing it with analogy and judgment. The quintessential model that the urban designer had to follow was the Common Law, which itself was an accumulation of cases and judgments, displaying particular processes.

Hastings' article was followed by the "Case-Book" compiled by Gordon Cullen. Cullen had been working for *AR* as an Assistant Art Editor since 1946. He had already prepared several studies that

exemplified the attitude described in Hastings' article before it was named Townscape"--one of which was the *AR* plan for St. Paul's precinct. The first task of the designer was to accumulate existing precedents of urban design and categorize them within the Case-Book defined as "a mass of precedents gone over creatively to make a living idiom."(p.362) The Case-Book was none other than a reinterpretation of eighteenth and nineteenth century pattern books, which allowed architects to publicize their work to clients and to demonstrate their skills and taste. However in the definition of Hastings, the Case-Book implied an imaginary consensus in which the agent who chose the precedents was disguised. "Townscape" later institutionalized in education as a method by the joint studies of Gordon Cullen and Hugh Casson with the students of Birmingham University. In 1954 it was already being used in the United States in graduate education, like in the case of Kevin Lynch and his students at MIT.<sup>8</sup>

### **Mobilizing Environmental Consciousness: "Outrage" and "Counter-Attack"**

Although "Townscape" was formulated in opposition to the CIAM principles of the Athens Charter, it cannot be fully understood without *AR*'s later campaigns known as "Outrage" (June 1955) and "Counter-Attack" (December 1956) under the editorship of Ian Nairn. "Outrage" was published two years after J. M. Richards' article titled "Failure of the New Towns." (*AR*, July 1953) In this article, to summarize briefly, Richards argued that the high hopes of the 1946 New Towns Act had been betrayed by the results. He added that due to the insufficient commitment of capital and the lack of public buildings the new towns could not generate the revenues that necessarily supported the cultural infrastructure of "a full life." The new towns, in his opinion, still depended on London for the fulfillment of such cultural needs and ended up being dormitory towns. Instead of curbing suburban sprawl by acting as examples of future development, they nurtured it. However, Richards believed that it was modern architecture to blame for not being able to make a convincing argument against the Garden City mentality. Due to this lack of resistance, this mentality had even infiltrated government policy by the codification of low densities. The arguments in favor of the city, such as the waste of agrarian land by decentralization and sprawl and the waste of capital due to infrastructural investment and transportation difficulties were not advanced convincingly by modern architects. On top of all, although given the opportunity to control the architectural whole and to supervise its development, architects had not produced a better result than the disappointing imagery of dormitory suburbs. The historical lesson of the old market towns or the cathedral towns had not been taken into consideration.

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<sup>8</sup> See for instance the master's thesis of David Gosling, later to be son-in-law and a follower of Gordon Cullen at the MIT libraries. David Gosling "The Boylston Street Redevelopment Project" (MArch Thesis, Massachusetts Institute

Following this line of reasoning the return to the Romantic ideal resurfaced in 1955 when *AR* decided to enlarge its campaign to include the public. In "Outrage," the June 1955 special issue of *AR*, the new towns and their surroundings was labeled "Subtopia: the idealization of suburbia." "Subtopia" was the bleak prospect onto the future of the British landscape under misguided forces of development--abandoned air fields as remnants of war, miles of concrete, wire and asphalt with repetitive homes of ribbon development, precious agricultural land greedily subsumed by pollutant industrial sprawl. The whole issue was devoted to a visual survey of "outrages" from Southampton to Carlisle, from the very south of Britain to the north. According to the editors "Subtopia" was the result of a deviation from the ideal separation of town and country. This separation was the historical outcome of the "distinction between the self-conscious world of men and the un-self-conscious universe of nature." (Outrage, p.365) *AR* targeted the citizens and the local authorities to condemn "Subtopia" and to mobilize them to rehabilitate its damages. The campaign's ultimate intention was to make a "sufficient [number of] people sufficiently angry"(Outrage, p.393) and to bring down the fall of "Subtopia." The issue ended with a manifesto in the form of a call for action to the "layman:"

Don't be afraid that you will be just one individual registering dissent. It is *your* country that is being defaced, it belongs to *you*, and as an individual amongst fifty million individuals, not a 'set of income groups' or an electorate. (p.451)

Through this call "Outrage" aimed to mobilize the whole population to claim and to democratize its right to the environment independent of ownership. The issue ended with a "checklist of malpractices" addressing the "layman." A set of questions to be asked about the towns, the country, the suburbs and the wild would supply the necessary public surveillance to keep development and "wrong" planning practices from "defacing" the land.

If "Outrage" claimed to diagnose environmental illness then "Counter-Attack" hoped to provide the antidote to cure "public helplessness" against environmental defects. Counter-Attack construed the public as a body of people uneducated in visual qualities of the environment and detached from the decision-making bodies such as local authorities, planning committees and ministries. Just like "Townscape" had done, Counter-Attack collected precedents into another case-book. These precedents however hoped to illustrate how certain solutions succeeded in "bringing modern life to terms with the landscape" and "to arm the public against the wrong way and with examples of the right way of doing things."(Counter-Attack, December 1956, cover abstract) "Counter-Attack" opened with an illustration of Los Angeles as the polar opposite of what the "good city" was about. Reflecting anti-American sentiment and targeting the rise of popular culture in Britain, the editors deemed Los Angeles the epitome of

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of Technology, 1958).



"planned" sprawl and the inevitable future of Britain if things went on as they were. The environment was categorized into five types according to character: "Wild, Country, Arcadia (not Suburbia), Town and Metropolis." (p. 353) As to street furniture, footpaths, railings, walls, hedges, lettering, coloring, bus shelters, street lighting, municipal planting, advertising to roads, building lines, monuments, wires, military installations and industrial plants, if they could not be brought to order then they should be camouflaged. Three essays on afforestation and sprawl added expert reactions against the government's and local authorities' planning practices. The essay titled "Afforestation" by Geoffrey S. Kelly, criticized the government forestry projects for obliterating pasture land for sheep and causing economic loss, and demanded a new landscape charter for Britain to integrate economic goals with the planning of landscape. Reminiscent of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century gentry practices, Kelly demanded that foresters should be given aesthetic training in order for the forests to generate both economic and aesthetic value. Enlarging J. M. Richards' earlier arguments, Walter Manthorpe held the whole planning machinery of the new towns responsible of "subtopia" through convincing comparisons of densities between the new towns and the desirable neighborhoods of London. He recommended mixed use development instead of functional zoning, urban redensification and adaptation instead of rebuilding, flexibility in byelaws and building regulations. Elizabeth Denby, the social reformer, condemned the decentralization policies of the government for planning against people according to prewar data. "Counter-Attack" ended with "A Plan for Planning" aiming to enlist the support of the public in the cause for a new planning attitude named "positive planning." The aim of "positive planning" was to "preserve and intensify the sense of place" and to develop an interdependent relationship between town and country in order to limit sprawl and to better allocate the resources of the countryside. "The only real guarantee of unspoilt countryside [was] a set of tightly planned towns." (p.431)

*AR* added "a vote of thanks" to the authorities that responded to the call to rehabilitate "Subtopia." This note in "Counter-Attack" testified to the fact that "Outrage" had managed to reach local authorities and organizations. As a result the continuity of its propagandistic discourse was encouraged. In June 1957, *AR* announced the opening of a "Counter-Attack bureau" on the cover of the journal. Intended to serve as "a watch and ward service for the good character of visual England," the bureau would help the so-called "victims of Outrage" by offering them consultation for their planning needs. The bureau's urban design attitude was named "The Improver's" in contrast to that of "Utilitarianism" and "Preservation." The editors exemplified how this attitude turned Barnsley, Gloucestershire into a model village. Although the feudal property structure had dissolved in 1930 the village was bought back by the remaining members of the family to be saved from estate speculators. The houses were modernized and adapted to contemporary needs by an "improvement grant system." (Counter-Attack, p.380) Later Gordon Cullen would mention in his book "Townscape" why he believed that "improvement" was a vital strategy for the environment:

The curse of the English landscape is the *absentee landlord*. The old landlord, the man who created it, has been taxed out of existence and the new landlord, local and national authority, lives in town or suburb. Consequently that sense of personal responsibility arising from a knowledge and love of a particular piece of countryside is missing and is replaced by a beneficent but remote control: the difference between a parent and a foster parent." (Cullen, p.140)

One of the aims of "Townscape" was therefore, the transference of these traditional values from the gentry to the citizen and to the planning authorities to create a cultural continuity. The model citizen and the notion of the state based on the gentry would later take a formative role in H. de C. Hastings' project for "The "Alternative Society."

#### **Manplan, Civilia and the Alternative Society:**

What is wanted now is a new image for the twentieth century in its third phase, which will unearth from beneath the lumber of war, napalm, famine, genocide, concentration camps, conveyor belts, population explosions, sonic booms and silent springs, a mission--and a determination--to swing the new potential of technology as revealed in the moon probes, behind the real objectives of human society. The British are bad technocrats, good humanisers. Or were once. It could be a role. (Architectural Review, Manplan 2, October 1969, p.244)

In September 1969, *AR* launched a new campaign named "Manplan" which changed the whole structure and the contents of the journal.<sup>9</sup> Written in a rhetoric of "revolutionary humanism," the first issue aimed to voice "the sense of frustration" the editors believed that British society suffered. Photographs portrayed British people in a frenzy of production in industrial plants, waiting in boredom in overcrowded public transportation, students revolting, cars overcrowding eighteenth century parks and invading the countryside, high-rise office towers invading London. In the form of visual essays accompanied in captions, "Manplan" made a call of reform. In the editors' words "Manplan" meant "a plan for human beings with a destiny rather than figures in a table of statistics." (Manplan1, p.173) The issues starting from the second were thematically organized around communication (referring to transportation networks), industry, education, religion, healthcare and welfare, local government and finally housing.

With each issue "Manplan" deployed an attack on the bureaucratic mechanisms that organized the above-mentioned fields and the inefficiencies of the democratic consumer society. The editors maintained

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<sup>9</sup> Manplan was published as four consecutive issues starting from September 1969, after which it became bi-monthly until the last issue appeared in September 1970 totaling eight. Peter Davey, in his contribution to the special *AR* centennial number in 1996, notes that Hastings insisted on the change from the earlier layout of the journal into the form of visual essays. Richards opposed the idea and opted for the publication of special issues as before and to keep the contents of the journal tailored to the existing readership. As Richards had anticipated the journal went into an economical crisis in 1970 as a result of the Manplan series. This opposition seems to have led to the whole renewal of the editorial board between 1971 and 1974 starting with the sack of Richards from the position of executive editor and the leave of Pevsner.

that the logic of the industrial revolution was no longer applicable and the communications revolution had started. "Manplan" demanded that politicians exert control on the disruptive effects of transportation and industry on the environment by drawing out a wholistic, integrative structure. Transportation, it argued, had to rely extensively on fast rail and canals to dominate over the car and air with airports pushed to coastal areas and linked by fast trains. Arguing that industry had become less pollutant "Manplan" reverted to the earlier arguments of Townscape to reintegrate the separated functions of the city. The editors opposed the continuity of the New Towns experience by arguing that industrial concentration proved to be wrong and expensive. In the fourth issue on education Manplan attacked the British public schools system as elitist and creating "a self-perpetuating oligarchy." In order to produce a society divested of class segregation, schools had to be integrated into the community and designed by user participation. *AR*'s romantic bias within this reformist rhetoric took a new turn with Manplan's fifth issue on religion. Supported by a long quote from Arnold Toynbee, the famous British historian, *AR* advocated that religion was inseparable from human consciousness even if was not one of the historical religions. In the early seventies' world becoming more and more suspicious of the objective truth of science, religion would assume a new unifying role and increase "man's chance of unfolding the ill effects of industrialization." (Manplan 5, March 1970)

This two year period saw the journal's economic decline. The further it deviated from its traditional role as a monthly architecture journal the more readers it lost. However H. de C. Hastings wanted to voice his concerns in one last project in the form of an alternative new town called "Civilia." With the help of his daughter Priscilla and of *AR*'s Townscape editors Ian Nairne and Kenneth Brown, Hastings wanted to create in "Civilia" a new town that people would want to "belong to" before it was built. Under the pseudonym "Ivor de Wofle" he wrote an introductory essay titled "Towards a Philosophy of the Environment" that recalled the title of his essay for Townscape. However this time he enlarged the scope of his attention from Britain to the world. The basic task of the planner was to acknowledge cultural differences with reference to those of the regional and urban:

...the planner's first priority is... accepting the culture of cities and the culture of regions as opposing goals--urbanism as international, unifying, centralising, consolidating, its apotheosis Marshall McLuhan's global village; regionalism as insular, microcosmic, separatist, differentiative, the culture of place. Only by accepting this opposition and acting in accordance with the difference between the two can a balanced society develop.(Civilia p.21)

Although "Townscape," "Outrage" and "Counter-Attack" had expressed an explicit anti-expertise attitude and attempted to remedy the fallacies of planning by visual and psychological responses, "Civilia" included a planner's report.<sup>10</sup> The two planners approved Hastings' agendas by stating that the twentieth

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<sup>10</sup> The planners are listed as Rodney Carran (DipTP, AMTPI) and Michael Rowley (AADip, ARIBA)

century planning policies had been threatening city centers. They recommended a "reversal of present, largely unplanned decentralisation trends by injecting new centres strategically placed" to attract sprawl and to rehabilitate existing centers. (Civilia, p.27) The "utopian" schemes of early twentieth century had to be abandoned, since it was impossible to create "a definable and controllable "balanced community" that can be accommodated within an architectural unity expressed in the form of a new town." The choice of location for "Civilia" followed environmental concerns and the city was proposed for a site near North Nuneaton on old quarries. The site was found remarkable for the "picturesque visual drama" and also of its central location in terms of sprawl. It offered a fantastic opportunity for Hastings to realize his dream: The city would direct technology for the benefit of the environment and try to create a better city solving the problems of earlier urban developments. Gordon Cullen's sketches were replaced by photomontage images that brought together images of Hastings' 1961 book "The Italian Townscape" and well-known projects from the pages of *AR* such as Moshe Safdie's Habitat, the viewing platforms of the South Bank exhibition and Paul Rudolph's Yale School of Architecture. The quality of the environment in these images, Hastings hoped, would stimulate a desire in people to move to "Civilia."

While "Civilia," like *AR*'s other campaigns, owed its power to its visual content that accompanied its provocative texts, this visual language also proved to be its ultimate weakness. Although the texts hypothesized that it was well beyond possible, it still did not have a plan, an analysis of its material necessities, the types of industries it could support or the urban problems it would create a solution for other than the existing sprawl. Its finished image implied a total control of form contradicting its first principle, user participation. It was a romantic utopia with an anti-utopian aim but it ended up being not less "authoritarian" than its enemy, the Ville Radieuse of Le Corbusier. The Architects' Journal --*AR*'s sister journal-- published a commentary titled "Civilia: The Professionals Comment" on June 30, 1971. Most of the critics pointed out that in order for "Civilia" to become a convincing proposal at all it had to establish its full social and financial implications and an acceptance from the public. Architect and planner Tom Hancock, the author of Peterborough's master plan, stated that if the authors of Civilia wanted social reform they should "describe a new city, an alternative city and by describing, imply a new society, an alternative society." "The Alternative Society: Software for the Eighties" (1980) was to be Hastings' last project, the only book published under his name and not his pseudonym.

Heeding Civilia's critics' call Hastings wrote "The Alternative Society" (1980) as a policy of reform in Britain and around the world, and to remedy the absence of a political project in the earlier postwar campaigns of *AR*. The new society was based on the abstraction of a moral ideal from the past and the conversion of its economical structure into a working principle in the 1980s. Hastings portrayed the world after the start of the industrial revolution as a decline in which the ideals of the 17<sup>th</sup> century were erased without trace:

The view that all was best in the best possible worlds lost credibility with *Candide* and the Lisbon earthquake; belief in free-will with the *Origin of Species*; faith in democracy with *Das Kapital*; man's humanity to man with *Mein Kampf*. As for the comforts of religion to most of us the Church no longer carries a decipherable message. (Hastings, p.58)

According to Hastings, Britain could reinvigorate British cultural traditions and animate them with a reformist spirit to give a utopian message to the world against the two prevailing political models: the savage capitalism represented by the US and the managerial and authoritarian socialism as represented by the USSR. The new British society could instead be modeled on the political and cultural ideals of the "Cromwellian revolution" which he thought was Britain's first real experiment with democracy.<sup>11</sup>(Hastings, p.103) Idealizing the protectorate, Hastings argued that the Cromwellian vision ought to be creatively reinterpreted in order to formulate a pluralistic democracy that would safeguard the welfare of every individual as well as that of the natural environment. In such a society scientific rationality and technological determinism would only play a secondary role on the human condition. The picturesque, "a radical, anarchist and disorderly ideal...[and] a tremendous event in the long apprenticeship of democracy," was to be the aesthetic metaphor of libertarian democracy.<sup>12</sup> (Hastings, p.103)

Hastings proposed an economic model to reorganize the relationships between the individual, the State and the private sector. The roles of the individual and of the State took on the analogy of the of 18<sup>th</sup> century gentry. This conceived the State as a balancing mechanism against the greed of capitalism by being the guardian of the individual. Like the gentry guarding those who cultivate and live on his land, the State would guard the collective Estate owned jointly by the citizenry and the State. The individual by having a stake in the collective Estate would rise to the level of the gentleman as well. He proposed the institution of a National Service that would create employment for the development of this "Estate" separate from the private market. The State would provide the individual with its consumptive needs for designated amounts of work given to this service. If the individual was not content with the offers of the State he could switch to the opportunities of the private sector. He imagined a market in which the consumer would be able to trade his demands to the State. He imagined it as a closed system that relied on export controls to keep the local economy stable, and that controlled production and consumption. Hastings hoped that this economy would render wealth redundant by the image of the "good life" it provided.(Hastings, p. 110-118) However, in this model he idealized the figure of the gentry, and hence the State, by attributing to it a moral perfection. A state with such powers and such a National Service could easily become the tyrant that Hastings warned against and could even subsume the private sector

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<sup>11</sup> During the Civil Wars the English "believed it was the destiny of the English to bring in a New Order which would revolutionize the political, social and economic history of mankind." Hubert de Cronin Hastings *The Alternative Society: Software for the Nineteen-Eighties*, (London: David & Charles Limited, 1980). p.103.

because it held so much power against it. Almost all the powers that led to the balance other than the State were actually not as powerful. There was nothing other than the moral ideals of the gentry to protect the tenant farmer, or the individual against the State, other than the moral responsibilities that framed the system in its very inception.

### **From the Visual to the Social: "Townscape" and "The Alternative Society"**

From its very beginning in the 1940s to "Civilia" in 1971, "Townscape" aimed to reconcile modernity and tradition, and to create a resistance to capitalism by promoting the romantic image and by portraying it as a natural continuity of national culture. While "Townscape" opposed modernist utopias by piecemeal growth and the upholding of local cultures, "Outrage" and "Counter-Attack" voiced concerns for the environment and tried to mobilize the public on behalf of these concerns. Civilia united the aims of "Townscape" and the concerns of "Outrage" and "Counter-Attack" in a city proposal by attempting to curb sprawl and to transform environmental dereliction into a model town. However in all these proposals the image of the "good life" was disconnected from its material base. The seductive and persuasive images concealed the need for a sound theoretical infrastructure for the viability of the proposals. Collage and montage seemed to offer an easy entry into reality. While the reformist intentions in *AR*'s proposals remained implicit in the formulating years of "Townscape" due to the editors' support of the young Welfare State, during the following decades they became more and more explicit in opposition to the changes in British society towards the developing consumer culture. Although Hastings finally attempted to accompany "Townscape" with an economic policy in "The Alternative Society," he idealized the role of the gentry as a "moral guardian" and a figure that capitalism would not be able to alienate due to his relations to Nature through the estate. Even though its visual methodology has become widespread, "Townscape" still awaits a complimentary theoretical infrastructure that will organize the negotiation between the visual and the material givens of an urban design problem.

Apart from the problem of intranslatability of images to the city, Townscape still keeps its appeal in current urban design debates due to the power of its visual communications. One major effect of Townscape is its encouragement of preservation and conservation culture. By mobilizing architects, local authorities and communities for preservation and against development Townscape partially achieves its aims of creating a resistance. However, the broader environmental consequences of the pedagogy of "Outrage" and "Counter-Attack" has been limited against global economic development and the rise of consumer capitalism around the world. Almost thirty years ago Raymond Williams has convincingly

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<sup>12</sup> *ibid.* p.103

demonstrated in the "The Country and the City" that "an insane over-confidence in the specialised powers of metropolitan industrialism has brought us to the point where...the risk to human survival is becoming evident, [and] ...there is the clear impossibility of continuing as we are."(Williams, p.301) Global problems have continued to increase in these three decades and Williams' call has fallen on deaf ears. It is the environmental ideals of "Townscape" and the following campaigns that planners need to incorporate into their policies and not simply its visual pedagogy through a rethinking of global economical relations and their consequences on the environment.

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**10<sup>th</sup> International Planning History Society Conference  
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**PICTURING THE COUNTRYSIDE : PROPAGATING THE GARDEN SUBURB**

Professor Errol Haarhoff  
School of Architecture  
University of Auckland  
Private Bay 92 019  
Auckland  
New Zealand  
e-mail address: e.haarhoff@auckland.ac.nz

**Abstract**

The London-based Garden Cities and Town Planning (GC&TP) Association was not only responsible for the establishment of the first Garden City at Letchworth, but also supported a vigorous international campaign to propagate the idea world-wide. First promoted by the Association in New Zealand at the 1907 International Exhibition of Arts and Industries in Christchurch, this was followed by an extensive tour by the Association's William Davidge and Charles Reade in 1914. Promoted locally by the Christchurch architect Samuel Hurst Seager, the 1918 Wellington Town Planning Conference not only argued for the NZ Government to adopt the Garden City and Suburb as a modern innovation, but also held a competition for the design of a "Garden Suburb" (won by architect Alison Sleight). In 1925 the government sponsored another competition for the design of a Garden Suburb (won by R Hammond) which resulted in the establishment of the Garden Suburb of Orakei in Auckland (later to become the sites for State Housing programmes).

The paper will trace this aspect of New Zealand's urban history. Moreover it will reflect on the manner in which the visual imagery used by the GC&TP Association to depict the countryside in the promotion of the Garden Suburb was also employed in its propagation in New Zealand. Presented as a modern innovation in New Zealand, the idea of the 'Garden Suburb' paralleled an emerging colonial predilection for the 'quarter acre' lot in a suburban setting. Of appeal was the notion that the "Garden Suburb" might also create the suburban ideal rendered in the image of the English countryside. Evidence will be sourced in original material including correspondence between Ebenezer Howard and Unwin with the Christchurch architecture, Samuel Hurst Seager.

**The Suburban Typology**

Notwithstanding current critiques of suburbia and the necessary search for alternatives, what cannot be denied is their success in becoming the dominant urban typology, especially in the New World. This success has partly been propelled by powerful ideologies rendering suburbia a desirable environment (Dovey, 1993), indeed according Calthorpe (1993:9) emerging as the 'physical expression of the privatisation of life and the specialisation of place which marks our time'. It is equally apparent, as Dovey (1993:13) contends, that the 'single family detached house has established its position as the ideal house type through the weaving of a myth which conflates it with a naturalised image of the nuclear family, home, security, independence and individualism'. This paper contends that the suburban myth can be extended to include the 'garden' as another compelling image that has promoted the suburban house as the 'ideal type'. Moreover, suburbia so conceived in England at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a deliberate choice, vigorously promoted in what were then the colonies, as the strategy for urban growth and modernisation. The paper concludes by offering an interpretation of the role the 'garden' image has played in the early formation of residential development in New Zealand.

## Town and Country

The countryside has long featured as an antidote to the perceived ills of the town. Simon Schama in *Landscape and Memory* presents a compelling account of how historically images of landscape have shaped powerful human constructs. An example he provides is of a 1612 Henry Peacham woodcut (Fig 1) that shows an image of the British countryside that portrays the idea that 'rustic life was to be valued as a moral corrective to the ills of court and city' (Schama, 1996:10-11). Schama also contrasts the 'tamed' countryside of England so envisaged with the Arcadian constructs of the 'wilderness' encountered in more distant places. In the case of the European colonisation of America, he cites Henry David Thoreau and his claim that 'the wilderness was out there, somewhere, in the western heart of America, awaiting discovery', and that it would be the 'antidote for the poisons of industrial society' (Schama, 1996). Those concerned with the search for alternatives to the urban ills of the 19th century, thus shared a perception that the industrial cities represented what had gone wrong in 19th century society, and that the salvation lay in rediscovering a relationship with the countryside, both real and imagined.



Fig 1 Woodcut of an imagined countryside, *Rura Mahi et Silentium*, from *Minerva Britannia*, 1612. (Schama, 1966:10)

It is not surprising that the 19th century 'model towns' conceived by James Buckingham, Robert Owen, Titus Salt, Edward Copley and others all sought a closer commune with the nature, and sited their towns in the countryside. Ebenezer Howard shared these convictions, but also recognised that the countryside had distinct disadvantages as well. His well known 'magnet diagram' appearing in his 1898 book *Tomorrow, a Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, reveals what he perceived as the distinct advantages and disadvantages of town and country (Fig 2). The 'country' is characterised by Howard to possess advantages such as the 'beauty of nature; the wood, meadow, forest; fresh air; and bright sunshine', and disadvantages such as unemployment, landlessness, and poor housing conditions for the disenfranchised. His proposal was to combine the advantages of town and country into what he called the 'town-country magnet', as self-sufficient towns with a population limited to 32000, set in the countryside, an example of which he named 'Garden City'.

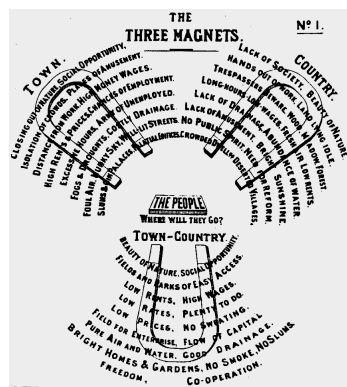


Fig 2: Howard's 'The Three Magnets' diagram which poses the question, 'The people, where will they go?' to which his is the 'Town-country' magnet. (Howard, 1946:46)

Although Howard envisaged 'bright homes and gardens' in his new towns, he makes no mention of what might be understood to be *private residential gardens*. The 'gardens' described are essentially generous public parks within a relatively dense city surrounded by an agricultural belt. He was reflecting an urban image portrayed by John Ruskin in *Sesame and Lilies* who Howard cites:

'...so that there may be no festering and wretched suburb anywhere, but clean and busy streets within and the open country without, with a belt of beautiful gardens and orchards round the walls, so that from any part of the city perfectly fresh air and grass and sight of far horizon might be reachable in a few minutes walk.' (Howard 1946: 50).

The fact that Howard chose the name 'Garden City', which is first mentioned in chapter two of his book in a discussion on land tenure, is perhaps somewhat arbitrary. Elsewhere in the book he calls his 'Town-country magnets' *Concord, Gladstone, Philadelphia, Ruriville and Justitia*<sup>1</sup>. What seems more significant is that the 1902 edition of the book was renamed *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, perhaps (as suggested by Freestone, 1989) to sanitise the social agenda implicit in the original title, and have the advantage of identifying 'gardens' with his decentralised urban strategy (Fig 3).

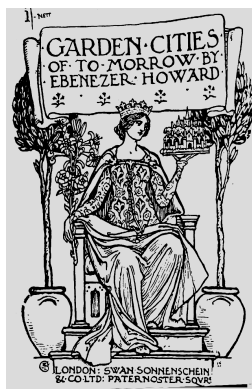


Fig 3 The cover of the 1902 edition of *Tomorrow* illustrated by Walter Crane. The image is overtly urbanely symmetrical, with a surprisingly dense and compact city held aloft on a platter by the seated figure. (Ward, 1992)

### House and Garden

Houses set in private gardens had historically been the preserve of the rich, but in the 19th century detached houses in cities became affordable to the emerging middle class, with Bedford Park (1875-81) being an early and seminal example. Set among an existing stand of trees with an unremarkable road layout, it is distinguished by most houses being detached, and according to Creese (1996:90) in which the 'lot was the badge of distinction'. He goes on to further characterise Bedford Park from contemporary commentaries as being the place where '...the railway could take him to his work and be back at home with his wife and children in the evenings in what seemed like the country'. The suburb so conceived thus offered the illusion of a home in the country as symbol of upward social mobility.

Designing for this illusion became the hallmark of the architectural practice of Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker. In common with many other architects at that time, they made manifest the social and aesthetic theories long espoused by the English Arts and Crafts movement. However, it is their specific achievements in this context that bears noting. One

aspect was their preoccupation with the 'art of designing small houses and cottages', a chapter title to their 1901 publication: *The Art of Building a Home*. Equally notable, are design principles devised for the layouts of residential areas, later to be published by Unwin (1909) in *Town Planning in Practice*. Walter Creese (1966:169) characterises Unwin and Parker's specific response as arising from the idea of the 'village as an animate symbol' in seeking both a social and an aesthetic expression (Fig 4). Building at a lower density was another imperative for Unwin, an argument set out in the essay, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*. Advantages are argued to arise from lower development costs and the opportunity this created for a detached house typology. Critical of high density speculative row housing, Unwin (1909:320) underscored his conviction that 'twelve houses to the acre...has proved to be the right number to give gardens of sufficient size'.



Fig 4: The village as an 'animate symbol' for social and aesthetic expression: sketch of an imaginary village from Unwin's *Town Planning in Practice*. (Unwin, 1909)

Unwin and Parker's design of the model factory town of New Earswick (1902) for the industrialist Joseph Rowntree provided an opportunity to put these ideas into practice at a large scale. The opportunity was repeated in 1903 when selected to design Letchworth, promoted by Ebenezer Howard's Garden City Association, and the design of Hampstead Garden Suburb in 1905. Detached houses set in private lots at relatively low density unpins the common approach. Illusions of the countryside are created by the encirclement of the development by a 'green' belt, and ensuring as far as possible, that all houses are able to view out over this public amenity (Fig 5).

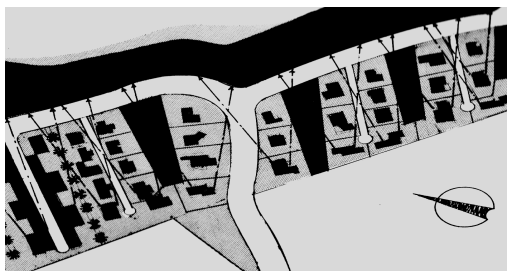


Fig 5 Detail of a portion of Hampstead Garden Suburb (1905), showing the placement of houses and their lots with respect to the heath (top), ensuring that views are obtained from every dwelling. (Creese, 1966:189)

The picturesque is achieved by the use of curvilinear roads, generous street tree planting, and houses arranged to create visual townscape effects that mimic the informality of the traditional village. Economy is achieved by minimising street lengths by grouping houses around common greens with cul-de-sac access ways. Unwin also concerned himself with

details that included fencing and wall designs suggesting that 'English people desire some privacy in their garden, and there can be no doubt that enclosure imparts...a sense of peace, and is almost an essential part of a garden as we understand it in England' (Unwin 1909:350). This countered a suggestion by Henrietta Barnett, the developer of Hampstead Garden Suburb, who expressed a preference for the open street frontages found in America suburbs at that time, which had no boundary walls (Creese, 1966:227).

When awarding the RIBA Gold Medal in 1937 to Raymond Unwin, the President of Association remarked that one of Unwin's key accomplishments was Letchworth where he 'materialised the Englishman's ideal conception of home as a unit of house and garden combined' (Hawkes, 1978).

### Where shall we live?

The rhetorical question in figure 6 below is from an illustration appearing in a 1907 brochure published by the Garden City Association promoting the sale of houses in Letchworth.



Fig 6 Illustration from a 1907 Garden City Association catalogue selling cottages in Hampstead. Portrayed is an overtly middle-class family standing on the other side of a garden wall, appreciating the country setting of detached cottages to which a winding path leads. (Ward, 1992:7)

The image portrays a family group admiring cottages located in an exaggerated country-like setting. But behind the question and the images portrayed lay divided opinions concerning urban development at the turn of the last century. On the one hand, decentralised development strategy in the form of Howard's 'Garden City' was proposed as an alternative to the outward sprawl of existing cities. On the other hand, the reality of outward sprawl in the form of suburban growth was considered desirable, provided controls were put in place to ensure quality environmental outcomes.

The need to regulate urban growth had long been an issue in 19th century Britain, leading to various legal measures to empower local authorities to set development standards. Enforcing these measures proved difficult, and minimum standards (largely focussed on health) did not in any way guarantee that the resulting environment would be, from Unwin's viewpoint, 'orderly and aesthetically pleasing' (Unwin, 1906). Town planning was intended to compel local authorities to plan in advance, over both developed and undeveloped land. In so doing, required standards would secure 'proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying out and use of the land and any neighbouring land' (Baillie Scott, 1910). Propelled by the Member of Parliament, John Burns, the British '*Housing, Town Planning, etc. Act*' was passed in 1909<sup>2</sup>.

The Garden City Association itself became a potent force behind the promotion of town planning, involving members that included Raymond Unwin, George Baillie Scott, William Davidge, and Charles Reade. The changing of the organisation's name in 1907 to the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association acknowledges this fact<sup>3</sup>. Incorporating advocacy for

town planning and the 'Garden Suburb' within the Association was not achieved, however, without stiff opposition from those members unable to reconcile the perceived contradictions this created. With obvious frustration over this matter, Howard resorted to writing a letter to the London Times:

Will you allow me to protest against the use of the term "Garden City" as applied to the Tottenham Housing Scheme...It is a complete misnomer. True, the Act of 1909 speaks of the land laid out on the lines of a Garden City. But that is because neither the framers of the Bill, nor the Committee who passed, knew what the term "Garden City" implied. I was the first to use the term in my book *To-Morrow*, published in 1908...But the phrase "Garden City" quickly caught on, and soon became used for all sorts of housing ventures and building speculations...some of very little value. (Howard, 1919)

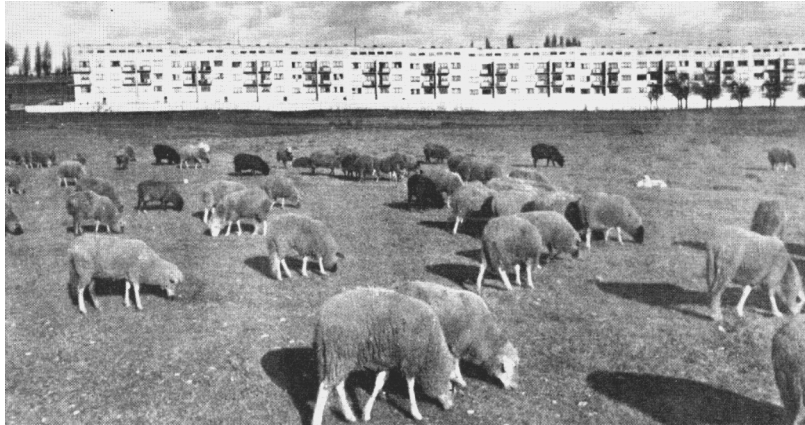
Despite the protest, the fact was that in 1913, the only example of a 'Garden City' was Letchworth, but over forty residential developments existed in Britain that were described as 'garden suburbs' (Purdom, 1913:201).

Polarisation in favour of the 'garden suburb' lobby was especially underscored at the 1910 RIBA conference in London. William Davidge (1910) in summing up the views expressed by delegates found a '...unanimity of opinion...that the English cottage home is the ideal one', underpinning the 'house and garden' typology of Unwin and Parker. Davidge (1910) also thought it wise of Unwin to 'concentrate the attention of town planning in England mainly on the development of still unbuilt-on areas around existing towns', in opposition to Howard's proposals for a decentralised urban growth strategy.

International comparisons were also raised and in particular ones concerning Germany. Britain and Germany had mutually benefited from an exchange of ideas about housing in the period before WW1. Indeed Ernst May had advocated 'the small house and its garden in the place of the flat and tenement block' (Bullock, 1978). But it appears that Germany had found contradictions in seeking new images for the modern period by looking at the past, as the British Arts and Crafts movement had done. According to Bullock (1978) what the Germans sought in the place of picturesque layouts was a more rational and systematic attitude drawing on the modernist ideologies emerging at this time in Europe. Not only was higher density housing sought using multi-unit typologies, but the 'town-county' relationship, also valued in Germany, was conceptualised in a different way. Bullock (1978) explains: '...town-country was to be realised not by reducing density and mixing the garden with the city as at Letchworth, but by concentrating development at higher density so that nature should be as close as possible to every house.' (Bullock, 1978) Unwin and Parker achieved an illusion of the 'countryside' through the their privatised 'gardens' that served as lots for the detached houses, which collectively overlooked the surrounding 'green belts' that served as a surrogate for the countryside (fig 7). Ernst May, on the other had, had proposed a multi-storey housing block, set in direct juxtaposition with the 'countryside' (fig 8).



Fig 7 *Frontispiece illustration in the Garden City Association's Guide to the Garden City. The image portrayed is of detached traditional houses set on their own lots behind walls defining private domains, but with the an outward view to the countryside beyond. (Garden City Association, nd)*



*Fig 8 Ernst May's interpretation of 'town-country' relationships. The image portrays multi-storey housing set in immediate proximity to the countryside, represented by the grazing sheep, sharply contrasting with the image in fig. 6 above. (Pepper, 1978)*

It is equally significant therefore to also find in Davidge's summing up of the 1910 RIBA conference his advice to assembled delegates that '...tall and costly tenement buildings so common in German towns are not in any sense desirable'. The body of opinion at the Congress thus came down firmly on the side of the 'Garden Suburb' as a prototype for the 20th century urban development. For Unwin, and indeed many other architects at that time, how to design for suburban extension in an 'orderly and aesthetically pleasing manner' became the greater issue, manifested in the lobby for town planning regulations. And those who sought to pursue this objective appropriated the Garden City Association as a platform from which to lobby, and appropriated the 'Garden' image to give identity to the promotion of the 'Garden Suburb' to an international audience.

### **Picturing the Garden in New Zealand: Choosing Suburbia**

The London based Garden Cities and Town Planning Association vigorously promoted their ideas world-wide. Purdom (1913) reports on the extensive international correspondence received by the Association, and on lecture tours to North America, Australia and New Zealand. Significant in the 1914 tour of New Zealand was the focus placed on a call for New Zealand to adopt town planning regulations as the foundation for creating amenable housing areas, with Howard's Garden City proposals hardly receiving a mention (Haarhoff, 1999). To assist the New Zealand audience to visualise what town planning might produce, lantern slides of Hampstead Garden Suburb with its low density 'house and garden' typology were shown.

Following the lecture tour the Christchurch architect Samuel Hurst Seager emerged as the main protagonist for the Garden City movement in New Zealand, who corresponded with both Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin<sup>4</sup> following the 1914 lecture tour. In 1918 he proposed that the New Zealand Government should build 'Garden Villages' for servicemen returning from WW1, based on Howard's decentralised urban strategy. He also led the lobby for the promulgation of town planning legislation, and to promote this organised a conference held in 1919 in Wellington. A competition held in parallel with this conference called for the design of a 'Garden City' and a 'Garden Suburb'. No entries were received in the 'Garden City' category, but the first prize for the Garden Suburb went to the Christchurch architect, Miss A Sleight, an entry in which she reproduced the Unwin-Parker suburban model (Fig 9).

Hurst Seager himself designed *Drury Hill Garden Suburb* in Wanganui in 1920. With a site set on a hill, it uniquely had an elevator to transport residents from the foot of the hill to its summit. The layout had a system of curvilinear roads organised around internal parks and gardening allotments, but lacked a 'green belt'. It was Hurst Seager's intention to control

development to achieve aesthetic aims. But as Schrader (1993) comments, the developers sold sections without the restrictions and conditions to enforce Hurst Seager's intentions, and Drury Hill became little more than a subdivision plan for quarter acre lots.

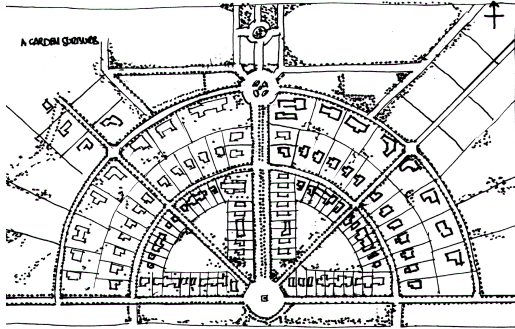


Fig 9 Garden Suburb competition entry by Alison Sleigh to the 1919 Town Planning Conference, Wellington (NZ Building Progress, 1919)

In 1925 the New Zealand Government did sponsor two competitions for the design of 'Garden Suburbs', in Auckland at Orakei (Fig 10), and in Wellington at Lower Hutt, and both entries submitted by Hammond were placed first. The plans of both submissions, and to a greater extent in the Orakei submission, exhibited an arrangement that had 'garden suburb' features of the kind Unwin prescribed. But absent is any reference to a 'green belt'. The Orakei scheme combines axial main streets and curvilinear residential roads, something lacking in the far less distinguished plan for Lower Hutt. But most remarkable is the observation that the architect's own account of his winning schemes published in 1925 makes no reference to garden cities or suburbs, with the accounts being restricted solely to technical descriptions of his projects. (Hammond, 1925)



Fig 10 Orakei garden Suburb, First Prize entry to the 1925 New Zealand Government competition by R B Hammond. (Hammond, 1925)



The New Zealand Government did not promulgate Town Planning Legislation until 1926, and Garden Cities were never built. But, as Ferguson (1994:88) reports cheap government housing loans and the release of Crown land on the outskirts cities in New Zealand, resulted in what she describes as a 'frenzy of speculative development' in the 1920's. She comments further:

The emphasis on subdivision and expansion meant that subdividers paid only lip service to the ideas of the garden city and town-planning movements. Suburban local authorities were keen to promote subdivision, and made few demands. Estates were usually subdivided on a grid pattern, any hint of a curved street lay-out or a (park) bringing boasts that the estate was organised on the most progressive town-planning lines. (Ferguson 1994:88)

Such a boast can be witnessed in the sales brochure for the Tamaki Garden Suburb on the outskirts of Auckland, made accessible by a newly constructed railway line. Tamaki was essentially a subdivision plan with roads laid out in concentric semi-circles, with no park belt and no curvilinear roads (fig 11).

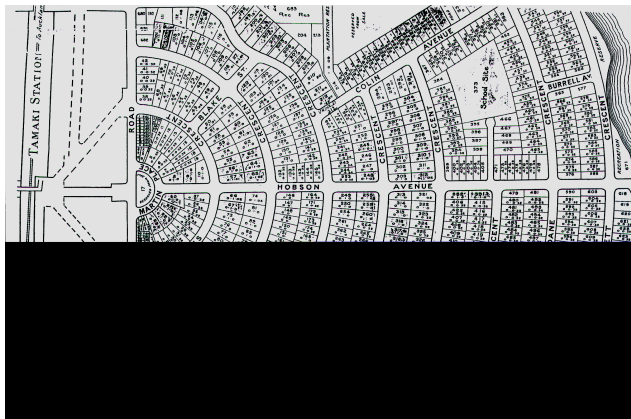


Fig 11 Sales plan of Tamaki Garden Suburb, 1932. The railway station is at the left, from which the main axial road springs.

The Garden City and the Garden Suburb became reduced to a marketing slogan. But the illusion of the countryside persisted in the marketing of the subdivisions, as portrayed in the sales brochure (fig 12), and in the idea detached houses set in privatised gardens.



Fig 12 Sales brochure for Tamaki Garden Suburb, Auckland, New Zealand (1932). The image reproducing the idealised countryside setting for the 'garden suburb' set below between the overtly contented women and the distant views of the Huaraki Gulf. The basket contains rose petals, and the axe is crossed by an electric light bulb, signifying modern advancement.

Presented as a modern innovation in New Zealand, this urban vision for garden suburbs paralleled a pre-existing antipodean expectation for the quarter acre lot where, as suggested by Ferguson (1994:26), the pre-eminence and virtue of nature is emphasised, 'tamed and enclosed behind garden walls'. Further bolstered by Clarence Stein's 'neighbourhood unit' arrangement of suburban communities which facilitated the privatisation of transport in the form of the family car, these forces have combined to shape the sprawling suburban city form that continue to dominate cities in the New World. It leaves one to speculate how the world might now be if Howard had called his city *Concord*, and the Ernst May model had prevailed.

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## Endnotes

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- <sup>1</sup> All except *Concord* appear only in the 1898 edition of *Tomorrow*.
- <sup>2</sup> Burke (1971:155) comments that the words 'town planning' first entered legislation in Britain with this Act 'though attended by an 'etc', as if unsure of the grounds it would cover'.
- <sup>3</sup> It is significant that the new name refers to 'Garden Cities' (in the plural), as used in the title of the 1902 edition of Howard's book (see fig 2).
- <sup>4</sup> Correspondence held in the National Archives, Wellington.

## **The Barcelona Model: an original formula? From “*Reconstruction*” to Strategic Urban Projects (1979-2004)**

Francisco-Javier Monclús  
Prof. Urbanism Polytechnic University of Catalonia (Spain)

[monclus@uot.upc.es](mailto:monclus@uot.upc.es)

“The New Barcelona... a model of how the cities should look in the New Europe”

D. McNeill

Many architects, planners, urban designers and planning historians from different parts of the world have expressed special interest in the changes that have taken place in Barcelona in the last two decades. The experience has been widely cited and described in academic and professional mediums alike, although it is not easy to find global interpretations that take into account the different variables at play, even from a strictly urban planning perspective. Some have highlighted the formal dimension of these changes, the good design and the quality of the public urban spaces. (Buchanan, 1984 and 1992; Rowe, 1991 and 1997; and Sokoloff, 1999). For others, the most significant element of these changes would be the capacity to manage a unique flagship event such as the 1992 Olympic Games, converting it in a lever and strategic instrument of urban renewal and recuperation. (Marshall, 1996; Portas, 1998, Calabi, 2000; and Ward, 2002).

In addition to this duplicity of perceptions, in the extensive literature that has been generated over the last few years, it is interesting to confirm the existence of a certain contrast between the approaches used by those who observe the Barcelona experience “from outside”, and the more local visions over the same process which have come forward “from within”, often from those managers and professionals directly involved in the said experience (Barcelona City Council, 1983, 1986, 1987 and 1996, etc.; Busquets, 1987; Montaner, 1990; Borja, 1995; and Maragall, 1998...). On few occasions has there been an attempt to combine the international perspective with the local perspective. However if one wishes to understand the degree of originality of the urban processes and the uniqueness of the planning strategies undertaken in this period, it would seem clear that both perspectives need to be taken into consideration.

To what extent can the Barcelona Model be considered as a unique phenomenon? Is it possible to consider this "model" as a more or less original version of the discourse and urban planning practices experienced in other cities in the same period? Starting out from the diversity of the interpretations concerning the changes produced in the international planning culture and, at the same time, an approach closer to the processes and strategies developed in Barcelona during this period, this paper seeks to analyse the so-called

“Barcelona model”, in order to reach a better understanding of its connections and parallels with experiences in other cities. In addition it seeks to discover the specifics and relative originality of the said model. In general the Barcelona experience tends to be seen as a unique episode, especially in the local literature referred to previously. In one instance, the originality of the Barcelona experience was attributed to the special situation of the city, in the context of the then recently achieved democracy and of citizen movements, together with the singular role of the planners who had already formed the bases of the “new Barcelona” in the 1970s (Calavita and Ferrer, 2000). In contrast, some foreign authors place it in the framework of increasingly more globalised planning of the 1980s and 1990s, including the framework of an international “unique thought” (McNeill, 1999; Arantes et al., 2000).

In any event, it appears clear that the Barcelona experience has become a type of reference point and model, especially in the area of the local powers and for planners from other European and Latin American cities. As McNeill indicates from a critical perspective, the “New Barcelona” is a city considered as “efficient, clean, cultured” ... “a model of how the cities should look in the New Europe (McNeill, 1999, pp. 1-14) Other authors coincide in this consideration of Barcelona as an authentic “planning model”, becoming “... one of the most potent international models of urban planning of the late 20th century” (Ward, 2002, p. 371) As much from the most critical assessments as from the most official accounts, there seems to be an agreement in the recognition that what one is faced with is a unique case, in which a formula or model has been used which has shown to be “successful”. What is less clear is whether this formula has been discovered by Barcelona, or whether Barcelona is simply the place where the model has been able to be applied more or less correctly and efficiently.

In this sense, the way in which the official British circles have embraced Barcelona’s planning is significant. In 1999, the official college of British architects, the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), awarded its prize to the city of Barcelona. This marked the first time that a city had achieved the prize, previously awarded to architects. Prior to this, in 1987, the city had achieved the Harvard prize for its good design. However the RIBA’s Royal Gold Medal for Architecture in 1999 was given to the politicians and professional architects of the city council, for their “commitment to planning”, including “the combination of spectacular urban projects and of small-scale improvements of squares and streets” (Wintour, Thorpe, 1999). Therefore the small-scale operations relating to public open space were highlighted as much as the larger strategic urban projects, representing two types of urban planning intervention associated with corresponding periods of the city’s renewal.

On the other hand, also in 1999, in the widely publicised report “Towards an Urban Renaissance” - prepared by a group of experts and co-ordinated by Richard Rogers at the request of the then new Labour Government – there were significant references to the case of Barcelona. In this document, it is suggested that “in the quality of our urban design and strategic planning, we are probably 20 years behind places like Amsterdam or Barcelona” (Rogers, 1999, p.7). In the report, attention is focused on two types of planning intervention: the capacity to regenerate or treat central spaces through small

operations of urban reform; but also “strategic” projects that characterise later intervention. Of particular significance is the fact that the former mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall (1982-97) was asked to provide the forward to the said publication. Maragall’s message is clear: “It is critical to understand that improving public spaces is relevant to solving social and economic problems”. The initial small-scale operations were followed by large-scale strategic urban planning projects. “The trick in Barcelona was quality first, quantity after” (Rogers, 1999).

In the texts previously referred to, just as in the observations from the Rogers Report, two dimensions of urban planning stand out, which have attracted international attention: “qualitative urban planning” and “strategic urban planning”. It proves necessary therefore to clearly differentiate between these two components – and two phases – in the “Barcelona model”. Two lines of action that are not, on the other hand, that far from corresponding traditions of international planning culture. What therefore is the originality of the Barcelona experience? Is it basically a question of a process of adaptation from these urban planning traditions? Or can it be better described as an elaboration of such importance that would have concluded by conforming to a “model” from which other cities are learning? In a recent essay, S.V. Ward suggests the possibility that both hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, but rather complementary: “Today, paradoxically, Barcelona’s planning and other lessons are being widely studied, borrowed and, to varying degrees, adapted in both the post-industrial and Hispanic developing worlds (...) Maragall has played on the world stage, importing and adapting external planning models (for example, from Baltimore) and, even more, promoting the international spread of the Barcelona model” (Ward, 2000, p.56).

What is absent from the Report cited above, is the reference to the metropolitan processes that in these same twenty years have transformed the structure and form of the metropolitan Barcelona – the “real city” to which P. Maragall often refers – into a metropolitan region ever more disperse and less “Mediterranean”. Neither the “green urban planning” nor the metropolitan planning of Barcelona are considered as a relevant “model” in these works. The contrast which some authors observe between the important incidence of the British planning system in these aspects, as opposed to the generalised weakness of the corresponding initiatives in Barcelona– as in other cities of Southern Europe - is striking. Furthermore this seems to be a sufficient motive to explain this lack of interest or the more critical visions of other British authors (Hebbert, 2000; Marshall, 2000; and Ward, 2002).

### **The “reconstruction of the city” and “qualitative” planning. The projects of recovering public space during the 1980s**

In addition to considering the specific features of the city of Barcelona in the first half of the 1980s – corresponding to a special historical moment (change in the political situation with the recovery of democracy in Spain) – it is important to understand the extent of this complete revision and change in the planning “cycle” at the international scale. If one wishes to place Barcelona’s planning in the first period referred to here, it seems important to refer as much to the new conditions deriving from the final period of the earlier urban growth, as to the “atmosphere” and the “conceptual references” in which

urban planning practice developed in the new period. Without reaching an excessively economic determinism, it seems essential to highlight the process through which those ideas were spreading with the substantial changes that were produced with the slowing down of demographic and urban growth that were observed in European cities, as well as with the economic crisis of the 1970s and early part of the 1980s.

It is not possible to establish a simple and mechanical relation, because the movements that question conventional planning and functional urbanism based upon the Athens Charter date from the 1960s and early 1970s. It is in those years when in Europe as much as in North America, one can observe a new appreciation of the traditional city and its traditional collective components: streets, squares, closed street-blocks, etc. (as opposed to the negation or the abstract role of public space and a proliferation of blocks in the schemes of modern urbanism.) It is also in that period when the morphological analysis of the city is imposed in each of its areas and the identification of the architectural types, that is the consideration of the urban context as the starting point of any small-scale project or planning development. It is possible to speak of a new generation of plans and projects and of a whole cycle of urban planning - during the 1970s and early part of the 1980s - interested in the context and in the recuperation of the relations between architecture and urban planning. In particular, the formal aspects of urban planning were emphasised, at the same time in which fundamentally architectural “urban projects” were seen to be successful. All of this occurred, with different variants, also in the Spanish cities, with Barcelona in the lead (Terán, 1999).

It is necessary to recall the power with which the new urban planning conceptions were spreading as a reaction to the abstraction and limitations of “modernist Urban Planning”, which had dominated the actions carried out during the years of significant urban growth (1950s-1970s). Despite the different meaning in each cultural and national ambit, various discourses and their corresponding slogans seem to run through architectural and urban planning culture, from the 1970s up to the early 1980s. The first of these is that of the “architecture of the city”, stemming from the book of the same title by Aldo Rossi (1966), but also from a current with a particular echo in Italy, France and Spain (especially in Barcelona). Another of these slogans was the “reconstruction of the European city”, with different meanings, but which revealed the renewed interest for the existing city. In the more instrumental ambit, it is interesting to highlight the progressive importance of the “urban project”, as a more or less architectural alternative to the generalist planning that, with certain variants, had become consolidated in the years of high urban growth. All of this is what enabled the bringing about of an overall vision to situations that, logically, responded to diverse historical and urban situations. It is not difficult to find the similarities and affinities in the ideas that dominate the most distinct operations during the 1980s in the different cities: as much those produced in Barcelona, as the “Large projects” and operations remodelling sectors of Paris, or above all, those of the IBA in Berlin (Rowe, 1997; and Sokoloff, 1999). The shared elements are clear: new appreciation of the “historic” city (especially that of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century), the reclaiming of traditional public spaces (streets, squares and parks), the integration of urban planning and architecture as a reaction to the abstraction of an all encompassing planning. In relation to urban planning, the idea of tackling urban

problems through specific projects, especially the recuperation of public space and community facilities, gained ground gradually everywhere (Lopez de Lucio, 1999).

The problem posed in the urban planning historiography is that the same phenomena have been interpreted from somewhat specialised or sectoral points of view. Some have centred their attention on the processes of the deregulation of urban planning and the declivity of the conventional plan (Hall, 1988-1996), while others have been more interested in the formal dimension, closer to architecture and urban design (Broadbent, 1990; and Corboz, 1990). Finally, there are those who consider all these changes as part of an emergence of the so-called “post-modern urbanism”. (Ellin, 1996; and Amendola, 2000) It is certain that the roots and trajectory of this movement are many and varied, and that they develop over a longer period than that of the crisis (from Jacobs in the 1960s to the Krier brothers in the 1970s and early 1980s). However nearly always one finds a notable dissatisfaction and mistrust towards the principles and methods of modern urban planning. It proved to be sufficiently significant – in a type of of cyclically historic or pendular movement – in the recuperation, more or less directly, of the principles of previous urban planning: some from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, others from “Urban Art” of the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, but all previous to the formulations of the Modern Movement (Sola, 1987). A situation which recalls that produced at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, when the conceptions of culturalist urban planning of C. Sitte were imposed along with others concerning the “artistic construction of the cities” (Sutcliffe, 1981). The re-edition in different languages of certain “classical” texts – from urban planning of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries – is clearly indicative of this. In effect, the texts of Sitte, Unwin or Hegemann are currently being reconsidered, with the corresponding prologues under charge of renowned theorists of the moment (Monclús, 1995).

It is interesting to understand the affinity between those international currents and the attention to the existing city and its possibilities of “reconstruction” in the case of Barcelona. The fluid dialogue between Barcelona and the different “schools” of urban planning (Venice, Milan, Geneva, Brussels, Versailles and Paris, etc.) is a clear manifestation in this sense. Although the more historicist versions of the discourse of the “reconstruction of the European city” – led by the Krier brothers – does not have a direct impact in Barcelona, the distances are not that great, as demonstrated by the translation of a number of their most important texts and projects and the interest which some of them had in the local planning culture (Krier, 1976; Krier, 1978). It is unusual to understand this process of recuperation of a more architectural, qualitative and contextualist urban planning, in consideration of the possibilities offered by actions in Barcelona’s public spaces in relation to the “cultural winds of European urban planning”. It is certain that a part of that movement of “recuperation” is owed to the city’s own factors and that excessively reductionist visions relating to the lineal diffusion of thought and architectural practice would have little sense. Those processes adopt extremely varied forms as a function of the nature of each movement and the historical circumstances of those cities. However there is an element that has a central role in the interventions of Barcelona and that also has an import role in the discourse of the “reconstruction of the European city”. This relates to the renewed interest for the role and the formalisation of public space. Following a long period of disinterest for the theme, from the mid 1970s the need to recover streets and squares, hitherto “empty” spaces in housing developments,



was imposed as a means of improving urban quality. The progressive obsolescence and disoccupation of extensive properties, embedded in more or less central city locations, such as industrial areas, port and railway facilities in disuse owing to the loss of their functionality, were all factors contributing to this change of vision. In a similarly pragmatic vision, action concerning public space was conceived as an occasion of economically viable projects requiring relatively simple management.

The so-called “culture of the urban project” was highlighted in the City Council’s first publications, albeit of an absolutely empirical mode (Barcelona City Council, 1983). It is in the well-known book by O. Bohigas – Director of Planning between 1980 and 1984 – titled significantly “*Reconstrucción de Barcelona*”, in which the principles of a new architectural and contextualist form of urban planning are put forward (Bohigas, 1985). In the book the efficacy of small-scale urban projects as an alternative to the abstraction of conventional planning was vindicated. The message is simple but strong: to overcome the limitations of planning one has to give way to architecture. At the same time the public spaces of the historic city, that is the squares and streets, etc. are recovered. It is not necessary to think in the literal adoption of the principles of the “reconstruction of the European city”. However a number of the convergent elements are clear. Above all, an understanding of the city essentially as architecture and an extraordinary emphasis on its morphology. This conception struck a chord as well with the visions of the fragmentary construction of the city or “city collage” of C. Rowe (Rowe Koetter, 1981). Or with the ideas which dominate the urban transformations of other cities during the 1980s. Bohigas himself cites Berlin as the clearest reference in affirming that an interesting way has been experienced there: a city in which “a reconstruction of the centre starting from the absolute respect for the road and the traditional form of the street” (Bohigas, 1985, p. 118) is carried out.

As a counterweight to this harmony between the discourses of the “reconstruction of the European city” and that lying at the basis of the “Barcelona model” in its first phase, one should not forget that in Barcelona a number of singular historical circumstances coincide. In particular the confluence of the political situation with the recovery of democracy and the important role played by the neighbourhood associations have justifiably been highlighted (Calavita and Ferrer, 2000). It is also important to bear in mind the special role played by the architects, in relation to other professionals and civil engineers in particular. It is possible that this were one of the most distinctive factors of the Barcelona experience during the 1980s (Moix, 1994). On the one hand, one would have to explain the excessively generalist visions that tend to see a progressive abandonment of overall planning in this period. However it is precisely then when the urban planning actions, based upon the Plan General Metropolitano de Barcelona, formally adopted in 1976 (PGM), were consolidated. Although it is true that the Plan became converted into a mere framework, or starting out point, enabling the actual operations of qualitative urban planning to be carried out. Through the City Council’s numerous publications (another characteristic of Barcelona), it is possible to analyse and explain the mode in which these discourses were implemented concerning the urban form and the importance of the treatment of public spaces as a key strategy in the re-qualification of the city. In reality, it is possible to analyse the different actions, through plans and municipal projects, as a form of unfolding and redefinition of the urban structure, passing from “projects of the urban sector” to those at the municipal and

metropolitan scales (Esteban, 1999). Finally, it is appropriate to highlight the operational dimension of Barcelona's urban planning in relation to the other cities in which the general principles could be shared, relating to the necessary improvement of the existing city, but in which comparable urban planning operations were not carried out. The approximately 150 operations of recovering public space realised during the decade of the 1980s, that were brought to international attention and obtained awards, are a testimony of this.

### **Strategic planning: infrastructure and major urban projects of the mid-1980s and the 1990s**

In the same way as in the early part of the 1980s, what occurred in Barcelona in the subsequent period can be understood as part of an international movement that, with distinct temporal rhythms and technical variations, developed in different North American and European cities. It is obvious that the inflection experienced with the economic recuperation in the mid-1980s relates to a cycle not exclusive to Barcelona. Although it is clearly evident that the Olympic nomination in October 1986 marks the fundamental difference between Barcelona and other locations. However as occurred with the previously "qualitative" and contextualist urban planning, the imposition of new "strategic" visions results from a process initiated previously and which ends characterising an urban planning culture of the 1990s.

Here the intention is not to refer exclusively to the so-called "Strategic Plans", but to a more generic attitude centred in the functional and productive dimension of the city and which manifests itself in the role of a diverse range of large urban projects and infrastructures. Understood in this way, those ideas would not necessarily be novel. In reality, modern urban planning grew out of the idea of the city factory and sought to apply Taylor's thesis in its proposals, with which the city would acquire the character of a "company" (Ascher, 1995, p.87). All of that can be understood as a certain reaction to the architectural urban planning of the previous period. Similarly it recalls the change produced at the start of the last century in the North American cities, when the "City Beautiful" was replaced by the "City Efficient" slogan (Hall, 1988-1996, Cohen, 1998). Once again then, a pendular or cyclical movement is apparent, with some components that recuperate important elements of the previous cycle (Ellin, 1996), in the same way as recalling the aspirations of the great city of many European cities at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, including Barcelona. In a certain way, the urban ambitions of the 1990s, seeking to convert Barcelona into the "Capital of the West Mediterranean", can be seen as an actualisation of the dreams of the Great Barcelona as "Paris of the South" at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Monclús, 2000). Although now it seeks to adapt the city to the pressures and opportunities derived from economic globalisation, a process that would accelerate in the 1990s and from which not one large city would want to be left out.

One has to remember that the crisis of the models of conventional urban planning and the new "strategic" activities were produced long before the economic recovery, during the crisis of the 1970s. At first, the large projects were seen as an antidote of the economic and urban decline. Later, a number of projects were undertaken as a mechanism for the

recovery and “re-launching” of cities. It was then when “urban marketing” became generalised, the different variants of urban promotion, and the renewal of the image of the city, coherent with the re-conversion of an industrial economic base to one of services. A discourse directed to improve the competitiveness of cities and their ranking in the “international urban league” and so generalised that some have even interpreted it as a “unique urban planning thought” and one that would continue to have an effect throughout the 1990s (Arantes et al., 2000). Although it is a variation of the “Eurocities”, as this discourse would be encouraged, particularly by social-democratic local governments (McNeill, 1999).

As indicated by P. Hall, during the 1970s, urban planning underwent a substantial modification: “planning turned from regulating urban growth, to encouraging it by any and every possible means. Cities, the new message rang loud and clear, were machines for wealth creation; the first and chief aim of planning must be to oil the machinery. The planner increasingly identified with his traditional adversary, the developer; the gamekeeper turned poacher” (Hall, 1988, p.355). The art of “leverage” was the formula that spread in the form of the “strategic urban projects” throughout all Europe (with a clearly North American source). Peter Hall explains that the London Docklands followed the model of the United States, in the fundamental aspect of using public capital to encourage private investment (Hall, 1988, p.368). It is important to clarify that the strategic conceptions of planning that were imposed in the 1990s cannot be mechanically associated to the neo-liberal ideas of urban planning belonging to British Thatcherism or its international homologues (although neither can it be understood without these precedents). It is rather a case of a renewed attitude, based upon the conviction that urban planning interventions must be selective and oriented towards improving economic and functional efficiency of the city. Also within this new cycle, some planners invented diverse slogans to characterise this new form of urban planning. References appeared to “third generation plans” and to “strategic urban projects”. As in the previous case of qualitative urban planning, there exist different roots and versions: of the more traditional urban projects with certain strategic components to the socio-economic Strategic Plan. In this way, it is possible to distinguish those led by the public sector from those resulting more from business initiative. Portas associates these “third generation” urban projects to their mediatic character and their preference for these Large Projects, one of whose principal objectives would be that of facilitating “the consensus and compromise of the actors” (Portas, 1998).

A particular typology between the new urban strategic projects would comprise those corresponding to the planning of large international flagship events, such as Olympic Games, EXPOs, etc. The Olympic Games constitute a clear example of this (Chalkley & Essex, 1999). A two-fold objective is pursued in all these events: the renewal of the image of the city and the use of the events as catalysts for pursuing specific operations of urban redevelopment. In this sense, it is convenient to contrast the Olympic Games of Los Angeles with those of Barcelona. In general, insistence has been placed on the differences between the largely dominating private logic in those of Los Angeles, as opposed to the public leadership initiative in the case of Barcelona. The originality of Barcelona would reside in the public sector leadership and efficiency, alongside the

significant political and social consensus of the moment. However, certain parallels exist when consideration is given to the other conceptions beyond the scope of the Olympic Games. Some have sought to show that the Strategic Plan of Barcelona was presented in a rising economic cycle, more akin to that of the Strategic Plan of Los Angeles than to other cities affected by the economic crisis. The Barcelona economist Antoni Castells (director of the Commission supporting the Economic and Social Strategic Plan Barcelona 2000), clearly points in this direction: “L.A. shares more similarities than other U.S. cities with the case of Barcelona, which is why we have been more interested in knowing about it...” (Castells, 1990, p.121). In Barcelona as much as in L.A. as opposed to other cities, the respective strategic plans were conceived in contexts of economic growth, rather than economic crisis. Therefore, it was not a question of finding an antidote, but a tool to motivate and guarantee growth.

On the other hand, it is useful to carry out comparisons with other cities that have concentrated their renewal strategies in a “strong idea”: that of the renewal of river frontages or “waterfronts”. In this area, some have found more or less direct inspiration in the models from the United States: Baltimore, Boston and other North American ports (McNeill, 1999, pp. 95-96, Busquets, 1999; Ward, 2000). Effectively, the remodelling of the Barcelona’s Old Harbour (*Port Vell*) reflects these influences: the conversion of former port facilities for recreational, leisure and tourism uses in the “Rouse style” (after the developer of Baltimore and Boston). Clearly, in a wider vision (Portas, 1998) it is possible to demonstrate the relative weight of these visions: the Barcelona “waterfront” includes a wide variety of operations, according to the different sections. Besides *Port Vell* there are about 6 km of seafront, in which a more “Mediterranean” variant of the international *waterfronts* was applied (Nel.lo, 1999). In particular, conceiving the sector of the Olympic Village (between 1982 and 1987) responded to a more complex vision of the generalised reconversion of port and industrial facilities in thematic parks, contrasting with what happened in the *Port Vell*. In addition to the formalisation of this urban area, there was a sort of “project-plan” that sought to articulate the global scale of the plan with the demands of the urban context, that can be seen as an example of these “intermediate scale plans” or “complex projects” reinvented by the Barcelona architects and planners (McKay, 2000).

In addition to the coastal and waterfront projects directly linked to and spurred on by the Olympic Games, it is possible to refer to another series of large projects for the city. These projects were developed and formalised from the mid-1980s and fell into this category of “strategic urban projects”. These include the so-called “areas of new centrality”, the interventions in the city road system and other projects centred on large infrastructures, highlighting the implementation of the ring roads and road accesses. In relation to the “areas of new centrality”, it must be said that these developed ideas already foreseen in the P.G.M. of 1976, and that they are the debtors of the Italian “Centri Direzionali”, as in the inter-municipal Plan of Milan (Calavita and Ferrer, 1999). The novelty is that they now included other sectors with a view to the redistribution of central uses to which two new Olympic sectors were added (Montjuïc and Diagonal), conforming to a total of 12 areas. These areas benefited from special planning conditions in order to attract the new types of buildings corresponding to the services and facilities

sectors, in spaces with obsolete uses but with good accessibility (Esteban, 1999). On the other hand, there would be operations associated with the remodelling of the port, the logistic platform in the Delta del Llobregat, the airport, the high speed train and the Sagrera area, the “Diagonal Mar” operation, etc. (Barcelona Regional, 1999).

What is certain is that it is in this last phase, in the period leading up to the preparation for the Olympic games, when the more “strategic” visions were imposed and when the message of “leverage” was best understood. Barcelona was not an exception in the European context dominated by “City Entrepreneurism” during the 1980s and 1990s (Marshall, 1996). Undoubtedly the principal energy of Barcelona’s urban policy was centred on the intent of converting it into a more competitive and dynamic city, using the Olympic Games as an occasional catalyst of all these strategic projects. This strategy was so convincing that the following event already underway – the Forum of Cultures 2004 and the “second opening to the sea” – has been planned according to schemes not dissimilar to those of the international Olympic Games (Clusa, 1999), despite its exceptional nature, and not being linked to a more typical and formally recognised urban event.

Also in these years, what stands out is the efficacy of the Barcelona model in its ability to use all sorts of political and planning instruments as a means to motivate the large-scale projects. For the majority of the observers, Barcelona has been converted into a “winning city” in the new international economic and urban order. Such is this that the “Barcelona model” has also been identified with this second “strategic” component of its planning development. Its diffusion or “export” to different Latin American cities is a truly curious phenomenon, as indicated by some Brazilian authors: Arantes refers to the fact that “the increasing number of cities, in Brazil and in Latin America in general, that are contracting the consulting services of the Catalans and their disciples, or using their teachings, is impressive” (Arantes et al., 2000, p.77). It is in this sense that one can observe the maximum extent of the promotion of the “Barcelona model”: from publications edited by the World Bank (Borja, 1995) to reports prepared by Jordi Borja and Manuel Castells for the Habitat II Conference (Istanbul), in which the virtues of the model were presented (Borja & Castells, 1997). As well as the task of advising on large-scale urban projects (for example Puerto Madero, the new waterfront of Buenos Aires) and "Strategic Plans" for many other cities (Santacana, 2000, p.36).

On the other hand, it is necessary to consider some differential features, indicating the limits of the Barcelona formula. Up to this point what has been referred to has been the "legal city" as defined by its municipal limits, and not the real “metropolitan urban region”, the only one with which other large European cities can effectively be compared. This metropolitan Barcelona has more than 4 million inhabitants and occupies a territory of more than 3.000 km<sup>2</sup> (4.2 million inhabitants in an immediate area within a radius of 30 to 45 of Barcelona). It would seem appropriate to briefly refer to the initiatives carried out – or perhaps more correctly the weaknesses therein – in this “real” and metropolitan city.

## Urban renewal and suburbanisation. Metropolitan perspectives

One of the pretensions of the “Barcelona model” lies in the formulation of a “European” alternative to the North American models characterised by the processes of central urban renewal and the increasingly extensive suburbanisation. The idea of Barcelona as a “compact city” seems to have been converted into another slogan associated to the strategies developed in recent years (Busquets, 1992). However, what is certain is that the processes of metropolitan decentralisation experienced a spectacular acceleration precisely in the last 15-20 years, a period in which the municipal local authority of Barcelona lost a significant proportion of its population (some 250.000 inhabitants: from 1,752,617 in 1981 to 1,508,000 in 1996), coinciding with the decentralisation of a significant number of jobs and economic activities (MANCOMUNITAT MUNICIPIS A.M.B.,1995). Different studies consider that the “legal city” of Barcelona is increasingly becoming converted into the CBD of the metropolitan region (Vidal, 1995). In this context some have put forward the hypothesis that Barcelona would be “expelling its problems” to the rest of the metropolitan region: it would concern a traditional process – especially in southern European cities – of opposition between the centre and the peripheries, that would persist in the renovated structure of the metropolitan Barcelona.

To what extent is this in fact true? Can it be explained by a simple “change in scale” to the metropolitan ambit? Conversely is it a matter of similar processes to those that take place in other North American or European cities, in which the central renewal forms part of the reconversion of the traditional cities in renewed urban regions? This is one of the most significant and important debates that has been developing in recent years. If it were certain that the model were dual, in the traditional sense of the processes that characterise European cities from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the limits of the “Barcelona model” would be much more evident. In the author’s opinion, it seems excessively forced to think of a repetition of the traditional processes characterised by the improvement of urban centres, contrasting with the proliferation of peripheries “without quality”. It is better to think in a progressive convergence with the most advanced models of “sprawl” in the North American cities and which increasingly affect the European cities. The theses enunciated by K.T. Jackson do not appear out of step, in this sense, in which the argument is made “that suburbanisation can best be seen as part of an urban growth developmental model... American cities are not so much different from those of other countries as ahead of them” (Jackson, 1985. p.303). Clearly, the urban realities of the decentralised North American cities are still a long way off. However it does not seem that one is facing a simple expansion of the compact and traditional urban structure of Barcelona. Whether it be called an urban region, a “metapolis”, a metropolitan region or a “city of cities”, what is certain is that a substantial modification of this urban reality is being produced and that it finds its most notable expression in the proliferation of the so-called “new peripheries”. That is a “Latin European” version of the processes of decentralisation and *sprawl*, but not as original as the excessively local visions at times seek to adopt (Monclús, 1998, Nel.lo 2001).

The abundance of available data concerning the recent metropolitan growth and transformations is indicative of a process in an accelerated process of change. Some of the more significant indicators are those relating to the occupation of land – from 21,482 hectares in 1972 to 45,036 hectares in 1992, with a negligible global growth – or those of exponential increase in mobility – the daily entrances and exits of private vehicles in Barcelona increased from 600,000 in 1988 to 1,200,000 in 1998 – associated to these processes of decentralisation and integration of the metropolitan region – in 1990, 64.4% of the population worked within the same locality as their place of residence, changing to 59.5% in 1995 and 52.4% in 2000 (according to the most recent Metropolitan Survey 1995-2000). All of this has taken place in the Metropolitan Region, i.e. without taking into account the phenomena of “seasonal suburbanisation”, which extends the urban area far beyond the diffuse limits of the “real city” of Barcelona. What can also be witnessed is the clear incorporation within the overall metropolitan region of areas of formerly second homes now for first residential use. In reality, the decentralisation phenomena alluded to previously are common throughout other large Spanish cities (Angelet, 2000) and continue, albeit not necessarily in phase, with what has happened in other large European cities. As O. Nel.lo indicates “it is necessary to note that this evolution is in no way original. On the contrary, it faithfully follows the path of metropolitan transformation that are found in the majority of the large Spanish and European cities” (Nel.lo, 2001, p.115).

The consequences of this substantial reconversion of the “real city” of Barcelona have been widely stated. There exists a certain degree of agreement in relation to the positive aspects associated to the reduction of excessive densities and the generalised improvement of the metropolitan territory derived from the contribution of centrality therefrom and the creation of community facilities. However the problems arising from the new forms of metropolitan growth are increasingly demonstrated, by way of environmental, economic and social costs. The disperse city turns out to be more costly than the compact city. The question posed here is that of the inevitability, or not, of the new forms of "sprawl". This already historical debate in the English and North American cities is becoming increasingly familiar in the Southern European setting. A number of researchers have highlighted the complexities and the paradoxes of the "anti-sprawl" campaigns (Bruegmann, 2000). In any event, both sides of the phenomenon have to be distinguished. On the one hand decentralisation and on the other hand, extreme physical and uncontrolled dispersion. The first process proves difficult to avoid. Not even in the countries benefiting from a firmer planning system have achieved this, as in the case of the Netherlands and the decentralisation of the Randstadt. The second aspect, in contrast, was and is susceptible to be tackled with certain possibilities of relative success. There exists an important scope with regard to the accelerated occupation of land, to the emergence of suburban residential, industrial and commercial models of low-density development and the consequential unnecessary fragmentation and artificialisation of open spaces. Certain urban planning strategies have proved to be decisive in other countries. Decentralised growth can be produced in a more or less controlled and compact manner, with or without indifference relating to the precise limits between the urbanised areas and the natural surroundings. Good examples of these are offered by the English cities, with a long tradition of strategies of containment and green belts (Hebbert, 2000).

It seems clear that Barcelona still has a considerable amount to learn from certain green and metropolitan urban planning traditions. Seen from this perspective, the “Barcelona model” can be considered more a “follower” than a “leader” state (Ward, 2002). In effect, the “green urban planning” which constitutes one of the most important components of any advanced “urban planning model” of recent years, is still somewhat far from the reach of the comparable maturity found in other Northern and Central European countries. With regard to the maintenance of a sustainable, or simply “reasonable”, urban structure with a progressive integration of metropolitan growth in the agricultural, forestry and natural environment, Barcelona has a considerable amount to learn and little to show. In this sense it seems that a certain lack of concern for what would occur beyond the “existing” or consolidated city, has proved to be a relevant factor in the lack of capacity to control these types of processes. Barcelona has followed common guidelines used in other cities relating to central urban renewal and its conversion into an increasingly less “Mediterranean” urban region, i.e. a less compact and more dispersed urban region. One could imagine that at this point what lies ahead is a “Latin European” variant of these processes (Monclús, 1998a and 1998b). In relation to other cities in which these same processes are found to be in a more advanced phase, the version referred to stands out for the maintenance of the vitality of the central areas. Nevertheless the “unordered” nature of the new peripheries is also notable. What has taken place is an urban planning resulting from the original re-elaboration, and above all, from the application of formulas outlined in other locations, relating to qualitative and strategic urban planning. However from the metropolitan perspective it is more a question of an urban planning that appears to be “thinking locally (in the legal city) and implemented globally (in the real city)”, and therefore the reverse of the environmentalist movement’s maxim (thinking globally and acting locally) which has tended to prevail in recent years.

## **Epilogue and conclusions**

Definitively what is convenient to highlight is that the so-called “Barcelona model” has been extremely successful in the renewal and redevelopment of the existing nuclei of the city – of the centre as well as other metropolitan nuclei – at the same time as presenting limitations in offering an alternative to the extensive urban planning so characteristic of the North American and increasingly other European cities. What is being faced is not a reference in the struggle for a greener and sustainable urban planning. Not even examples of high quality landscaping should detract from the effective control of the new peri-urban landscape and of the “new peripheries”, albeit that it be an interesting palliative.

It is understandable therefore that those who analyse the Barcelona experience “from outside” have focused on the results of qualitative and strategic urban planning previously referred to. With regard to the former, it seems clear that the “reconstruction of Barcelona” initiated with strength in the first part of the 1980s, constitutes an improved version of what has been carried out in practice in other cities. For its quality and integration, R. Rogers’ affirmation regarding the “20 year time lag” in relation to the British cities does not seem exaggerated. A vast number of high quality redevelopments and urban improvements have been carried out in the central areas, maintaining and increasing the vitality and urban quality of the different urban “centres” (taken to mean



not only the official CBD, but also all of the central nuclei of the metropolitan region of Barcelona). It is precisely here where the most creative and novel aspects of the said “model” have been demonstrated. All of this, despite the perhaps excessive trust in the “good design”, can help to explain the scarce consideration for the metropolitan problem.

With regard to the latter component of the “Barcelona model”, the strategic planning associated with the preparations for the Olympic Games and subsequently maintained with as much if not more energy, this can also be seen to have placed what has taken occurred in Barcelona in one of the highest positions of the international ranking. The negative consequences, denounced in other cities relating to polarisation and social exclusion, do not appear to have been produced in Barcelona. Although in the last “post-Olympic” phase, with greater initiative of private logic and “flexible” planning, certain processes of marketing and theme labelling of the city of a clearly North American origin have accelerated. These correspond to a highly "globalised" type of planning – especially that associated to Strategic Plans – which at the same time has converted Barcelona into a reference for other cities, especially those in Spain and Latin America.

In any event, the capability demonstrated by the “new Barcelona” to borrow, adapt and elaborate original syntheses relating to the most advanced formulas of the international urban planning culture, allows one to think of a reorientation of its objectives and its urban planning strategies over the next few years. For these reasons, the operations foreseen around the Forum of Cultures 2004 will probably be indicative of Barcelona’s capacity to tackle the challenges that are still outstanding.

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Dr. Frank Lohrberg  
Landscape Architect

Rosenbergstraße 69 a  
70176 Stuttgart  
Germany  
0049 711 296228  
frank@lohrberg.de

## **AGRICULTURE AS A SUBJECT OF MODERN TOWN PLANNING**

### **Abstract**

The paper analyses the way urban planning and open space planning have treated the cities' agriculture throughout the last 150 years. What dominant planning perspectives, models and concepts can be identified? There are two approaches in dealing with the cities agricultural landscape. One way of planning focuses on the land use in order to direct it. Another planning approach concentrates mainly on the image of landscape in order to design it – resp. to adjust it to common landscape ideals. Especially after World War I and II, the planners - following the model of the "Fruchtlandschaft" - tried to intensify the agricultural use and to enlarge the production of food. And that is what Howard already proposed 100 years ago. Especially the Garden City is based on a remarkable knowledge of the relationship between agriculture and the urban development. Yet, today's main objective seems to be the extensification of the agricultural use and to preserve the ecological and social benefits of open space.

Although it is often stated that urban agriculture is characterized by its permanent decline this does not hold to be true: It is shown that a specific "urban agriculture" gains profit from the nearby market and creates new forms of land use and new urban spaces. The urban agriculture is part of the urban economy, not a leftover of a rural agriculture. Planners should try to cultivate this profitable form of agriculture and engage themselves in finding ways to reconcile the private interests of farmers and the public interests. This would open up new perspectives for planning and allow new spatial experiences for the local people. Urban planning and open space planning should not address the urban agriculture as a rural counterpart but to understand and design it as an urban facet. Howards Garden City could even today show principles, how to do this.

## Agriculture as a subject of German town planning: status quo

Since the 1960ths German town planners recognised that agriculture in the urban fringe has more functions than the production of food: The agricultural land has ecological benefits (e.g. the production of fresh air or clean ground water), it generates a recreation area and it separates one settlement from another. Since the 1980ths more and more bigger cities started programs to promote land use forms that guaranteed these ecological and aesthetic benefits: larger cornfields were divided by hedges, orchards were planted, cornfields in floodplains were transformed to meadows. The planners aimed to change all of the agrarian landscape in that way but in fact these sights were set to high: many farmers refused to change their way of farming. And up to today the municipalities do not have enough money to purchase all the land in order to transform it on their own.



fig. 1: traditional agriculture as dominant model for recent town planning in the urban fringe (from: Umweltbehörde Hamburg 1998:front page)

The main reason for the failure of many programs was the planners dominant model that ignored the specific structure of agrarian land uses especially in the urban fringe. The planners tried to install historic forms of agriculture as shown in fig. 1. Admittedly these forms are beautiful and have a lot of ecological benefits. But they correspond more to a rural than to an urban development of agriculture: While the planners try to extensify the land use a specific “**urban agriculture**” is characterised by an intensification of farming (Lohrberg 2000). Although it is often stated that agriculture near towns is characterised by its permanent decline this does not hold to be true. Traditionally, the urban agriculture gains profit from the nearby market, from an easy access to cheap nutrients and from the cultural influence of the city. This agriculture is able to specialise on only a few products and is still creating new forms of land use and because of that new urban spaces. The urban agriculture is part of the urban economy, not a leftover of a rural agriculture.



fig. 2: urban agriculture (here: market gardening) as a typical land use in the urban fringe

Johann Heinrich von Thünen, a German economist who lived in the 19th century, first described this specific structure of urban agriculture. In a theoretical approach he could proof that the nearer the city is, the higher is the intensity and the specification of farming. Thünen showed this correlation in a diagram, now called the “rings of Thünen”: Closed to the city there is a “free economy” which is characterised by a lot of different land uses, among them horticulture and market gardening. The next ring is “forestry” because at that time the carriages were very high: it was economical to plant trees very close to the city. In greater distance to the city the intensity of production decreases. Cattle breeding can be managed by only a few people but needs a large area. In contrast, market gardening needs a lot of human labour but only small areas.

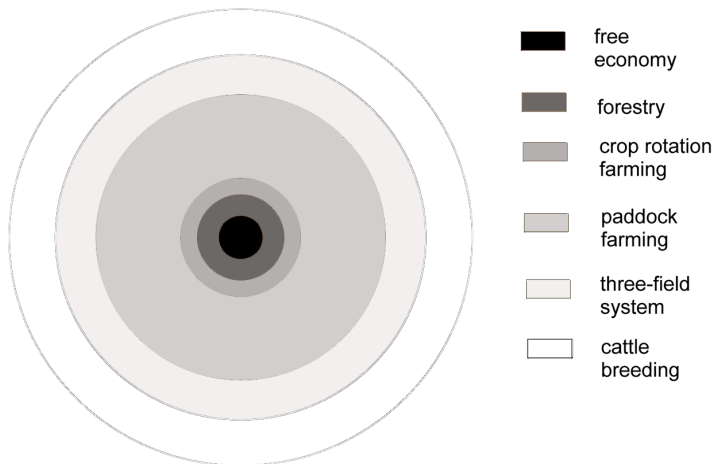


fig. 3: rings of Thünen (simplified according to Thünen 1842, reprint 1966:387)

Despite some sceptics (e.g. Sinclair 1967) the rings of Thünen are still a theory that could describe the specific structure of urban agriculture today: intensification and diversification of land use and a high rate of innovation.



fig. 4: maize-labyrinths as a new form of urban agriculture (1, 2)  
location of maize-labyrinths and agglomerations in Germany (3)

Maize-labyrinths are a good example for this statement (Lohrberg 2001). There are laid out by farmers to get an additional income by taking entrance money. Artists and actors in the beginning of the 1990ths invented these labyrinths. But only half a decade later farmers adapted the idea and formed it to a successful product. As fig. 4 shows nearly all German maize-labyrinths are situated in or near to agglomerations. According to Beauchesne & Bryant (1999:321) these areas are a „favourable environment“ for agricultural innovation: „From the perspective of innovation, a certain degree of stress (...)

may have a beneficial impact in stimulating creative adaptation”: „part-time farming, pick-your-own operations, direct sales and agri-tourism“.

### Landscape approach vs. cultivation approach

To summarise, it is the urban influence and the flexibility of urban farmers that lead to such agricultural innovations. Planners should take this specific structure of urban agriculture into account and they should see it as a chance to qualify urban landscapes. For acting in that way the recent “landscape approach” has to be complemented by a new “cultivation approach”.

The landscape approach:

It treats agriculture as a part of a landscape that is defined by an ideal scenery. The measures intend to design the landscape according to this scenery.

The cultivation approach:

It treats agriculture as a part of the urban economy. The measures deal with the specific values of the urban agriculture intending to reconcile the land use with the demands of urban citizens.

fig. 5: the landscape approach and the cultivation approach

Are there examples in town planning history for this “cultivation approach”? Indeed, there is a tradition line throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and it is starting with the Garden City (Howard 1898). It is well known that the Garden City is enclosed by a ring of agricultural land. This “agricultural estate” as Howard wrote, or this “agricultural green belt” as Mumford said (1945), has more functions than to provide an open space for separating one garden city from another. The agricultural green belt is combined with the garden cities economy in many ways. It is an “integral part of the city” (Mumford 1945:34). For example Howard knew about the benefits of direct saling: “Every farmer now has a market close to his door. There are 30,000 townspeople to be fed.” (1898, in 1965:60) And: “In other words, the combination of town and country is not only healthful, but economic.”

There are some interesting similarities between Thünen’s theory and Howard’s idea. While Thünen classified the rings of land use depending on transportation and production costs, Howard used this principle of direct sales to integrate agriculture in the urban development. Or to say it in another way: Howard has planned the Garden City in knowledge of the agricultural theory that was significant at his time.

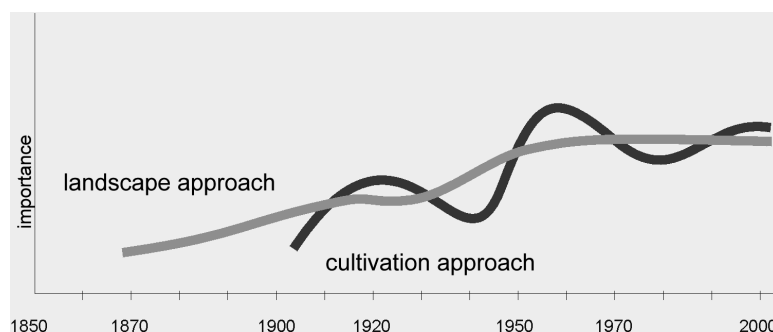


fig. 6: importance of landscape approach and cultivation approach throughout the 20th century (Lohrberg 2001a:147)

Howard’s Garden City marks the beginning of an alternative planning tradition that does not mainly focus on the aesthetic value of agricultural land but deals with its economic potentials. Fig. 6 shows



how this strategy developed throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> Century in Germany. The cultivation approach, it had periods of prosperity especially in the 1920<sup>th</sup> and the 1950<sup>th</sup>: Town planners like May (who once worked with Unwin and brought the idea of “trabants” resp. “satellites” into the German town planning practice) developed their models of ideal towns including an intensified agriculture. In Mays (1922/23) opinion the open spaces between the trabants should be used as „fields and recreation green“. He proposed open spaces with „cultivation bands“, in which „gardeners and smallholders could produce intensively to provide the built areas with vegetables and small animals.“ Landscape architects like Migge, Pniower or Lingner (see Lohrberg 2001a) called for an intensification of agricultural land use and a further support of allotments and market gardening. They created the ideal of a “Fruchtlandschaft” (resp. “fruit landscape”) that combined higher crop yields with the aesthetic values of a fruitful landscape.

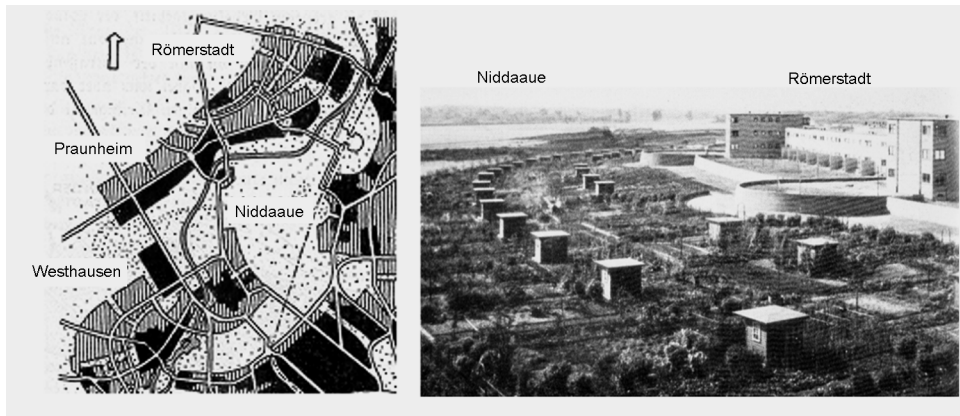


fig. 7: the Niddaaue north of Frankfurt – an open space designed according to the cultivation approach (from Bangert 1937:101)

The Römerstadt, a trabant of Frankfurt (Main) built in the 1920ths by May and Migge exemplifies this approach (see fig. 7). The open space of the Niddaaue is not designed as a classical park but as a “cultivation band” in the way May argued. Bastions out of concrete accentuate the edge of the floodplain of the Nidda River. On these bastions there are residential houses, beneath them there is a ring of allotments, followed by a ring of meadows and fields. Almost every part of the open space was used by privates: allotment holders, gardeners or farmers. They produced food and they produced a green belt as well. And that was the intention of the “Fruchtlandschaft”.

These cultivation approaches reacted to the famines of World War One and Two. With a rise of common prosperity since the 1950ths the need for food production in the urban fringe declined. The tradition of planning with intensifying agricultural uses declined as well. Since the 1960ths the town planning models focussed on old and new centres – the planners did no longer take an interest in the urban fringe and its agriculture: the urban agriculture was again narrowed down to its image and treated according to the landscape approach. Once again its specific urban economy was ignored.

### The renewal of the cultivation approach

Today, there are some reasons to renew the cultivation approach. As pointed out, it fits better to the structure of urban agriculture, which is characterized by a lot of horticultural land uses. Because of that the urban agriculture could be an important constituent of a sustainable city as well. A sustainable city tries to close open loops of material flows in order to get in balance with its regional environment, as fig. 8 points out. To close the loop of nutrients more waste of the city has to be reused as fertilizer. For doing so, the agrarian land use has to be intensified: horticulture needs a lot more nutrients than a meadow or a brown land. A garden needs more nutrients than a park resp. it is able to reintegrate more nutrients into the circulation of nature.

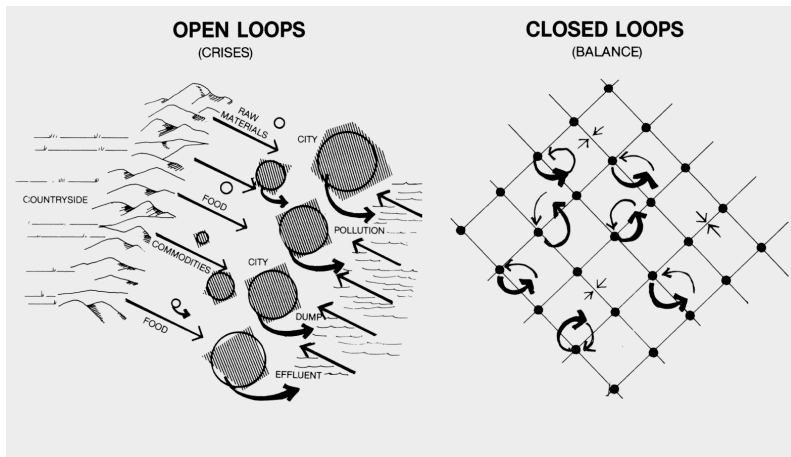


fig. 8: urban agriculture as a tool of a sustainable economy (UNDP 1996:187)

Another reason for a renewal is that it could give place for innovations that agriculture produces on its own like the maize-labyrinths. The cultivation approach could unprejudicedly investigate the values of these modern land use forms. For example the landscape approach has no idea how to treat the extending greenhouse areas. Because the landscape approach orientates itself on former land uses green houses do not fit in this scheme. They are only seen as problems. However, the cultivation approach is able to combine this high-tech-farming with other urban uses, as fig. 9 shows. Dutch planners connected greenhouses with residential areas and created new and interesting urban spaces. This “fruitful city” is one of only a few examples of using the cultivation approach in today’s town planning.

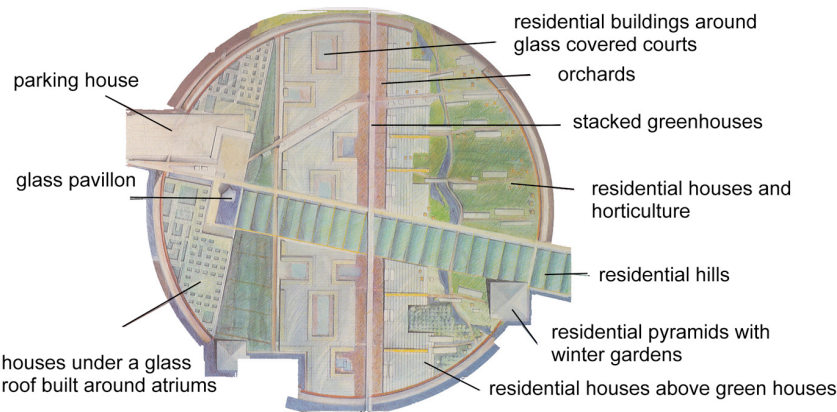


fig. 9: City fruitful (modified according to Bhalotra 1994:56)

Planners should try to cultivate the profitable urban agriculture and engage themselves in finding ways to reconcile the private interests of urban farmers with public interests. This would open up new perspectives for planning and allow new spatial experiences for the local people. Urban planning and open space planning should not address the urban agriculture as a rural counterpart. They should understand and design it as an urban facet. Still today, Howard’s Garden City could still show principles, how to do this.

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# T. J. Kent, Jr.: His Formative Years

Fukuo Akimoto

Professor, Tokai University, Japan

[akimoto@keyaki.cc.u-tokai.ac.jp](mailto:akimoto@keyaki.cc.u-tokai.ac.jp)

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## **Abstract**

T. J. Kent, Jr. is well known as the author of "the Urban General Plan", a classic textbook of city planning that was first published in 1964, and remains in print. This book was based upon his experience in the metropolitan San Francisco Bay Area. He was born in Oakland in 1917 and joined the Department Architecture of University of California at Berkeley in 1934. Just before his graduation in 1938, he encountered Lewis Mumford's "the Culture of Cities," and was impressed with Mumford's humanist vision. During 1938 and 39, he visited Europe and got in touch with the leaders of the Garden City Movement in London. It was a big event in his life, later he recalled. In 1939 he joined "the Telesis", a group of young designers who dedicated themselves to a modern environmental design for the Bay Area.

In San Francisco, as the second Planning Director of San Francisco from 1946 to 1948, he prepared the first complete master plan and the second zoning ordinance in cooperation with Ladislas Segoe. In 1948 he became the founding professor of the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of California at Berkeley. Thereafter he studied planning theory deeply with his students and colleagues. In Berkeley, he was also appointed a member of the City Planning Commission from 1948 to 1957. Kent was a political activist as well as a city planner. Kent became an active member of faculty group opposing the Loyalty Oath and went on to help organize the Berkeley Grassrooters, as well as the Berkeley Caucus of Democratic Clubs, before he was elected on the City Council from 1957 to 1966. Based on these experiences he published "the Urban General Plan" in 1964.

From the beginning, Kent was also a regionalist. He got to be one of the founders of the People for Open Space in 1958, a Bay Area citizens' regional planning and conservation group, and helped organize the Association of Bay Area Government (ABAG) in 1961. Meanwhile he published a couple of papers on the metropolitan planning in the Bay Area. And after he retired he devoted himself into greenbelt movement in the Bay Area. This paper focused on his formative years and to disclose how his views on city and regional planning were formulated.

## **1. Introduction**

T. J. Kent, Jr., founding professor of the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of California at Berkeley, is well known as the author of "the Urban General Plan," a classic textbook of city planning. It was first published in 1964 and remains in print. This book was based upon his own experiences in the San Francisco Bay Area. He was once the Planning Director of San Francisco before he was appointed a member of the Berkeley City Planning Commission. However, he was a political activist as well as a city planner. Kent was elected to the Berkeley City Council and later proposed a fundamental restructuring of the Berkeley City government. He was also active in regional planning movement. Afterward he devoted his life into greenbelt protection in the Bay Area as a member of "People for Open Space."

However, only few studies have ever tried to consider his thoughts and practices. This paper traces his formative years, until his publication of "the Urban General Plan" in 1964, and to examine how his ideas on city and regional planning has been formulated.

## **2. Mumford and Europe**

Thomas John Kent, Jr. was born in Oakland on January 30, 1917. His father, Thomas John Kent [1], was an architect in San Francisco. His family moved to San Francisco in 1922, because his father built his own house at St Francis Wood, a romantic garden suburb in San Francisco that had been designed by the Olmsted Brothers and John Galen Howard, and had been developed by Duncan McDuffie of Berkeley. His father was very active on the architectural board of the St Francis Wood Homes Association over three decades.

Kent, Jr., spent a happy boyhood in San Francisco. He went through Commodore Sloat Grammar School in St Francis Wood and attended Lowell High School in the Western Addition section. Riding around streetcar lines, he greatly enjoyed the City, and had a great time in athletics and the honor society.

In 1934, Kent, following his father's job, entered the Department of Architecture at the University of California at Berkeley that had been established by John Galen Howard, a famous architect of the Beaux-Arts. However, he was not interested in the Beaux-Arts, but in Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier instead. Soon frustrated with a 'narrowly fixed' program, he began to take other classes in speech, philosophy and others, and got seriously influenced by the Berkeley liberal education. He joined a discussion group of YMCA at Stiles Hall that was led by Director Harry Kingman, a man of firm belief in free speech. At his fraternity house he also attended a weekly discussion group that was organized by Alexander Meiklejohn, civil rights leader and educator[2]. Later he cited the strong influence of both group in these years and called it the most shaking and important part of his growing up.

Before long Kent became a leader among liberal-radical students who were opposing war, pressing for racial equality, and seeking help for thousands of emigres from Dust Bowl farmlands. He participated in peace strikes, helped Steinbeck's Okie and Arkies, and worked to understand Labor's right to organize the waterfront in San Francisco. Eventually, he was elected chairman of the Campus Judicial Committee, sort of the supreme court of the student.

During his last semester in 1938, Kent was awarded a medal for professional leadership from the faculty of School of Architecture, and was given a copy of Lewis Mumford's book, "Culture of Cities." It was published in the spring of 1938 and attempted to establish the basic principles upon which our human environment--buildings, neighborhoods, cities, regions--might be renovated, under the stimulus of Patrick Geddes

and the Garden Cities movement.

The publication of this book was one of the major events in the Bay area. It inspired a generation of Berkeley architecture and landscape architecture students to focus their idealism and energies on efforts to improve, protect, and enhance the cities and the natural environment of the San Francisco Bay region (Kent 1984). This book had a tremendous impact on Kent. Later he recalled that "City planning didn't exist. It came into being, in my mind, in Mumford's book" (Demars 1992). About two weeks before he graduated, Kent realized that he might be able to make a living by being a city planner.

Around the same time, his fraternity gifted him an exchange fellowship that the German government fostered among fraternities and sororities. He wrote a letter to Mumford for advice, and fortunately Mumford gave a call to Kent on his way back from Hawaii. They met at the Clift Hotel in San Francisco for lunch. In the end Mumford kindly offered to be his tutor for his tour in Europe, providing a reading list and introductions to innovative architects and thinkers (Kent 1987).

For 15 months he traveled throughout Europe, extensively in Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, and England, and visited Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and the USSR. He met famous architects and city planners who were suggested by Mumford and others. William Marinus Dudok in Holland, Le Corbusier in Paris, Alvar Aalto in Finland, and Alfred Roth of Zurich were among them.

Just before the war started on September 3, 1939, Kent was introduced to Gordon Stephenson in London, an English planner. He later became head of the University of Liverpool School of Civic Design and worked during the war on the great plan for metropolitan London under Sir Patrick Abercrombie. Since Stephenson had graduated from MIT, Kent was interested in studying city planning at MIT. Before his ship was ready to go, Kent went to Welwyn Garden City to meet Raymond Unwin. Later he confessed "that was a big event in my life, as it turned out" (Demars 1992).

In Europe, Kent also encountered young American designers. In Moscow, he came across Edmund Bacon, a city planner from Philadelphia. Kent also met Vernon DeMars in Zurich and Corwin Mocine in London. Both of them were Berkeley graduates. While Demars was an architect with the Farm Security Administration, Mocine was a planner of San Mateo County in California. They discovered modern design movements in Europe led by young designers, such as the Friends of Modern Architecture in Switzerland and MARS in London, and decided to start a similar group in the Bay area (Violich 1975).

### **3. Telesis, MIT and Berlin**

In the Bay Area, young architects and landscape architects who had graduated from the University of California at Berkeley and worked with New Deal agencies and county planning commissions, gathered and were going to form a design group to dedicate themselves into making the Bay Area a more livable space. On August 23, 1939, Francis Violich, a planner of Alameda County, and Garrett Eckbo and Vernon DeMars, designers of the Farm Security Administration, formed a small discussion group (Eckbo 1993). They were inspired with Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, Lewis Mumford, Catherine Bauer, and Le Corbusier. They met every two weeks in homes of members. Shortly after he returned to the Bay Area, Kent joined the group by November [3]. The membership gradually increased from six to 25 or 30. Their average age was 28.

In November 1939, Dr. Grace McCann Morle, founder of San Francisco Museum of Art, proposed this Group to put on a show at the South Gallery of the

Museum. They named themselves as "Telesis" that meant "progress intelligently planned and directed; the attainment of desired ends by the application of intelligent human effort to the means. "The word "environment" came quickly into their vocabulary at a time when it was rarely used. Their major motivations were to establish unified, interdisciplinary approach to each professional area within environmental design as overall field, to better understand and make contact with forces and processes involved in bringing about better social and visual environment, and to present to general public potentials for more rewarding use of technology in various aspects of design of environments as a whole (Violich 1977).

On July 31, 1940, the Telesis exhibit "Space For Living" opened. As the basic ingredients of environmental planning, the main themes were "Land and the People." An opening "Challenge" asked "What makes up our environment?" Following the vision of Le Corbusier, they defined the components of our environment, as "Space for Living, Space for Work, Space for Play, and for the Services that integrate these and make them work." They emphasized the importance of coordinating these elements by conscious planning and of integrating all four of them into a Master Plan in the community, the urban region, and the national region. They showed a complete land pattern of a well planned metropolis in the San Francisco Bay Region, with regional inter-relationships of living, working, recreational areas cooperating with the functional services which tied the whole together and made it workable (Telesis 1940).

Although originally scheduled for a four weeks' run at the Museum, 13,000 people trooped to the museum and popular demand held it over for an extra week, [4]. In 1941 the exhibit toured to the Seattle Museum of Art, and was invited by the Architectural Association of Chicago.

In October 1942, Kent went to Cambridge, Massachusetts with his family to study at the City Planning and Housing Division of MIT [5]. At MIT, he studied with Frederick J. Adams and Flavel Shurtleff [6]. Shurtleff held one seminar called City Planning Enabling Legislation. Later Kent recalled that " I first gained a clear understanding of the reasons why a municipal government ought to have a general plan while I was a graduate student at the MIT in 1942" (Kent 1964). Yet, soon he was invited to join the San Francisco City Planning Department. Meanwhile in October 1942 the Board of Supervisors hired L. D. Tilton, then State Planning Director, as the first planning director of San Francisco. Tilton wanted some local members of the Telesis Group to join him. In March 1943 Kent returned to San Francisco to coordinate public works projects as Associate City Planner.

Shortly after he got back to San Francisco, the draft board in Berkeley called him. However, he was allowed to finish his work at MIT before joining the service. He went back MIT and spent three months under a wartime arrangement to finish his work. His thesis, "A Procedure For Planning A Comprehensive Housing Program For Metropolitan Districts," dealt with postwar housing programs for metropolitan regions.

After he completed the thesis, he was drafted into the United States Army in 1943. He served for a year in Washington, DC, as planning officer on prisoner of war camp construction program and supervised the thousands and thousands of prisoners who were being shipped to the US from North Africa. In September 1945, when the European war was over, Kent was assigned to the Berlin headquarters of the Allied Council for Germany, as the first U. S. member of the quadripartite Finance Directorate Secretariat, and remained until March 1946. Under the chief American representative of the Treasury Department, Joseph Dodge, president of Detroit Bank, Kent organized permanent 14-man staff and established new administrative procedures in collaboration with French, British, and



Soviet members of Secretariat.

From Berlin, Kent sent an article 'Report on Berlin, 1945' to the Journal of American Institute of Planners. In this report, he praised the efforts of the Berlin new City Planning Office that was directed by Professor Hans Scharoun, and wrote:

"the spirit of the planners of this devastated city was so brave, and their work so challenging ... the Berlin planner have aimed at a genuine reorganization of the city and not merely at a patchwork reconstruction. Their approach is similar to that adopted for London by Abercrombie. However it might be surprising to learn that they adopted better open space and population density standards than those upon which the London plan is based" (Kent 1946).

#### **4. Forgotten First Planning Director of San Francisco**

In San Francisco the Telesis exhibit of 1940 had a significant impact on city planning. In 1941, the Board of Supervisors doubled the budget for the city planning commission from \$15,315 to \$38,642, and hired, Ernest P. Goodrich, a planning consultant in New York, for a year for part-time services. Goodrich occasionally visited San Francisco to prepare the present one-way street plan and no-parking regulations on down town streets (San Francisco City Planning Commission 1942). He also was engaged in the preparation of a master plan for the city's future growth. In the meantime, the Telesis issued a booklet called "Now Is the Time to Plan: First Steps to a Master Plan for San Francisco" through the San Francisco Planning Housing Association in 1941. However, following criticism of the employment of an expert on a part-time basis, San Francisco increased the budget for the city planning commission into \$87,897 and decided to employ a full-time consultant [7].

Since Goodrich declined to devote all of his time to San Francisco, L. Deming Tilton, the former Planning Director of the California State Planning Board, was employed as a full-time consultant in October 1942, and later became the first Director of Planning in San Francisco [8]. Today Tilton's name has been almost forgotten in the city. However, he really did prominent planning works for California. During his office at the State Planning Board, Tilton drafted the California Planning Act of 1937, which defined, for the first time in California, a master plan as "a comprehensive, long-term, general plan," and included "Land Use Plan" as an element of a master plan.

As Planning Director of San Francisco, Tilton operated day-to-day problems and prepared several elements of a master plan separately (San Francisco City Planning Commission 1943-44; San Francisco City Planning Commission 1943-46). At the beginning he made the Shoreline plan in 1943 (San Francisco City Planning Commission 1943), and a Six-Year Public Works Improvement Program in 1944. As one of his major achievement in San Francisco, Tilton drafted an outline of the California Community Redevelopment Act in 1944 that was adopted in 1945. The article 4 of the act stated that the community must have a master or general community plan that must include a transportation and utility plan, a land-use plan, a statement of the standards of population density and building intensity, and maps showing blighted areas. Following this article, the San Francisco City Planning Commission adopted the Transportation and Utility Plan, the Land Use Plan, and the Urban Redevelopment Plan in 1945 (San Francisco City Planning Commission 1945; San Francisco City Planning Commission 1945?), because the Board of Supervisors wanted redevelopment projects to be adopted as soon as possible. The Land Use Plan was mainly prepared by Bryant Hall, principal planner, who had been once with the Los Angeles County Planning Commission and had prepared the Land Use Plan of Los Angeles County in 1941. Meanwhile, in order to improve city planning in San Francisco, Tilton began to study the charter amendments in 1944, based

upon the principles of the Standard City Planning Enabling Act of 1928.

In the summer of 1946, Kent returned to the San Francisco Planning Department as Associate Planner. However, in several weeks, Tilton was fired by the new City Planning Commission that was appointed by the new mayor Loger Rapham. One year before it, the new mayor had told Tilton never to come in the mayor's office. A week after Tilton had left, Kent was appointed acting director pending selection of a new Planning Director. The San Francisco City Planning Commission interviewed and offered the job to Hugh R. Pomeroy, a county planning pioneer in California, the then planning Director of Westchester County in New York. However Pomeroy decided to stay in the East Coast. Finally, on December 31, 1946, the Planning Commission appointed T. J. Kent, Jr. of 29 years old as the second planning director of San Francisco [9].

Kent took over most of the tasks Tilton had started, except the Shoreline Plan (San Francisco City Planning Commission 1948). One of his great achievements during his office was in transportation planning. Tilton unfortunately could not produce any meaningful outcome in solving traffic problems in downtown, one of the most serious problem of San Francisco, partly because as a landscape architect Tilton was short of enough experience in transportation planning before coming to San Francisco. Kent, as a skillful organizer, set up an interdepartmental transportation planning group to prepare a comprehensive plan on traffic, transit and transportation improvements. And in March, the planning group submitted a \$ 50,050,000 transportation bond issue program to consolidate the public transit system into one major system and to rebuild and reconstruct the major streets of the city (San Francisco Mayor's Administrative Transportation Planning Council Technical Committee 1947). The Planning Commission in October adopted the program and hired De Leuw, Cather and Company, a consulting firm, for the preparation of the comprehensive long-range transportation plan. The voters approved the bond program in November 1947. It was an outstanding accomplishment for the city.

In 1947 Kent also began the revision of the Land Use Section of the Master Plan and preparation of a new zoning ordinance. Ladislav Segoe, nationally known consultant in Cincinnati, was retained in March to advise on this two-year job. And William E. Spangle, a former Telesis member, was hired in July to work on the new zoning ordinance. The new land use section consisted of three groups: a city-wide plan, plans for twelve communities, and plans for four working districts [10].

Kent also push forward in 1947 a redevelopment project of the Western Addition District. Mel Scott, a former Telesis member from Southern California, was hired in May to prepare a tentative general plan for the district, and completed in December a report called "Western Addition District Redevelopment Study" (Scott 1947). Subsequently the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency was established in 1948.

In November 1947 the voters also approved the Charter Amendment. It expanded the duties and responsibilities of the City Planning Commission and established a definite relationship between the Commission and the operating departments [11]. The Commission became responsible for the preparation and maintenance of a long-range Land Use Plan, a comprehensive long range Transportation and Circulation Plan, and an Urban Redevelopment Plan. It was also charged with the responsibility of the annual preparation of a six-year capital improvement program and the preparation of reports and plans based on the Master Plan, such as the zoning ordinances and the subdivision ordinance. The Board of Supervisors might only appropriate money for capital improvement projects after it had been referred to and reported on by the Commission. The new amendment further required that all plats or replats of subdivisions and project plans for public and private housing, slum clearance, and the

redevelopment of blighted areas be submitted in tentative form to the City Planning Commission for its report and recommendations.

Later Kent wrote "convictions concerning the essential physical elements that should be dealt with in the general-plan document developed as a result of my experiences as a member of the city-planning staff, and later as Director of City Planning, in the City of San Francisco" (Kent 1964). However, in San Francisco, Kent did not yet produce his own view on a planning commission and a master plan. In 1949 Kent wrote an article about a master plan and a planning commission (Kent 1949). It revealed two things: his view on a planning commission was based upon the Standard City Planning Enabling Act of 1928 that was drafted by Alfred Bettman; and his vision on the essential physical elements of a master plan reflected the California Community Redevelopment Act of 1945 that was drafted by L. D. Tilton.

### **5. The Master Plan of Berkeley**

In the 1940s, the extremely rapid increase in the population had caused a constant and increasing demand for qualified professional planners in California [12]. In 1948 the University of California established a Department of Civic Planning (later called Department of City and Regional Planning) in the Graduate Division.

Its objective was twofold: first, to offer training to graduate students from related undergraduates fields who desire to enter the urban planning profession, and second, to undertake research into the fundamental problems of urban growth and redevelopment. In July 1948, President Sproul invited Kent as Associate Professor to chair the new department [13]. In 1949 Kent invited three other founding faculty members from San Francisco Planning Department: Sydney Williams, Francis Violich, and Mel Scott. In 1950 he also called in Catherine Bauer. They developed the two-year graduate curriculum modeled after that of MIT.

In October 1948 Kent was appointed on the Berkeley City Planning Commission. He stayed until 1957. In 1949, Corwin Mocine [14], a former Telesis member, then the Director of City Planning for Phoenix, Arizona, was appointed after a nationwide examination, as the first Director of City Planning in Berkeley. Mocine decided to tackle the immediate traffic problems in downtown and to prepare a traffic ways element of a master plan at first. However in a couple of years he realized that "they couldn't act on the issues that were confronting them without some kind of general plan" (Knack 1987).

The work of the Berkeley City Planning Commission enabled Kent to gain some extremely valuable experience (Kent 1953). During the fall semester of 1951, he assigned to his second-year class students the task of devising an "Interim General Plan" for the City of Berkeley. Kent wanted to demonstrate that a small staff could formulate rather quickly a useful, initial version of a master plan, and also wanted to show the planning commission what a master plan was, how it was formulated, and how it would operate.

In January 1952, following the decision of the City Planning Commission, Mocine began to draft a single, comprehensive and long-range master plan. They completed the draft "Preliminary Master Plan for Berkeley" by May 1953. This preliminary master plan was similar to the students report "Interim General Plan for Berkeley" in composition of document and planning elements. Either plan distinguished policies and physical proposals, so that the council and the public could discuss policies in the first place and physical plans in the second. Later Kent stated that "the emphasis I give to the idea that the basic policies of the plan must be distinguished from the general-design proposals of the plan result mainly from fifteen years of experience in Berkeley" (Kent 1964). Kent

seemed to have formulated this idea in 1952 or 1953 when he was on the city planning commission.

The Planning Commission set up the Public Relation Committee in 1953, and launched a campaign to inform citizens about the plan. In March the Citizens' Conference on Community Objectives was held and more than 100 persons attended. On May 20, 1953, the Berkeley Gazette published a twenty-page supplement devoted to the preliminary master plan. Thereafter the planning commission discussed with forty-seven groups and arranged seven simultaneous open public meetings until the formal public hearings before the Commission in March 1954.

Thus the Planning Commission approved the master plan in April 1954, and the City Council adopted "Berkeley Master Plan" in April 1955. The council resolution stated as follows:

1. The planning commission shall annually review the Master Plan.
2. The Master Plan shall be the guide for the capital improvement program.
3. Any issue related to the physical development of the city shall be referred to the planning commission as to conformity to the Master Plan.

These procedural arrangements, in the opinion of Berkeley planners, established its master plan as the first "workable Master Plan in the Bay Region, and in California" (Campbell 1973).

Meanwhile in the early '50s, with nationwide anti-Communist reaction leading to the imposition by the University Regents of a "special oath", Kent became an active member of faculty group opposing the Loyalty Oath. He went on to help organize the Berkeley Grassrooters, an early and influential political club, as well as the Berkeley Caucus of Democratic Clubs. It became the city's only effective, issue oriented candidate selection group for many years. In 1957 Kent was elected on the city council. While he served four years in the thankless role of a member of the Council minority, he persuaded his colleagues to broaden the agenda of the Community Welfare Commission to address racial discrimination, to establish the Civic Arts Commission, to look toward controversial Master Plan re-zoning, and to adopt the Fair Representation Initiative [15].

In 1961 the Berkeley's first liberal Democratic majority was formed. Kent played a key role in carrying out a number of important Master Plan projects and progressive measures. The council established the city's first pay-as-you-go capital improvements program. It downzoned half the city to save the flatlands neighborhoods from rampant speculation in high-rise apartments. It also changed BART's plans to locate the main station in the central business district and to put a third of the line underground. The council also began studies that led to the Safe Neighborhoods Traffic Plan, and built three swimming pools, new parks, playgrounds and recreation buildings, redesign and landscaping of the downtown area. In 1962 Kent was a leader on the City Council for the landmark Berkeley Fair Housing Ordinance which set the pattern for national leadership in the struggle to achieve racial integration in the schools.

## **6. "The Urban General Plan"**

As a professor of city planning, in 1950 Kent began to study the nature of the planning function in local government (Kent 1950). He stated that the rapid expansion of city and county planning agencies in California had provided a wealth of experience in the application of the concept of the planning function in local governments as expressed in the 1928 Standard City Planning Enabling Act. Thereafter his achievements in this area were expressed in his students reports [16] and master's theses and in his own articles and lectures.

One of the most important theses during the 1950s must be that of Melvin Webber of 1952. For the first time it showed an idea as follows:

"Since the general plan is a direct expression of the planning agency's role in local government, attention will be first directed to the agency in its relations with the rest of the governmental structure and with the entire community. And as the reflection of the planning agency's role, the general plan will then be discussed in its functional aspects. And then, finally, attention will be directed toward the characteristics of the general plan which suit it to the performance of the assigned functions" (Webber 1952).

This idea was later succeeded in the thesis of Alan Black and laid the foundation of Kent's "the Urban General Plan."

In 1953 Kent, in collaboration with Melvin Webber, began to formulate a general theory of the functions and nature of the urban general plan (Kent 1953). He delivered his own article for the first time in 1954 (Kent 1954). Afterward he said he completed the first draft of the Urban General Plan in 1955 (Kent 1964), but today whereabouts of it is still unknown. He wrote another paper in 1958 which carried the same idea of 1954 (Kent 1958), therefore the first draft of 1955 might expressed the same idea as his article of 1954.

In 1954 Kent introduced three different views of the role of the city planning in local government. First, Alfred Bettman, the chief drafter of the Standard City Planning Enabling Act of 1928, defined city planning as an independent activity of the City Planning Commission. Second, Robert Walker, the author of "the Planning Function in Urban Government" of 1950, proposed city planning as a staff aid to the chief executive. And third, Kent defined the city planning as a policy-making activity of the city council.

Kent believed that the city council should adopt and maintain the general plan, because the city council was shouldered with the responsibility of spending money and making all final policy decisions concerning public capital improvements and of deciding upon the regulations. He emphasized there would be a clear relationship between public policy and the spending of public money and the enactment of public regulations controlling private activities. Thus Kent defined the general plan as a clear statement by the legislative body of the physical development policy of the community, and defined the city planning commission as a policy committee of the city council. He emphasized that the commission should not be involved in the administration of regulatory ordinances, such as zoning and subdivision regulations, because it must serve the council effectively as a policy committee.

Afterwards he confessed that "the belief that municipal legislative body must be acknowledged as the principal client of the general plan resulted mainly from fifteen years of experience in Berkeley" (Kent 1964). It must be no later than in 1954 that he showed this belief for the first time.

In 1954, he also defined the characteristics of the general plan as long-range, general, comprehensive, understandable, available and amendable. However, later he wrote that he was not satisfied with his first draft of 1955 (Kent 1964).

In 1959, Kent wrote a draft "Fifty Years of Experience with the General Plan", as one portion of a larger manuscript. He pointed out the characteristics of the Standard City Planning Enabling Act as follows: confusion between the zoning plan and the general plan; confusion caused by piecemeal adoption procedure; confusion caused by failure to define the essential elements of the general plan; disagreements concerning the scope of the general plan; and confusion caused by distrust of the city

council.

In 1960, Kent wrote an article "Comments by a councilman" on the Journal of American Institute of Planners. He stated that during the past three years since his election, he had learned a great deal from his colleagues on the council, some things that had to do directly with city planning (Kent 1960a). The same year, for the first time he delivered a paper dealing with the legislative functions of the general plan. He wrote:

"Many councilmen and many city planners believe that the preparation of a general plan is basically a technical job--rather than a legislative policy-making job, and that once the plan is completed it will be used primarily by the professional staff and the city planning commission--rather than by the legislative body, but I have been led to different conclusions on these two points since 1950, the main features of which have been strengthened by my experience as a legislator"(Kent 1960b).

In the spring of 1962 Kent had a second opportunity to concentrate on the subject, and prepared the second draft titled "the Urban General Plan"(Kent 1962). After revising this second draft, he published his book "the Urban General Plan" in 1964.

While his paper of 1954 covered the role of the city planning commission as well as the general plan, his book of 1964 focused only on the legislative functions of the general plan. In his book he acknowledged that his convictions about the importance of the legislative uses of the general plan had become stronger (Kent 1964).

He proposed four primary legislative functions of the general plan. The first is the policy determination function that includes initial policy determination, annual review and amendment, and tenth-year review. The second is the policy control function. The council members, with the active help of the city planning commission, will judge proposed projects, policies, and laws based upon the general plan. The third is the communication function. The officially adopted general plan document must be designed and written in a manner that will enable the council to use it to convey its city development policy to its chief executives, commissions, department heads, other governmental agencies, and private individuals and groups. The fourth is the education function. The official general plan document must serve to enlighten and inspire everyone who is interested in the future of the community concerning the basic physical development problems and opportunities that are confronting the community and the basic policies and general scheme proposed by the council to meet the problems and take advantage of the opportunities.

Second, Kent analyzed the characteristics of the general plan. As its subject-matter characteristics, the general plan should be physical, long-range, comprehensive, and general, and should clearly relate the major physical-design proposals to the basic policies. As its characteristics relating to governmental procedures, the general plan should be suitable for public debate, be identified as the city council's plan, be available and understandable to the public, be designed to capitalize on its educational potential, and be amendable.

Third, in regard to the contents and organization of the general-plan document, his book emphasized the same idea as his paper of 1954. However it dropped the word "land use plan," instead called it "the Working-and-Living-Area Section" because community facilities and streets were also uses of land (Black 1968). Here we can see in his book the influence of Le Corbusier back from the Telesis Exhibition in 1940.

His book was not only influenced by his experience as a councilman, but

also by the thesis of Alan Black, one of his student. Black studied planning legislations under Professor Charles M. Haar at Harvard University, before he moved to Berkeley and completed his thesis "The Functions of the Urban General Plan" under Kent's direction. Kent acknowledged that: "As a city-planning graduate student at the University of California in 1959-60, he clarified for me some of the basic features of the general-plan concept and he summarized, far better than I had been able to, the context within which the concept must be seen to be fairly judged"(Kent 1964).

Black's thesis was based upon an assumption as follows:

"The functions of the plan are intended to fulfill certain needs of particular people who use the plan. Consequently, it is important to consider who should use the plan and who should be the most important user (or client) of the plan. This is a crucial factor in determining the functions, since the different users have varying and sometimes conflicting needs"(Black 1960) .

He analyzed functions of the urban general plan for the legislative body, for the chief executive, for the planning staff and planning commission, for operating agencies, for the public and for others respectively. Among these functions in Black's thesis Kent quoted only the functions for the legislative body and the characteristics of the general plan drawn from its legislative functions.

He wrote "with his permission, I have drawn freely from his excellent thesis,..., particularly in the preparation of chapters I and III"(Kent 1964). In his second draft of 1962, Kent wholly quoted Black's thesis in the Introduction, Chapter 1, 3, and 4, while Kent put his paper of 1959 into Chapter 2, and newly wrote Chapter 5. And before he published his book, Kent revised the introduction and Chapter 1 completely and put rich examples of general plans into Chapter 5. Therefore, his book of 1964 is virtually a joint work of Kent and Black.

"The Urban General Plan" has twofold meanings: a textbook of city planning and a book of advocacy. As a textbook, it shows forms of municipal governments, and the history, uses, characteristics, contents and organization of the general plan, with ample examples of general plan document. Meanwhile, in order to express his own idea in the form of advocacy, it only focuses on the legislative uses and the characteristics of the general plan.

In the US, prior to Kent's book, there had been roughly two groups of city planning textbooks. One group that planning engineers wrote detailed design standards and procedures for physical elements of the city like streets, railroads, parks, and zoning [17]. The other group that lawyers published explained legislative techniques of planning laws and ordinances [18]. Quite different from these textbooks, "the Urban General Plan," clearly separated the general plan and its implemental measures, and defined the general plan in detail, for the first time in the American city planning history.

When his book was published, it was immediately criticized because it defined the primary user of the general plan as a legislative body [19]. However, soon Kent's minority view in the 1960s turned to be a majority opinion at least in California by the 1980s. In 1955, the California Planning Act had already removed a famous phrase about the city planning commission that "preparation and adoption of the general plan is duty and function of city planning commission." Instead it wrote that the legislative body should adopt the general plan. Finally in 1980, the California Planning Act defined adoption of the general plan as a legislative act.

## **7. Metropolitan Planning for the Bay Area**

While Kent had chosen to concentrate on city planning in his book, the needs of metropolitan planning had been for many years of special interest to Kent. Early in 1941, when the California State Planning Board organized public hearings in San Francisco and Oakland on the need for the establishment of a nine-county Bay Area Regional Planning Commission, the Telesis Group including Kent issued a publication "Regional Planning: Next Step for the San Francisco Bay Area," and held an exhibit for regional planning for the Bay Area. The brochure and the exhibit emphasized that the San Francisco Bay Area needed City Planning for its cities, County Planning for its counties, and Regional Planning to compass the entire area (Telesis 1941).

This assignment was extremely educational for Kent. Later he recalled that city planners of his generation had learned from this that only locally-supported regional actions could be expected to produce proposals for regional planning that would actually be implemented (Kent 1983).

In 1947, Kent as Planning Director of San Francisco took the initiative in arranging regional meetings with the Oakland and San Jose city planning directors because he saw the City as something that couldn't be separated from the Bay Area. Kent invited Mr. John Marr in Oakland and Mr. Michael Antonacci in San Jose to organize the Bay Area Planning Directors' Committee and to discuss ways of cooperating on matters of regional concern to all.

In 1949, after he moved to Berkeley, Kent as chairman of city planning committee of Telesis, issued a report of "Proposed Metropolitan Planning Principles and Objectives for the Period 1950-70." It was prepared by George Duggar, T.J.Kent, Jr., James McCarthy, William Spangle, Jr., Francis Violich, and Sydney Williams (Telesis 1949).

Based on this report, Kent in collaboration with Scott and Kelley, drafted an "Outline for Telesis Exhibition on Need for a Bay Area Regional Planning Commission." The exhibit "the Next Million People" was held in 1950 in the San Francisco Museum of Art on the tenth anniversary of Space for Living (Telesis 1950). In 1951 it was circulated to various parts of the Bay Area. This report and the exhibit reflected the philosophy of the English Town and County Planning Act of 1947 as well as that of Lewis Mumford. The English Town and Country Planning Association, the drafter of this act, had judged that London was a metropolis that had grown too large and too dense, and had developed ideas that would lower the density of population in London and rebuild in new towns outside beyond the immediate built-up metropolitan area.

Around the same time, Kent assigned his graduate students planning projects in the Bay Area. In January 1951, a student group completed a report, titled "A New City at Danville: a proposals for guiding metropolitan growth through the development of independently situated communities of limited size in order to avoid urban sprawl and to create better living and working conditions." In 1953, another student group prepared a similar report called "the Lafayette study."

In 1958, Kent got to be one of the founders of "Citizens for Regional Recreation and Parks" (later called " People for Open Space"), a Bay Area citizens' regional planning and conservation group. It envisioned a metropolis that was limited in size and was surrounded by a permanent Greenbelt safeguarding the integrity of the region's ecological systems.

As a member of the Berkeley City Planning Commission, Kent sponsored the creation of the Bay Area Planning Commissioners Conference in January 1952. In 1959, he delivered an article "Regional Planning and Metropolitan Government Proposals for the San Francisco Bay Area." As a member of the



Berkeley majority on the council, Kent drafted the constitution of Association of Bay Area Governments (ABAG) in 1960 (Bay Area Federation of Planning Councils 1960). It outlined ABAG's two functions: first, to enable cities and counties to meet regional needs voluntarily where they could define those needs and could solve them voluntarily; secondly, to define regional needs that could not be handled voluntarily and to recommend the creation of some kind of regional agency to the job. Finally the ABAG was established in 1961.

In 1962, on the Berkeley City Council, he was a strong leader of the Save-the-Bay campaign. In 1963, Kent prepared a report "City and Regional Planning for the Metropolitan San Francisco Bay Area" and proposed regional planning district.

After the publication of his book in 1964, Kent still played a key role in city planning. For example he served as Development Coordinator of San Francisco under Mayor John Shelley from 1966 through 1968. However his emphasis gradually moved to regional planning, particularly greenbelt movement.

In 1970 he wrote an essay "Open Space for the San Francisco Bay Area: Organizing to Guide Metropolitan Growth." In 1974, he retired and became president of "People for Open Space." In 1977, this group delivered a report "A Proposed Greenbelt Action Program." The program was based upon Kent's study of foreign experiences like the Zurich Regional Open Space Program. In 1980, Kent invited Gordon Stephenson, his old friend in England, to have a seminar. Stephenson delivered a paper "The Greater London Plans of 1933 and 1944." He emphasized that Abercrombie continued Unwin's work. In 1983 Kent wrote an article "The Copenhagen 1978 Report on Optimum Metropolitan Size, and the Future of the Metropolitan San Francisco Bay Area."

In the meantime Kent became pretty active as a political advocate . From 1972 to 1974, he served on the Berkeley Charter Review Committee. Although in a minority, Kent proposed a fundamental restructuring of Berkeley City government, modeled after European systems and proposed a new charter with district elections and a larger parliamentary system.

### **8. Conclusion: Homage to William Morris**

As a city planner, Kent believed that the preparation and maintenance of the general plan is the primary, continuing responsibility of the city planning profession. As a regionalist, he dreamed a metropolis that was limited in size, and was surrounded by permanent open space.

Kent once recollected that "the basic values that have inspired many of us in the city planning, conservation, and ecology movements in the Bay Area since the 1930s were fostered by our responses to Mumford's intellectual challenges" (Kent 1987).

However, Kent seemed to have gone beyond Mumford.

He firmly believed that "it is contrary to the political philosophy of democracy to place government in the hands of administrators who are not directly responsible to the people" (Kent 1964). Opposing the most popular view among city planners, he characterized city planning as a policy making activity of the city council. Also, being cautious of regional governments, he defined himself as a localist, primarily, and a regionalist secondarily. He believed that local governments should be all-purpose governments, and metropolitan, state, and federal government above them should be limited in function. Furthermore, as a Jeffersonian democrat, Kent opposed any federal aid to local governments because he didn't trust the long-term effect of federal financial aid in any field.

In after years Kent repeatedly referred to William Morris. In the British

Socialist Party, there had been two factions. One was the do-it-yourself, local government, and non centralized Socialist Party that was led by William Morris. The other was the European group from the continent who came to the island as exiles and wanted a centralized party. Raymond Unwin was one of the friends of William Morris (Kent 1983).

Kent reminded us that "Mumford's book on the future of cities also encouraged a look backward. It stimulated a new awareness of the area's earlier tradition of independence, regionalism, and self-reliance. The significance of the Bay Area arts and crafts movement of the early 1900's was based largely on the ideas and work of William Morris"(Kent 1984). In fact, there was a Morris Working Men's Club, the do-it-yourself sort of Socialist, in San Francisco before 1900. Morris's environmental design concepts and his revolutionary social ideas inspired a generation of Berkeley architecture and landscape architecture students including Jack Kent(Kent 1983).

Kent's achievements were not only his responses to Mumford's intellectual challenges, but also to Morris's revolutionary social ideas.

#### Notes

1. Thomas John Kent started his career as an assistant to architect Willis Polk just after the San Francisco Great Earthquake in 1906, and later helped design Steinhart Aquarium at the California Academy of Sciences in the Golden Gate Park.
2. Living in a fraternity house, Beta Theta Pi, he was an athlete in Berkeley. He played four years of water polo and became captain of the winning team of the first championship for the Blue and Gold in 1937.
3. Kent met the distinguished planner, Henry Van Beuren Stanbery, the head of the pacific southwest regional office of the National Resources Planning Board that had an office in Berkeley. He got his first job there in 1939. The office sponsored regional economic development studies and watershed public works coordination and the development of local city and county planning. Meanwhile he worked briefly as Junior Planning Assistant at the Marin County Planning Department in 1940, where Hugh Pomeroy, one of the leading figures of county planning in California, was with as Planning Adviser. Kent also worked with I. S. Shattuck, Traffic and Planning Consultant in Oakland, as part-time Planning Assistant in 1940.
4. Some forty civic leaders became sponsors of the Telesis. Among them, three people were especially important to them. First was Alice Griffith, housing activist and founder of the San Francisco Housing Association that was established just after the 1906 earthquake. Second was Dorothy Ward Erskine who revived that organization in the 1940s. Kent and Erskine worked together over the next forty years in several organizations, including "People for Open Space." Third was Mrs. Jesse Colman, wife of the Chairman of the Board of Supervisors who saw the exhibit and invited every member of the Board to see the show. Jesse Coleman, her husband, supervisor for many years, was there and said "This is great, let's do something" (Violich 1977; Kent 1983).
5. Meanwhile Kent married Mary Chace Tolman, the daughter of the distinguished psychology professor of Berkeley, Edward Tolman, in January 1941.
6. Shurtleff was a city planning lawyer. see, Shurtleff, F. and F. L. Olmsted, Jr. (1914). Carrying Out the City Plan: The Practical Application of American Law in the Execution of City Plans. New York, Russell Sage Foundation.
7. (1942, September 6). City Planning: NEW S. F. Consultant Takes Over. San Francisco Chronicle 8:1.
8. Tilton was a landscape architect who had graduated from the University of Illinois, and became one of the first associates of the Harland

- Bartholomew & Associates in 1920. In 1926 Tilton moved to Southern California and became a planning consultant for Santa Barbara, Orange and San Diego Counties. In 1934 Tilton was hired by the California State Planning Board and remained until 1942.
9. James R. McCarthy, Personal Interview, on Jan. 7, 1999 and Sept. 2, 2001.
  10. The twelve communities were each large enough to support at least one high school, were to have populations ranging from 35,000 to 110,000, and were further divided into neighborhood which were living areas with populations of from 2,500 to 14,000 which were adequate to support one or more elementary schools. The four non-living or working area districts were proposed for production and distribution purposes. The central business district was the major part of one of these districts. The remaining three were predominantly industry (Finley 1951).
  11. Kent later told that "In 1947, the initiative of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, with whom Mr. Tilton had cooperated, a charter amendment was on the ballot. . . . Actually those provisions were ones that we had finally drafted—we, McCarthy and myself—because the Junior Chamber of Commerce was going to have some kind of amendment in any case. We went right back to Mr. Shurtleff and Mr. Segoe from Cincinnati and had to reexamine all of those same ideas that had been battled out in this country between 1914 and 1928" (Kent 1983).
  12. Tilton once tried to establish the department of city and regional planning at the University of California. In 1940, when he was the director of the California State Planning Board, he was invited by Professor Samuel C. May at the Public Administration of University of California at Berkeley, who was on the State Planning Board, to be a lecturer in Planning. He hired Kent and Violich to prepare a potential curriculum for the department of city and regional planning, and set up and chaired the Coordinating Committee on Planning Instruction to University President Robert G. Sproul. Communicating with President Sproul, Tilton tried to get a support from Leland P. Reeder, President of the California Real Estate Association in Los Angeles, to persuade the state legislature to adopt establishing a new department of planning at the University of California during in 1942 and 1943, but in vain (Tilton Papers).
  13. Kent was promoted to Professor in July 1951 and continued until 1974 while he chaired the department until 1960.
  14. Corwin Mocine was born in Los Angeles and studied landscape architecture at University of California at Berkeley in 1931 to 1935. He worked for Resettlement Administration which planned rural housing and communities, and then for San Mateo County Planning Commission as a junior planning technician. In 1939, Mocine spent four months studying city planning in Europe. In 1941, following Hugh R. Pomeroy, Mocine began working for the State of Virginia planning Council. He entered the US Marines and served three years as a captain, before he became the first Director of Planning in Phoenix. He was there almost four years, coping with "boomtown problems."
  15. (1983), T. J. Kent, Jr. Testimonial Dinner: Saturday, November 19, 1983, Good Table Restaurant--Berkeley, California.
  16. Students reports in those days were "A New City at Danville: A Proposal for Guiding Metropolitan Growth" in 1951, "An Interim General Plan for Berkeley" in 1952, and "The Lafayette Study: A report on the Preparation of a Preliminary General Plan for a rapidly Developing Country-Suburban Community in the SF Bay Area" in 1953.
  17. Typical examples of city planning textbooks written by planning engineers are:
    1. Lewis, N. P. (1916), *The Planning of the Modern City: A Review of the Principles Governing City Planning*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
    2. Segoe, L., W. H. Blucher, et al. (1941), *Local Planning Administration*, Chicago, IL, Institute For Training in Municipal

Administration.

18. Typical city planning textbooks written by lawyers are:
  1. Shurtleff, F. and F. L. Olmsted, Jr. (1914), *Carrying Out the City Plan: The Practical Application of American Law in the Execution of City Plans*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation.
  2. Bassett, E. M., F. B. Williams, et al. (1935), *Model Laws For Planning Cities, Counties, and States: Introducing Zoning, Subdivision Regulation, And Protection of Official Map*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
19. For example, see the following reviews:
  1. Meltzer, J. (1965), 'Book Review: The Urban General Plan by T.J. Kent', *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 31(3): 268-269.
  2. Altshuler, A. (1965), *The City Planning Process: A Political Analysis*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press.

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## **Problems due to City Planning Perspective in Turkey**

by

Güler Koca, PhD

Assistant Professor,

College of Engineering and Architecture

Anadolu University, Eskisehir, 26470

Turkey

### **Abstract**

In Turkey, the conventional planning perspective, which has been dominantly practiced since the early days of the republic, resulted in a major problem: planning process always stay behind its implementation and therefore, public support and participation to the planning is lost. Several factors contributing this problem can be listed as the narrow and outdated perspective of the planning and obstructions in the implementation.

Though the central and local planning authorities presume to accelerate capital increase using country and region plans, they usually tend to ignore the basic principles of planning such as consistency, continuity and determination. Such a planning lack of consistency and continuity is always depended on individuals rather than institutions, and therefore, it is very easy to change it according to the individual deals.

These problems experiencing in the implementation of the plans underline that the city plans should show differences in different countries or even different regions within the same country.

### **Introduction**

In Turkey, although city development plans are the most effective tools to improve the quality of physical environment, they are still not very successful in creation of healthy and well-organized environment. This failure depends on problems experienced in both phases of the city development process: planning and implementation. These problems are mainly based on shortcomings in legal, administrative, technical and social side of the planning and implementation.

The current planning procedures are unable to catch up with the implementation due to their narrow and outdated perspectives making almost impossible to control the urban growth and development. The city development plans as a result of these procedures are also in poor quality and difficult to implement. Such a planning approach loses not only its function over the process but also public support and participation. Lack of enough control and public support, the implementation side of the process is very vulnerable to the obstructions and changes imposed by interest groups.

A new flexible, dynamic and effective planning perspective is necessary to foresee and control the urban development. Such new perspective requires a careful study regarding the role of local administrations (municipalities) in the planning process in Turkey.

### **Local Administrations and Planning in Turkey**

Local administrations acquired the full authority of making and approving urban development plans with the construction act came into force in 1985. The act also allowed them to implement these plans without any permission of the central government but with their town council's approval only. These new changes introduced by the act started big debates between supporters of the central government and municipalities. According to the first group, giving the full power to the municipalities and excluding the government from the whole planning process would lead to serious troubles and mistakes in planning especially for small municipalities lack of sufficient funds and personnel such as city planners, architects, engineers and technicians. On the other hand, municipalities proclaimed that they knew the needs of their city and residents better than the government and, therefore, they could perform more sensitive planning according to these needs.

In last decade, the second idea became dominant in planning and a new discussion is started on extending the authority of municipalities even further by making some changes in the act. In fact, the act has some shortcomings in including people the planning process. During the whole process, the town council takes all decisions regarding the development of urban identity without any direct public participation. According to the act, the residents have the right to object these decisions only. In order to provide more organic and democratic relations between the local administration and the people in planning, some reforms are necessary in the organizational structures regarding city planning.

## **Suggestions for Organization Structure in City Planning**

For more effective and democratic planning perspective, it is essential to establish a new law re-regulating the structure, objectives and authority-responsibility distribution in national, regional and local organization in the planning process. In parallel to this perspective, regional municipality offices must be established to give financial and technical assistance to municipalities in exercising their authority over approval and control of city plans, insuring that they use this authority effectively. Such offices will also provide coordination and synchronization between the government and municipality offices.

Preparing city development plans regionally in accordance with variations in size and characteristics is a crucial process and requires extensive studies. Teams consisting of experts in these offices can handle these studies and take big deal of burden off over the shoulders of municipalities.

These offices can help to increase public consciousness and participation in planning using educational studies and programs. These efforts along with necessary regulations provide a control mechanism, consisting of residents and their civil organizations, over the planning and implementation.

## **Conclusion**

In city planning, the common problem of developing countries like Turkey is lack of coordination and empathy between the central and local administrations. Unlike their counterparts in developed countries, local administrations have some inadequacies in their finances and technical background to overcome difficulties in planning and implementation of the development plans by themselves. This situation raises some questions about whether they hold full authority over the planning process. Limiting this authority by the central governments interference, on the other hand, usually ends up with loss of empathy with the people and overlooking the needs of the region to be planned. Regional municipality offices as an interface between the central and local authorities can help to eliminate this controversy. This new organizational structure along with some other regulations can not only introduce a new perspective in development of well-organized and healthy physical environment in cities, but also contribute public participation to the planning process.

# **A Study on the Effect of City Size, Density and the Center Distribution Pattern on the Transportation Energy Consumption -The Cases of Medium and Small-Sized Cities in Korea-**

**Gyo-Eon Shim, Kun-Hyuck Ahn**

\* Gyo-Eon Shim, Ph.D. is a Senior Researcher of Research Institute of Engineering Science, Seoul National University, and Project Manager in Han-A Urban Research Institute

\*\*Kun-Hyuck Ahn is an Associate Professor of Urban Design at School of Civil, Urban, & Geosystem Engineering, Seoul National University.

## **ABSTRACT**

In this paper, we analyze the relationship between the characteristics of transportation energy consumption and urban form elements that have been actively argued along with ESSD.

This paper could be divided into the theories examination and the practical analysis about domestic small and medium-size cities. First, in theories examination, we surveyed the arguments about the sustainable urban form. Secondly we made some hypotheses about the relationship among the transportation energy consumption, city size, density and center distribution pattern. Thirdly we tested those hypotheses and examined the suitability of those alternatives in the cases of domestic small and medium-size cities.

The main themes of this paper are as follows. First, how do the city size, density and etc. affect the transportation energy consumption? Second, in overcrowded Korean situation which one is more suitable alternative of sustainable urban form from the point of transportation energy consumption –concentration or decentralized concentration? Third, we examined the argument that the densely centralized development could reduce the trip generation, increase the transit use, and decrease the automobile use.

In the result of analysis, when the population is increase, transportation energy, represented by yearly gasoline consumption per automobile and yearly energy consumption on surface transportation per 1,000 persons, tends to decrease. And if the degree of city's concentration is higher, energy efficiency tends to decrease.

Besides, the influential factors on the transportation energy among the indicators of urban form are road ratio and density. While road ratio does not related to the transportation energy consumption, road density does.

Through the result of analysis, we can deduce planning implication concerned with domestic city. First, Korean cities are already highly concentrated, so decentralization policy should be carried out to increase transportation energy efficiency. Besides, in case of high-density cities, multi-nuclei cities are better than mono-nuclear ones. Next, policies for high road density by construction of new road, although the road width is narrow, are more effective than those for high road ratio by widening the road width in order to increase transportation energy efficiency.

**Key Word : ESSD, Compact City, Decentralized Concentration, City Size, Density, Transportation Energy, Center Distribution Pattern**

## **I. INTRODUCTION**

### **(1) Backgrounds and Goals**

Now sustainable development is coming to the front topic in worldwide. As continuous environmental pollution has been threatening to human existence, the studies on sustainable



development has been in progress rapidly. Then, what cities can decrease damage to environment, and could human beings lead a sustainable life? There are many arguments in these points. The concept of 'sustainable development-or ESSD' contains various meanings in itself, and its applications to the field which connected with urban planning bring about more confusion. There also have been many discussions about what is the sustainable development in Korea.

Although the ways to apply to the urban phenomena appear recently, they are not enough. Besides someone just insisted on the Compact City or the Decentralized Concentration intuitively for sustainable development, especially concerned with urban form, but their discussions about suitability in Korea are not enough.

The existing foreign discussions about sustainable urban form are reflections upon the city of low-density or sprawl, and the situations are different from Korea. In some western cities, they argue that they could improve the public transportation services, decrease traffic congestion, and then reduce transportation energy and made pedestrian friendly environment through the policy to make higher density development and to encourage mixed-use. But many Korean cities have already passed over optimal density suggested by some researchers in western and we do not have rigid zoning regulations –the regulations permit the broad mixed land-use-, thus it is difficult to introduce these policies to Korea directly. If Korean cities implement the policy of Compact City based on western density, inefficiency due to congestion could occur. There are few studies on the relationship between city size, density and transportation energy consumption focusing on Korean cities. In these circumstances, which one should we choose between the policy to encourage the high density development in existing built area(mono-nuclear Compact City policy), or the policy to make multi-nuclei with high density development(Decentralized Concentration)

This paper tries to suggest the Korean cities' vision through the analysis of the relationship between the characteristics of the transportation energy and urban form, which are actively argued about sustainable development.

## **(2) Contents and Methodology**

This paper consists of two parts; theoretical considerations and practical analysis of small and medium-size cities in Korea. First, in theoretical considerations, we examined the theories of urban form intended to decrease the transportation energy consumption, reduce environmental impact and improve other social functions. Nowadays 'Compact City' and 'Decentralized Concentration' theory based on these relationship, could be chosen as the alternatives of sustainable urban form. We will examine the existing theories on the transportation energy consumption patterns connected with the city size, the density and the center distribution patterns, which such theories premise.

Next, in analysis of the small and medium-size cities in Korea, we will verify which theories above are more suitable to apply to Korean cities, and find the differences from foreign ones. The target cities of this study are 61 small and medium-size cities in Korea(the number of the whole cities is 71 in 2002) and the year of the data used in this paper is 1999.

The goal is to deduce urban planning implication to achieve energy saving cities through the analysis of the Korean cities.

## **II. THEORIES ABOUT TRANSPORTATION ENERGY AND URBAN FORM**

### **(1) City Size(Population)**

By the studies on the relationship between the city size and energy efficiency in the case of English cities, as the city size(population) is smaller, there is more energy consumption per capita (D. Banister, 1992). However London is not energy efficient city. This research concluded that the cities, which are over 25,000 persons and smaller than London, are more energy efficient in his research about English cities.

He concludes that the energy efficiency is high at short commuting distance area. And

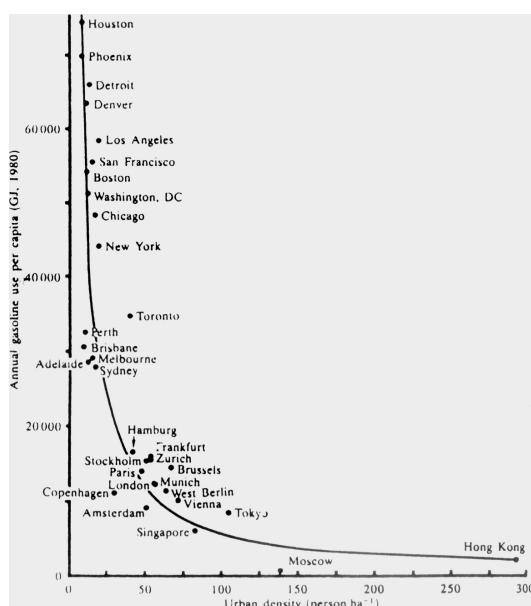
fragmentary objectives to pursue energy efficiency from urban planning sections are easy to make mistakes. Thus the objectives of transportation for energy efficiency should be made in harmony with other objectives. The city would be energy efficient when it has optimal self-sufficiency and job-housing balance.

The result of this research means that until city size reach to the optimal level, energy efficiency increase, but when city size is over its level, energy efficiency tend to decrease because of congestion. He, however, divides the cities into four groups by the population number of 3,000, 25,000 and the number of mega-city like London, this classification is too broad to generalize his result. Moreover in case of metropolitan like London, transportation energy consumption pattern is too different from small and medium-size city to compare by the same method. Since there are many differences in vehicle possession, road conditions and the pattern of automobile use which impact the transportation energy consumption, so it may be unreasonable to compare London with the small and rural cities. Nevertheless it should be highly evaluated that he found out energy efficiency pattern by population (city size), and analyzed energy efficiency of public transportation.

## (2) Urban Density

'The Costs of Urban Sprawl' by Real Estate Research Corporation in 1974 makes clear usefulness of planned high-density development. This report concludes that the urban fabric of planned mixed-use type and planned high-density type, consumes much less energy and water than that of planned low-density type and diffused low-density type does. And similarly a pollutant emitter resulted from cars and fuel consumption of residential area is much less. It insists on environmental advantages of planned high-density city, that is Compact City.

Newman and Kenworthy's studies on the relationship between urban density and transportation energy conclude that compact city is good for energy efficiency.



<Figure 1> Gasoline Consumption and Urban Population Density

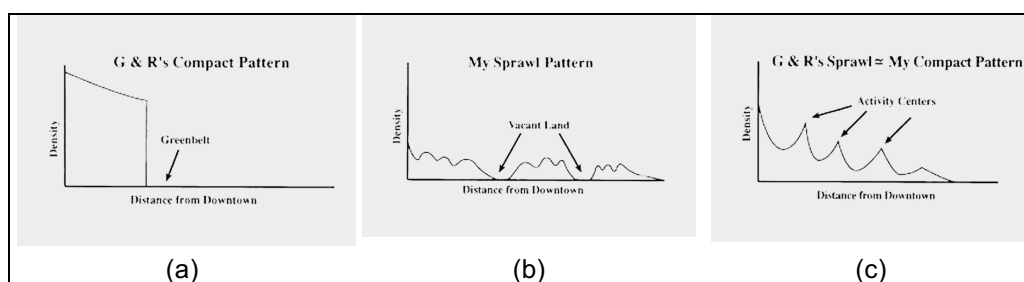
First of all, they verify that land use intensity have correlation to gasoline consumption. Through the analysis of relationship between gasoline consumption and urban form in worldwide 32 metropolitan, they concluded that gasoline consumption decreases as urban density increases. Main factors to control gasoline consumption are population density, employ density, and dependence on the city center, and they refer that if population density decrease to less than 29 persons/ha, gasoline consumption increases greatly. Especially they insist that if Houston or Phoenix, low-density cities of America, would be developed like Boston or Washington, they could achieve energy saving of 20%~30%.

Through the relationship between density and gasoline consumption by regions of New York metropolitan area, they founded out big differences between population density and gasoline consumption by regions. That is, in the sustainability aspect, compact city reduce traffic needs, thus also reduce gasoline consumption and a pollutant emitter.

But, in the opposite studies of Gordon and Richardson on high-density of Compact City, primarily they insist that the assumptions of energy consumption and urban density in Newman and Kenworthy's studies is not correct, and they argue that the improper price system causes to energy consumption gap by cities. Moreover first, gasoline should be understood as not the only resource but one of limited resources. And price system is important to control these consumption patterns. Second, Newman and Kenworthy insist that the gap of gasoline consumption is caused by different density, but actually it depends on life pattern and travel behavior. Third, when a mode of public transportation like railway would be developed in the case of American cities, the cities tend to be accelerated in the way to decentralization rather than concentration.

Besides the downtown trips referred by Newman and Kenworthy is low ratio as a whole, but most trips occur from suburb to suburb. Thus, on the contrary to Newman and Kenworthy, Gordon and Richardson insisted that decentralization could reduce average commuting distance. And they argue that the importance of non-work travel has been ignored in Newman and Kenworthy's studies, and actually the number of non-work travels is more than that of work travel. Thus they insist that traditional policy to reduce work travel is a mistake, since the relationship between the work travel and the whole gasoline consumption is weak,

There is Ewing's study to re-criticize the Gordon and Richardson's comments on the Compact City. That is, the Compact City that Gordon and Richardson criticize is (a) case of <figure 2> like European cities, and actually this case is rare to happen. Actually when sprawl occur, (b) case of <figure 2> is general. And he insists that if sprawl is led to decentralized concentration like (c) case of <figure 2>, the cities are very sustainable form.

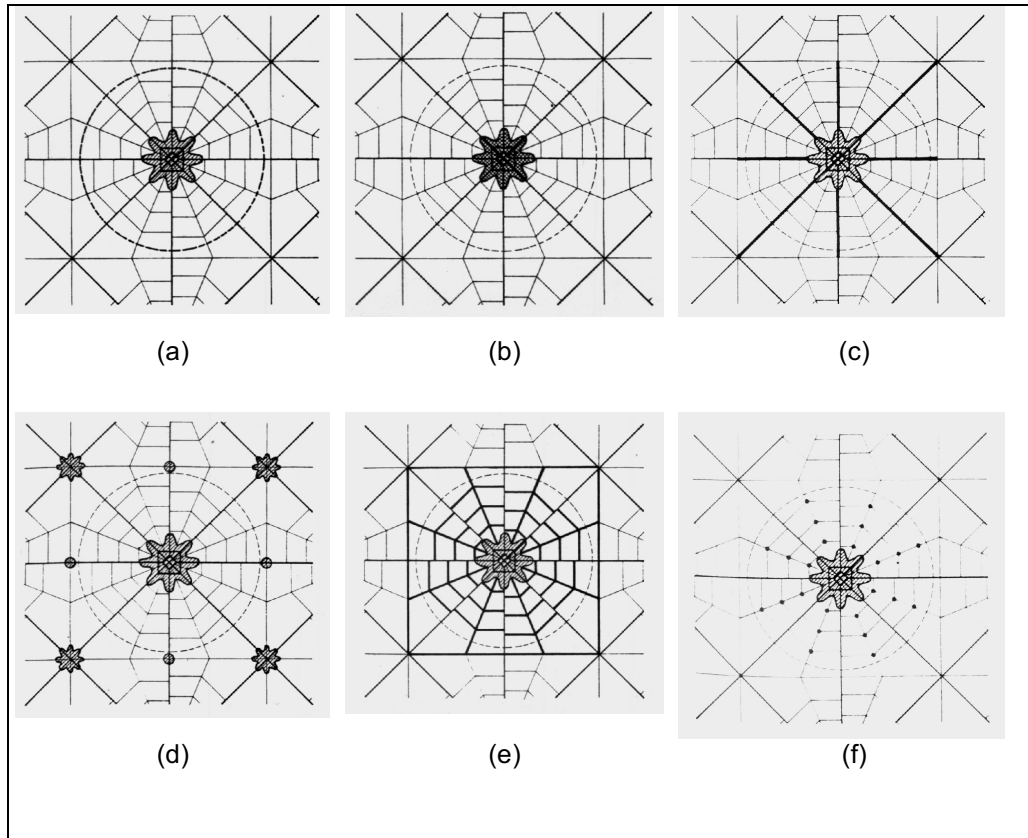


<Figure 2>Urban Density & Compact Development, Sprawl Pattern

He analyzes costs according to urban sprawl as follows. First, in VMT(Vehicle Miles Traveled) aspect, there are many positive studies that if density goes up, travel distances are shortened, the use of public transportation and the walking increase, and the use of automobile reduce. Second is the aspect of energy consumption and air pollutant emitter. Concentration development pattern reduce energy consumption than low-density diffused development because of short travel distance. Third, there are many studies that infra construction costs and public service supply costs go down, as density goes up, because of the scale economies. Fourth, it is the squandering of the land resources. Development of scattered urban form consumes much more land than high-density development. In case of New Jersey's development, the development of scattered form consumes the land in 2 or 1.5 times than others. Fifth, central city and downtown would still remain as the center of culture, law, high-level function, and many other industries such as finance, law service and advertisement, since face-to-face contact would be important continuously. Sixth, it is mental and social costs. In suburb, people who cannot drive are difficult to approach to the service and community facilities and a job, thus these place is against to youngsters, the old and the poor. After all, he insists that the problems of disordered sprawl can be solved through "the plan", and growth management of America has many possibilities to solve these problems.

### (3) Center Distribution

In an aspect of urban fabric and form, there are big differences between Compact City and Decentralized Concentration, but positive studies about it are not sufficient. The studies connected with it are Rickaby's studies in the case of England. Rickaby evaluate the energy and accessibility implications of six settlement patterns under three energy conservation scenarios and with population 124,129.



<Figure 3> Six Settlement Patterns of Rickaby : (a) status quo configuration composed of a moderately compact urban area and low-density development sprawling into the rural countryside, (b) highly compact urban development, (c) moderately compact urban core with development along major corridors, (d) moderately compact urban core with satellite towns, (e) moderately compact urban core with scattered linear development along minor corridors, (f) moderately compact urban core surrounded by an integrated system of urban villages, involving infill of existing settlements

In his simulations, the highly compact urban core development pattern is the most energy efficient and provides the greatest degree of access relative to all other patterns. Although highly compact development requires more roads to distribute trips more efficiently, total passenger miles is at least 20 percent less than all alternative development patterns including the status quo. And energy consumption is reduced about 25 percent over the status quo. The second most efficient pattern is satellite towns with a compact urban area.

To some extent, the analysis prepared by Rickaby, in the case of England, is not directly applicable to Korean cities. Nonetheless, certain implications are offered. The pattern of distributed nodes of concentrated development around a compact urban area, wherein the nodes are connected to the urban area by public transit and major highways, is not only the pattern Rickaby generally advances, but the one most commonly advanced by planners and architects.

### III. CHARACTERISTICS OF TRANSPORTATION ENERGY CONSUMPTION IN KOREA

<Figure 4> Population And Energy Consumption On Surface Transportation      <Figure 5> Population And Gasoline Consumption Per Automobile

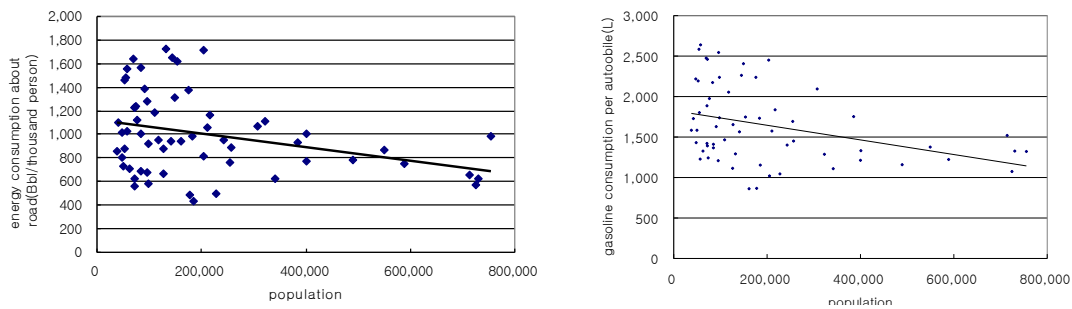
#### (1) Relationship between City Size and Transportation Energy Consumption

The relationship between transportation energy consumption and city size (population) in Korean small and medium-size cities is shown in <Figure 4, 5>.

Yearly energy consumption on surface transportation per 1,000 persons, tends to decrease on the whole as the population increase. That is, large population cities are generally more efficient in energy consumption than low-population cities, in spite that the figures do not show precisely in case of small population cities. It can be explained that energy consumption is affected more by other variables than population in case of small population cities, but as population gradually increase, energy consumption tend to be affected more by population.

Especially, the cities, of which population is small and energy consumption is low, are almost provincial cities not in capital region -Seoul metropolitan area-. It is because the provincial cities are less crowded and have lower automobile holding ratio compared to that of Seoul metropolitan cities.

The similar tendencies are found in the relationship between population and yearly gasoline consumption per automobile which implicates the vehicle mile traveled (VMT) and urban crowdedness.



<Table 1> Relationship Between Population And Transportation Energy Consumption

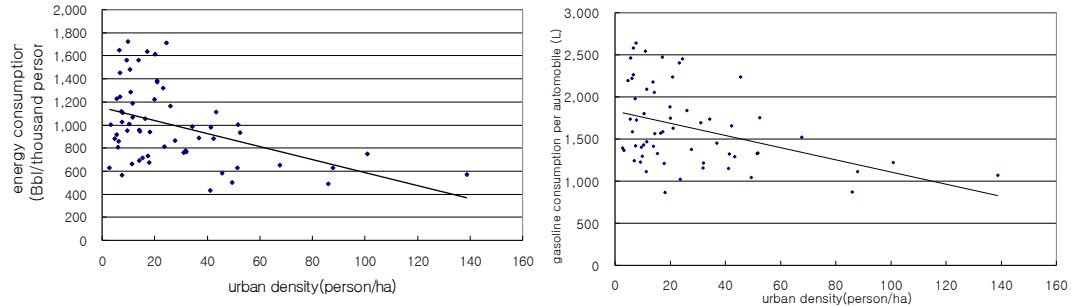
	Regression	F Value (Prob>F)	R <sup>2</sup>
Yearly Energy Consumption on Surface Transportation Per 1,000 Persons	Energy Consumption = -0.000567*Pop + 1117.263126	6.676 (0.0123)	0.1017
Yearly Gasoline Consumption Per Automobile	Gasoline Consumption = -0.000907*Pop + 1826.446892	9.070 (0.0038)	0.1332

\*All statistics come from the SAS System Release 6.12

#### (2) Relationship between Urban Density and Transportation Energy Consumption

<Figure 6, 7> show the relationship between urban density and transportation energy consumption. The envelope is relatively clear as in the case of city size, but in case of low density, it became unclear because of high deviation. When we select the cities of low-density and low-energy consumption, all the cities are provincial cities except Ui-Jeong-Bu in capital region, so it can be explained similar to the case of urban population. But when we judge from envelope, it shows similar result to the study of Newman and Kenworthy stated in chapter II.

And generally expected the increase of energy consumption caused by congestion in the high-density cities, is not found. That is to say, policy for high-density is proper to decrease transportation energy consumption in the case of Korean cities.



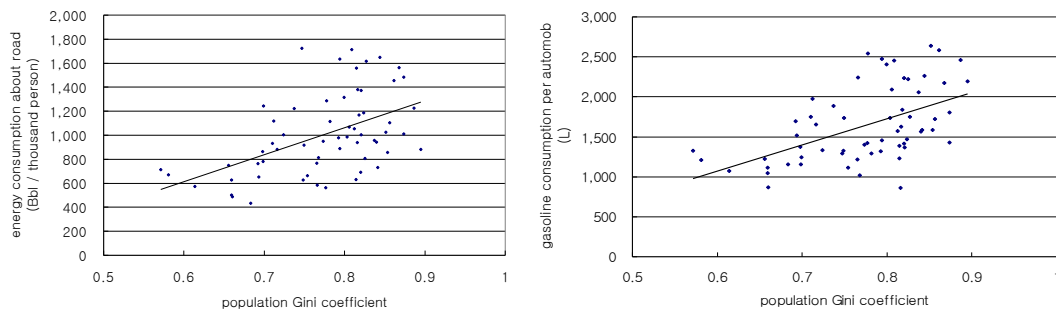
<Table 2> Relationship Between Urban Density And Transportation Energy Consumption

	Regression	F Value (Prob>F)	R <sup>2</sup>
Yearly Energy Consumption on Surface Transportation Per 1,000 Persons	Energy Consumption = -5.635686*Density + 1150.747586	13.790 (0.0005)	0.1895
Yearly Gasoline Consumption Per Automobile	Gasoline Consumption = -7.233473*Density + 1833.058841	11.249 (0.0013)	0.1601

**(3) Concentration and Decentralization of City**

We select the Gini Coefficient for population dispersion as a factor indicates the degree of concentration of population. In the <Figure 8, 9>, the yearly gasoline consumption per automobile and yearly energy consumption per 1,000 persons on surface transportation increase as the Gini Coefficient values approach to 1 -this means the cities are more concentrated at certain district-. So if concentration is continuously in progress, we predict that it will have a negative effect on energy efficiency.

Through the Gini Coefficient, which shows degree of concentration or decentralization, it is impossible to find whether the city is mono-nuclear or not, since it inform only the degree of dispersion. So we classify mono-nuclear or multi-nuclei through the center distribution in order to compare the transportation energy efficiency.



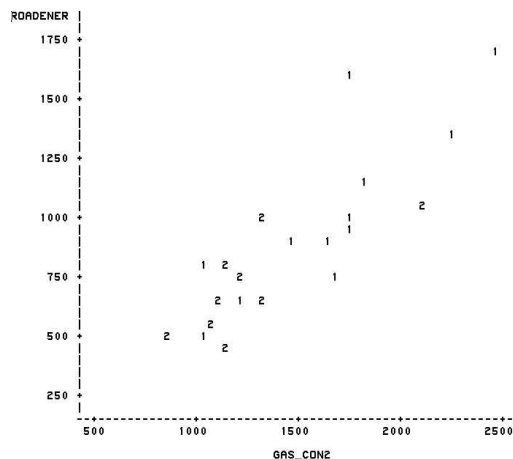
<Table 3> Relationship Between Gini Coefficient And Transportation Energy Consumption

	Regression	F Value (Prob>F)	R <sup>2</sup>
Yearly Energy Consumption on Surface Transportation Per 1,000 Persons	Energy Consumption = 2244.8*GINI – 734.478425	20.062 (0.0001)	0.2537
Yearly Gasoline Consumption Per Automobile	Gasoline Consumption = 3269.3*GINI – 886.720376	22.506 (0.0001)	0.2761

#### (4) The Relationship between Center Distribution Pattern and Transportation Energy Consumption

In order to classify the cities by center distribution pattern, we use the zoning map in 23 cities. When the cities have other commercial area, of which the size is more than 25% of the center commercial area and is isolated from the center, they are classified as multi-nuclei cities. Other are classified as mono-nuclear cities.

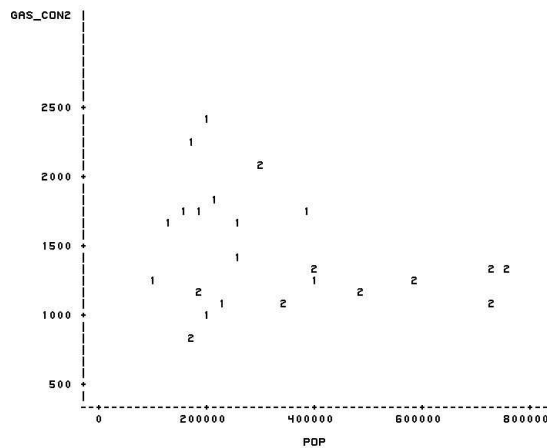
As shown in <Figure 10>, the relationship is that the energy efficiency is generally low in mono-nuclear cities, while energy efficiency is high in multi-nuclei cities.



<Figure 10> Energy Efficiency And Center Distribution Pattern (in 23 sample cities)  
(1: mono-nuclear city, 2: multi-nuclei city, roadener: yearly energy consumption on surface transportation per 1,000 persons, gas\_con2: yearly gasoline consumption per automobile)

Furthermore, <Figure 11> shows the relationship between yearly gasoline consumption per automobile and the population in mono-nuclear/multi-nuclei cities. In the case of small population cities, mono-nuclear cities and multi-nuclei cities are mixed up. But over 400,000 persons, all the cities are multi-nuclei. This means that when the population of a city reaches 400,000, the city tends to be decentralized through the development of new nuclear.

Differences by center distribution pattern are shown in <Table 4>. In mono-nuclear cities, average population is 221,970, while multi-nuclei city it is 470,223. Thus we generally find out by this result that multi-nuclei city is advantageous in order to increase the population and at the same time reduce the transportation energy consumption since as the population increase, there is tendency that transportation energy consumption decrease (see <Figure 4, 5>).



<Figure 11> Gasoline Consumption Per Automobile Of Mono-Nuclear And Multi-Nuclei (1: mono-nuclear, 2: multi-nuclei)

<Table 4> Urban Characteristics According To Center Distribution Pattern

	Mono-nuclear	Multi-nuclei	T Value	Pr >   T
City Size(Population)	221,970	470,223	-3.6903	0.0014
Urban Density	31.7	64.3	-2.9395	0.0078
Collective Housing Ratio	51.3	66.1	-2.6113	0.0163
Road Density	2.77	4.33	-2.3861	0.0265
Gasoline Consumption Per Automobile	1,619	1,266	2.1640	0.0421
Energy Consumption On Surface Transportation	1,005	733	2.0847	0.0495

Also, the more urban density goes up, the more the number of multi-nuclei city increases. Multi-nuclei cities have lower energy consumption than mono-nuclear cities. That is, as the population and urban density goes up, cities are often changed to multi-nuclei ones. And in case of growing city, if we raise urban density and make new nuclear to accommodate the growth of population, we can reduce energy consumption. The average density of multi-nuclei cities are over twice than that of mono-nuclear cities, so it is the better to make multi-nuclei for raising the density of city.

In collective housing ratio concerned with density and population, it is almost 15% higher in case of multi-nuclei cities than that of mono-nuclear cities. So through the construction of the collective housing like apartment, we can both increase the density and accommodate more populations.

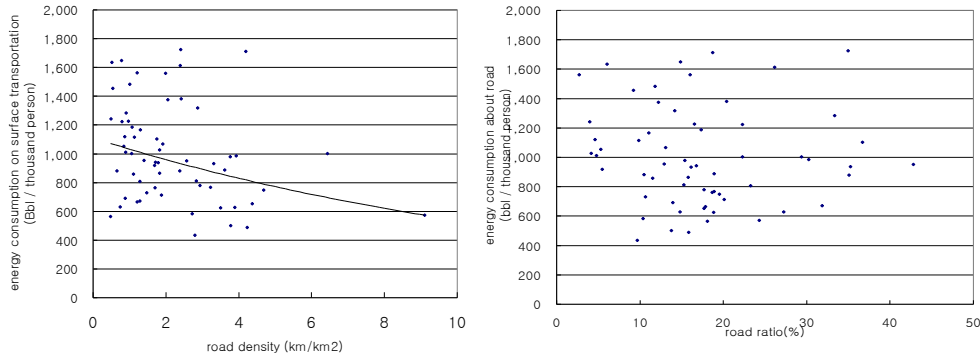
### (5) Road Density and Road Ratio

There is interesting relationship between road ratio or road density and energy consumption as shown in <Figure 12, 13>. Generally we anticipate that energy efficiency would be higher, as road ratio, that is the ratio of road area per urban area( $\text{km}^2 / \text{km}^2$ ), goes up, but such pattern did not appear like <Figure 13>. While as road density, which means the ratio of road length per urban area( $\text{km} / \text{km}^2$ ), increase, energy consumption decrease.

Thus the policy for raising the road density is more useful than for heightening the road ratio in order to reduce energy consumption. The policy for high road density by construction of new road, though the road width is narrow, is more effective than that for high road ratio by road



width expansion in order to increase transportation energy efficiency. This consolidates the assertion of the New Urbanism that the fine street network and small size grid-iron would be more efficient than conventional one.



<Table 5> Relationship Between Road Density And Transportation Energy Consumption

	Regression	F Value (Prob>F)	R <sup>2</sup>
Yearly Energy Consumption on Surface Transportation Per 1,000 Persons	Energy Consumption = -64.263*Road Density + 142.31	5.786 (0.0193)	0.0893
Yearly Gasoline Consumption Per Automobile	Gasoline Consumption = -105.038*Road Density + 1871.55	8.231 (0.0057)	0.1224

**IV. CHARACTERISTICS BY URBAN TYPES**

As stated above, we examined whether the existing theories are suitable for the case of Korea or not. In this chapter, we examine characteristics by urban types, through the categorization by urban density and Gini Coefficient for population dispersion. Especially we will examine which is the more efficient form for Korean cities; Compact City or Decentralized Concentration.

According to the above analysis, urban density and Gini Coefficient affect transportation energy consumption, thus it is possible to categorize cities into four types by these two variables. That is, it is useful to classify cities by urban density into high/low, and divide into 'concentration' and 'decentralization' by population Gini Coefficient.

Since there is no absolute standard by which we distinguish high/low density and concentration/decentralization, we compare the relative value to classify the domestic cities into high/low density and concentration/decentralization category. If the urban density is more than the mean of whole cities, the city is classified as high-density city. And the same is in the classification of concentration/decentralization using Gini Coefficient. <Table 6> is the results of cities categorization.

The characteristics of each cities type are shown in <Table 7>. Within significance level 5%, variables of population Gini Coefficient, population, urban density and road density etc. were statistically significant. It confirms the tendencies described previously about the relationship between urban characteristic indicator and transportation energy. That is, in order to reduce

gasoline consumption per automobile and energy consumption in surface transportation, the urban density must be higher, but the city form should be decentralized form by dispersing the population. Whereas road ratio is considered to be insignificant, road density is not. So we can confirm that high road density bring about the low energy consumption.

As shown in <Figure 14>, high-density/decentralized cities are most efficient with respect to transportation energy consumption. This means that it is advantageous to raise the urban density of domestic cities on the whole, but the policy for continuous concentration to existing nuclear is disadvantageous to energy efficiency.

<Table 6> Types Of Korean Cities By Urban Density And Gini Coefficient For Population

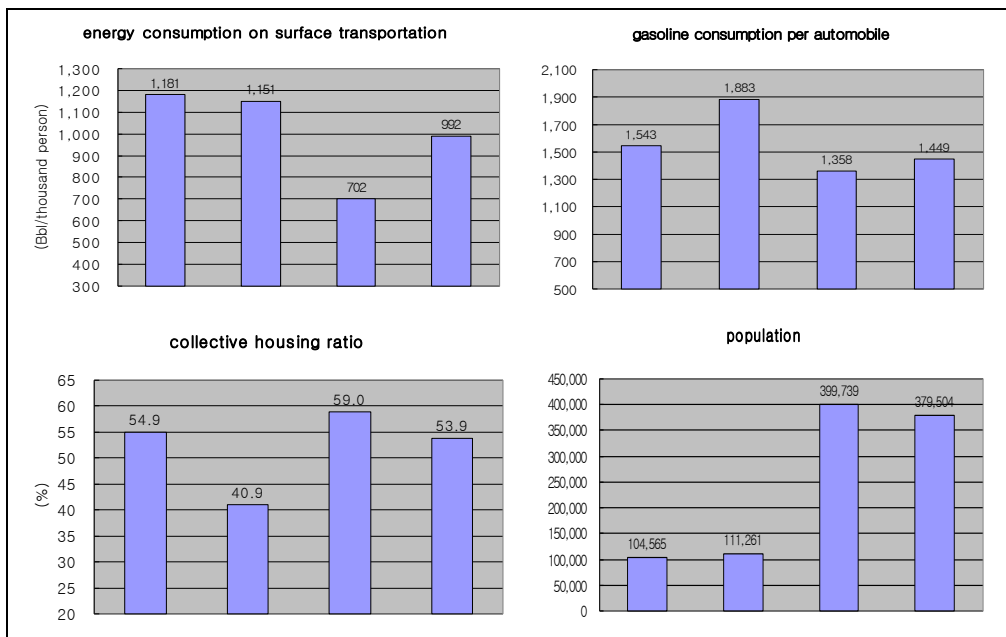
Classification	Decentralization Type	Concentration Type
Low-Density Type	Kwacheon, Siheung, Uiwang*, Osan, Donghae, Soksho, Kunsan*, Yecheon, Jinhae (9)	Dongducheon, Koyang**, Hanam, Pyungtaek, Wonju*, Kangneung*, Taebaek, Samchuck, Chungju, Jecheon, Cheonan*, Kongju, Iksan*, Jungup, Namwon, Kimjae, Suncheon, Naju, Kwangyang, Kyungju, Kimcheon, Andong, Kumi, Youngcheon, Youngju, Sangju, Munkyoung, Kyungsan, Kimhae, Milyang, Cheju, Sokwipo (32)
High-Density Type	Suwon, Sungnam**, Uijungbu*, Anyang**, Puccheon**, KwangMyung**, Ansan**, Kuri*, Kunpo**, Cheongju**, Chunju, Mokpo*, Yeosu**, Changwon*, Masan*, Tongyoung (16)	Chuncheon*, Pohang, Ulsan**, Jinju* (4)

\*: mono-nuclear, \*\*: multi-nuclei

<Table 7> Statistics About Urban Types By Urban Density And Concentration

Classification	F Value	Pr > F	Multi-range test results**
Population Gini Coefficient	45.84	0.0001	(1,3), (2,4)
Urban Density	30.36	0.0001	(1,2), 3, 4
Population	19.84	0.0001	(1,2), (3,4)
Road Density	15.70	0.0001	(1,2), (3,4)
Collective Housing Ration	5.08	0.0035	(1,3,4), (1,2,4)
Energy Consumption About Road	8.76	0.0001	3, (2,1,4)
Gasoline Consumption Per Automobile	6.84	0.0005	2, (1,3,4)

1: low-density/decentralization, 2: low-density/concentration, 3: high-density/decentralization, 4: low-density/concentration. alpha=0.05



<Figure 14> Characteristics Of the Cities Types (first column: low-density/decentralization, second column: low-density/concentration, third column: high-density/decentralization, fourth column: high-density/concentration)

In the analysis of the characteristics of the cities types, we can conclude as follows. First, for the case of low-density/decentralization and low-density/concentration cities of which the population is about 100,000, it is profitable to adopt the policies that are focused to raise the density and to lower the Gini Coefficient in order to save the transportation energy consumption. Especially lowering the Gini Coefficient means that new development in Korean small and medium size cities should not be concentrated to existing nuclear. Since there are no significant differences between mono-nuclear cities and multi-nuclei cities in low-density/decentralization and low-density/concentration cities, it is not possible to determine which is more advantageous.

Second, for the case of high-density/decentralization cities, it is difficult to determine with respect to density. So far, it is clear that as density increases, transportation energy consumption decreases, but we are not sure whether energy inefficiency from congestion would appear or not, when density would be higher and higher in the future. However, we can conclude that it is good to adopt the policy to disperse the population like the above 2 types since there is negative relationship between Gini Coefficient and energy efficiency. In high-density/decentralization cities which have mono-nuclear or multi-nuclei, it is important to convert mono-nuclear cities to multi-nuclei ones because multi-nuclei cities have lower gasoline consumption per automobile than mono-nuclear cities in this type.

Third, in case of high-density/concentration cities, it is also difficult to determine with respect to density like the case of high-density/decentralization cities. But it is advantageous to pursue the policy to disperse the concentrated population for the same reason as the case of high-density/decentralization cities.

## V. CONCLUSION

In this paper, we examined the theories about the relationship between the characteristics of transportation energy and the urban form in view of the sustainable development. Through this analysis, we can deduce some planning implication concerned with domestic cities as follows.

First, since the Korean cities are already highly concentrated, so the decentralization policy should be carried out to increase transportation energy efficiency. Especially, in case of high-

density cities, multi-nuclei urban form is better than mono-nuclear one in terms of transportation energy efficiency. This is different from Rickaby's conclusion since he evaluated the highly compact development –like mono-nuclear city- is most energy efficient. We think that the difference come from the cultural difference and the different city size (population) since he assumed the population 124,129 in his model.

Second, it is better to construct new roads though narrow, than to widen the width of the road to decrease transportation energy consumption. This consolidated the New Urbanism's assertion about the street pattern.

Third, it is difficult to increase the ridership of public transportation which is more energy-efficient than automobile through the policy concerned with urban form, but other policy such as improving the service level of mass transit would be effective since the relationship between the ridership of public transportation and urban form factors does not exist in Korea. But we can find out the negative relationship between the ridership of public transportation and energy consumption.

Forth, it is profitable to adopt continuous high-density policy in low-density/decentralization cities and low-density/concentration cities of which population is about 100,000, but it should be avoided to develop in existing area intensively.

Fifth, in case of high-density/decentralization cities in Korea, it is difficult to determine whether higher-density is good or not. But it is advantageous to adopt the policy to reduce population concentration. Multi-nuclei policy should be carried out to disperse the population and to increase transportation energy efficiency in these cities.

In this paper, we analyze in the case of only small and medium-size cities with respect to the transportation section. So it is needed to research for sustainable urban form with respect to environmental pollution and energy-efficiency in the view of other sections including the transportation. And we think, in the case of metropolis, the energy consumption pattern would be quite different from small and medium-size cities. So it is useful to widen the scope of the research. By generalizing these various researches together, we would find more proper sustainable urban form in third world like Korean cities.

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# Symbolist Construction: the Language of the City

Hong Tang

Catharine Ward Thompson

## Abstract

Symbolist construction as the language of city expresses certain tangible or intangible things during the process of historic development. It narrates materialized technological and economic strength, the inspiration and ambition of authority and it also articulates the taste of architectural aesthetics, the fashion popular in social life in corresponding times.

A symbolist construction could be the landmark of the region, the identity of the city. To enrich and reinforce the image of the city and make the language of the city stronger, urban developers are keen to grasp opportunities to set up new symbolist construction. However, the challenge in modern urban development is not only how to create the architectural crystallization of aesthetics and technology in practice but also how to confront the contradiction of historic preservation and new developments.

This paper concerns the practice to deal with such challenge in Qingdao China, the context of natural topography, Chinese culture and western influence. The practice shows that Issues are addressed and lessons drawn based on analysing a range of examples from Qingdao, which were established separately in old and new districts during the last century: a Gothic style church, Chinese pavilions, a glass tower, a communications tower and a huge modern steel sculpture.

The paper shares that orientation of the city image, natural elements and the coherence of culture are crucial to any new symbolist construction as well as urban development in general. This has been illustrated in the process of the development of symbolist construction in Qingdao.

Symbolist construction in the language of each city expresses certain tangible or intangible things during its process of historic development. It narrates materialised technological and economic strength, the inspiration and ambition of authority and it articulates the taste of architectural aesthetics, the fashions popular in social life in corresponding times. In the age of digital information, it becomes the synonym of the city. You can observe such figures of cities, not only read about them, in the television news of the BBC for example, coverage of national events in the USA, is always filmed using the White House or Congress Building as a background. Events filmed relating to San Francisco would not be complete without the panorama of the Golden Gate Bridge. When we talk about the Big Ben, it is unnecessary to clarify that it is in London; the same applies to the Eiffel Tower, Paris, and the Tiananmen Building, Beijing.

Symbolist construction is the creation of a kind of “landmark”, and landmarks should have “a clear form, and contrast with their background if there is some prominence of spatial location, and be unique or memorable in the context, more easily identifiable, more likely to be chosen as significant” [1]. Such a feature can become the identity of the city, illustrating all related elements, climate, topography, economy, culture and social development. It is an important component of urban development.

To enrich and reinforce the image of the city, urban developers are keen to grasp the opportunity to set up new symbolist constructions. Paris has the Eiffel Tower, the Arc de Triomphe and now the more monumental, the arch of La Defense; London has the Tower Bridge, Big Ben and, more recently, the London Eye. Similar intentions have been embodied in the rest of the world. The Chinese city of Qingdao is one city that has concentrated on creating symbolist constructions: a high-spined Gothic style church, Chinese pavilions, a glass tower, a communications tower and a huge, modernist steel sculpture have all been successively erected (appendix 1). However, only some of them have been regarded as symbolist constructions, enriching the image of the city. Some were intended to be representative of the city, or a beautiful memory of the city, but they are difficult to interpret as successes. The reasons, as Wu Liangyong points out, relate to the fact that “Re-building on a large scale in historic cities causes the loss of the memory of the cities; famous historic or perfect natural environments have been damaged because of the lack of harmony and balance in

unity in planning and designs”[2]. This paper is an attempt to review the process of the development of symbolist construction in Qingdao to understand what the symbolist constructions express and to interpret their success.

The various forms of symbolist constructions are related closely with the character of Qingdao. The city is rather distinctive among Chinese cities because of its age, history, topography, geographic environment and comparatively foreign influence.

### *The city context*

Qingdao lies at the southern tip of the Shandong Peninsula in eastern China. It is on the coastline and derives its character from nearby hills and the ocean and thereby, Qingdao is inseparable from its setting, the urban hill and the bay. The Yellow Sea and Jiaozhou Bay contain it on three sides.



Figure 1

Hills spreading from west to east limit the urban districts extending as a belt along the seashore. Among the hills, Taipin Hill is the tallest (about 150m elevation). The description, under an azure sky and beside a blue sea, red tiles and yellow walls resting attendant upon an undulating landform, setting off by green trees is the traditional figure of the city (the old district at present). Favourite views of Qingdao were usually the distant panoramas with a sense of water, seashore and space. The view from the Zhanqiao pier used to be cited often in tourist and promotional literature, and the vista of the old town area from Small Fish Hill is still mentioned (figure 1). The view to the west takes in the port and the economic and technological development zone and; to the east, the new high-rise business district; further east is the high-tech development zone.

Qingdao is the second largest container port in the nation, one of the commercial cores as well as a hub for tourism. Originally it was only a small fishing village but was set up for coastal defence in 1891 by the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Later on, it became a German concession for more than seventeen years, until 1914. The cityscape is one sequence left by German and later influenced by the West. Janet Kealey (the editor of China-Britain Trade Review Journal) states, “Qingdao, though, is less of northern Europe and more reminiscent of the Mediterranean, especially in bright autumn sunshine, with the buildings painted a warm shade of yellow.” Such a feeling would be even purer and stronger (before several modern skyscrapers were squeezed into the area in recent years) if you stood on the Zhanqiao Pier to overview the cityscape. From here the towers of a Gothic style, Catholic Church are silhouetted over red tiles and green trees. Nonetheless, you would not forget you were appreciating scenery of a Chinese city because you would be standing in front of a typical Chinese, octagonal, two-story pavilion at the end of the Zhanqiao Pier. These two buildings echo each other at a distance from the tallest point to the further point of the extension of land. The Catholic Church and the Zhanqiao Pier have been considered as the symbols of Qingdao through a long span of time.

### ***The Gothic style church***

The church building stands on the high hillock; its twin towers are sixty meters high, the buildings around it only four or five stories high maximum. If you arrived in Qingdao by ship, it would be the first construction that caught your eyes, and if you walked to the other corners of the city and you would still see its silhouette in your mind’s eye. Many people deemed that they could immediately recognise Qingdao when they see any picture of the twin spires. Now, however, it is not easy to see the twin spires and their crosses on account of several reasons; one of them is the new urban development.

Fifteen years ago, the Cathedral was the tallest building in the urban area, attendant upon three storey buildings along the beach. Now, with the erection of several new skyscrapers, its advantage in terms of height, orientation and form has disappeared. Under proposals to modernise the figure of the city, huge edifices have sprung up in the European style district. However, the consequence is not the bringing of unity to the city figure. Quite on the contrary, the balance and the harmony of the old district



in terms of size, colour and atmosphere has been interrupted. The outline of the city is no longer as a gently curving line following the undulating natural landform. The characteristic cityscape has been obscured and turned into a generalised cityscape. The unsatisfying quality is displayed in the whole as well as in its parts.

With buildings of super stores squeezed aggressively into Zhongshan Road, the traditional commercial area, the open space lost its amenity. As the shopping centre of the city, it was always crowded but now more with tourists than with local inhabitants. Behind this phenomenon there are two main reasons. One is that this is a popular tourist area, where many graceful and beautiful European style buildings and small shops are gathered, and the south end of Zhongshan Road is the Pier going attractive access to sea view. Another is that the eastern new district has been planned as a business area without its own, relatively concentrated, commercial area. A further tendency that can be seen is that the diversity of shops is threatened as they come to sell similar products, dried fish, umbrellas and snacks, focusing more and more on the requirements of tourists.

Today, it is only possible to see the Catholic towers through the gaps between new buildings (figure 2), for which you need to stand only at certain places on the Zhangqiao Pier. The Catholic Church can no longer stand as the symbol of the city, without its spatial prominence and conspicuous contrast. It has



Figure 2

been argued that the Catholic construction does not represent the mainstream culture, therefore there is no necessity to keep it as the tallest building, but it is a particular and important building and should be well preserved as a historic and cultural relic. However, the problem here is not the building itself, the problem is that the skyscrapers are inappropriate to the character of the old district, which is modeled on a human scale and is the only one in the nation with a European style. With recent developments of skyscrapers, the historic value of the city has been reduced.

### ***The Zhanqiao pier***

Of particular interest is the fact that the typical Chinese Pavilion called Huilan Ge (figure 3), situated at the end of Zhanqiao pier was built in 1933 and the Gothic style

church was built in 1934. These two extremely different buildings in terms of style and culture appeared almost at the same time and both then became the symbols of the city.

The Zhanqiao pier was originally a 220 meters long construction, built in 1892 as a military wharf. In 1933 it was extended to 440 meters long and at its end the Chinese Pavilion, called Hulan Ge, was built as an extension of Zhongshan Road. The Pavilion is the focus of the roads that run north-south in the old

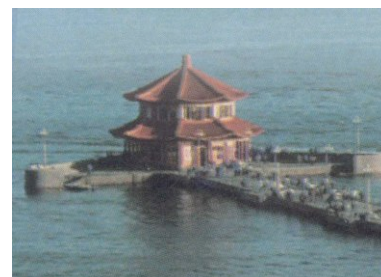


Figure 3

town district (Zhongshan Road, Qingdao Road and Anhui Road) and can be seen from any corner of Qingdao Bay. In space, the Pavilion is the core connecting elements around it. To its north, where the town lies, it echoes the Catholic Church in the distance as well as another pavilion on Small Fish Hill and the sight-seeing buildings on Signal Hill. To the south, the sea area, the Pavilion looks out onto Small Green Island, Xuejia Island further out and Zhucha Island dimly visible in the distance. The Zhanqiao Pier is the most important element continuing the uniqueness of the cityscape and its characterization.

Aside from these spatial, locational and scenic factors, the Zhanqiao Pier has some political and historical significance that makes it symbolic of Qingdao. The German army landed in Qingdao from here in 1897. Since then, the German army, the Japanese army and the Chinese army have all, one after the other, held military parades on the Pier over a span of eighteen



Figure 4

years to signify the possession of sovereignty or the recovery of sovereignty. In 1949, the Zhanqiao Pier became a public place, no longer under the control of any military power. At sunset, with fishing boats berth quietly in the bay, water splashing the levee and rocks, sending up white sprays, and people strolling around or rest on the balustrades (figure 4), the peaceful and leisurely scenery attracts and delights people, as many poems testify. It is the place to which tourists must go. In the summer of 1998, the number of visitors was more than sixty thousand per day in the peak season. Certainly, this is related closely to the transformation of Qingdao in terms of

economy, tourist business and its own urban expansion and development, and has a huge bearing on the cityscape.

The Zhanqiao pier continues to be a symbol of Qingdao. The reason can be summarised in the following points.

1. It takes advantage of the geographic position of Qingdao. Qingdao Bay is a perfect place for avoiding strong gales and enjoying rich sunshine.
2. It is sited in the middle of Qingdao Bay, avoiding the direct effect and close views of modern buildings.
3. It benefits from the beautiful natural landscape.
4. It is a creation of a Chinese traditional feature, which has made it distinctive and different from the rest of the world.
5. It used to be the symbol of privilege but now is a place serving all people.
6. It is the symbol of independence of the nation in the region of Qingdao.
7. It has survived the re-building in the old district, which has now been stopped, and the local authority has realised the significance of preservation of the old district.

### ***The glass tower***

In the early 1990s, when the government diverted the emphasis of urban development to the east and built the new business area, the city was entering the centenary year of its establishment. In order to commemorate this important moment in Qingdao's history, the government decided to set up a new symbolic construction. To this end the southern part of Huiquan Square was rebuilt in 1992 with its central glass tower.

Huiquan Square is sited at the junction of the old and the eastern new district. It is the transitional area between Zhongshan Park and the main bathing beach. It is bisected into south and north parts by a main traffic road. The south part is about 1.5 acres and has been arranged with a fountain pond in its central zone (figure 5). The pond is one hundred meters long, this



Figure 5

distance being intended to memorialise the city being one hundred years old. A glass triangular tower in the middle of the pond is 36.5 meters tall, indicating that the city develops forward every day of the year. There are many symbolic meanings in the

square but, not only has it not become a new symbol of the city, it has rapidly become ignored by citizens. In a PhD study a survey has been used to assess the degree to which the citizens of Qingdao appreciate the symbolic elements here. The aim of the PhD survey to understand the perception of citizens in relation to public open space in Qingdao. Fifty citizens have participated in this survey, but nobody has indicated they choose Huiqian Square in which to spend their leisure time and nobody suggests to tourists to visit it. Nobody considers it a symbol of the city because it is nondescript and anonymous. The main reason seems to be the ambiguous function in the matter of urban public open space, which caused it to become an unpopular place. There are several crucial reasons behind the failure of the effort to make it an effective new symbol.

1. The tower is erected in the centre, within the physical border of the square, but is not powerful to draw together nearby elements psychologically. It is neither an opposite view within the urban pattern nor visible from outside this area.
2. The tower is unable to “set up a local contrast with nearby elements” [3] and without advantage in the matter of scale and height. Several contemporary high buildings with less significance in terms of scenery border the south side and cross traffic flow borders to the north part, which is an area dominated by lawns and trees in ranks. The tower’s height of 36.5m is not enough to draw vision towards it and the choice of glass as a material makes it look not heavy enough to be the core of a space.
3. The totally foreign style of the design makes it without coherence in the context of the city and the tower is not more special than other parts of the city. This is the why citizens depicted it nondescript or anonymous.

Huiquan Square will be re-built soon and the adjusted plan is in an embryonic state. However, another controversial site is more difficult to renovate.

#### The Television tower

Inspired by the success of some communication towers becoming the symbolist construction of their city, the local government decided to erect a new tower as a communication facility and to provide a new urban viewpoint. Organisers of this project ambitiously intended to create a new figure to be the symbol of the city, like the Toronto Tower in Canada, the Seattle Tower in the United States and the Oriental

Peal Tower in Shanghai. However, the fatal weakness of Qingdao Sightseeing TV Tower is not the tower itself, is the site-selection and the relationship with nearby elements.

Taiping Hill is the tallest in the urban area, with an elevation of about 150m. It is the important focus of Qingdao natural landform, especially in Huiquan Bay and Fushan Bay. The site of the Tower is to be on the top of Taiping Hill and it is proposed to cut down the hilltop to make a flat area of about 5.3 acres. The hill has lost its summit and to it has been added a cap – the Tower, 232m tall (figure 6). The outline of the hills

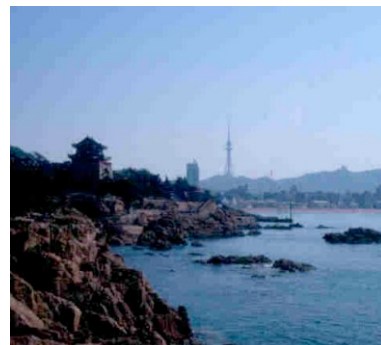


Figure 6

has been a part of the natural and gentle skyline, it forms is the identity of topography and a part of the beauty of the city. However, not only has the beautiful skyline lost a long-spanning curve with the interruption of this manmade structure, the harmony of the hills also has been damaged in scale and balance as a whole. Although it is a common idea to add buildings on top of hills in Qingdao, like the group of Chinese pavilions on Small Fish Hill and the group of mushroom-like buildings on Signal Hill, these are all suited to the scale of the hills they occupy. The negative effect brought by the Tower to the identity of natural landscape will not be possible to conceal.

Sight-seeing from a high place and economic investment in communication facilities are the assumptions of priority in this case. The consequence does not differ from the kind of result when that “the falls at Louisville are cut off by the elevated expressway or the hillsides of Cincinnati are threatened with being misused for construction sites”, though the attempts are different. Louisville and Cincinnati “have been obscured by sprawl and overrun by insensitive economic developments” [4], but tragically, part of Qingdao, at least, has been obscured by the aim to enrich the image of the city. “A skyline is the chief symbol of an urban collective”, and how different the natural skyline in Qingdao is compared with those in Sydney, New York and Minneapolis illustrated in W. Attoe’s book, *Skylines* [5]. Fortunately, the local authority realised this and has subsequently announced a prohibition of new buildings and constructions on in-town hills.

### *The huge modernist sculpture*

In 1996, the east new business district took shape with high-rise configuration. When Michael Hough writes about the urban region and the loss of identity in his book “Out of Place: Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape”, his comment on Hong Kong is that, “Without its mountain setting, it becomes any North American city – universal form created from economic forces” [6]. His discussion is very appropriate in describing the new business district in Qingdao. To illustrate his conclusion, Hough uses a picture of downtown Hong Kong. The picture shows, in front of crowded skyscrapers, a typical Chinese bronze lion to indicate the relationship with the Chinese context. The Wind of May Sculpture in Qingdao is functions similarly to the bronze lion in this picture, make a mark and to identify similar downtown areas.

May 4<sup>th</sup> Square is sited in front of the City Hall, along Fushan Bay, on a site totaling 10 hectares. In order to commemorate the May 4<sup>th</sup> Movement in 1919, an event significant to the nation as well as to Qingdao, it is named May 4<sup>th</sup> Square. As the view opposite City Hall and one of the main vistas of the square, it was supposed to be a new symbol of the



Figure 7

square and the new district and was written into the design competition proposal. All commenting groups, citizens, experts and officers have named the sculpture the Wind of May (figure 7). The designer has applied a spiral form to evoke ideas of a constant upward flow of energy. The sculpture is made of steel plate, about 30m high, 27m wide in diameter and it weight 700 tons. Its flaming red colour and spiral form sets up constraining contrast with nearby buildings and it is visible along Fushan Bay. Additionally, it makes sense with the modern style district within which it stands.

As soon as the May 4<sup>th</sup> Square appeared together with the Mind of May Sculpture being erected in 1997, it became a popular public place. The Square and Zhanqiao Pier were chosen in the PhD survey as the best places to go and visit in Qingdao and are evaluated as the symbols of Qingdao by citizens. Almost all interviewees mentioned that, when they want to celebrate something they will go to the May 4<sup>th</sup> Square spontaneously. And they have done this many times; for example, as soon as

they heard the news of the 2008 Olympic in Beijing, they could not stay at home, but went to the May 4<sup>th</sup> Square where many people had been celebrating.

The May 4<sup>th</sup> Square wins popularity because of the following.

1. The position – it backs the Town Hall and faces the sea.
2. The style – the modernist figure allows it be able to represent the style of development in this age and keeps it appropriate with the modern district.
3. The shape – its colour and spiral form makes it prominent in relation to the nearby buildings.
4. The spirit – it evokes an upward spirit.

The process of creating symbolic construction fully demonstrates the conflicts and contradictions of urban expansion and development. The challenge is not only the construction itself, but is its relation to the context of the city or the country. That is why the Context Analysis of Paris has become a model work for urban intervention carried out by I. M. Pei for the design of new business district (La Defense) in Paris in 1972. Other similar work, as well as the lessons that can be learned from Qingdao, highlight how important is the understanding of the city; the analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of an existing image of city is an essential step towards urban transformations.

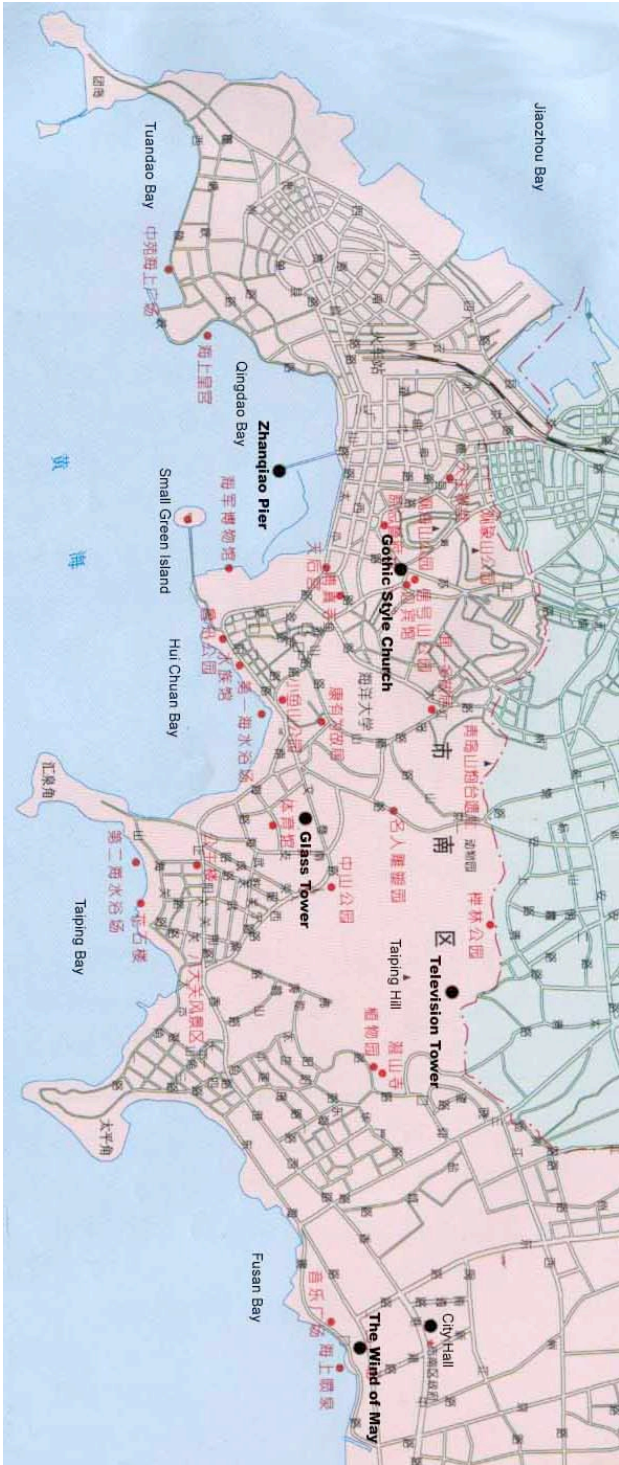
The creation of symbolist constructions either contributes the development of Qingdao or attracts from its distinctive qualities. The contribution will become the part of the context of the city and these lessons from practice should be remembered to inform further development:

1. The obscuring of the orientation of the city image which caused the disappearance of the Gothic spires; this was the dominant element to keep and symbolise the European style of the city, which made the image of Qingdao different from other Chinese cities.
2. The ignoring of natural elements which was illustrated by the erection of TV tower. The loss of harmony of the natural skyline outweighs the gain from a new sight-seeing place.

3. The dislocation and incoherence of culture is the most important to avoid especially where this connects memorialised events, which were illustrated by on the glass tower.

All constructions are the results of the consideration of options, they narrate what we have considered and what we have done. However they will be staying in a physical or psychological sense, they would not simply be a physical element; they might become a symbolic construction, or simply a construction.





Appendix 1 The position of the symbolic constructions

## **Appendix**

1. The position of the symbolic constructions

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The 10<sup>th</sup> conference of the IPHS, London, 11-13 July 2002  
**“CIVIC ART” DESIGN AND THE 1908-1909 COPENHAGEN EXTENSION  
COMPETITION\***

Hélène Vacher , Aalborg University  
E-mail: i12hv@sprog.auc.dk

This contribution considers the 1908-09 international competition for the greater Copenhagen area from a mono-centric perspective; that is, one concerned with the relationship between the early town planning movement in Denmark and the movement for conservation of the “historic city” and beyond, the integration of the existing environment, above all the built environment. The strategies for building “the modern city” and the devices employed to preserve its existing core and retain elements of its inherited surroundings have not developed as two worlds apart. By examining some of the nineteen entries of the Copenhagen competition, this paper emphasises various efforts undertaken by planners in developing a dynamic relationship between two polarities of planning: transformation and creation on the one hand and preservation and integration on the other. The main focus is to investigate how the attempt to safeguard selected built forms informs early 20<sup>th</sup> century planners’ approaches to the development of city building. In a different historical context – the colonial context – a global conservation of the “historic and/or indigenous city” was conceptualised by the turn of the last century. Taking the Copenhagen competition as a case study, this paper is considering a stream within town planning which might be termed the “civic art design” movement, the aim of which was the development of an integrated strategy of conservation. Importantly, planning cannot be thought of as a theory or practice which developed in a linear, univocal or progressive manner. Rather, it should be considered a highly complex and contradictory social activity embedded in time, place and symbolic representations. Design attempts which have not been realised should also be considered a part of planning history. The emphasis placed on the historic city at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century also pervades most of the entries to the Copenhagen competition, though it is not confined to conservative or romantic approaches but also appears as a part of a reform ideal. The following discusses a few attempts by planners to address the then prevailing views on city extension in order to shape contemporary urban development and make sense of the inherited, the present and the future.

### **A limited programme**

The Copenhagen competition belongs to the late wave of Austrian and southern German influenced extension planning and is contemporaneous with several important planning events. Among these are the Berlin competition (1909-1910), the London town planning conference (1910), the Burham & Bennett plan for Chicago (1907-1909) and the Gent Exhibition (1913), all of which broke ground for major innovations in town planning (Breitling, 1980:31-54). In the aftermath of the 1901-1902 annexation of the surrounding communes (Brønshøj, Valby and Sundbyerne), a move which tripled the area of Copenhagen and pushed the city’s population close to half a million mark (Holm & Johansen, 1941: 45), the decision to set up a competition was taken in 1905 by the municipality owning vast tracks of land in Brønshøj’s area. After seeking advice from the German Association of Architects and Engineers the program was prepared by the chief city engineer. Authorities from other cities were also consulted, particularly Helsinki and Gothenburg after their 1899 and 1900

competitions, respectively. However, the final Danish document remained rather vague or “open” in nature, with emphasis on the laying out of traffic arteries, district zoning and parks. The 1908-1909 competition was marked by several factors, not least the rapidly evolving political situation. The Social Democrats together with the Liberals were rising to prominence in the parliament, but also in the City council where they gained the majority in 1898. At the same time, industrialists and civil engineers were striving to curb the “laissez-faire” tradition prevalent in the nineteenth-century Copenhagen land-owner milieu. One of the leaders of these forces of renewal, City engineer Ch. Ambt (1849-1919), had played an important role in the laying out of new districts and the remodelling of the fortification zone by the end of the nineteenth century. He was a proponent of plans to improve the city’s sanitation infrastructure and to develop housing schemes. A pioneer of town-planning in Denmark, Ambt was instrumental in organising and bringing the competition to fruition. (Knudsen, 88:161-169) Thus, antithetical strategies as well as tensions over the form that public housing should take were both crystallised and overcome through the competition process.

In many respects, this competition had a very limited character. First, it was exclusively an “extension” competition; that is, the remodelling of the city core was disregarded. Second, two main spatial and functional entities were deliberately excluded from the competition: the harbour installations, and the commune of Frederiksberg counting by 1911, one sixth of whole urban area population. Frederiksberg administration had not been affected by the annexation. Most of the competitors respected these limits, but we shall see that a few audacious entries chose to ignore the former limitation.

To a certain extent, the international character of the competition was also limited (Vacher,2001). First of all, the jury was exclusively Danish, a condition which was much criticised by Swedish professionals. Second of all, only one foreign participant was among the prize winners. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the strong “nationalist” control which Denmark exerted on the competition should not be interpreted as evidence of insularity with regard to international influence, but rather as a vote of confidence in the mastering process accumulated by the municipality’s technical services. This was exemplified in the balanced project presented by the winner of the second prize, municipal engineer A. Bjerre. However, the competition did not pass completely unnoticed in the international professional press, and several French architects, among them Edouard Redont (1862-1942), had seriously considered participating. All major Swedish planners were represented, with the participation of Nils Gellersted (1875-1961), Per Olaf Hallman(1869-1941) and Fredrik Sundbärg (1860-1913), the latter associated with Albert Lilienberg (1879-1967), a figure whose renown was growing. Also noteworthy was the participation of architect Hans Bernoulli (1876-1959), then based in Berlin. One other participant should be mentioned among this international company. While a Dane and a staunch proponent of Danishness in planning, Alfred Raavad (1848-1933) was then working in Chicago. Having occasionally collaborated with the Burnham office, Raavad was deeply acculturated to American design and, accordingly, able to inject innovative features from overseas into his project. Finally, two scattered figures also involved in the competition bear mention: Spanish architect Ferran Romeu, who had been fairly active by the turn of the century on the Barcelona scene, and Ernst Bjercknes then secretary of the town regulation commission in Oslo.

## **2. The conservation dimension of extension planning.**

Coinciding with the second industrial revolution and the rapidly worsening conditions in burgeoning urban “milieu”, town planning developed as a multidisciplinary practice aimed at articulating recently developed technical fields such as urban engineering with social sciences

and with some architectural training. As an “applied discipline”, both the professional and academic world have tended to accept the legitimacy of this “discipline of discipline”, though this acceptance has wavered according to historical periods. Nevertheless, the rising legitimacy of planners tended to rely on the aim to realise “public goods” and in the economic sphere on the attempt to optimise resources. Obviously, there are many different interpretations of the very content of these ethical and technical frameworks. Ideally, the two spheres would be optimally balanced, thus ensuring the full legitimacy of the planner’s activity. But in praxis, this construct may fall a part for any number of reasons, among which are the possibility or inclination of planners to favour one sphere over the other. Town planning was frequently described as being founded on three main underlying dimensions. Obtaining the widest possible legitimacy was directly linked to the mastering of a comprehensive strategy of intervention based on these overlapping and interacting dimensions, each of which contributed to the continuous modelling of the social and spatial layout of the city.

The first dimension could be described as the dimension which envisions the city as “store-city”. That is, it is concerned with the city’s struggle to achieve a position of prominence within the regional or even international competition to attract productive industries and commercial development. During the period considered, there was a strong link between the nation-state building process and the metropolitan building process leading to what might be called the “networked city” (Tarr & Dupuy, 1988). The second dimension represents a pivotal concern for planning. It concerns the balance between social and spatial forms, a balance in which zoning might be employed as a regulatory tool. The third dimension addresses the static role of the inherited city and existing built environment. That domain was soon understood to be a specific field of intervention, a potential reserve of opposing force to the continuous voluntary or “spontaneous” reshaping of the city (Hartmann, 85). In the Scandinavian context studies have shown that planners with various professional backgrounds have chosen quite early in the century to insert this field in their current practice (Wetteberg, 1992:237-323). Among the tools a planner had at his disposal, “conservation” was frequently acknowledged as an efficient social and spatial harmonizer which might counteract the potentially disruptive forces of modernity.

In order to address how this third dimension was incorporated into some of the competition entries, it is first necessary to clarify the notion of “civic art design”. This early planning school, a relatively strong influence at the time, pervades most of the submissions to the Copenhagen competition.

In investigating Camillo Sitte’s influence on the city planning movement, Collins mentions that his contemporaries interpreted Sitte’s works as *Raumkunst* (truly spatial art) and the making of the city as a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art). (Collins, 65, p. 51-52). Meanwhile, attention has been drawn to the relatively rapid shift from a European movement centred primarily around a preservationist tendency toward a more global, urban approach aimed at integrating new trends in urban design, particularly “arts and crafts ideas of creative design” (Sutcliffe, 1981: 170-171).

Under the Belgian aegis, the “Art Public” Congress had, between 1898 and 1910, become a common platform of exchange for heterogeneous movements ranging from the American City Beautiful to the Austrian inspired *Städtebau*. This was the meeting place for ideas and strategies geared to effecting the conservation of the city core as well as to the promotion of aesthetics and cultural values in keeping with an assumed urban continuity. In addition to this strong focus on urbanity, culture and aesthetics – part of an heterogeneous struggle against “urban ugliness” – the congresses addressed many side issues such as the development of a

“nationally” rooted “builder culture”. While acknowledging the influential network created by this movement, its “limited potential” has been pinpointed by emphasising the untimely withdrawal of its Belgian urban conservation pioneer, Charles Buls (Smets, 95: 145-148).

In addition to the heterogeneity which informed its approach to design and its underlying doctrines, the growing rifts created by the international character of the movement and the increasingly nationalist turn its rhetoric was taking lay bare the weakness of this stream. Essentially, in the post-war years it was confined to Swiss Romandy strongholds: Geneva and Lausanne. Only in this country did the *Société d'Art Public*, the Romandy version of the German Heimatschutz movement, succeed in developing to such a level after the war that it remained relatively influential in planning.

Though this brief background has concentrated on the contradictions and ambiguities which proved hindrances for “civic art design”, it also opens the opportunity to summarise some features common to this stream.

First and foremost, the backbone of the movement remained unequivocally Austrian and south German. It took Sitte’s theories as its point of departure, theories which were further developed by epigones developing their skills and which ranged from an attention to the character of traditional cities to an adaptive sense of the layout of their peripheries. Secondly, there was a non-academic inclination with critics of the dominant Beaux-Arts traditions. Instead, it sought inspiration in either late gothic or vernacular constructive traditions. References to aesthetics as well as ethics betray a nostalgia for the values and crafts of the late medieval commune and a deep attachment to the idea of communal autonomy. A strong commitment was also given in favour of the renewal of design education and crafts through the development of applied arts. Most of the partisans of this movement turned their back on the “urban art” classical stream, still a major reference point for the overseas City Beautiful movement, which in this respect represents a very different world. Thirdly, the international character of this movement was counterbalanced by its preoccupation with a search for national cultural identity. However, this “national” construction became rather diluted in the sense that it was stretched between two extremes: a substantialist quest for the “little nation” and the “pan” syndrome. Lastly, the movement exhibited a deep concern for the “existing site” in the broadest sense, and accordingly for the preservation of ordinary buildings and clusters, as these represented an inexhaustible gold mine of inspiration for the reconstruction of identities.

If we move beyond this broad sketch of the characteristics of the movement, its heterogeneous nature with relation to emerging town planning theories is soon exposed. Nevertheless, the pressure that this four-fold approach could generate on the aforementioned third dimension of planning is, in itself, sufficient to justify a closer look.

To evaluate the potential of the “civic art” approach, we shall examine the influence of the later stages of the movement on the Copenhagen entries and, concurrently, the strengthening of the conservation movement within the historic city, taking into account the relationship between these two occurrences. The first part of the subsequent section will analyse the main aspects of the approach to conservation in the extension projects, taking into consideration planners’ booklets and their plans. The second part will be dedicated to a study of the conduct of various Societies and the activities of the professional press with regard to conservation, and analyse the unfolding of a few *intra muros* projects contemporaneous with the extension project.

### 3. Plans and programmes.

The booklets produced to accompany the plans submitted to the Copenhagen competition are of varying quality and do not do justice to the excellence of the plans themselves. Yet we shall take both sets of documents into account so as to evaluate the conservation character of a select few projects on the basis of two main criteria: their relevance to the international “civic art” stream and their work input.

The project named “Urania” by Carl Strinz (1869-194?), probably in deference to Tycho Brahe, was praised by the jury for its skilful mastering of design practice and its attention to detail. Then Chief City surveyor in Bonn – a city where the first surveyor school in continental Europe had been founded by 1870 – Strinz drew on the centuries old tradition of site topographical sensitiveness combined with a technical approach to parceling. For Strinz, a surveyor’s technical expertise was based on a reasonable compromise between existing parceling and carefully made transformational choices. Clearly inspired by the Sittian school of design, he was nevertheless critical of the master’s reluctance to resort to land consolidation schemes (Strinz, 1905). Again, for Strinz, a surveyor’s expertise should act as a guarantor against unsuitable patterns and parceling sizes and fully take the morphology of the existing topos into account.

Strinz’s plan for Copenhagen is, at first glance, remarkable in its design. It attempts to create a new city boundary based on a line of marshlands and lakes connected by a practically continuous green belt. Within that boundary, existing villages or existing connecting points would be used to generate urban centres. Some of those nuclei close to the boundary are “snail shaped”, or inward looking, and as such represent a clear invitation to swift residential urbanisation of the green belt area. This system employed on the periphery, where urban building types placed along “new streets” connect different nuclei, is based on the old roads network with but a few alterations made to facilitate secondary connections. In a few places, particularly Amager, where old roads were virtually non-existent, Strinz relied upon a similar pattern, a design of gentle curves, to generate new centres. Mannerist-shaped forms are absent. At the last, this method of design created a series of differentiated squares according to a Sittian “*turbinplatsen*” pattern. The remainder of the layout presented by this submission may be designated “free historicism” architecture, which is vaguely reminiscent of local architecture in which the skill of the surveyor displays far less virtuosity. While an exploration of the “picturesque” effect is its focal point, the will to reflect the bourgeois ethos, but also to differentiate space and to mark the directional lines of urbanisation are clearly perceptible in Strinz’ project. The form taken by the city core was perpetuated in the proposed southern fortification of Christianshavn, though a somewhat more diluted form, a park, was opted for. This intermediate solution reflected the choice adopted between 1872-1885, in which a park layout replaced the northern fortifications that had been dismantled in 1856. (Bo Larsson and Ole Thomassen, 91:14-18).

The second prize winner, a project presented by municipal engineer A. Bjerre, was quite different from “Urania” with regard to method in that it placed a strong emphasis on zoning. Far less importance was given to topographical details, and Bjerre made a direct reference to the garden city ideal. The details of this project were later used as a guideline by the municipality’s technical services with the circumstantial addition of some of Strinz’ ideas. Bjerre also utilized the old road network as a basic canvas. But lacking is the sense of using the networked patterns in a generative way. Yet, the notion of delimiting the new urban areas is still present. He proposed a tree-lined avenue linking the main park surrounding the city. The relative attractiveness of this green and blue city boundary – also much more vague than the corresponding element in the Strinz project – seems to favour maintaining a low density in

the “in-between” district. But while no precise instructions are given for the filling up of the plan, a few valuable indications are present. First of all, the author insists upon the need to respect the rural character of the place. At the same time, he is critical of the so-called “picturesque effect” – e.g. arbitrarily built curved streets – and insists upon the necessity of a layout that would facilitate clear orientation as in the “old Copenhagen”. Moreover, Bjerre devotes attention to the skyline of the proposed new districts. Areas with relatively high building density should be ensconced on the hills and the residential villas situated on the lowland. According to Bjerre, this device would help create aesthetic contrasts in a country characterised by soft topography. With regards to the historic city core, Bjerre’s scheme adhered to a coherent “delimiting” approach. To the north, he envisioned that the tree-lined boulevard already in existence could be sufficient to protect the city from disruptive connections with the extension zone. To the south, his plan would preserve the existing fortifications and moats almost without exception, and reinforce this line with a tree-lined boulevard bordering a green belt. Bjerre emphasised the “important role of Christianshavn in the history of the city” (Bjerre, 1908).

A classical quadrant device, opening up Christianshavn to the surrounding Amager districts, is the only alteration to the fortification line proposed by the Bjerre project. Furthermore, the engineer’s determination to protect the city core from disruptive force is underlined by the conspicuous absence of new intra-core connections, the bridges between the two main entities being relegated to the external ring system. Finally, the booklet accompanying Bjerre’s project also recommended that all industrial activities be removed from the inner core, and called for improved access to a long city embankment for public leisure.

Though it did not receive any special recognition, another significant Danish entry which focussed on the protection of the city core bears mention. Egil Fischer’s “*Millionbyen*” (a population of one million was expected by 1950), belonged to the series of projects which placed a great emphasis on zoning. His contribution was later heralded for its originality by leading Danish planners (Forschammer, 1942: 28; Rasmussen, 1994:141-142). Having worked for the architects at the head of the “national romantic” movement – Martin Nyrop and Martin Borch among others – Egil Fischer had already won significant accolades as an architect and as a planner, and was a member of the “anti-academic” *Den Frie Arkitektforening*. (Knudsen, 1988). He opens his booklet by proclaiming that “to protect the historic and architectural heritage to be destroyed by traffic, the latter must be channelled outside the narrow lanes of the old city...” (Fischer, 1908). Thus, Fischer systematically avoided any encroachment on the heart of the city. His plan utilised the existing radial highways only partially, instead proposing a northern transverse axis to channel part of the traffic pressure to the district beyond the lakes and then to the “Jarmer tower” junction, driving the pressure tangentially towards the city core. He also deliberately exceeded the competition guidelines by including plans for the construction of a new industrial harbour beyond Christianshavn fortifications in his proposal. His idea was to facilitate a quick escape from the city via the northern residential district leading toward the prestigious northern countryside. Not only did Fischer believe that the city core should be protected from heavy traffic, but he also believed it should be free of buildings surrounded by hectic activity: hospitals, army barracks, private schools and the like. In 1907, Fischer had been involved in a privately funded project aimed at bringing about a partial renovation of the south-western portion of the Christianshavn bastion. The project consisted of creating a double opening onto Amager to revitalise a depressed district. First, a double lane entry was accommodated between two southern bastions, which were preserved, and further north, a *trivium*-like form was created to provide access to Amager and lend a classical look to the inner district. It is



noteworthy that Fischer returned to this early, comprehensive strategy of conservation in the *Millionbyen* project, though in a slightly watered down version. While Fischer's booklet does not describe the layout of the extension zone in detail, he makes his stand on adaptive design in the respect that he advocates employing existing levelling for the design of secondary streets and lanes. In the years following the competition, Fischer was to become deeply involved in the heated debate on the new construction law, and as a member of the *Society for the Embellishment of the Capital City* he gave a full and original account of his view on town planning (Fischer, 1914:43-77). After a long hiatus from town planning activities subsequent to the failure to implement his prize-winning project for the layout of the old train station ground in 1911, Fischer made a comeback after World War II by designing and implementing the first comprehensive conservation plan for the port-city of Dragør, south of Copenhagen.

We should briefly consider the contributions which won the third and fourth prizes in relation to the above projects, paying special attention to any contradictions. The third prize, "Copenhagen vaaben", was captured by two of the leading architects of those years, Ulrik Plesner (1861-1933) and Aage Langeland Mathiesen(1868-1933), seconded by an engineer and a landscape designer. Far less attention is given here to the existing topography and inherited road layout. The booklet is minimal and the plan hurriedly designed. Plesner and Mathiesen were among the main proponents of the neo-baroque style in Denmark (Millech, 1951:253-59). By this time, this style had begun steadily supplanting national romanticism. Unfortunately, the architectural drawings made for this bronze medallist have disappeared from the archives; a good part of the interest of this contribution may have been concentrated in this very aspect. With regard to the city core, one aspect of this proposal – incidentally, this aspect was also presented in one of the Swedish entries – is worth noting. The cohesion of the city core is largely maintained, but Plesner and Mathiesen proposed dismantling the fortifications and replacing them with a large, crescent shaped lake reflecting the northern lake. A large park was to further separate the core from the new districts of Amager.

The fourth prize winner, entitled "*Anno 1977*" (refers to the fact that the population was expected to reach 1,250,000 by that year), came from engineer O.K. Nobel (1868-1916) and architect H. Rasmussen (1871-1952). The pair took a contrary stance to many aspects detailed in the above discussions of other plans. *Anno 1977* devoted very little attention to the new limits of the city. Rather, the extension layout was conceived to protect "the larger part of existing gardens and plantations". Accordingly, in addition to presenting a building design characterised by relatively high density criteria along the main arteries, the project advised that two story homes and rows of abutting houses\_with back gardens be added, ascribing to the "old Danish art of building". With regard to the extension, the booklet makes explicit the conviction that most of the "curbed streets" of existing villages should be preserved. And with regard to the periphery of the city core, the demolition which took place in the late nineteenth century is openly lamented. Moreover, the authors rejected the landscaping strategy adopted for the northern bastions. In short, they believed that "whatever remained, must be conserved" (Nobel & Rasmussen, 1908). With a slightly dismissive attitude, the planners remarked that "modern districts and decorative parks can be found by the hundreds around the world", while the fortification site, rendered so memorably by a Norwegian painter, still emanated a strong feeling of uniqueness.

Alfred Raavad's "Wayland Smed" bears mention in relation to the topic of "civic art design". This is probably one of the most interesting Danish proposals; in fact, its somewhat provocative design made such an impression on the jury that the municipality decided to purchase the plans. The written description is also imaginative with photos and sketches depicting the way of life of city people and forms of urban leisure. Presenting himself

officially as a “consulting engineer and civic designer”, Raavad had carefully prepared a symbolic return to Denmark after eighteen years in Illinois with a free series of articles on the subject of “the architect as sociologist” published throughout 1908 in the journal entitled *Arkitekten*. After the war he finalised and published a full fledged town-planning treaty already conceived before the turn of the century. (Raavad, 1929)

His plan constituted an imaginative mixture of the “city beautiful” movement and European “civic design”, but it was also informed by a search for Danishness, a “rooting” which was overwhelming in Raavad’s convoluted and visionary discourse. At first, Raavad seems to prioritise what we have designated the first dimension of planning, energetically promoting Copenhagen as an important hub for an international sea route. But Raavad goes on to consider other dimensions thoughtfully, particularly the relationship between the “old” and the “new”. In his proposal, the macroform of the city is drastically transformed by the creation of an Øresund channel designed to deflect the majority of the navigation away from the city centre and to open the opportunity for the construction of large-scale harbour installations and industrial districts in south-western Copenhagen. Fascinating as this aspect of the plans might have been, Raavad was heavily criticised for being out of touch with the economic reality in Copenhagen. However, it could be argued that, in regard to the historic centre, this plan was one of the well defined long-term options to protect the city core, ease intra-urban traffic, concentrate most new industries to the south and make the most of the southern bastions which faced the open sea. Raavad’s argument was also aiming at changing the relationship between the city and the sea. For a sea port, the Danish capital was uncommonly introverted. Raavad was convinced that Copenhagen should be developed as a summer sea resort for the leisure and health benefit of its inhabitants, and accordingly, he designed a park and beach complex facing Amager. With regard to the extension, only outlines were suggested with landscaping devices and sketches of new urban nuclei repeating a somewhat ingenious if obsessive pattern of squared clusters or groups of housing incorporating inner pedestrian space almost isolated from transit traffic. Furthermore, in the proposal, the “natural environment” of marshes, woods and meadows which made up the city boundary would be maintained and, if need be, reinforced by a few plantations of dark conifers. With respect to the extension zone, Raavad underscored his belief that the “understanding and development of existing topography” should function as a cornerstone (Raavad, 1909-1919:95). He mocked the then current “Nordic tradition” of grouping rural buildings in a picturesque manner in open air museums when rural villages throughout the country were being dismantled. In other words, Raavad probably took the clearest stance on this issue, maintaining that existing surrounding villages belonged to Copenhagen’s “historic heritage” and should not only be preserved but also developed “naturally” in harmony with their surroundings. In the same vein was his suggestion to preserve or to re-establish the ancient toponymy. He finally advised that a decentralised administration be employed in the peripheries, taking as its model the London borough system. In step with the movement for the preservation of historic villages, he advised that eleven “civic-centres”, modelled on the old Danish villages with a central square with its symbolic Nordic “ting”, be created.

Leading Swedish planners credited with having introduced the Sittian school into Sweden were also among the competitors. Their works were quite dissimilar from the projects described above, displaying a wide variety of approaches indicative of professionals who may be described as having formerly been under the influence of the “civic art” stream. For example, F. Sundbärg was seconded by Lillienberg, then beginning his prolific career as a planner, in his “Stor-København” project. Sundbärg described “great cities” as those modelled by forces which should be harnessed to avoid the development of contradictory

impulses. He believed that, in the sense that the infrastructure network comprises relatively immovable objects and is therefore constraint producing, it should be given maximum attention in the plan. His proposal would preserve the whole of the core city as well as the fortification for “their historic value” (Sundbärg, 1908). But as the city centre was being progressively dedicated to commercial and business activities, Sundbärg conceded that enlargement might in many cases be justified if it were to lead to easier access to the centre. With respect to the periphery, this “big city” proposal combined segmental curved ring roads with engulfed axial patterns. In addition, the desirability of a “system” linking “natural space” is underlined. Nothing is said of the villages, though. As for the existing road network, major portions of it still appear on the plan as polarities, but seem submerged in the new network. Sundbärg seems far more concerned with the importance of architectonic effects – perspectives with possible axial closure, for example – in the newly built districts. In short, the plan displays a lot of variety and details as wealth of possible picturesque effects but demonstrates little conservation spirit.

Gellersted’s “For byen og borgerne” worked along the same lines, presenting the city centre as a connecting point and giving zoning organisation a top priority. Hallman’s “Richesse oblige” program is minimalist, remarkably silent with respect to the “historic city”. On the plan, existing radials stop short of the edge of the city centre. Large portions of the existing primary and secondary network in the periphery are left untouched, but existing radial arteries are utilised in the periphery to vertebrate growth lines. Only the nuclei of outlying residential areas are neatly indicated in curbed networked entities.

The final project we will consider at this stage, “Grønne Baand”, seems to have been the first full-scale extension plan authored by Hans Bernoulli, who had been installed in Berlin since 1902 (Nägelin-Gschwind, 1993). Though Bernoulli had assisted in the seminar of Brix and Gensmer at Charlottenburg from 1907-1909, the background for his participation in the Copenhagen competition has still not been fully investigated and, regrettably, his original plans are lost. In his proposal, Bernoulli expresses the fact that his aim is a “quiet and harmonious” implementation of the project. Bernoulli clearly refrains from suggesting any violation of the city core. In addition, the importance of ancient country routes in ensuring a spatial and temporal continuity are underlined, and Bernoulli emphasises the advisability of maintaining the surrounding villages. Although his plans for the secondary extension network display some rigidity, Bernoulli carefully avoids any mannerisms and, in the end, demonstrates a close affinity with many of his Danish counterparts.

#### **4. Toward the invention of the “historic city.”**

This international competition was not directly concerned with the future of the core-city. Yet, the Copenhagen city center was hardly a static entity at this time. Relatively ambitious projects had been elaborated prior to the competition; for instance, a privately funded competition calling for plans that would transform part of Christianhavn into a residential district. (Malling, 59:42-43) Also, the municipality organised in 1910 a competition for projects that would create a business centre on the old railway station plot. The old districts of the centre had been subject to other wide-reaching redevelopment projects.

Its very core, Slotholmen, had since the great fire in Christianborg in 1884 gone to rack and ruin. During this long period of “urban vacuity”, the archaeological office of the national museum had initiated digs for the remains of the fortress of Absalon, the “founding father” of the city, and multiplied the number of excavation sites which might throw some light on early city development. Not only was the heart of the city waiting for the reconstruction of Christianborg, a project put up for bidding in 1904, but it was also conditioned by the slow

reorganisation of Slotholmen "island". The demolishing of old structures, opening of new streets, and filling up of canals and the old port basin had been underway since the 1880s. And in the end, the new profile of the district was left hanging in uncertainty when, in 1906, T. Jørgensen's project was selected as the winner. Compared to Martin Nyrop's "italo-nordic" town-hall which was built between 1892-1905, Jørgensen's massive, neo-classical design seemed already to move the city away from the romantic period. At this same time, spatial transformations were also being effected in many districts.

The morphology of the old district of Kongens Nytorv was transformed by urban redevelopment projects, with streets opening and widening schemes. The municipal council backed the drive to create a "city district" comprising general stores and business offices. Here, street widening had been initiated during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and such activities were still commonplace. Reflecting the academic point of view, the journal *Arkitekten* ran a special section commenting on the "old and new" in the transformation of streets and squares. The widening of streets was generally accepted. By the turn of the century, street widening activities were threatening Christian IV's famous massive structure known as the "Round tower". As the tower was blocking an important enlargement scheme, leading academic architects competed to find a tasteful compromise; some even suggested shifting the tower. But for once, the immovable past withstood the irresistible force of modernity. From time to time, the demolition of ordinary old houses and also the erasure of Copenhagen parceling was contested, and surveys and photographic campaigns were increasingly encouraged. With regard to new constructions, fellow architects were usually advised to use caution. Clearly, blatant eclecticism was condemned when such buildings were planted next to buildings of historic value, and by 1905, the Academy was building pressure to develop a legal framework bringing statutory protection to secular buildings of historic interest.

Further east, the future of the district of Bremmerholm close to Nicolaj church was also discussed. The church had burned down near the end of the eighteenth-century and had never been restored; the poor hygienic standard which plagued its surroundings, its meat market and lanes of ill-repute were pin-pointed. Proposals to restore the church and renew its physical and social environment were numerous. Critics focused particularly on the new spire proposed by brewer and patron of the arts Carl Jacobsen and contested by preservationists. The skyline of the city was punctuated by towers, spires and domes, and by that time, this issue was frequently discussed by art historians and young architects. Painters and artists were highly conscious of the city profile, as they placed aesthetic value in the fragility of the soft landscape and the seashores. As such, they vehemently opposed the Copenhagen spire mania inspired by a "beautification" ideal.

On the whole, this quick overview suggests that the strategies and motives which "urban" professionals and amateurs exerted on the inherited urban fabric were many. The feeling of historicity was codified in several distinct, though non-conflicting manners. The "historic city" was nevertheless emerging from the multi-dimensional process of transformation occurring in the inner city but also in the "grey area" of peripheral districts born after the dismantling of the northern fortifications. This buffer zone separating the city from its, still, rural surrounding had developed in large part as a non-planned, non-rural yet non urban-area which was widely denounced for its disorder and ugliness.

That is, the processes of inner transformation and outward city building were intricately linked in the slowly emerging image of the "big city". Thus, with digging activities and extension planning schemes representing two extremes, the past and future of the city were simultaneously put under scrutiny during this period.

In that respect, it was not at all fortuitous that, with but one exception, each of the Danish architects participating in the 1908 competition was affiliated with the Society for the Preservation of Old Buildings (*Foreningen til gamle Bygningers Bevaring*). Equally noticeable was the fact that most were also members of the Society for the Embellishment of the Capital City (*Foreningen til Hovedstadens Forskønnelse*). This society had appointed landscaper-gardener and gold medal winner in the 1902 Düsseldorf exhibition Edvard Glaesel to sit on the 1908 jury.

Founded in 1885, this Embellishment society had long been dominated by Carl Jacobsen. Peopled by many of the capital's leading citizens, the Society was mostly occupied with upgrading the cultural prestige of Copenhagen, and had only supported limited beautification schemes which followed the time-honoured Danish tradition of "urban art". Nearly defunct at one point, the society enjoyed a renaissance starting in 1902, and membership reached the thousand mark by 1910 (Asmussen, 1910). Gradually, the *Forskønnelse* shifted its interest toward new aspects of the urban scene. Contested actions like the colouring of facades in the city centre brought testimony of growing attention toward the built environment and this "patrician" society began also discussing new fields like planning issues and legislation (Asmussen, 1914). These campaigns were not directly related to the preservation of old buildings, but *Forskønnelse* did defend the architectonic quality of the city and of its surrounding sites to the point of becoming closely associated with the Danish society for the preservation of natural amenities (*Naturfredningsforeningen*), formed in 1911.

By the end of the century, restoration and conservation questions concerning the urban built environment were raised more and more frequently. In particular, this question crystallised around an impressive cluster of late Renaissance buildings known as the "six-sisters" situated next to the old stock exchange, a jewel of Christian IV-period architecture. "The six" were scheduled for the wrecking ball as part of a street widening scheme. Representative of the point of view of builders and the building industry, the *Arkitekten Tidsskrift for Bygningsvæsen* had lightly mocked the "newly fashionable and immoderate taste" of architects for "historic" buildings. The fact that a "historicist" set was purposely chosen for the Danish pavilion at the 1900 World Exhibition in Paris had been at this very moment widely criticised in Denmark; commentators pointed out that its paraphrase of timber framing architecture was ridiculous in an age of "fairy-electricity" (Ottosen, 1984:24). However, this professional journal had backed a project aimed at restoring the integrity of the "six sisters" and protecting the general atmosphere of the old port from "aesthetic vandalism". By the turn of the century, the late Renaissance buildings were no more, having been destroyed to make room for a bank. The journal then hailed the "tasteful" project authored by architect Axel Berg, claiming it was in tune with its neighbour built by Christian IV. An "historicist" construct had finally prevailed over a well-defined preservationist project.

In 1892, students at the academy of architecture had formed a society (*Foreningen af 3. December 1892*) geared to the promotion of field work surveying old building and to awakening interest in traditional architecture among their fellow students. In the same year, the National Museum set up an administrative section for historical buildings. Meanwhile, the Danish Historical and Topographical Society (1898) was behind efforts to cultivate popular interest in cultural heritage and, in particular, for early urban history. A military engineer, M.A. Ramsing, rose to prominence for his work in conducting extensive land surveys. (Gabrielsen, 1999) But amateurs were also mobilised. In fact, Ramsing relied heavily on the field work of a school teacher who returned to various excavation sites again and again until his death in 1907.

All told, university professors, cultural historians, art critics, museum curators, artists and architects were employed in this drive to elaborate a scientific corpus to form the background of this movement focusing on city history and, occasionally, on the history of buildings. But even skilful amateurs enamoured of national heritage and concerned about the rapidly evolving urban and rural landscapes put in time. Several illustrated books about the “old Copenhagen” were published, picturesque post-cards were drawn; these seconded a growing corpus of architectural drawings, surveys and scientific photographs which sustained the project to compile a systematic inventory. A veteran of restoration work done on many historical buildings, Erik Schiødte (1849-1909) was a founding member of the Academic Society of Architects, established in 1879. He was actively involved in the movement as a contributor to various journals and reviews concerned with the architectural history of traditional buildings. One of his seminal works was published by the “Future society” (*Fremtiden*) between 1894 and 1897, and gave a comprehensive overview of the ordinary built environment of “old Copenhagen” with emphasis on streets, lanes, morphologies and the atmosphere associated with vernacular urban architecture.

The Society for the Preservation of Old Buildings, formed in 1907, projected a clear-cut scientific profile. Nevertheless, it was encouraged by an already very active, informed citizen milieu to initiate a campaign supporting building conservation legislation to complete the 1861 law on religious buildings (Lorenzen, 1909:3-14). A young historian, Vilhelm Lorenzen, was to act as the mouthpiece of this society for more than half a century, writing prolifically and working tirelessly to convince his fellow Danish citizens of the historical and aesthetic quality of their architectural and urban heritage. Lorenzen was also associated with the founding of the National Association for Better Building. This association promoted the quality of ordinary Danish construction, an art which was displayed at the National Exhibition of 1909 in Aarhus. He was also to become a member of the Inspection Commission for Historical Buildings set up in 1918, and later a founding member of the Dansk Byplanlaboratorium, which had laid down the framework for modern Danish planning by 1921.

### **Concluding remarks.**

The entries to the 1908-1909 competition were not exhibited during the Baltic exposition in 1914 and were hardly mentioned in the post-war professional literature. The attempt for a new building legislation for Copenhagen failed in those years and the first Town planning act was taken in 1925 only. The idea of implementing some guidelines of the winning prizes was no longer being considered important or practical after 1920, but for the 2<sup>nd</sup> award. A. Bjerre who was assistant engineer at the time of the competition became City engineer in 1927. When the Danish town planning centre was founded in 1921, the collection of statistics was the main concern of the leading figures and Charles J. Schou, for example, explicitly rejected the pre-war design oriented approach to planning which he considered outdated.

At the time of shifting paradigms towards the functional and technical principles, or even the “taylorised” city, which could be noticed in Vienna or Berlin Copenhagen competition had maintained the primacy of design. Most of the entries, especially the awarded ones suggest the pervading influence of references favouring ethical as well as esthetical values based on the continuity of cultural heritage. Quality was given to both the inherited built fabric and the natural environment. A great deal of attention was displayed in order to sustain those values in the projects and to translate them in planning proposals. Innovative deflecting devices were imagined for protecting the core city and conservation schemes were designed for the remaining fortification system.

The interest given to the topography, the landmarks and the natural landscape was a dominant feature for the layout of the extensions, particularly among Danish contestants. They also took in practical consideration the cityscape by designing point of views and most often the conservation of the villages' layout and built fabric. As the whole it was the "uniqueness of place", the "genius loci" and the heritage of esthetical values which architects, surveyors and engineers alike were attempting to encapsulate.

This dominant tendency was echoing a broad movement maturing since the 1890s in Denmark for the development of historical topography, medieval archaeology and old buildings preservation and aiming at a patriotic consciousness and identity. Obviously planning cannot be grasped from a sole "internalist" perspective. A web of influences and forces was continuously reshaping the emergence of new planning strategies and expected expertise. However, the civic art design which was strongly committed to historical values was also innovative and gathered gifted professionals. Even though it did not succeed in generating a comprehensive policy for the practice and the theory of the "conservation dimension" in planning it has developed imaginative features and occasionally marked some aspects of the "modern city" and left valuable experience for later planning conjunctures.

Hélène Vacher

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**Gothic Vision versus Colonial Reality:  
The Making of Christchurch, New Zealand, 1850-1900**

**par**

**Ian Lochhead  
School of Fine Arts  
University of Canterbury  
Private Bag 4800  
Christchurch  
NEW ZEALAND**

**[i.lochhead@fina.canterbury.ac.nz](mailto:i.lochhead@fina.canterbury.ac.nz)**

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## Abstract

The New Zealand city of Christchurch was founded in 1850 as the capital of the Church of England-sponsored Canterbury settlement, an idealistic colonising venture 'stamped with a definite religious character, [and] formed not in order to get rich but to live under congenial civil institutions'. Modelled on English cathedral and collegiate towns, colonial Christchurch was dominated by Gilbert Scott's centrally-located Anglican cathedral and an extensive collection of public and ecclesiastical buildings in the Gothic Revival style. Perhaps inevitably, the realities of the colonial environment were continually in conflict with this vision of a modern Gothic city imbued with civic virtue; as Samuel Butler pointed out in 1860 'people here are busy making money: that is the inducement which led them to come in the first instance'.

As a result, colonial Christchurch was a city of contrasts; its Gothic Revival public buildings, standing within the rigid grid of a new-world city plan, competed for attention with the Renaissance classicism of the city's commercial architecture. Competing visions of the city were exemplified by the cluster of cultural and educational institutions to the west of the Avon River, and the concentrated commercial centre to the east. The religious divide between Protestant and Roman Catholic was graphically expressed through the location and architectural style of rival cathedrals; the Gothic Anglican Cathedral in the city's central square and the neo-classical Roman Catholic Cathedral marginalised to the south east. While the imported architectural styles of the Old World, with their burdens of memory and tradition, shaped the form of the new city, they were also modified by climate, local materials and needs. Free from the constraints of the past, and without a history of its own, the colonial city nevertheless sought to construct an historical framework through its architecture.

This paper will chart the evolution of Christchurch over its formative first fifty years, and examine the ways in which Christchurch's urban identity was shaped by the underlying conflicts of its colonial history. It will also examine the links between the ideas which shaped the colonial city and the introduction of modern planning principles into New Zealand in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The New Zealand city of Christchurch was founded in 1850 as the capital of the Church of England-sponsored Canterbury settlement, an idealistic colonising venture 'stamped with a definite religious character, [and] formed not in order to get rich but to live under congenial civil institutions'. (Carrington, 1950 p. 68) Canterbury was the last and most ambitious of the New Zealand Company's planned settlements in New Zealand, the culmination of a decade of systematic colonisation that planted settlements in Wellington (1839) and Taranaki (1841) in the North Island and Nelson (1842), Otago (1848) and Canterbury in the South. (Fig 1)



**Figure 1 The Canterbury Plains showing the site of Christchurch in the middle distance.**

The New Zealand Company's promotional publications emphasised the peculiarly British character of the new settlements, a quality that was, according to Edward Gibbon Wakefield, accentuated by the geographical position of New Zealand:

the physical circumstances of these islands – their relative position, their soil, climate, harbours, rivers, and valuable natural productions – all invite Englishmen to settle there. (Wakefield, 1837, p. 43)

In New Zealand British colonists would discover a better world, unencumbered by the deficiencies of the old.

New Zealand was to be a colony of agricultural settlements where a land-owning gentry and a dependent peasantry would dwell in amity as they had done in the rural England of yore. Here the errors of the industrial age would be avoided – its poverty, its slums, its feverish competition ... purged of its baser elements, society would return to the ancient pieties of church, State, and hearth. (McCormick, 1955, p. 307)

Even though the reality of colonial New Zealand proved to be very different from what the New Zealand Company's propaganda foretold, the concept of a 'Better' or 'South Britain' proved remarkably resilient. In 1854 Thomas Cholmondeley claimed that

the New Zealander will retain more of the Briton than any other colonist, for the following reasons. We have no other colony, which so much resembles England in climate, size and position. It is not too much to say, that New Zealand will become an exact copy of England. Churches, houses, roads, inns, hedges, trees, will be almost entirely English.... (Cholmondeley, 1854, pp. 342-5)

This view of New Zealand was linked to the belief that it was the destiny of the colony to become a great maritime and trading nation, occupying a position in the South Pacific comparable to that of the 'mother country' in the Northern Hemisphere. New Zealand would also preserve British values and culture as the old world slipped into senescence and decay, an implication that lay behind Macaulay's image of the New Zealander standing on London Bridge and sketching the ruins of St Paul's Cathedral. (McCormick, 1955 p. 301 ff)

While these ideas were linked to New Zealand as a whole they had a particular relevance to the Canterbury Settlement. (McCormick, 1940, p. 22.) The Canterbury Association, the prime mover behind the settlement, was founded in 1848 in order to revitalise the New Zealand Company's colonisation programme and specifically to establish a Church of England settlement. The individual character of the venture depended less, however, on Wakefield's well established views on colonisation than on John Robert Godley's amplification of the Wakefield system. (Webb, 1957 pp. 135ff) Godley's disillusionment with the state of contemporary English society and his experience of the

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Irish potato famine of 1845 made him fear the advent of democracy in Britain and convinced him that Western civilisation was on the point of collapse. The rise of industrialisation, the gathering strength of capitalism and the concomitant decline in 'the old idea of an interdependent social system, in which the profit motive was secondary to considerations of stability and moral welfare' (Webb, 1957 p. 140) were seen by Godley as the principal causes of the state of unrest in contemporary English society.

Godley saw a resurgent Church of England as the crucial agency for ensuring social renewal and cohesion and advocated a settlement that incorporated, from the outset, a complete diocesan hierarchy from bishop to parochial clergy. Canterbury was to be a return to the kind of stratified but caring society central to the Victorian medieval ideal. The settlement would be centred on a great cathedral church and supported by its own college. As a graduate of Christ Church, Oxford, Godley saw that unique association of medieval cathedral and collegiate foundation as a microcosm of the settlement he planned for New Zealand. It is no accident that Canterbury's principal city was named Christchurch.

Ever since the publication of Pugin's

*fs20 Contrasts* (1836) and Carlyle's *Past and Present* (1842) an idealised view of the medieval past had been central to contemporary criticism of British society and the membership of the Canterbury Association included many individuals who were members of the Ecclesiological Society or who had patronised Gothic Revival architects, Pugin in particular. The Association itself signalled the intended architectural character of Canterbury when it commissioned the leading Gothic Revival architect, William Butterfield, to design a model chapel-school for the settlement in 1849. (Lochhead, 1991) In addition, the first contingent of colonists included a young architect, Benjamin Mountfort, who had trained in the office of another leading Gothic Revivalist, Richard Cromwell Carpenter. (Lochhead, 1999) This first group of settlers also included influential individuals such as James Edward FitzGerald, first Superintendent of Canterbury and an amateur architect committed to the Gothic Revival cause. As editor of first the *Lyttelton Times*, and subsequently the *Christchurch Press*, FitzGerald was a vocal supporter of the Gothic Revival cause as well as a consistent advocate of the importance of public architecture in shaping the taste of the new settlement. (Lochhead, 1993)

When the first four ships of Canterbury Association settlers arrived in Lyttelton, the principal port of the colony, in December 1850, they found that little had been accomplished in implementing the essential public works that had been promised, and even less achieved in building churches and founding a diocesan establishment. Early in 1851 the Reverend Thomas Jackson, Bishop Designate of Canterbury, arrived, bringing with him designs for a temporary timber church by George Gilbert Scott, by then well on the way to becoming the most prolific of Victorian Gothic Revival architects. Jackson's visit was brief, he was never confirmed as Bishop and Scott's plans remained unbuilt. Canterbury's first church was the ambitious, timber-framed Holy Trinity Lyttelton (1852), an ill-fated structure which, for a brief period, proclaimed the distinctive Anglican character of the settlement to every disembarking colonist. Designed by Mountfort, it was dismantled in 1857 as a result of structural problems resulting from the architect's limited knowledge of local materials and conditions. (Lochhead, 1999, pp. 71-75)

In 1851 Christchurch presented a *tabula rasa*, inscribed only with the invisible but no-less-real grid plan of the Canterbury Association's chief surveyor, Captain Joseph Thomas. (McIntyre 2000, pp. 87-88) (Fig 2) The grid plan had been an integral part of systematic colonial planning since classical antiquity and was extensively used in Britain's North American and Australian colonies. The ordered grid was integral to the rational neo-classical concept of urban planning but was less in tune with the concepts of irregularity and organic growth associated with medieval cities. Although Pugin's romantic images of the Gothic city were evocative they offered few guides for practical planning and no other Gothic Revival architect was able to suggest a realistic alternative to the grid.

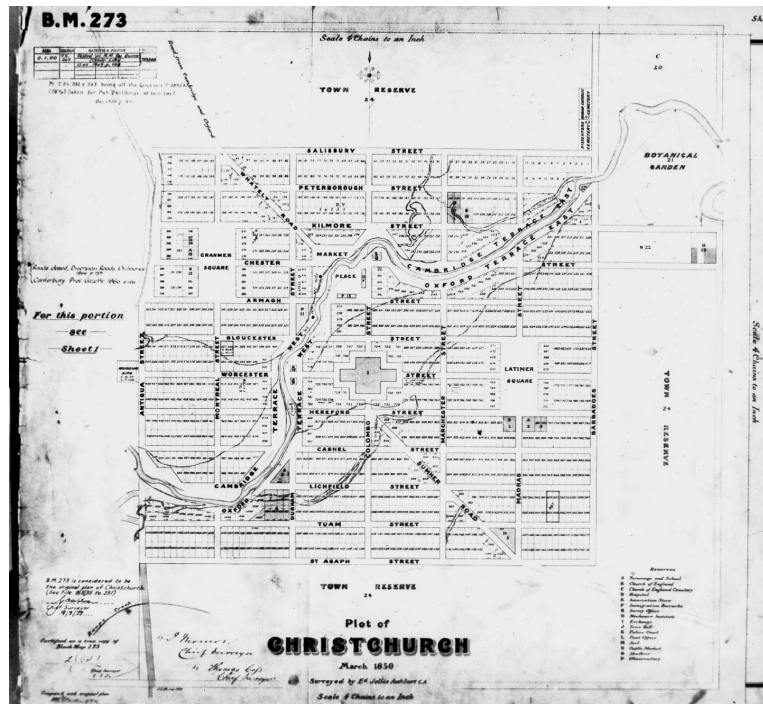


Figure 2 Plan of Christchurch by Edward Jollie, March 1850. (Photo: Canterbury Museum: Christchurch)

Broad streets intersecting at right angles may have been a justifiable reaction to the narrow, dirty alleys of Old World cities, but they nevertheless came in for criticism from travellers influenced by the aesthetics of the Romantic Movement. Writing of Adelaide in 1887 the American writer, Maturin Ballou, complained that there were 'no mysterious labyrinths, dark lanes, or blind alleys... somehow we missed the irregular ways of old European cities and those of the far East, where one can get delightfully lost and bewildered now and then.' (Quoted in Hamer, 1990, p. 48) Christchurch was open to the same criticism although topography provided some variation to the grid. Nevertheless, the Canterbury Association's vision of a new-world Gothic city was compromised from the outset by Thomas' rigid plan.

The city's plan was, nevertheless, inflected with links to the Canterbury Association's concept of a unique Church of England settlement for the streets of central Christchurch were named after Anglican dioceses. (Wigram, 1916, pp. 28-29) Yet even here there was compromise; while Durham, Gloucester, Hereford, Lichfield, Peterborough and Worcester evoked the ancient cathedral cities on which Christchurch was modelled, the surveyors were soon searching further afield to complete the system, shifting to Irish bishoprics for Armagh, Cashel, Kilmore and St Asaph, and then to the colonial bishoprics of Antigua, Colombo, Madras and Montreal. (The conspicuous absence of Canterbury, London and York resulted from the prior use of these names for principal streets in the port of Lyttelton.) Cambridge and Oxford Terraces, the streets bordering the Avon River, the sinuous course of which introduced an element of organic irregularity into the otherwise rectilinear plan, provided further links to the matrix of associations that underpinned the concept of the new city. The martyrs of the English Reformation, Latimer and Cranmer, were also given a presence in the names of city squares.

Broad streets and green squares reflected the importance placed on open space in the city plan and was in turn a reaction to the crowded conditions of old-world cities. Descriptions of Christchurch emphasised the prevalence of open space and as early as 1851 James Edward FitzGerald perceptively recognised that this would be a permanent feature; '[Christchurch] will always be like the suburbs of a large town. The houses will all probably stand in gardens'. (Quoted in Gardner, 1971, p. 6) Initially the city was surrounded on three sides by reserves intended for future development, but to the west the large expanse of Hagley Park was permanently set aside as parkland. The idea of Christchurch as a 'Garden City' emerged at an early date although the term itself was first applied by Sir John Gorst, the British Commissioner to the International Exhibition held in Hagley Park in 1906. (Cookson, p. 30) Although Christchurch developed in an entirely different way from English garden

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cities of the late nineteenth century, many of the concepts that shaped the antipodean city were also fundamental to the Garden City movement.

The city's most important open space was, however, the one at the very centre of the grid plan, designated as Cathedral Square. Its cruciform plan served to emphasise its symbolic importance as the site of the colony's principal religious foundation, although in practical terms its shape has proved intractable in solving the problems of modern traffic circulation. (Strongman, 1994) The Anglican cathedral's location in the very centre of the grid was a gesture of enormous symbolic importance, for it created the impression that the street pattern was an extension of the cross-axial plan of the cathedral itself. The fact that the streets themselves were aligned to the principal compass points only served to strengthen this impression. Strategic sitings of other key buildings further emphasised the dominant position of the cathedral. Edward Jollie's 1850 plan of the city located the museum at the termination of Worcester Street, which extended westwards from Cathedral Square (Lochhead, 1999, p. 262) and in 1853 Henry Sewell, the Canterbury Association's representative in the colony, 'sketched out in imagination, a handsome central street, running through the City, terminated at one end by the College and its gardens – the Cathedral in the central Square'. (Sewell, 1980, I, p. 307) This vision was remarkably prescient, for although the first stage of the museum was not commenced until 1869, it was located on the spot Jollie had recommended nearly thirty years earlier, while Canterbury College occupied the neighbouring site on Worcester Street four years later. (Fig 3) Thus, almost from the city's foundation the idea that the west front of the cathedral would look towards a precinct of educational and cultural institutions was set in place.



**Figure 3 Canterbury College (left) and the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, ca. 1880. (Photo: Acland Papers, Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury)**

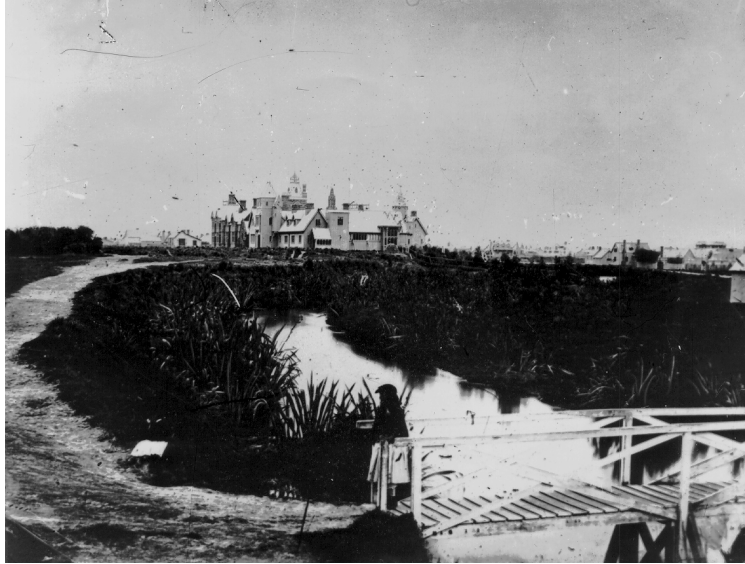
Christchurch in the early 1850s was far from becoming the ideal city of its founders dreams. In February 1851 Christchurch was little more than a collection of 'tents, houses of reeds, grass, sods, lath and plaster, boards, mud, dry clay besides a few that are merely pits scooped in the bank of the river, and one or two consisting of sheets and blankets hung on poles.' There were two general stores and 'a church consisting of a V. hut, with a flagstaff....' (Webb, 1957, p. 125) The population was still under 400. Ten years later the town was transformed:

At a distance the towers of the public buildings show themselves above the rest of the houses standing on the level.... Every cottage tells up in the size of the town.... Over all the surface houses are dotted at greater or smaller distances from each other, and in some places are pretty thickly stowed. The resident population must be now above 2,000 souls.... the principal streets are well formed and metalled; there are three good cart bridges over the Avon and several foot bridges.... there is no street in Christchurch where the saw and hammer is not heard. (*Lyttelton Times*, 5 January 1861, p. 4)

Christchurch in 1860 was almost entirely a town of timber buildings but this did not prevent architectural links being made between the new colony and its English origins. With the construction of a timber Town Hall in 1857 this connection was made explicit:

the style... of the whole building will be after the architecture of our English forefathers, when they lived in wooden buildings, and may therefore be expected to look, when finished, more in accordance with our circumstances than is usual in our present colonial architecture. (*Lyttelton Times*, 4 April 1857, p. 6)

The Romantic Primitivism of this description suggests a new way of looking at the timber structures of the colonial city. Instead of seeing them as crude attempts to mimic the grander structures of the homeland, they are revealed as deliberate architectural statements intended to evoke a nationalist utopia that existed prior to the industrial age.



**Figure 4 Canterbury Provincial Council Buildings viewed from the south west in 1861. (Photo: A.C. Barker Collection, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch)**

The Gothic style of the hall conformed to a pattern that had already been established by the most important public building to be erected in Christchurch during the first two decades of the colony's history, the Canterbury Provincial Council Buildings. (Fig 4) The building was Gothic in style and intended to emphasise continuity with the British system of parliamentary government through architectural links with the new Palace of Westminster, although in both scale and materials it was vastly different. As originally designed by Benjamin Mountfort in 1855, the Provincial Council Buildings were a modest assemblage of timber structures organised around a central courtyard. Built in stages between 1857 and 1865, the design evolved with each phase of construction to meet the changing needs of the rapidly developing colony. (Fig 5) The Council Chamber of 1864-65 represented the culmination of this process and provided an emphatic architectural restatement of the interconnected social and religious beliefs that underpinned the foundation of the settlement. (Lochhead, 1999, pp. 93-117) When Anthony Trollope visited Christchurch in August 1872 he particularly admired the Council Chamber:

This hall forms part of a set of buildings erected for the management of the province, which as a whole pleased me very much. It is partly of stone and partly of wood but is Gothic in design throughout, the woodwork being as graceful and as true to the design of the whole as the stone. It stands on the banks of the little river Avon, which meanders through the town.... The buildings form a quadrangle, and look as though one of the smaller and prettier colleges had been transplanted thither from the banks of the Cam. (Trollope, 1873, II, pp. 375-6)



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**Figure 5 Canterbury Provincial Council Buildings showing the Council Chamber (left) and Refreshment Rooms added in 1864-65. (Photo: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington)**

The Provincial Council Buildings occupy a central place in the architectural development of Christchurch for they not only established a standard of architectural excellence but also confirmed Gothic as the architectural style for the city's most important buildings. Like the contemporaneous Oxford University Museum, which demonstrated the adaptability of Gothic architecture to the railway age, the Provincial Buildings revealed its suitability for the age of colonialism.

For all its architectural and symbolic significance, the siting of the Canterbury Provincial Government Buildings was problematic. Given the importance attached to the location of both Museum and College, the seat of provincial government should have occupied a site of similar prominence. It is characteristic of the often pragmatic planning decisions made during the colonial period that the government buildings were sited on land previously reserved for a hospital. The latter was, as a consequence, relegated to a more isolated and thus, more desirable site from a medical point of view, on the southern margin of the city. The consequences of this decision have been far-reaching for the public perception of the Provincial Government Buildings; unlike the strategically sited Canterbury College and Canterbury Museum, the Provincial Government Buildings have never achieved the recognition merited by their historical importance and architectural quality.

Over the next three decades, irrespective of the architect involved, Gothic was employed for virtually every public building in Christchurch. These included the Supreme Court (1869), Canterbury Museum (1869-86), Canterbury Public Library (1873), and Canterbury College (1876 onwards) as well as school buildings, among them Christ's College (1857 onwards), Christchurch Girls High School (1878) and Christchurch Boys High School (1879). The one exception among these cultural and educational institutions was the Canterbury Society of Arts, for whom B.W. Mountfort designed a virtually styleless gallery in brick in 1891. Significantly, these buildings were all clustered in the western sector of the city, alongside or in close proximity to the major east-west axis from the Cathedral to the Museum. This axis intersected the Avon River one block west of Cathedral Square and the river acted as a demarcation line between the Gothic Revival precinct which embodied the traditional values of church and culture derived from the old world and the city's commercial centre, which was developing to the east.

The conflict between spiritual and secular worlds, and between Gothic and Classical architectures, was crystallised in the 1860s as work on the Anglican Cathedral commenced and as the aspirations of the city's business leaders began to emerge. From the start there was conflict between those idealistic colonists attracted to Canterbury by the promise of a modern utopia and those who saw colonial life as a path to material success. As Samuel Butler pointed out in 1860, 'people here are busy making money: that is the inducement which led them to come in the first instance'. (Butler, 1964, p. 50) These conflicting values would find clear expression in the form of the city itself.

As if to emphasise this conflict, Cathedral Square and the Christ's Church Cathedral, stood in the heart of the city's commercial sector. (Fig 6) Construction of the Cathedral extended from 1864 until 1904 although the nave, tower and temporary chancel were completed and opened for worship in 1881. (Lochhead, 1999, p. 128ff.) Designed by Sir George Gilbert Scott, who had earlier designed a timber church for the diocese, the cathedral was modest both in scale and architectural aspirations, although in the colonial context it was a large and ambitious undertaking.



**Figure 6 Christ Church Cathedral, Cathedral Square, Christchurch, c. 1904. (Photo: Alexander Turnbull Library)**

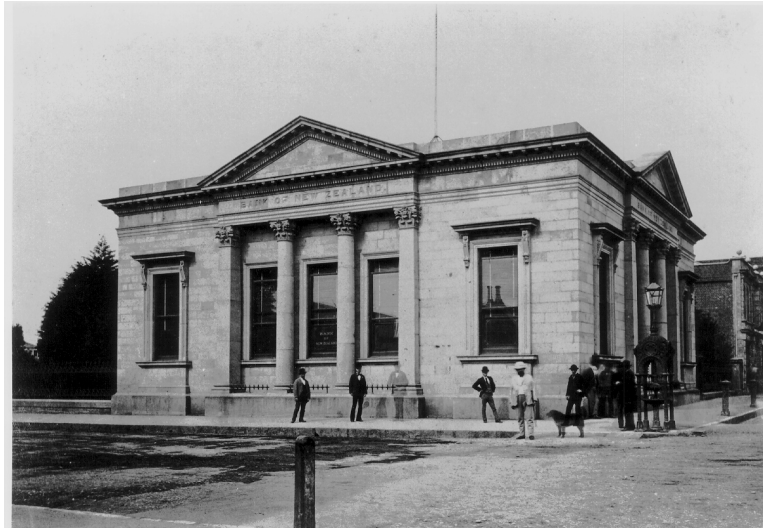
Yet in 1865, before the Cathedral had risen above its foundations a challenge to the pre-eminence of Gothic was issued by a new building for the Bank of New Zealand, located on a strategic site at the southern entrance to Cathedral Square. (Fig 7) Designed by Leonard Terry, a Melbourne architect responsible for banks throughout Australia and New Zealand, this compact, Greek Revival building was seen not just as a challenge to the Gothic Anglican cathedral but as an affront.. An editorial in the *Christchurch Press* came to the defence of the Gothic cause, castigating the bank for erecting a building

of the square box or *safe* character. It is of no known style of architecture at all – if at least that word includes the general form and treatment of a building and not only its subordinate details. In the ornaments, the style would perhaps be called Grecian, so far at least as that there are two porticoes with columns, and capitals, and pediments and so on. Indeed we believe there are three, one on each front. In other respects we should describe the architecture as of that popular order which may be called the style of the British carpenter. (*The Press*, 17 March 1865, p. 2)

The editorial, probably written by James Edward FitzGerald, argued that the design was particularly inappropriate because

the noble Cathedral which is about to be reared after the design of the greatest master of the age, [will] be spoiled by the juxtaposition of a building utterly unworthy of the city, of the site, and of the spirited and wealthy corporation who are about to inhabit it. (*The Press*, 17 March 1865, p. 2)

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**Figure 7 Bank of New Zealand, Cathedral Square, Christchurch, designed by Leonard Terry in 1865.  
(Photo: Canterbury Museum, Christchurch)**

The issue ran deeper than mere taste. Classical architecture was seen as the product of an alien civilisation whereas Gothic was British, it was truthful, and it was modern. As such it was suitable for every class and category of building, even banks. At an even more fundamental level Gothic was seen as especially well adapted to colonial environments:

our public buildings will, with the progress of the place, require additions – probably at frequent intervals; and... the pointed style and its congeners, above all, allow of several buildings complete in themselves being grouped into one design. This, to our mind, almost settles the style in which they should be built.... (*The Press*, 25 March 1864, p. 2)

The recognition that, in a rapidly changing colonial environment, it was almost impossible to plan for the requirements that would exist in even a few years time, could easily have been used as a justification for makeshift buildings. Instead it was seen as an argument for adopting a mode of building that would allow for a process of continuous growth and change. Rapid change was not seen as an impediment to the construction of buildings of architectural quality but it was essential that the mode of building adopted recognised that change would be ongoing. It is hardly surprising that in Christchurch Gothic architecture was seen as providing the ideal model for this kind of organic development. Any one familiar with Ruskin's writings would have known that medieval buildings united in the one structure parts constructed at different times and in clearly different styles. (Ruskin, 1851-53, II)

In accepting that conditions in colonial settlements were fundamentally different from those existing in established societies, it was recognised that colonial cities would also evolve in different ways. At the level of the city, as well as in terms of individual buildings, incremental, rather than large-scale planning, needs to be accorded greater recognition as a shaping force within the colonial city. Informality, sudden contrasts of scale and material and a more open-grained city fabric were all part of the colonial city. In addition, although the grid layout of the streets suggests the illusion of a clearly defined, planned city, what occurred within the grid was much less structured.

A clear contrast in planning approaches can be seen when comparing the development of Christchurch's principal nineteenth-century public and cultural buildings and the evolution of the city's commercial centre. Beginning with the Canterbury Provincial Council Buildings, the principle of additive, incremental development was adopted, the form and materials of the complex changing over the course of its decade-long evolution, but the overall character of the building remaining constant. This characteristic can also be seen in other key public building of the Victorian city such as the individually distinctive but stylistically unified buildings of Canterbury College, which evolved continuously from 1876 until the late 1940s, or the equally distinctive but integrated structures (the earliest dating from 1857) that make up Christ's College. The Canterbury Museum, although confined to a more restricted site, also grew incrementally between 1869 and 1886 while preserving a coherent

architectural character. (Lochhead, 1999, p. 248ff) What these buildings all reveal is a flexible approach to design that was able to evolve over time and which preserved, in the fabric of the buildings themselves, the history of the city's rapid evolution.

The haphazard development of Christchurch's commercial area stands in marked contrast to this process of organic growth. Although the Bank of New Zealand presented one of its principal facades towards Cathedral Square, it addressed itself primarily to the city's main commercial thoroughfare, Hereford Street, along which most of the city's bank's were clustered. These buildings were, with some notable exceptions, four-square classical structures, built of wood in the 1850s and replaced with larger stone or brick and plaster structures during the 1860s and 1870s. As if to prove the validity of the *Press's* criticism's of its building, the Bank of New Zealand was progressively extended during the 1870s and again in the 1880s, fatally compromising the classical symmetry of Terry's original building.

The common pattern of commercial development was to demolish and rebuild whenever more space was needed or a more prestigious public presence was required. The city's leading commercial architect, W. B. Armson, was almost continuously at work from the time of his arrival in Christchurch in 1871 until his death in 1883, designing banks and other commercial premises in Hereford Street, as well as elsewhere in the city. (Lochhead & Mané, 1983) Armson's preferred mode was a polished Renaissance classicism learned in the office of the Melbourne architects, Purchase and Swyer. However, when the leading Christchurch politician, Sir John Hall, commented on the 'Melbournification' of Hereford Street in 1865, he was not being complimentary. (Gardner, p. 236) Rather, he was referring to the proliferation of cheaply-built commercial buildings, the shoddy construction of which was hidden by false facades. Such buildings gave offence not only because they were classical in at least a rudimentary sense, but because they embodied a characteristic of contemporary architecture that Gothic Revivalists abhorred above all else; they were shams. Hall's criticism were backed up by FitzGerald, in an address, 'The Nature of Art', given in Wellington in 1868.

I see frequently in our towns a gable turned to the street, and a large dead wall of scantling and boards built up to conceal it. A deliberate and wilful determination to hide the more beautiful form by the less beautiful; – false in construction... false in economy.... false in Art, for it is a miserable sham in every aspect. What then is it for? It is to gratify a false and ignoble vanity.... (FitzGerald, 1869, p. 264)

Did FitzGerald imagine a city of timber and stone buildings resembling Pugin's ideal city of 1440 depicted in the well-known plate, *Contrasted Towns*, published in 1841 in the second edition of *Contrasts*? This can only remain at the level of speculation but we do know that he rejected anything that hinted of false display and pomposity, characteristics he saw exemplified in the commercial architecture of colonial Christchurch. He much preferred the unpretentious simplicity of the early colonial period, regretting the passing of 'those small unpretending tenements which were built by the early colonists; some of them not ungraceful in their proportions; all of them possessing the beauty of simplicity and truth, devoid of vulgar pretension, tawdry vanity, and inappropriate ornament.' (FitzGerald, 1869, p. 264)

The kind of buildings that FitzGerald abhorred were to be found throughout Christchurch's commercial centre, which developed in the streets immediately to the north and south of Cathedral Square during the 1870s and 1880s; by the 1890s these streets had achieved a built-up appearance that was scarcely imaginable twenty years earlier. Although Renaissance classicism remained the dominant architectural mode there was a liberal sprinkling of Venetian Gothic which must have given some encouragement to those citizens who retained hopes that Christchurch's architectural character would follow an independent path. Venetian Gothic commercial buildings appeared in Hereford Street as early as the mid 1860s and a further cluster was built during the 1870s to designs of W.B Armson. (Fig 8) Although Venetian Gothic remained a minority choice for commercial buildings the taste for the style reflected the distinctive character of Christchurch's origins and was certainly more widespread there than in other New Zealand cities. In Melbourne similar buildings did not appear until the following decade. (*The Heritage of Australia*, 1981, 3/54-55)

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**Figure 8 New Zealand Loan & Mercantile (1881) and Victoria Insurance (1877) Buildings, Hereford St, Christchurch, both designed by W.B. Armson. (Photo: Armson/Collins Collection, Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury)**

Perhaps the most notable concession to the individual character of the city was the design for the Government Offices, erected in Cathedral Square in 1876. Designed in Wellington by the Colonial Architect, W.H. Clayton, whose fondness for Renaissance classicism is exemplified by the Government Buildings in Wellington of 1875, the Christchurch Government Offices reveal his willingness to inflect the governmental style with 'Venetian Gothic' details, as if to acknowledge both the close proximity of the Cathedral and the distinctive architectural character of the city.

If the Government Buildings suggested a willingness to acknowledge a degree of local distinctiveness there were growing signs that local politicians were less certain that Gothic was still an appropriate style for Christchurch. The winning design in the competition for new Municipal Offices in 1885 was an accomplished essay in the fashionable Queen Anne style by Samuel Hurst Seager, a Christchurch architect who had recently returned from a period of study in London. (Lochhead, 1987, pp. 92-99) Constructed on the site of the former Land Office and strategically placed on the major east-west axis from Cathedral Square to the Museum and College precinct, the building served to mediate between the Gothic character of the latter and the classicism of the commercial centre. The hybrid nature of the Queen Anne style, 'a Gothic game played with neo-Classical counters', (Goodhart-Rendell, 1953, p. 171) perfectly expressed the dilemma faced by the City Council; how to maintain an allegiance to the underlying ideals that had brought the city into existence while accommodating the pressures of commerce to follow the latest trends. By being both backward-looking and modern the Municipal Offices skilfully met this need.



**Figure 9 Christchurch in 1886, looking south from Christ Church Cathedral with the Bank of New Zealand in the centre and the Government Offices (1876) on the right. Lithograph by W. Potts**

By the 1880s the character of Christchurch was well established and it was possible to make general assessments of what the city had become. The dusty colonial settlement with wide unpaved streets lined with widely-spaced timber buildings had become a prosperous colonial town that, at least in the central commercial area, was largely built-up. (Fig 9) The western sector of the city, dominated by the educational institutions of Christ's College, Canterbury College and the Canterbury Museum, remained more open as a result of less intensive development. Contemporary observers found it difficult to characterise the city and often resorted to a mix of comparisons:

what makes Christchurch... so pleasant to the newcomer, is the feeling of home which it keeps alive.... It is not that its general appearance can be compared to a cathedral city such as Ely, or even Southwell – it is too new and business-like, and yet to a certain extent it possesses the repose of these. Still less can it be compared to a large manufacturing or busy commercial town at home; it is all too bright, and cheerful, and lovely. It is as though a magician had transported some of the prettiest villas from the lakes of Cumberland, and set them down, with their gardens all gay with flowers and evergreen shrubs, in an uncertain rotation along the several streets; that he had then flown to Oxford and stolen some of its Gothic architecture, to be reproduced in another form in the numerous public buildings which everywhere adorn the town; and lastly, that to fill in any gaps remaining, he had brought from Canada, or some small lake-town of the United States, a number of those pretty four roomed wooden cottages found there. Such a description may seem fantastic, for Christchurch is not a collection of Cumberland villas, neither is it Oxford or any American town. It seems a realization of all three. (Bradshaw, 1883, p. 15)

It is clear that the Canterbury Association's vision of an Antipodean Gothic city had not been realised in any recognisable sense. Gothic Revival buildings and an aspiration to preserve the cultural values of the mother country were not enough to recreate an Oxford or a Cambridge. Christchurch had become something distinctly different.

Nevertheless late nineteenth-century descriptions of the city emphasise those elements which conjured up memories of 'home', forming the basis of a local mythology which styles the city as being 'more English than England'.

Over the Avon are groups of quaint old-world-looking buildings... all seem fragrant with old memories and hallowed with the sanctities of studious life. They suggest cloisters, quadrangles, libraries, groups of grey professors, and throngs of grave-lipped students. There are old ivy-covered churches, too, that seem to have been picked out of old English towns and dropped down here. Yonder is an old belfry tower, weather grey and lichen-covered. Surely it has been transported bodily from some corner of Lichfield or York. The schools and colleges are thickly scattered over the flat beyond the river. I remember when it was a wilderness of marshy sedge tussocks and flax bushes. Now the architectural triumphs would do credit to any cathedral city at home. (Inglis, 1887, pp. 144-45)

This image of the city is filled with the nostalgia of displacement, in which the strangeness of the colonial scene is diminished in direct proportion to the emphasis placed on perceived similarities to England.

By the end of the nineteenth century the number of original Canterbury Association settlers had greatly diminished and since 1886 native-born New Zealanders of European origin outnumbered those who had emigrated from Europe. (Sinclair, 1986, p. 31) It was thus not surprising that less emphasis was placed on maintaining colonial ties and a greater awareness of national identity began to emerge. This was combined with a desire to establish a more cosmopolitan and up-to-date architectural character for the city.

A report on the state of the city in 1903 found much to praise but also looked towards finally severing ties with the colonial past:

architecturally, Christchurch is not so impressive as might be expected from its extent, its wealth, and its population. Many of its public buildings are, in themselves, imposing and even splendid. Cathedral Square, with the chief architectural glory of Christchurch, the Cathedral Spire, would dignify a far greater city; and the commercial streets – High Street, Colombo



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Street, Hereford Street – contain many fine edifices. But these are still interspersed with small and irregularly-built structures, relics of the past, which must be replaced by finer buildings.... (*Cyclopedia of New Zealand, III*, 1903, pp. 40-41)

Three years later a report in the *Builder* saw a need for Christchurch to look to the future rather than dwell in a nostalgic medieval dream:

the group of buildings which... give a special *cachet* to Christchurch... such as Canterbury College [and] the Museum... have been built a good many years, and they are all in the domestic Gothic manner of the latter half of the last century.... One cannot help feeling that, however suitable such buildings may be in England amongst historic surroundings, they are somewhat out of place in a new country of wider spaces, more open outlook, and in many ways more advanced thought. The people, their institutions, and their politics are really very modern, and some form of Renaissance would, therefore, be more in harmony with their ideas. Loyalty to the ideal set up by the founders of the province has hitherto kept them faithful to the accidentals associated therewith, but now that Christchurch is more cosmopolitan than Anglican it would be well to give up what has already been abandoned in England. (*The Builder*, 1906, 90, no. 3294, p. 309)

Probably the clearest architectural statement of this shift was the completion of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in 1905. (Fig 10) Although its site was located on the south-eastern periphery of the original town plan, the Roman Catholic cathedral aggressively challenged the notion of Christchurch as an English Gothic city. Bishop Grimes and his architect, Francis Petre, opted for French-inspired neo-classicism executed in gleaming Oamaru limestone. The Roman Catholic Cathedral was built in a single, six-year, steam-powered campaign. (Porter, 1983, pp. 153-57) Unwilling to be trumped by comparative latecomers, the Anglican majority rushed to complete the transepts and chancel of Gilbert Scott's Gothic Revival cathedral by November 1904, only a matter of months before the consecration of its neo-classical rival.



**Figure 10 Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, Christchurch, completed to the designs of F.W. Petre in 1905 (Photo: School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury)**

The completion of the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament effectively signalled the end of the Gothic Revival hegemony in Christchurch although buildings in the Gothic idiom continued to be built in the city for another forty years. By the first decade of the new century the Canterbury Association's ambitious attempt to relocate an English cathedral and university town to the open expanse of the Canterbury plains had run its course. The Association itself was long since dissolved but the institutions which it had promoted and nurtured, the Anglican Church, Christ's College and Canterbury College, remained vigorous. In architectural terms the city was filled with buildings which also reflected these founding ideals. But beyond this Wigram's claim that Christchurch was a planned city in the modern sense is difficult to sustain. (Wigram, 1916, p. 222)

Christchurch's grided street pattern is shared with countless colonial cities, as is its generous provision of park land. Although the clustering of its cultural and educational institutions in the city's western precinct resulted from the clear sense of purpose that inspired the original colonists, the essentially free-for-all development of the commercial centre reflected a *laissez faire* economic model also inherited from Victorian Britain. Yet Christchurch was different from other colonial cities in New Zealand as well as further afield. During the first 50 years of its history the city was shaped by a continuing, but sometimes unspoken, commitment to a number of key ideals. First, commercial pressures were to be balanced by the preservation of urban amenities. Second, economic success was never regarded as the sole measure of the quality of life. Third, religion, education and culture were seen as essential components of city life. Fourth, open space, trees and grass were seen as being as much a part of the city as well paved streets and closely packed buildings. Finally, these ideas were linked by the more fundamental belief that lives were shaped, for good or ill, by the quality of the environment in which they were lived.

These ideals were fundamental to the Canterbury Association's vision. If they sound familiar it is because they also formed part of the background to the urban planning movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They were ideals that would have therefore been familiar to the architect, Samuel Hurst Seager, even before he left Christchurch to complete his studies in London in 1882. There Seager would have discovered that the newly emerging garden suburbs had much in common with the city he had left behind in New Zealand. The Garden City Movement itself was a further attempt to solve many of the same problems that Christchurch and the Canterbury settlement were intended to address over thirty years earlier. Indeed, Ebenezer Howard acknowledged a debt to Wakefield's theories of immigration in *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*. (Howard, 1965, pp. 119-20) Given this background it is not surprising that Seager became the father of town planning in New Zealand, initially as a proselytiser for the cause, as a member of the Christchurch Beautifying Association from its foundation in 1897 (Strongman, Christchurch, 1999, p.2) and eventually as organiser of the first New Zealand Town Planning Conference in 1919. He also played an important role in promoting New Zealand's first Town and Country Planning Act of 1926. Seager was well aware that Christchurch had not become the city its founders envisaged but he also knew that the goals they had set themselves were worth struggling for.



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Planning Capital Cities in the Twentieth Century:  
Washington, D.C.

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Dr. Isabelle Gournay - School of Architecture - University of Maryland - College Park - MD 20742  
Tel. 301-669 9418 Fax 301-314 9583 - ig9@umail.umd.edu

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For most of us, the equation Washington + planning history adds up to the L'Enfant and McMillan plans. L'Enfant's original layout of 1791 exemplifies how, to quote Stephen Ward, the US "gave back to Europe the notion of the city-wide master plan and the grand approach to urban landscape design." The so called McMillan Plan of 1901 will be my starting point. When it was prepared, 280,000 people lived in the US capital. Half a century later, the National Capital Region Washington had 1,752,248 inhabitants, 46% (802,178) living in the District of Columbia and the rest in the Maryland suburbs and Northern Virginia. By 2000, DC's population had decreased by more than 230,000 and its share fell to under 12% of a regional total of nearly 5 million.

So much for figures. I prefer to stress how Washington's XXth century planning history, despite such idealized precedents, was one of unresolved conflicts and endemic tensions. Three major explanations come to mind. First, the notion that Washington belongs to all US citizens more than to its inhabitants is fixated in the national psyche. Accordingly, its planning ought to first enact rituals of nationhood and symbolize democratic ideals as well as international power. Enhancing the beauty of the ceremonial core, in order to cater to patriotism and tourism, takes precedence over improvements to the social and economic conditions of surrounding neighborhoods.

A second explanation for DC's planning conflicts was (and remains) the imbalance between political stature on the one hand, and, on the other hand, demographic, economic and cultural significance. Although such an imbalance is inherent to all political capitals, it is particularly noticeable in a country as vast and ethnically diverse as the United States. Third major explanation: "taxation without representation", a formula now featured on all new DC automobile license tags (as a counterpoint to "Live Free or Die" for New Hampshire or "La Belle Province" for Québec). From 1874 to 1967 the District was administered by a board of commissioners, two civilians and a member of the Army Corps of Engineers; elected governance was approved in 1973 only; statehood is still denied. To be initiated and implemented, plans continue to depend upon congressional appropriation, a very tricky situation given the transient and volatile nature of legislative and executive leadership in the US. One wanders if Congress will ever stop treating the District as a feudal property.

In 1957, Washington became the first large U.S. city with a majority black population. Consequently many conflicts affecting its planning have related to enduring racial divisions, a topic addressed by Howard Gillette. Coping with the opposing demands of the central city and its suburbs resulted, as we shall see, in a constant shuttling between plans for downtown and broad based regional schemes. Additionally, ideological tensions must be accounted for. Profit-driven boosterism has clashed with idealism, and technical expertise with partisan politics. Institutional or personal rivalries have pitted federal agencies against District commissioners, mayors and local citizen groups. Infighting has occurred among agencies with ill-defined and fragmented responsibilities and, inside a single agency, between political appointees and professional staff. Conflicts of expertise added to the problem, especially confrontations between local engineers, often obsessed by transportation systems and public works, and successful out-of-town architects for whom "fixing DC" became some sort of ego trip. What follows is a cursory chronology. I have yet to master the intricacies of such a complex history but hope to bring elements of comparison for our discussion of capital cities.

Thanks to Jon Peterson, we know how James McMillan of Michigan, Chair of the Senate Committee for the District of Columbia, forged a behind-the-scenes alliance with the American Institute of Architects, park advocates and the Washington Board of Trade, a powerful organization in the absence of an elected city council. Members of the Commission set up by McMillan - architects Daniel Burnham and Charles McKim, sculptor Augustus Saint Gaudens and landscape architect Frederic Law Olmsted Jr. - were exceptionally talented, charismatic and energetic. Retelling how McMillan shrewdly played the "park card" to gain Congress approval, Peterson has convincingly stressed the plan's "extraordinary breadth and complexity for its day."

Please allow me to enhance themes more than facts. First, rarely did a plan come so much "at the right time and in the right place." The United States was beginning its ascendancy as an international power boasting political, economic and military pre-eminence. Drastic measures were needed to house a fast-expanding federal bureaucracy. With Teddy Roosevelt at the White House and other anti-trust politicians

in power, it was possible to implement a key element of the plan, the removal of the railroad from the Mall. Washington was becoming a cosmopolitan “winter resort” for retired industrialists, diplomats, and robber barons turned congressmen. Improvements had already taken place: trees had been planted along L’Enfant’s wide streets, land reclaimed along the Potomac and strict height limitations implemented to protect the visual dominance of the Capitol dome. Given the overall mediocrity of other projects triggered by the centennial of Washington as the seat of government, the moment was undeniably opportune for the McMillan Plan.

Second theme: the excellence of the working and promotional methods. Burnham and Company worked fast; their report was well documented and written. They set important precedents in terms of public relations and representation techniques, such as these before and after models of the Mall, which illustrated the contrast between mid-19<sup>th</sup> century picturesque ideals and those of the City Beautiful Movement. Mounting exhibitions, organizing conferences with proceedings, giving cocktail parties, publishing lavish brochures, providing copy for journalists would become part of the Washington planning ritual.

A third major facet is what Steven Ward calls “creative borrowing” from European exemplars, such as parks, which was justified by a clear intention to, and I quote the McMillan Commission’s report, “restore, develop and supplement” L’Enfant’s vision. A fourth, much more controversial aspect of the plan, was its insularity. It focused on the federal precinct, neglected surrounding districts and ignored the nagging presence of alley dwellings in the shadow of the Capitol. In fact, housing progress has rarely been a priority in plans for Washington. However, the assumption advanced in the McMillan report that private developers would emulate the design consistency of the monumental core was not groundless. Affluent Northwest D.C. features some of the grandest and best planned commercial and residential districts in the world. Although it has known better days, Sixteenth Street, which is directly on axis with the White House and bisects the DC triangle up to the district line, remains an excellent example of a well-planned urban corridor.

A last theme relates to the national and international, direct and indirect, impact of the McMillan plan, one of its few facets which remains rather unexplored. For instance, the plan was analyzed by Patrick Abercrombie in the second issue of *Town Planning Review*. Regaining its iconic magnetism with post-modernism, it has triggered the imagination of Prince Charles’ favorite architect, Léon Krier. Current aerial views attest to the fact that, despite meager initial resources and congressional politics, the McMillan plan was implemented to a remarkable degree, especially with regards to its park component, to which half of the Commission’s report was devoted.

To the present day, the McMillan plan is safeguarded by the Commission of Fine Arts, a design review board approved by Congress in 1910, whose members are presidential appointees and primarily design professionals. The major triumph of its first chair, Charles Moore, who had been Senator McMillan’s personal secretary, was the colossal office grouping known as the Federal Triangle whose champion, pictured here, was the banker turned Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon. In fact, Moore made life miserable for Burnham’s heir apparent and Mellon’s chief adviser, the Beaux-Arts architect Edward H. Bennett, who had previously worked on plans for Ottawa.

A new phase in Washington’s history began in 1926, when Congress created an agency to centralize federal planning activities in the District of Columbia. The following year, a sister organization was created for the Maryland suburbs, opening opportunities for regional planning efforts. Until 1952, the National Capital Park and Planning Commission performed functions related to park acquisition and comprehensive planning for both the federal and local government. In addition to ex officio District and congressional members, its chair and four public members were presidential nominees, including influential planners and landscape architects like Olmsted Jr. NCPPC suffered from being understaffed. In its advisory capacity, it could not prevent the construction of the Pentagon on intended park land. Despite this setback, its scenic landscaping of the Potomac river banks, which incorporated the national highway to Mount Vernon recommended by the McMillan Commission, was generally implemented. This may have been NCPPC’s most enduring legacy from the interwar period.

During the New Deal, priorities shifted from comprehensive to short term planning objectives. One of such goals was to site National Airport practically at the doorstep of the monumental core, a big boon for legislators who traveled back and from their home districts. After the war, planning initiatives were rather similar to those taken in other large US cities. In fact, Washington was at the forefront of urban renewal, since NCPPC was authorized to designate urban renewal areas and adopt plans for them as early as 1945. Several national pieces of legislation enabled NCPPC and the new D.C Redevelopment Land Agency to receive direct federal funds and bypass the customary congressional approval process. A large portion of D.C.'s Southwestern Quadrant was rebuilt and gentrified in an effort to combine objectives related to slum clearance, "modern housing," waterfront redevelopment, freeway construction and, last but not least, the erection of new federal office buildings in close proximity to the Mall. Key players included New York developer William Zeckendorf, whose vision was fulfilled to a significant extent, planner Harlan Bartholomew and architect Cloethiel Woodward Smith. Although she hated being identified as a woman, I feel it is important to note this breach of the gender gap.

Fear of atomic attacks and sheer lack of space were two major reasons why federal employment migrated to the suburbs, which in turn experienced a phenomenal growth. In addition to "white flight" from the District, many middle-class African-Americans started moving to Maryland's Prince George's County by the mid-1960s. Because the various jurisdictions had conflicting goals, metropolitan planning was a thorny issue, which NCPC (the missing P relates to the 1952 withdrawal of the park function) and the new National Capitol Region Planning Council tried to address in countless reports and plans. The slide on the left summarizes diagrammatic projects of the 1950s, which focused on freeway construction and finger-plan growth, with radial corridors of new town centers. Both ideas were implemented, but at a reduced scale. A single ring road, known as the "Beltway" now the 495 portion of the Interstate system- opened in 1964: today, the expression "inside the Beltway," popularized by the media to differentiate political insiders from the rest of America, also conveys a new planning reality. In the 1960s, the combined efforts of black and white civic leaders managed to stop new bridges and cross-town highways and NCPC reviews helped delay and sidetrack freeway development. Today only 10 miles of interstate highway run through the District of Columbia.

The 98-mile system of rapid transit was adopted in 1968 only, its first section opening in 1976. Because of the highly politicized and complex decision making process which presided to Metro's implementation, its lines focus on bringing suburbanites to downtown office locations and do not address cross-town travel and serve ethnic neighborhoods as adequately as they should. However a recent dissertation sees Metro as the "proof that bitter debate can lead to negotiated compromise" and as Washington's "third grand plan ... every bit as visionary" as the L'Enfant and McMillan plans.

Downtown DC was rescued from neglect during the Kennedy/Johnson years, a watershed as significant for modern federal architecture and urban design as Teddy Roosevelt's presidency was for City Beautiful ideals. The northern, non-federal side of Pennsylvania Avenue, which is the parade route leading from the Capitol to the White House, was in miserable condition. Senator Patrick Moynihan, then an aide to Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, working together with planner Frederick Gutheim, initiated the planning process that helped revitalize the "Avenue of the Presidents." Their effort led President Kennedy to appoint the first Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, which was headed by International Style architect Nathaniel Owings. This Commission drew up a grandiose plan for the area in 1964. A decade later, historic preservation had come of age and the plan proposed by the newly created Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation expounded a vision less destructive of the urban fabric.

In the same years, the National Park Service commissioned Skidmore, Owings and Merrill to prepare a master plan for the Mall and, during her husband's presidency, Jackie Kennedy helped safeguard historic landmarks around Lafayette Square, which the McMillan plan had already slated for demolition. In conjunction with the State Department, NCPC's Proposed Comprehensive Plan of 1967 included studies for an International Center grouping chanceries and international agencies, which were encroaching on upscale residential districts. Such a federal enclave was eventually developed, further away from the downtown, as a "diplomatic theme park." President Kennedy also helped NCPC leadership to pass from professional planners to local activists (such as Elizabeth Rowe, the chair

person he nominated). As a result NCPC began intervening in riot-torn inner city districts, with apparently limited success. The Home Rule Act of 1973 required the District government to develop a Comprehensive Plan. Its Office of Planning was operational in the mid-1980s and is promoting targeted "development projects," most significantly the Anacostia Waterfront Initiative. However, the natural course of speculative construction and rehabilitation has been favoring the downtown district immediately north of Pennsylvania Avenue, a renaissance that NCPC tries to closely monitor.

Presently, a major concern of NCPC and the Commission of Fine Arts is the proliferation of commemorative monuments, a design issue with major planning and ideological implications. To me, the recently opened Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial near the Tidal Basin, an ambitious but unobtrusive project by landscape architect Lawrence Halprin is a fantastic asset, but I am very concerned with the accepted design for the World War II Memorial on the Mall, which will alter the grand, simple, vista traced by L'Enfant and reinstated in the MacMillan plan.

The latest NCPC "plan" was released in 1997, under the chairmanship of Harvey Gantt, an architect and one of the country's shrewdest African-American politicians. According to its alluring brochure, *Extending the Legacy* is a "dramatic departure from past federal plans," which "eliminates obsolete freeways, bridges and railroad tracks that fragment the city" and "reverses decades of environmental neglect." It favors public-private partnership as an alternative to congressional red tape. Waterfront revival is once again promised, but the suburbs are hardly mentioned. Reviving a project it first issued in 1929, NCPC proposes to visually re-center monumental Washington on the Capitol, which would facilitate the spread of future memorials and encourage economic growth and physical improvements on East and South Capitol Streets. Entirely advisory, *Extending the Legacy* tries to re-focus federal and public attention on the planning and design elements proper to capital cities. It is not a comprehensive but a "framework" plan: its watercolor renderings, undoubtedly conceived as pendants to those for the MacMillan plan, are unlikely to exercise much impact. The architectural ideas, which tend to play a strong supporting role in successful DC plans, are far from compelling. Concerns which have arisen since 1997 are not addressed, especially those related to homeland security, which will no doubt impact on the public accessibility and symbolic openness of Washington's ceremonial core. At a time when safety and prosperity are not sure bets, who knows how the *Legacy* will be extended?

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***‘Here will be a Garden City’: the twentieth century planning practice in Siberia.***

Ivan V. Nevzgodine

**IHAU, Faculty of Architecture at Delft University of Technology, The Netherlands**

**Novosibirsk State Academy of Architecture and Fine Arts, Russia**

*Home address:* N.-Danchenko str., 91-36, Novosibirsk-77, 630077, Russia.

Phone (007) 3832 526778

*Work address:* Krasnii prospect 38, Novosibirsk State Academy of Architecture and Fine Arts,  
Novosibirsk, 630099, Russia.

Phone (007) 3832 225830, fax (007) 3832 222905

*Home address:* Hooikade 11, 2627 AB Delft, The Netherlands

Phone-fax (31 15) 2560259

*Work address:* Kab. 9.08, Faculty of Architecture,

Delft University of Technology, Berlageweg 1, P.O. Box 5043

2600 GA, Delft, The Netherlands

Phone (31 15) 278 1986, fax (31 15) 278 4291



## **Abstract**

In Letchworth on May 16, 1911 Ebenezer Howard wrote in the introduction to the Russian edition of his book:

*'I am absolutely sure that Russia, with her enormous spaces of thinly populated land, is going to serve during a long time as an arena for a series of truly brilliant experiments in systematic town planning'*. The aim of my paper, which I dedicate to the Garden-city idea and its realisation in Siberia during the last century, is to find out whether Howard's words were prophetic.

Howard's concept was well known in Siberia, thanks to a series of articles in the journal *Zodchij* (the Architect, 1910, 1914) by A. K. Ensh, ex-professor at the Tomsk Institute of Technology, based on materials gathered during a Garden-Cities trip through Great Britain in 1909. The propaganda by A. I. Petrov, who represented Siberia at the London Congress of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1914, was a second factor. Soon after an affiliated Society of the All-Russian Garden Cities Society was founded in Barnaul, the capital of the Altay region, south of Tomsk.

The 1920-1930s were a great period for town planning experiments in Siberia, introduced by Russian architects (in Novosibirsk, Kuznetsk etc.) as well as by foreigners: first by the Dutch architect J. B. van Loghem and then by an international team of the German town planner Ernst May (towns of *Kuzbass*).

Later, after the long period of damnation of the modern movement by the Stalin regime, the 'Thaw' brought the revival of progressive urbanism. The Siberian City of Science - Academgorodok, a purpose-built academic town, is the latest and experimentally clearest realisation of Soviet Modernism and Soviet Garden City Movement. It is an application of all re-discovered progressive achievements of Soviet urbanism of the 1920-1930s: zoning, optimal transportation and pedestrian links, differentiated system of cultural and daily facilities, free-standing buildings, preservation of the green using the landscape specifics, etc.

The Garden Cities experiments in Siberia are obviously reflected in the intensive construction of dachas in the 1970-1980s, in which citizens, far away from the noisy and dusty city, relax in nature. In the 90s cottages and villas appeared in abundance at the boundaries of the Siberian cities as the result of a new governmental approach to the ideas of the Garden City.

The urban crisis, the difficult ecological situation and the requirement of the healthy environment ask for the realisation of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Garden City on Siberian grounds.

Here, in four years' time,  
there will be a garden city!  
The racket of explosions  
is scattering the bands of bears  
and a sparkling "Giant"  
will rip minerals  
from the bowels of the earth.  
Here walls will rise,  
steam screech through whistles.  
Siberia will blaze with furnaces  
like a hundred suns.  
Here there will be a home for us  
and white bread off the ration,  
the taiga, defeated,  
will retreat beyond Baikal.

I start with this verse of Vladimir Mayakovsky "The Construction Sites and the Men of Kuznetsk" because it contains some mistakes, which nevertheless can lead us to the right conclusion. At the time when Mayakovsky wrote this poem, his audience could hardly recognise in Kuznetsk Garden City its English origins. At the end of the twenties Howard's ideas were so absorbed by Soviet town planning that nobody would consider them separately and most proletarians thought that the garden city had been born by the October Revolution. Mayakovsky wrote: '*Here, in four years' time, there will be a garden city!*'. He seemed not to know that there was already one for more than two decades. Kuznetsk was at least three times designed as a garden city. But we should start from the beginning.

The Russian magazine "Zodchii" (The Architect) mentioned the garden city idea already in 1904. Later, in 1909, Dmitrii D. Protopopov published in the journal "Gorodskoe delo" ("The Municipal Work") an article about an excursion to England, organised by the German Garden City Association. The engineer A.K. Ensh published in 1910 several articles in "Zodchii" after his visit to Great Britain. Before this Professor Ensh lived in Siberia. In 1904 he was extern-professor of "The Construction Art" at the Tomsk Technological Institute, in 1905 he went to the Polytechnic Institute in Riga, Latvia.

Ebenezer Howard wrote in Letchworth on May 16, 1911 the following in the introduction to the Russian translation of his book: '*I am absolutely sure that Russia, with her enormous spaces of thinly populated land, is going to serve during a long time as an arena for a series of truly brilliant experiments in systematic city-planning*'. (1)

The Russian conditions seemed to be very favourable for the realisation of Howard's ideas. The urbanisation of Russia was behind other European countries, Russian towns did not have a high density structure, the country had plenty of space and was mostly flat.

One of the Russian followers of Howard stressed a favourable situation for adapting Garden cities in Siberia: '*the correctness and viability of the Howard's principles will be corroborated, when they could be applied to town which do have all the right preconditions for such development, being active centres of whole new provinces, effectively colonising virgin regions as towns of Siberia and Central Asia*' (Semionov 1912, p. 75).

We should mention one of Howard's Russian predecessors – prince Petr Alekseevich Kropotkin who was connected with Siberia. In 1862-1867 Kropotkin had worked as a state officer in Irkutsk. Maybe it

was in Siberia that he came to his ideas of the association of the factory with agricultural industry, the intercourse of the town and the countryside through industry and the connection of the townspeople with nature by combining the towns and agricultural activities, which was explained in his famous book "Fields, Factories and workshops". It may have Siberian origins because most of the settlements there had these peculiar combinations of the urban and agricultural features in contradiction with the extreme urban-rural polarisation of Central Russia; a townsman in Siberia led a half peasant tenor of life.

In the second decade of the twentieth century there was a flood of Russian books and articles on garden city and the new discipline of town planning by the architects and the activists of municipal movement, Alexander Block, Moisha G. Dikanskii, Grigorii D. Dubelir, A.K. Ensh, M. A. Kurchinskii, Vladimir N. Semionov etc. (Cooke 1976, 1978).

Vladimir N. Semionov, author of 'The Improvement of Towns' (1912) - one of the most important books in this field succeeded to bring his ideas to practice. In 1913, the Society of the Moscow-Kazan' Railway started to build 'the first garden city in Russia'. This was a settlement at the *Prozorovskaia* Station, designed by Vladimir N. Semionov and Aleksandr I. Tamanov (Tamanian), situated 40 kilometres east of Moscow. Experiments with the garden city became then more and more popular in Russia.

The garden city idea very soon came to Siberia. An important role played the propaganda by A. I. Petrov, who represented the Siberian town Barnaul at the London congress of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1914.

In 1915 the civil engineer Andrei D. Kriachkov designed 'a garden city following the English examples' for the Kazanka district in the Siberian capital Tomsk. But the design was not realised. One year later the Ministry of Transport decided to build garden settlements for railway employees of the Omsk and Tomsk railways in Siberia. At the same time, the stock company of Kuznetsk Metallurgy Mines began the construction of a garden city at Kuznetsk station near the villages Chernousovo and Gorbunovo, a *cul-de-sac* station of the privately constructed Kolchuginskaya railway, which was a branch line of the Trans-Siberian railway. Andrei Kriachkov was the architect who had designed the master plan for this station. There were nine different types of one-storey houses for railway employees, two-storey dwellings for bachelors, a brick factory and a four-storey building for the railway management. Kriachkov used a Neo-classical solution for the layout of the town with three radial streets starting from the Station Square. To create a sort of environmental buffer between the housing and the noise and pollution, Kriachkov placed a sanitary green belt between the blocks and the railway. Three radial streets of the layout of Kuznetsk were also present in Semionov design for Prozorovskaia. And of course the whole layout was an adaptation of Howard's diagram no. 3 'Ward and Centre of Garden City'.

In 1916-1919 the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Society developed plans for construction of the big metallurgical factory in Kuzbass. After investigations and discussions they chose a territory for the factory at the Tushtulep railway station near Kuznetsk. Together with the factory they designed a town for workers as a garden city. The layout of the town was very close to the one proposed by Howard. But the Civil war obstructed both plans and later on different place was chosen for factory and town. In 1918 Kriachkov became chief of the Department for designing of the constructions and settlements of "the garden city type" at the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Society housed in Tomsk. Three years later in 1921 Kriachkov designed the master plan for the colony of the workers with families of Kiselevsk Mine. In spite of some naïve details in

this plan we can conclude that the Siberian city planning was rather advanced. We can compare this design with the Extension plan for Amsterdam-Zuid (Amsterdam-South) of 1915-1917 by the godfather of the Modern Movement, Hendrik P. Berlage.

In Barnaul, the capital of the rich Altay region, *'a group of local intelligent people, who were familiar with the idea of Howard, founded the All-Russian Garden Cities Society'* (Petrov 1925). This group was headed by the manager of the Altay railway, A. V. Larionov, who even became the councillor of Barnaulian Duma after the elections of August 1917. In these elections there was a special list of the Garden Cities Society. The secretary of the Duma of Barnaul, A. I. Petrov, played an important role in the promotion of the garden city. Between the members of the Society were the civil engineers I. F. Nosovich, A.F. Il'in, Lupitskii and a local historian, G.D. Niashin. The Society declared: *'the main task of the Garden City is the right solution of the housing problem. Unhealthy density of population should be prevented. Every family should have healthy living conditions. Therefore the construction of many-storied houses will be absolutely prohibited. Exploitation of people in the household should be stopped. Every family, from any class, should have a house with a small lot and garden'*.

After a big fair in 1917, the Barnaulian Duma approved a master plan for the town as a garden city by the city-architect Ivan Kilist-Feodosievich Nosovich, and decided to start immediately the construction of the northern part. The terrain was laid out on 1 640 lots, which were divided. In contrast to the usual rectangular block system, the city layout had radial and circular streets as well as a lot of greenery integrated within its structure. On 30 January 1918 there was a meeting of the Council of the Society. It had announced a national competition for the designs of the Garden City's buildings and plans for the lots. They planned to publish coming projects in a book.

In 1918 the village in the coal-mining district Tsheglovo and surroundings got the status of town with the name Tsheglovsk. In 1918 the Territory Committee of Tomsk Province, to which Tsheglovsk belonged, decided to re-design it as a "garden city". For the design they asked engineers and professors of the Tomsk Institute of Technology, which therefore organised an open competition. Five projects were presented: by Prof. P. Zemskov, two by A. Kriachkov, by Ia. Nikolin and by P. Paramonov. The plan of the city-architect of Tomsk, the civil engineer P. A. Paramonov, won the competition and was subsequently executed. The main idea of this plan was to *'satisfy the demands of hygiene, comfort and beauty'*. Thus Tsheglovsk became *'one of the first examples of rational planning'* of Siberian towns in the soviet period (Petrov 1929, p.101). The new town was built on the left bank of the river Tom and consisted in two parts: the railway-station Kemerovo and the old village on the left bank of a tributary of the main river Tom, the Iskitim, and a never realised part on the right bank of it. The designer used a mixture of orthogonal and radial planning systems. The main streets radiate from the main centre, connecting it with the railway-terminal, boatlandings, the industrial district, market-squares and river crossings. On the Tom bank the main park was designed. Radiating main streets crossed polygons of secondary streets. At five of the crossings market squares were located. The so-called administrative and cultural enlightenment centre found a place in the geographical centre, far from the market's turmoil. For the industrial district the territory near the Tom was designated, away from the town. Each part of the town was surrounded by parks and public gardens. Around the inner part of the town a broad polygonal green belt was designed with radiating

wings to the peripheries, in which schools, kindergartens and other public buildings at district level were situated.

Petrov reported the following in the Esperanto Journal *Teristo* (later an English translation was published in the journal *Garden Cities and Town Planning* (2)): *'The third garden city was founded near the biggest town in Siberia – Omsk. Here, as well the housing problem has gone through its crisis, and in 1918 they rapidly brought into being a co-operative building society, which bought the property of Kulomzino, situated near Omsk at the railway station, on the bank of the river Irtysh, and divided it among its 900 members. Then several people joined the society who shared the ideas of Howard, and they succeeded in convincing all the members of the advantages of building a garden city instead of an ordinary town. They worked out the plan, bought a brick factory and worked energetically'* (Petrov 1925). In 1918-1919 the Society lay out the plan, prepared building materials. But when Soviets took power they liquidated this initiative. The land was given to the agricultural farm of the Omsk Communal Household. Later Kulomzino became the town Novo-Omsk. In 1926 more than 11,000 inhabitants were living there.

In 1921 two lectures were given at the Scientific Society in the Peoples Museum of Novo-Nikolaevsk. Petrov spoke about the International Garden City Movement and the engineer Zhuravlev about mass construction of houses, following the design elaborated by him on the basis of the Canadian house. The lectures brought enthusiasm and a Commission for the construction of the Garden suburb near Novo-Nikolaevsk was formed. It had found a lot, made negotiations about the lease of the sawmill but found counteract in the local government and ceased its activity.

Other attempts to construct garden cities in Siberia were made in Biisk and in the Altay's centre of native people, Karakorum.

As a conclusion about this period should be pointed out that after the February Revolution of 1917 and during the Civil War (end of May 1918 – march 1920) the attempts to build garden cities in Siberia were most close to the original Howard's ideas. They followed his ideas on the land question, they were formed as co-operative self-government structures and they had a population approximately as Howard had proposed. When the Soviets took power this situation changed: the land was nationalised and housing construction started to be centralised. Petrov had written *'everything was brought to an end by the revolution, stopping the functioning of private co-operative societies'* (Petrov 1925).

#### **After the Civil war in Siberia**

Nevertheless in the beginning of twentieths we find that Howard's ideas deeply penetrated Soviet Urbanism: the Russian Garden City Society was re-established, there was a discussion in the press, including the most important newspapers as "Pravda" and "Izvestiia". Garden suburbs were constructed all over Russia: in Briansk, Nizhnii Novgorod, Samara, Saratov, Tver', Vologda (railway settlement Kovyrino), Yaroslavl' (Davydkovo) etc.

One of the first Siberian garden city plans of this period was made for the new capital of Siberia, Novonikolaevsk, soon renamed Novosibirsk. The town had been developed on the basis of a regular rectangular block system with square lots for farmhouses from 1896. In November 1925 the engineer Ivan I. Zagrivko (Zagreev) made a draft plan for Novo-Nikolaevsk. It was a theoretical model for a reconstruction of the city under modern conditions according to principles of hygiene, economy and aesthetics. The author improved the existing rectangular block system by adding diagonal main streets

from the centre of the city outwards. In his plan the author I. Zagrivko applied Ebenezer Howard's ideas: the plan had a round shape, a ring road and a 'green ring', while a large part of the city was used for parks and play grounds, the creation of 'town-clusters' such as in Howard's diagram no. 7 'Group of Slumless Smokeless cities'. The plan of Novo-Nikolaevsk has some similarities with '*Die Stadt der Zukunft*' by Theodor Fritsch, who published his book two years before Howard, in 1896. This very schematic plan designed without economical and demographic calculation was not realised.

In 1926-1927 the Dutch architect Johannes B. van Loghem designed master plans for five Siberian towns, developed by the Autonomous Industrial Colony "Kuzbass" (Eggink 1998). Van Loghem described that before he came the new houses in Kemerovo were built near the coke-chemical factory and '*even specially in the way that all dust from the chimneys will come inside the houses*'. He insisted that '*near the houses and factories the parks should be laid out, that workers can go to their work and back through it*'. Later in his report for the "The Functional City" CIAM congress Van Loghem wrote about his urban design for left-bank Kemerovo: '*although the high buildings a la Le Corbusier had no sense here, I followed the principle of 'ville verte'. A direct link of the town centre with the natural surroundings was planned. The main square, with a theatre, a public building, a school and a shop, at one side stayed open to the greenery and nearby forest. Also between streets I always placed empty green spaces so that in the future, when the higher buildings will be constructed, there were still enough greenery. I designed the factory territory parallel to the river and separated it from the housing district by narrow green lines*'. In his 'functional city' Van Loghem orientated the roads mostly North-South so that the façades of the buildings came to the East or the West. This design was only partly realised and some of the houses were destroyed when the territory of the chemical factory was enlarged.

Now we come back to Mayakovsky's verse and Kuznetsk. There was already a district with the name 'Sad Gorod' (Garden City) near the railway station, when the architect of the Leningrad Project Institute *Gipromez*, Vladimir N. Taleporovskii designed the next plan for the town of Kuznetsk, together with the New Metallurgical Plant in 1928-1929. The town had three radial streets starting from the plant's management building. The central street was to connect the railway station with the management building. It had a lot of green spaces; some of the housing was designed as one or two storey cottages with gardens. The town planners designed for the new town two types of city blocks: one for qualified specialists from Moscow with 'city-type' houses and another for natives, (whose '*cultural level is not high enough and can not be increased rapidly*') with farms with truck gardens, cattle-sheds etc. It was the last Siberian urban plan, which was so close to the original Howard's ideas.

### **The built results**

There is not much inherited from this period in the development of the garden city in Siberia. Barnaul and Kemerovo (Tsheglovsk), the only two Siberian cities where we can find traces of their Garden city layouts. Tsheglovsk is an evident example: till 1926 the town was built according to the Paramonov plan. In total 868 houses were built on 17.6 hectares with a population of 6,457. The density of the town as a whole was very low: 35 inhabitants per 1 hectare. Most of the buildings, even in the central square, were constructed in wood. Where parks and boulevards had been designed, there were still untouched open grounds. There was no drinking water pipes in this town. Paving of the streets started only in 1928.

### **The Socialist town**

Although the critique on Howard's principles started already in the beginning of the twentieth, by the end of the decade they were still very influential. In 1926 Moisei Ya. Ginzburg wrote: *'for towns and workers settlements we do not have in mind something better than garden city with its small cottages, little courts and flower beds. By the way is this Howard's ideal not remain behind more than one decade from the presence and from our soviet presence even more?'* (Ginzburg 1926). Nevertheless the communist theories as that increase of energy and transport should stop the concentration of industry, cancel out A. Weber's theory of the scientific localisation of industry and realise the ideas of F.Engels - V.Lenin about the allocation of the population, were very similar with Howard's. And only the introduction of the industrialisation by the First Five Years Plan asked for the concentration of the industry, for the construction of giants of industry and new towns, Sotsgorods (Socialist Cities). Although some elements of the garden city were still preserved in the elaboration of the Socialist City, soviet town planners moved more and more away from Howard's ideas.

Again back to Kuznetsk. A closed competition was held in 1930 for the project of a settlement for the Telbesskiy metallurgical works (in Kuznetsk). The ARU (Association of Urban Architects), the VOPRA (the All-Russia Association of Proletarian Architects), the GosProect and others collectives took part in this national contest. The design by Alexander and Leonid Vesnin was a most interesting application of the Urbanists' theory in the history of Soviet architecture. Although participants often called the settlement designed by them "a garden city" and they paid attention to greenery, the accent of these projects was on the socialisation of daily life and searches for new types of commune houses and "housing combines". This competition was also crucial for the understanding what the Socialist town should be.

Some reminiscences of Howard's ideas in the plan of 1926 for "Greater Novosibirsk" were elaborated at the Design Bureau of Cartographic Publishing of the NKVD (Soviet Secret Service) under the direction of professor Boris A. Korshunov. Although, in spite of Howard's ideal, professor Korshunov and architect Dmitrii E. Babenkov designed Novosibirsk as a big city, they designed special districts with low density housing (cottages) and paid great attention to green planting and greenery as buffer from industry. A standardised block for the centre of the city was designed as "a new type of garden-block". One of such experimental residential blocks was built for the co-operation of the printing and sewing workers, 'Pechatnik' ('Printer'). A large part of the lot was given to greenery. There were terraced housing and buildings placed along perimeters. The system of public services included a cafeteria, day care facilities, a meeting hall, a reading room and a drugstore.

In 1930 the architects Dmitrii E. Babenkov, Alexander V. Vlasov and Nikolai H. Poliakov consistently applied the ideas of Le Corbusier's 'Une Ville Contemporaine' in the general plan for the Socialist City of Left-Bank Novosibirsk. This city was planned for 120-150,000 persons working on the *Sibkombain* plant. The functional basis for the layout of this "garden city" was the zoning of the territory with simultaneous creation of a cultural and service network. Industrial plants were allocated in one district, separated from the living quarters by wide green belts. Two green lines ran through the whole city, schools were to be situated there. Public buildings were to be decentralised: three district administration complexes were planned along with the central one. As to the idea of communal living, this project was influenced by the theory of the leader of the Urbanists, Leonid M. Sabsovich. The main cell of the city is a "living factory"

for 500-1,000 people, which architects considered as a *'new element of the city with an open plan put in the middle of the park'*. "Living factories", interconnected by walks on the first floor level, and created a continuous line of buildings.

In 1931 the German town planner Ernst May came, together with his international team, to Siberia. May inherited the British tradition and was directly influenced by the garden city movement - in 1910 he had worked on Letchworth and Hampstead with Raymond Unwin. But already May's Frankfurt practice was a compromise. In Russia he was forced to reject his favourable single-family home with garden. In his master plans for Siberian towns he used the principle of super-blocks, consisting of housing, hostels, crèche, kindergarten, school, hospital, canteen, supermarket and a cultural centre with club, cinema and sport field. The socialist town was understood as a sum of separate blocks, each of them should be self-contained in material and cultural requirements of their inhabitants. Schools were to be located in park strips, which ran through the whole city, for easy access and healthy conditions. As many others Soviet urban plans these of May's Brigade were not fully realised.

### **The Last Soviet Garden City in Siberia**

Later, after the long period of damnation of the modern movement by the Stalin regime, the 'Thaw' brought the revival of progressive urbanism. The Siberian City of Science - Academgorodok, a purpose-built academic town, is the latest and experimentally clearest realisation of Soviet Modernism and Soviet Garden City Movement. It is an application of all re-discovered progressive achievements of Soviet urbanism of the 1920-1930s: zoning, optimal transportation and pedestrian links, differentiated system of cultural and daily facilities, free-standing buildings, preservation of nature, using the landscape specifics, etc. The housing of the town consist of placed in the wood micro-districts and a special part for professors' cottages. In the autumn of 1959, at the time of realisation the experiment was suffering from political intervention: the First Secretary of the Communist Party, Nikita S. Khrushchev visited the town under construction, he did not understand the free standing buildings in the wood and found them unpleasant. He also advised the architects to make the design more compact and economic, to build four to five storey standardised buildings instead of high rise. As a result, the city was bereft of vertical accents.

The Garden Cities experiments in Siberia are obviously reflected in the intensive construction of dachas in the 1970-1980s, in which citizens, far away from the noisy and dusty city, relax in nature. The state did not undertake a lot of actions - the government just only allowed townsmen to buy in the country lots of around 600 square meters, to construct there houses and to form co-operatives of owners. And the mass construction of the dachas started. Not only more than half of the population spent weekends and holidays there, townsmen also get the main part of their provisions there. In the 90s cottages and villas appeared in abundance at the boundaries of the Siberian cities. It was the result of a new approach to the ideas of the Garden City. The authority realised that government can not solve the housing crisis and they gave lands, loans and subsidies to the individuals. On the contrary to dachas the cottages were not meant as temporary summer housing; this immediately worsened the transport problem. Both, settlements of dachas and cottages, had no green-planting, no communal facilities or public services. If the layout of dachas settlements turn back to the Russian tradition of the first decade of the twentieth century (same as dachas settlement near Moscow, illustrated in Semionov 1912, p. 48), the cottages and castles settlements



for new Russians were even more primitive – just the buildings along the car road, sometimes there are even no pedestrian ways at all.

The 1920-1930s and 1960s were a great period for town planning experiments in Siberia. The contemporary problem is to preserve the high potential of the urban structures, brought into the being in this period. The achievements of Soviet Urbanism: a lot of greenery, low density and the public services networks; which are so obvious for the Western European stranger, should be integrated in a new system, and not lose its urban quality in the process of densification of the cities' structure. In my opinion, the urban crisis, the difficult ecological situation and the requirement of the healthy environment ask for the realisation of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Garden City on Siberian grounds.

### Notes

1. Alexander Yu. Block finished the Russian translation of the revised edition of the Howard's book when he was in prison for anti-Tsarist activity. It was published in St Petersburg in 1911 'with introductions by both the author and the translator' under the title *Towns of the Future*.
2. The article, 'Mr. Howard's Ideals in Siberia' by A. I. Petrov was first published in the Esperanto Journal *Teristo*. As is well known, Howard was also Esperantist. In a speech in Esperanto (in Letchworth on August 13<sup>th</sup> 1907) he said: '*Garden City aims at achieving, in the sphere of everyday life, what Esperanto aims at in the sphere of languages*'.

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**EDWARD J. LOGUE AND THE PLANNING OF NEW TOWNS  
FOR THE STATE OF NEW YORK**

Ivan D. Steen

Department of History  
University at Albany, State University of New York  
Albany, NY 12222  
USA

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## ABSTRACT

The 1960s were not good years for most of the cities of the United States, which fell victim to urban blight and riots. Like many state governors, Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York sought to address these problems. He made several attempts to gain voter approval for the issuance of bonds to finance slum clearance and the construction of low-income housing, but to no avail. He responded to these failures by announcing, in 1968, the establishment of the New York State Urban Development Corporation, which would have the authority to raise a billion dollars by issuing its own bonds. It was expected that five times that amount would be raised from federal grants and private sources. Typical of Rockefeller, he sought the best talent he could find to head this super agency. The man he chose was Edward J. Logue, who had overseen major redevelopment projects in Boston, Massachusetts, and New Haven, Connecticut.

Under Logue's leadership, the Urban Development Corporation undertook many projects around New York State, but the most extensive were those that involved the establishment of new towns. This was an approach that particularly interested Logue, who favored the development of satellite new towns as a way of managing urban growth. A principal advantage they offered, he wrote, was "the opportunity to develop fair share housing programs, without the necessity of altering existing housing patterns, since all residents are volunteers." He was impressed by the successful new towns he had seen in England and in Scandinavia, and he was convinced that similar developments would offer substantial social and economic advantages to New York State. The New York State Urban Development Corporation planned and built three new towns: Radisson, outside Syracuse; Audubon, in the Buffalo suburb of Amherst; Roosevelt Island in New York City. Each of these was a distinct community, serving somewhat different functions.

This paper will examine the planning of new towns for the State of New York by the New York State Urban Development Corporation, primarily through the eyes of Edward J. Logue, its first president and chief executive officer. It is based on a series of taped interviews I conducted with him from December 1983 to July 1991. According to Logue, these were the most extensive interviews in which he ever had participated. He was an excellent subject, who never dodged any questions and was exceptionally candid in his remarks. In reviewing the transcripts of the interviews he made changes only to correct errors and improve clarity; even his occasionally salty language was left intact.

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By the early 1960s, the cities of New York, like those of many other states, were characterized by decaying business districts and the growth of substandard housing, conditions that were major contributors to the riots of that decade. New York's governor, Nelson A. Rockefeller, was determined to do something to address this problem, but by 1968 the voters of the state had rejected five bond proposals for slum clearance and low-income housing construction. The only solution seemed to be to establish an authority, which would be able to borrow without obtaining voter approval.<sup>1</sup> Early in 1968, Rockefeller asked the state legislature to establish what was to be known as the Urban Development Corporation. This was to be an agency with extraordinary powers, among which was the authority to issue notes and bonds up to \$1 billion, as well as to use other sources of public financing. UDC also could acquire land by purchase or condemnation, clear the land, plan and build projects, and establish subsidiary corporations. Its property would be exempt from local real-estate taxes. Of particular significance, it had the power to override local zoning and building codes.<sup>2</sup> The *New York Times* referred to this as a revolutionary plan.<sup>3</sup> Needless to say, these broad powers gave rise to significant opposition to the legislation. Much of that opposition came from mayors, especially New York City's John Lindsay, who particularly objected to UDC having the authority to override local codes, which was seen as an encroachment on home rule.<sup>4</sup> But Rockefeller was determined to have this legislation passed, and he worked very hard toward that goal, which was achieved on April 10, 1968.<sup>5</sup> An editorial in the *New York Times* of April 11 welcomed this recognition of the state's role in rebuilding cities, but

cautioned that UDC should not be allowed to destroy the home rule powers of New York and other cities, through its ability to ignore local zoning laws.”<sup>6</sup>

Even before the legislation to establish the Urban Development Corporation was written, Rockefeller approached Edward J. Logue, the former head of the Boston Redevelopment Authority to see if he would be willing to meet with him to discuss the proposed agency. Logue agreed. At that meeting, Logue indicated that he liked the concept, but pointed out that it would work only if it contained a provision allowing UDC to override local zoning and building codes. Thus, it was at Logue’s suggestion that this important provision was included.<sup>7</sup> Logue was asked to take on the job as UDC Chief Executive Officer. At first, he was reluctant. He liked living in his Beacon Hill house in Boston, had a summer home at Martha’s Vinyard, his children were in a good private school, and he was making progress in paying off the debt incurred in a failed attempt to get the Democratic nomination for Mayor of Boston. But Rockefeller addressed all his concerns, and Logue agreed to take on the job.<sup>8</sup> Logue was a good choice. While there were critics of his work in Boston, he accomplished a great deal during his tenure with the BRA. As Lawrence W. Kennedy has noted, Logue took a city in decline, worked with other visionaries to create a planning program, and wielded enough power to bring it to reality. Logue grasped the significance of economic, demographic, and social forces, and—most important of all—possessed an acute sense of political possibilities and realities.”<sup>9</sup> In Boston Logue had strong support from Mayor John F. Collins; in New York the support came from Governor Nelson Rockefeller. Logue had experience and drive, and he brought outstanding people into UDC. It should be emphasized, as Louis K. Loewenstein has pointed out, that seldom has such a staff of hard working and unusually talented persons ever been assembled. Precisely because they operated outside of the civil service system, Logue was able to attract (and to handsomely reward) almost without exception, people like himself who were dedicated and devoted almost to the point of being driven to the successful execution of UDC’s mission. The amount of work and the hours maintained by this group of zealots were prodigious. . . .”<sup>10</sup>

Central to all UDC housing development was the firm belief that, to quote from the 1969 *Annual*

*Report*, developments which cater exclusively to low-income families are undesirable. ✘ Rather, there should be a mixture, in which lower-income families live in a community with families of other incomes. . . . And so, UDC housing sought to provide for a cross-section of age groups and income levels in a diversified community, where the elderly are not isolated from the young. ✘ To accomplish this, UDC had a 70-20-10 formula--70 percent of all housing units on a particular site for middle and moderate-income families, 20 percent for low-income families and 10 percent for the elderly, ✘ with some variation possible depending on the project and local needs.”<sup>11</sup>

Logue was convinced that the best way to achieve this goal, as well to attack the problem of urban sprawl, was to create satellite new towns. He argued that new towns “offer the opportunity to develop fair share housing programs, without the necessity of altering existing housing occupancy patterns, since all residents are volunteers.”<sup>12</sup> He was familiar with earlier new towns in the United States, such as the “greenbelt” towns of the New Deal years, most of which had turned into little more than bedroom suburbs, and with later new towns, such as Reston, Virginia, which he considered to be a traffic obstruction. He thought the British new towns of Welland Gardens and Garden City worked well, but he was most impressed with Scandinavian developments, such as Vallengby and Farsta, outside Stockholm, and most particularly with Tapiola, outside Helsinki. Among the aspects of these Scandinavian towns that he especially liked were that they contained residents of different income levels and age groups, and that they provided a variety of social services. He also saw new towns as being efficient and cost effective, as opposed to suburban housing, which he considered a wasteful use of land. New towns, developed at one time on open land, allowed for economies of scale and intelligent and less costly installation of services, such as water supply and sewers. Logue related: “I just thought that we could take care of our growth that way, and save a lot of infrastructure money, and promote social harmony, and provide a positive environment for minority children. I couldn’t think of a single argument against it.” However, he concluded: “It goes against the American grain, there’s no question of it.”<sup>13</sup> Still, under Logue’s leadership the Urban Development Corporation developed three new towns: Radisson, outside Syracuse; Audubon, outside Buffalo; Roosevelt Island, in New York City.

**RADISSON**

The idea for developing the new town of Radisson, twelve miles northwest of Syracuse, originated with the Syracuse Metropolitan Development Association and some other local groups, who made the Urban Development Corporation aware of a large parcel of mostly vacant land that they believed to be suitable for this purpose. After studying the proposal and meeting with several local representatives, UDC purchased 2,300 acres of land in the Town of Lysander in June 1969.<sup>14</sup> The land was purchased from a local automobile dealer, who had recently acquired it. In a December 1988 interview, Logue related how he convinced this man to sell the land at a price UDC was willing to pay:

. . . I threatened him. I said, "Listen, friend, you knew that we were going to buy this land, and we are going to buy this land, and you probably think we're going to buy it from you at a great big, fat windfall. Well, I'll tell you what I'm going to do with you. We will pay you when we close with you what you paid plus six percent." In other words, about a year's interest. "And if that's not acceptable, that's all right with me, I'd kind of like to condemn it."<sup>15</sup>

The cost of this land was approximately \$2 million. But this initial capitalization did not create a significant debt for UDC, since, as Logue noted, it was financed with what was known as "first instance money." Logue explained:

Well, Thomas Dewey was the wartime governor of New York State, and said, "We're not going to cut taxes. Everybody's employed, everybody's making money. We're going to save it up, and we'll have this big capital surplus, because when the war is over, we're going to need to do this and do that. And that became the first instance fund. . . . it became a bank, in effect, a state bank. . . . you had to sign a repayment agreement. But the magic about this money was it didn't have any interest. So, unlike all my friends all over the country who were building these new towns and going bust, we were in great shape . . . . Paid two million bucks for the land in Radisson, and that's it. Whether it ever got paid back, I don't know, but I did sign a repayment agreement."<sup>16</sup>

Logue was pleased with the property UDC acquired. It was, he related, a "nice rolling piece of land," and it presented a great opportunity for development: ". . . what you can do when you own a couple thousand acres of land, you can create your landscape. It's like . . . I was thinking Olmsted, in Central Park. I don't want to put myself in his league, but . . . ." Still, he noted, ". . . we created lakes and ponds, and things like that. And it bordered the Erie Canal, which I thought was a great touch. So we started designing the new town . . . ." This job was given to "a fellow named David Crane, whom I knew

very well, had been my chief planner and urban designer in Boston, and had a consulting firm at that time in Philadelphia.”<sup>17</sup> The plan was to “develop a 795-acre industrial park, 5,000 residential units for an estimated 18,000 persons, and related public and community facilities . . . .” The town was to “be designed to focus the life of the new community in a small, lively pedestrian center which will include stores, offices and cultural, educational and recreational facilities.”<sup>18</sup> The first phase of construction was in the industrial park, where work began on the building of two structures in 1972. The purpose of this was to “make 120,000 square feet available to meet the needs of business tenants who would bring new jobs to the area, as well as pay full local taxes to support local government services and to help finance the Baldwinsville Central School District.”<sup>19</sup> The most significant economic development came in 1973, when the Joseph Schlitz Brewing Company began to build the world’s largest brewery on 188 acres of the town’s industrial park.<sup>20</sup>

As beneficial as Radisson would have appeared to have been to the region, it met with some significant opposition in its early stages. The primary opponents were residents of the adjacent Village of Baldwinsville, who tended to be politically conservative and distrustful of government. In January 1969 the Greater Baldwinsville Homeowners’ and Civic Association was formed. At this point, they knew very little about UDC’s plans, which were seen as being formulated in secret.<sup>21</sup> While Logue admitted that some basic planning had to be done before UDC could go before the local community, he maintained that local leadership was involved rather early on.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, by August 1969 fifteen residents of the Baldwinsville-Lysander area were appointed to the Community Advisory Committee.<sup>23</sup> A major concern of the Homeowners’ Association was that the new town would remove substantial acreage from the tax rolls. To address this issue an unusual step was taken. Logue lobbied for a bill, which the state legislature passed and the governor signed, requiring UDC to reimburse the local governments for any taxes lost as a result of the land acquisition. Well publicized cash payments by UDC were significant in quelling opposition to the development of the new town on these grounds.<sup>24</sup> Another fear of the Homeowners’ Association was that UDC, with its emphasis on providing a percentage of its residential development for low income families, would change the social composition of the area and potentially lead to an increase in crime.<sup>25</sup> This was a concern that Logue saw as purely racist.<sup>26</sup> Eventually, though,



opposition faded through UDC's policies of providing information, holding public meetings, and involving members of the community.<sup>27</sup> It should be noted that throughout this early phase of UDC involvement in establishing Radisson, the activities were free of any scandal, a fact that, as Harvey Kaiser has pointed out, "is a remarkable public record."<sup>28</sup>

By 2001, Radisson was 60 percent completed. The community's web site notes that when it is completed, it "will provide nearly 3,500 homes for up to 10,000 people as well as a large Corporate Park and a wide range of recreational, educational, cultural, shopping and community services." Single-family homes have been built in a variety of architectural styles. Other types of housing are townhouses, "patio homes," condominiums, and apartments. Children attend schools in the Baldwinsville Central School District, and it is expected that an elementary school will be built in the community. Approximately 3,000 persons are employed by the twenty-one firms located in the industrial park. The shopping center currently contains a gas station and mini-mart, but when completed its tenants are expected to be "a restaurant, bank, video store and several other specialty shops." Health-care facilities, day-care services, and a nursery school also are located within the community.<sup>29</sup>

## **AUDUBON**

The origins of Audubon, located in the Buffalo suburb of Amherst, are rather different. A major accomplishment of Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller was the development of the State University of New York. One of the system's four research university campuses was established in Buffalo when the formerly private University of Buffalo was absorbed into the state university. A large new campus for that institution was to be built in the Town of Amherst. In March 1969 Rockefeller asked the Urban Development Corporation to become involved in planning the development of the area in the immediate vicinity of the new campus.<sup>30</sup> According to Logue, "the mission here was to create a balanced community to serve and support the new university campus."<sup>31</sup> In June 1969 Llewelyn-Davies Associates of New York was commissioned to prepare a planning study. This was the American branch of the British planning firm headed by Sir Richard Llewelyn-Davies that, among other projects, had designed the British

new town of Milton Keynes. The Llewelyn-Davies report noted that “the potential rate and scale of new urbanization in Amherst was such that unless rigorous and sensitive planning of new development were exercised in the Town over the ensuing decade, large areas of vacant land surrounding the campus could be covered by a wasteful and ugly sprawl of residential and commercial projects which would destroy the natural resources of the area without meeting the needs of existing residents or new families.”<sup>32</sup>

UDC was to acquire approximately 2,400 acres of land north of the new campus, be responsible for the planning of the community, and to provide for the initial funds; but then it would be up to private developers and builders to “ultimately carry out and finance most of the construction.”<sup>33</sup> Acquiring the land for Audubon presented a very different situation from that process in Radisson, since in this case no single owner controlled a large parcel. UDC paid the small landowners what were considered very high prices for their holdings. Critics argued that this was too much to pay for land in an area subject to flooding. Logue agreed that they were correct, but, he pointed out, “what they didn’t realize is that if you’ve got a lousy fifty acres, your capacity to do anything about that problem is limited. But if you’ve got two thousand acres . . . .” He left the sentence unfinished. What UDC did was to create ponds and lakes that would act as retaining basins, but also would add to the aesthetic appeal of the area.<sup>34</sup>

Once the project began, the local UDC staff and Llewelyn-Davies Associates opened a joint office in Amherst. Involvement of local representatives was solicited, and public meetings and workshops were held to discuss the plans for the Audubon community.<sup>35</sup> This openness helped smooth the development process, but it was not entirely without controversy. In September 1971, officials of the Town of Amherst, concerned about the possible negative effect the new community would have on local taxes, sued to halt the project. By mid December, UDC was engaged in discussions with a committee chosen by the town board to try to come to an agreement.<sup>36</sup> This resulted in a contract between UDC and the Town of Amherst being signed on 22 June 1972. This agreement, the UDC 1972 *Annual Report* noted, stated “the specific terms of a partnership for development of Audubon . . . . under which UDC agreed to abide by specific restraints in return for Town cooperation . . . .” It was stated that this contract was “believed to be a national landmark in the harmonious adjustment of differing state and municipal objectives.”<sup>37</sup> According to the *Buffalo Evening News*, the Town of Amherst also was to receive payments in lieu of

taxes.<sup>38</sup> That September, the UDC Board of Directors adopted a plan for the development of Audubon. The plan called for the construction of 9,000 homes, for both rent and sale, which would provide housing for all income groups. It also provided that more than a quarter of the community would be “open space for both active and passive recreation.”<sup>39</sup>

The concerns over tax base, especially for the school districts, were assuaged considerably by the successful development of the Audubon Industrial Park, which soon contained forty or more businesses, all of which paid full property taxes, but made few demands on community services. Logue considered this “clearly the most successful industrial park in the state.” He drove around it in the summer of 1989, and related, “there’s almost no land left. And it means a substantial number of jobs.” He found the office park to be “pretty impressive,” although it was “slower coming.” Looking at Audubon from the vantage point of April 1990, Logue concluded: “The industrial and commercial part of it has done very, very well indeed. The housing has been slower than I would have expected . . . .”<sup>40</sup>

## ROOSEVELT ISLAND

Of the three new towns that UDC developed, the most significant, and the one in which Logue took the greatest interest, was the one situated on an island in the middle of New York City’s East River between Manhattan and Queens, and which came to be called Roosevelt Island. Most of UDC’s work in New York City was undertaken at the city’s request, but Roosevelt Island was Logue’s idea.<sup>41</sup> This was a trade-off for taking on several difficult assignments. Logue related how, after hiring Robert McCabe as his first general manager, he told McCabe to go out and look at the New York City sites. McCabe returned and said, “Hey, where did you get those things? Those sites are fit for goats. Of course, the city had given us the toughest sites they had, and they hadn’t been able to do anything with. And I said I wanted something else, and that’s the island. So I got the goat sites, and I got the island.”<sup>42</sup>

The island that Logue got is approximately a mile and three quarters long and eight hundred feet

wide, with an area of about 150 acres. For more than two centuries, it was known as Blackwell Island, and it was the site of a prison, an almshouse, a workhouse, and three hospitals. In 1921, the City of New York changed its name to Welfare Island.<sup>43</sup> Legislation signed by Mayor John V. Lindsay in August 1973 changed its name to Roosevelt Island.<sup>44</sup> The City of New York wanted to develop the island, but the cost simply was too great; and so it turned the development and management of the island over to UDC subsidiary, Welfare Island Development Corporation, and granted it a ninety-nine-year lease.<sup>45</sup> When UDC took over the island in 1969, it was largely vacant, except for two hospitals and a New York City Fire Department training school, leaving approximately a hundred acres for development. The opportunity to develop a new town within the borders of the nation's largest city was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for an ambitious builder with a vision, and Edward Logue seized that opportunity. Logue had several reasons for wanting to develop Roosevelt Island. When asked why he wanted Roosevelt Island, he replied: "Well, I rebuilt the waterfront in New Haven, I rebuilt a waterfront in Boston, I like moving water, and I always wanted to build a new town." Earlier, while consulting for Mayor Lindsay in 1966, he had visited the island and concluded that it was the right place for a new town. And then, he continued:

. . . I have a . . . serious interest in social justice, as I think Rockefeller did, and I saw this as an opportunity to do a lot of different things. I saw it as an opportunity to showcase urban design; I saw it as an opportunity to showcase economically and racially integrated living, because the great thing about a new town is the rules are set before you get there. There's nobody to displease because there's nobody there. And if they don't like our mix, well don't bother to come. And I also felt that the culmination of that would be public schools on the site. And we provided for stratified income, by percentages, so much of one income group, so much in another, and so much in another.<sup>46</sup>

In 1968, Mayor Lindsay had appointed a commission, headed by Benno C. Schmidt, to come up with a proposal for the development of the island. At the urging of UDC, they recommended the building of a new town. A team headed by architects Philip Johnson and John Burgee was retained to prepare a plan, which was submitted in October 1969. One year later, a model of the proposed new town was put on display at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Critic Ada Louise Huxtable praised the Johnson and Burgee plan as one that "creates a genuine urban environment in which the two elements consistently left out by the routine commercial developer are conspicuously present: the amenities and quality of

living, through design.”<sup>47</sup>

Johnson and Burgee stressed that the important elements of their plan were its spatial and functional organization, its massing, the development of open and closed spaces, and the recognition that multi-mix occupancy and multi-mix use are what it takes to make towns successful.”<sup>48</sup> To create this environment, they proposed concentrating housing and commerce in a tightly structured, fairly high-density town, with the rest of the island being left open.<sup>49</sup> Parks would occupy more than one-third of the island. There was to be only one street in the community--Main Street--which they planned as the physical spine as well as the organizing theme of the Town. Along that street would be the apartment buildings and shops. Those apartments, the tallest of which would be twelve stories, would house a projected 20,000 people, comprised of 30 percent low income, with a third of those designated for the elderly, 25 percent moderate income, and 20 percent middle income. The remaining apartments would be conventionally financed. To attract families with children, the plans called for a higher percentage than usual of apartments with more than one bedroom.<sup>50</sup> The UDC *Annual Report* for 1972 claimed that the provision of new public school spaces, immediately adjacent to the apartment buildings, was an important key to this cosmopolitan new community. . . . Because they were starting from scratch, these schools, it was believed, would provide the opportunity to incorporate the best approaches to modern education.<sup>51</sup> All action was to be on Main Street, which, Johnson and Burgee pointed out, was not to be straight, but rather bent to lend curiosity to your path--and to make its length (less than a mile, in any case) appear shorter than it is. Instead of cross streets there were to be free-lined pedestrian walks that were to lead between apartment houses to the river, east and west. . . .<sup>52</sup> Private automobiles were to be banned from the island. Cars could access the island by means of a bridge from Queens, but would then have to be left at Motorgate, a 2,500 car garage. The principal connection to Manhattan would be by way of a new subway line, and Johnson and Burgee pointed out that the subway station on the island was basic to their plan. That station was to be located at Town Square, a 150 by 150 foot pedestrian plaza, one side open to the river with a view of Manhattan. In addition to the subway station, Town Square would contain a glass-roofed shopping arcade. Transportation on the island would be provided by electric minibuses. Other construction on the island would include day-care centers,

indoor pools, office space, a three-hundred-room hotel, and necessary community facilities.<sup>53</sup>

Additionally, several landmarks on the island were to be restored, such as the Blackwell House (c. 1789) and the octagonal tower of the old New York Lunatic Asylum (1839).<sup>54</sup> One of the most interesting technological innovations to be employed on Roosevelt Island was its garbage collection system. This system, which had been used in Sweden, eliminated the need for garbage collection vehicles, by transporting the trash underground to a central point for compacting.<sup>55</sup>

But, as is often the case, reality interferes with dreams, and by May 1971 *New York Times* writer Ada Louis Huxtable complained that the island's original plan was being tragically eroded. . . .<sup>56</sup> When asked about this, Logue placed the blame on Johnson and Burgee. Philip Johnson's firm had made a stupid mistake, she claimed, explaining:

They were hired as the planning consulting firm to design Roosevelt Island, and I think they did an outstanding job; but they hadn't minded their calculations properly. Our calculations on working out the finances so that eventually this island would support itself were based on a build-out within a period of time which had some contingencies in it--a build-out of five thousand units, a hundred thousand square feet of office space, and a three-hundred-room conference hotel. It was five thousand units of housing. Philip was told that was the program, and he designed the plan which, if observed vigorously, would yield four thousand units. It was plainly and simply a piece of incompetence--I'm satisfied, by no means deliberate. And the way of the world was, that who has to stand up and decide something about that? I do. I have to face the fact, not evade it, recognizing that something's got to give. Either I've got to scale back the program to make it fit the four thousand units of income, or I've got to change the height lines. And I thought about it, I consulted with my staff and with others, I presented it to the Roosevelt Island Development Corporation with a recommendation that we change the height lines. And that added four or six stories to the maximum height of the buildings that would be built on that island. And there may have been two or three other minor changes.<sup>57</sup>

Another major problem had to do with the proposed subway connection with Manhattan. Ground was broken in Manhattan for the 63<sup>rd</sup> Street subway line by the time the lease for the island was signed, and construction of the Roosevelt Island station was to begin not later than June 23, 1971.<sup>58</sup> The completion of that line was the responsibility of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, which was headed by William J. Ronan. Progress on building that line was slow, and Logue was concerned, since, as he stated: Everything depended on it. He recalled: Finally, I had to face another reality. What the hell am I going to do? The son of bitch, Ronan, is not performing. Furthermore, he won't be honest

about it. Every year he gives me another deadline. ✕ Several alternatives were considered, until a staff member suggested an aerial tramway. While, as Logue pointed out, 🗺 there had never been an urban aerial tramway anywhere in the god-damned world, ✕ the technology was well established, and it was decided that this was the most viable option. However, the construction of a tramway was not covered by the lease for the island, and so it was necessary to secure approval from the New York City Board of Estimate. Working on the assumption that the subway eventually would reach Roosevelt Island, the plan was to have the Manhattan end of the tram at 72<sup>nd</sup> Street, which would be at the other end of the settlement from the subway. However, residents in the area opposed having the tram there, and they would have been able to block approval. Finally, it was decided to locate it at 60<sup>th</sup> Street, and Board of Estimate approval was secured.<sup>59</sup> The tramway consists of two cars, each capable of holding 125 passengers.<sup>60</sup> The ride takes about three-and-a-half minutes, and it has proved to be quite popular. Clearly, though, office space and a hotel would require the subway connection, and that did not come about until 1989. Also, the proposed shopping arcade in the vicinity of the subway station was never built, and so all shops are on Main Street. The tram and the subway are located near each other in an area that, as yet, is undeveloped.

One of the aspects of the Roosevelt Island plan that Logue held in highest regard was the establishment of public mini-schools. On that issue he clashed with Richard Ravitch, whose firm had been hired to manage the construction on the island. Ravitch, according to Logue, refused to 🗺 recommend building upper income housing on that site unless there was, in effect, a satellite branch of the Dalton School or equivalent: the very plush, upper-middle-class school which his kids went to. . . . ✕ Logue angrily told Ravitch: 🗺 . . . as far as I ●m concerned one of my basic goals in this project is to prove that I can get people at that income level to go to these public schools, and for you to deny that destroys one of the basic reasons for my wanting to do this project. ✕ Following this, Ravitch left the project.<sup>61</sup> In a 1991 interview, Logue proudly proclaimed: 🗺 Making those schools was one of the best things I ●ve ever done in my life . . . .<sup>62</sup> Subsequently, however, those schools were abandoned, and the New York City Board of Education erected a single public school building. Logue thought this was a mistake,

and in his unpublished 1998 ~~Reflections on Roosevelt Island~~, she wrote: ~~As~~ the school population grows with more housing completed, those schools should be returned to use, perhaps with the younger K-3 grades. Livingston Street [the New York City Board of Education headquarters] bureaucrats don't like small schools. They are wrong."<sup>63</sup>

There have been other variations from the original plan for Roosevelt Island. No longer are all privately-owned automobiles prohibited from being driven on the island, and parking is permitted on Main Street. ~~It~~ is disgraceful that parking is permitted on Main Street, ~~Logue~~ has written.<sup>64</sup> The free electric minibuses have been replaced by full size diesel buses with a 25-cent fare. The fine restaurants that Johnson and Burgee thought would be established there to take advantage of waterside locations have not arrived; there are just too many easily-accessible restaurants in nearby Manhattan. The innovative trash disposal system still exists, but recycling has made it less effective. Another problem is that Roosevelt Island apartments are all heated by electricity, which is more costly than other sources of heat. Logue explained how this came about: ~~What~~ we did do was accept an inducement from Con Ed that we would have bulk metering, not individual metering of your apartment. . . . And the inducement that we got was a capital subsidy per unit of housing of somewhere between one and two thousand bucks, which we thought was considerable. And our analysis at the time, and I recall . . . no internal disagreement within UDC or from anybody else about our doing that. ~~Logue~~ conceded that ~~in~~ the clarity of hindsight, ~~their~~ mistake was ~~to~~ go for bulk metering instead of individual metering."<sup>65</sup>

The most serious problem, though, is that the Roosevelt Island plan has yet to be completed. Beginning in 1973, UDC, with a great number of projects under construction around the state, was having difficulty in obtaining financing. By the end of that year, Logue had lost his most important supporter with Nelson Rockefeller's resignation as governor, federal funds for housing were being cut back, and the banks had lowered UDC's credit rating. Logue also blames his successor at UDC, Richard Ravitch, for the lack of progress in construction on the island, claiming that ~~when~~ he took over UDC, . . . he did not do one goddamn thing to move that project along."<sup>66</sup> Logue continued to be interested in Roosevelt Island, which he regarded as his most successful project.<sup>67</sup> In 1998, convinced that the Roosevelt Island Operating Corporation was not properly discharging its duties, he urged home rule for the island.<sup>68</sup> Yet



despite these problems, Roosevelt Island achieved many of the goals of its planners. It is, above all, a very liveable place. This island in the midst of New York City, with its residents all living in high-rise apartment buildings, is striking for its mixed population, now numbering about 9,000, who all seem to know each other. There appears to be a tremendous sense of community that I think would please Edward Logue very much. Of all the many citations that Logue received, this one from New York Municipal Art Society pleased him the most:

The Municipal Art Society of New York awards its Certificate of Merit to Edward J. Logue for personally seizing this opportunity and using all of his powers and skills to realize the very best of what is possible in making cities. Roosevelt Island is perhaps the most delightful place for living created in New York City in this century. We salute it for its playful tramway, for its charming riverine streets, and for the attention it pays to a broad range of design possibilities.<sup>69</sup>

## NOTES

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- <sup>1</sup> Annmarie H. Walsh, *The Public's Business: The Politics and Practices of Government Corporations* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1978), 266.
- <sup>2</sup> New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Annual Report, 1969* (New York: New York State Urban Development Corporation, 1970), 13.
- <sup>3</sup> *New York Times*, 28 February 1968.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>5</sup> Ibid., 10 April 1968; Eleanor L. Brilliant, *The Urban Development corporation: Private Interests and Public Authority* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath, 1975), 3.
- <sup>6</sup> *New York Times*, 11 April 1968.
- <sup>7</sup> Edward J. Logue, interview by author, tape recording, New York, N.Y., 13 December 1983; James E. Underwood and William J. Daniels, *Governor Rockefeller in New York: The Apex of Pragmatic Liberalism in the United States* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982), 137.
- <sup>8</sup> Edward J. Logue, interview by author, tape recording, Lincoln, Mass., 4 February 1985; Joseph E. Persico, *The Imperial Rockefeller: A Biography of Nelson A. Rockefeller* (New York: Simon & Schuster, c. 1982), 112-13.
- <sup>9</sup> Lawrence W. Kennedy, *Planning the City upon a Hill: Boston since 1630* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 250-51.
- <sup>10</sup> Louis K. Loewenstein, *The New York State Urban Development Corporation: Private Benefits and Public Costs: An Evaluation of a Noble Experiment* (Washington, D.C.: council of State Planning Agencies, 1980), 25.
- <sup>11</sup> UDC, *Annual Report, 1969*, 3.
- <sup>12</sup> Edward J. Logue, "The Idea of American is Choice," in Commission on Critical Choices for Americans, *Qualities of Life: Critical Choices for Americans*, 8 (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, D.C. Heath, 1976) 12.
- <sup>13</sup> Edward J. Logue, interview by author, tape recording, Lincoln, Mass., 2 Dec. 1988. See also: New York State Urban Development Corporation, *New Communities for New York* (n.p., 1970).
- <sup>14</sup> New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Annual Report, 1970* (New York: New York State Urban Development Corporation, 1971), 47.
- <sup>15</sup> Logue, interview, 2 December 1988.
- <sup>16</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid.

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- <sup>18</sup> New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Annual Report, 1971* (New York: New York State Urban Development Corporation, 1972), 45.
- <sup>19</sup> New York State Urban Development Corporation, *Annual Report, 1972* (New York: New York State Urban Development Corporation, 1973), 21.
- <sup>20</sup> UDC *Annual Report, 1973*. For an interesting story of how the Schlitz brewery came to be built, see: Logue, interview, 2 December 1988.
- <sup>21</sup> Harvey H. Kaiser, *The Building of Cities: Development and Conflict* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978), 77-79.
- <sup>22</sup> Logue, interview, 2 December 1988.
- <sup>23</sup> Kaiser, *Building of Cities*, 84-85.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 95; Logue, interview, 2 December 1988.
- <sup>25</sup> Kaiser, *Building of Cities*, 72-73, 82.
- <sup>26</sup> Logue, interview, 2 December 1988.
- <sup>27</sup> Kaiser, *Building of Cities*, 101.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.
- <sup>29</sup> [www.radissoncommunity.com/advantag.htm](http://www.radissoncommunity.com/advantag.htm)
- <sup>30</sup> UDC, *Annual Report, 1969*, 46.
- <sup>31</sup> Logue, interview, 2 December 1988.
- <sup>32</sup> Llewelyn-Davies Associates, *A New Community in Amherst: Interim Report to the New York State Urban Development Corporation* (New York, 1970), 1,7.
- <sup>33</sup> UDC, *Annual Report, 1970*, 56.
- <sup>34</sup> Logue, interview, 2 December 1988.
- <sup>35</sup> Llewelyn-Davies Associates, *New Community in Amherst*, 5, 23, 25.
- <sup>36</sup> UDC, *Annual Report, 1971*, 40.
- <sup>37</sup> UDC, *Annual Report, 1972*, 20, 50.
- <sup>38</sup> *Buffalo Evening News*, 20 June 1972.
- <sup>39</sup> UDC, *Annual Report, 1972*, 51.
- <sup>40</sup> Edward J. Logue, interview by author, tape recording, Boston, Mass., 9 April 1990.
- <sup>41</sup> Logue, interview, 4 February 1985.

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- <sup>42</sup> Edward J. Logue, interview by author, tape recording, Lincoln, Mass., 3 March 1986.
- <sup>43</sup> Ellen Fletcher, "Roosevelt Island," in Kenneth T. Jackson, ed. *The Encyclopedia of New York City* (New Haven and New York: Yale University Press and the New-York Historical Society, 1995), 1020-21.
- <sup>44</sup> *New York Times*, 21 August 1973.
- <sup>45</sup> Brilliant, *Urban Development Corporation*, 77.
- <sup>46</sup> Edward J. Logue, interview by author, tape recording, Lincoln, Mass., 31 October 1986.
- <sup>47</sup> *New York Times*, 7 October 1970.
- <sup>48</sup> Philip Johnson and John Burgee, *The Island Nobody Knows* (New York, 1969), 15.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.
- <sup>51</sup> UDC, *Annual Report, 1972*, 18.
- <sup>52</sup> Johnson and Burgee, *Island*, 15.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16; UDC *Annual Report, 1970*, 59.
- <sup>54</sup> Johnson and Burgee, *Island*, 9.
- <sup>55</sup> Logue, interview, 31 October 1986.
- <sup>56</sup> *New York Times*, 23 May 1971.
- <sup>57</sup> Logue, interview, 31 October 1986.
- <sup>58</sup> UDC, *Annual Report, 1969*, 35.
- <sup>59</sup> Logue, interview, 31 October 1986.
- <sup>60</sup> *New York Times*, 30 March 1973.
- <sup>61</sup> Logue, interview, 31 October 1986.
- <sup>62</sup> Edward J. Logue, interview by author, tape recording, Boston, Mass., 11 July 1991.
- <sup>63</sup> Edward J. Logue, "Reflections on Roosevelt Island," unpublished, copy in possession of author.
- <sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>65</sup> Logue, interview, 11 July 1991.
- <sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>67</sup> Edward J. Logue, interview by author, tape recording, Boston, Mass., 3 August 1988.

<sup>68</sup> Logue, "Reflections."

<sup>69</sup> Quoted in: Logue, "Reflections."

**Women's role in the evolution and development of British post-war New Towns.**

**Jacqueline Burton**  
**University of Luton (History)**  
**Luton**  
**Beds.**

## **Abstract**

As unique experiments in planned development, post-war new towns have been subjected to intense scrutiny. Their physical shape, urban design, architecture, transport systems, economic viability, administrative systems and socio-economic structures have all been the subject of much research.

One view of early new towns presented by the media was that they supported high levels of unhappiness which often led to feelings of isolation and depression, especially among working-class women. It was a view that was substantiated by the research of sociologists Willmott & Young (1957), who attributed what the press dubbed 'new town blues' to the disruption and breakdown of family kinship patterns, especially those of mother and daughter.

This suggestion of women being susceptible to 'new town blues' has been the subject of much debate. Academics like Jo Little, Helen Meller and the Matrix Group suggest that as the planning and architectural professions were male dominated, women's voices were not heard, and therefore women were marginalised, playing almost no part in making decisions about, or in creating their environments.

An opposing view is held by Dr. Mark Clapson who argues against the media portrayal of neurotic and depressed suburban housewives. He asserts that working class communities in particular are predominately matrilocal, and that within new towns, women's support networks were transferred to the new community in the form of pressure groups and social clubs that became the mainstay of community life.

By exploring and contrasting the degree and type of participation and involvement of women in the development and evolution of two British New Towns, Stevenage and Milton Keynes, this paper will consider the veracity of such views. Were women's voices and views marginalised as Matrix suggest? Or were, as Clapson asserts, women's networks transferred to the new town, thus enabling women to actively participate in community development?

The comparative nature of the paper between the two towns built twenty years apart will elucidate the role of women and will highlight both key differences, and compelling similarities.





## Paper

As unique experiments in planned development the post-war British new towns have been subjected to intense scrutiny. Their physical shape, urban design, architecture, transport systems, administrative systems, local economies and social structures have all been areas of considerable research. However, there has been little research on the role and position of women within the new towns. The negative portrayal of working-class women presented by sociologists like Willmott and Young and the media has overshadowed the active participation of women, particularly educated middle-class professional women.

The intention and focus of this paper is to highlight the role of such women to the evolution and development of two specific New Towns, Stevenage and Milton Keynes and test the veracity of suggestions that women were subsumed into a male vision of planning and that their voices were not heard.

## Stevenage

Stevenage, thirty miles to the north of London, has the distinction of being the first New Town to be designated in 1946. It was conceived at a time when women were viewed by government, not as part of the work force, but as mothers, fulfilling the traditional role of keeping home and raising children. In spite of this, however, the town has the distinction of being the first new town to appoint a woman as chairman of its Development Corporation, and additionally, the dubious privilege of dismissing its chairman.

The Board of Stevenage Development Corporation was appointed in November 1946 and consisted of seven men and two women. The two women were Dr. Monica Felton, who was appointed deputy chairman, and Mrs Elizabeth McAllister, a freelance journalist and long time advocate of forward town planning. Felton was an outspoken controversial figure who passionately believed in the concept of new towns, seeing them as part of a post-war utopian vision of the future. Some felt her appointment inappropriate, because of her friendship with Housing Minister Lewis Silkin, but her expertise of housing and planning gained from her work as a member of the LCC, in addition to her participation on the Reith Committee, meant that she had both considerable experience and the necessary qualifications to undertake the role. In October 1949, after a short spell as Chairman of Peterlee Development Corporation, she returned to Stevenage as Chairman of its Development Corporation, remaining so until her dismissal following a visit to Korea, in April 1951.

Felton contributed to the evolution of Stevenage in a most significant and enduring way, her insistence on a pedestrian town centre. In August 1947 she was invited to join town planning delegates from America on a fact finding tour of Eastern Europe. At Zlin in Bohemia the design of the town centre particularly impressed her. It consisted of a landscaped pedestrian

square, around which a department store, smaller shops, restaurants, a hotel, and a cinema were situated. Industry was located nearby and workers could easily reach the main square during their lunch breaks.

Her subsequent report to the Board of Stevenage Development Corporation emphasised the desirability for a similar design with a central pedestrian square and the juxtaposition of industry, commerce and leisure, which she felt sure could be adapted for use in Stevenage. In spite of the circumstances surrounding her dismissal in 1951 her commitment to, and influence on the design of the town's pedestrian centre is acknowledged by a memorial plaque that states 'Under her guidance the Corporation decided to create the fully pedestrian Town Centre.'<sup>i</sup>

Another woman who was especially influential in determining Development Corporation policy was Miss Mary Tabor, who was appointed Housing manager in 1951. A pupil of Octavia Hill, the housing reformer, she demonstrated through her appointment that she was not a 'token woman', but a powerful and influential officer of the Corporation who had a significant and far reaching impact upon the development of the new town and its social structures. Tabor was a highly educated and forthright person who believed in the principle of council housing, and when asked at interview about the scope of a housing manager replied that an important aspect of the role was to be 'able to tell the architects what works.'<sup>ii</sup> And that is exactly what she did! When she saw that a particular house design was clearly not what the tenants liked she talked to the architects, about modifying the design. As well as passing on tenants views on housing, Tabor participated in discussions concerning the general design and landscaping of complete neighbourhoods, and was particularly concerned about the siting of community centres, which she believed should be at the physical centre of each neighbourhood. Unfortunately, she was unable to influence the location of the first community centre which was situated next to a secondary school. This, in Tabor's view, was absolutely the wrong place, and when discussions for a second community centre were taking place, she was determined to voice her opinion. On her own authority she took the architects to where she felt would be a suitable location in the middle of the neighbourhood, and managed to convince them that it was the only possible place the centre should be built!

Tabor's contribution to the evolution and development of Stevenage was not limited to her housing work. She was personally involved in many formal and social organisations. She was a founder member of the Stevenage Forum. The Forum was a discussion group, consisting predominately of professional middle-class people, who were concerned to have a voice in how the town developed. The range of subjects considered and the depth to which they were discussed by members of the group, and invited experts, led to the Forum becoming a very influential and respected force in the town. When it became apparent in the Autumn of 1953 that the Corporation, without consultation, had abandoned plans for the pedestrian town

centre, the Forum organised a public meeting that spurred residents into protest which eventually forced the Corporation to proceed with the original plan.

It is apparent from the sheer number and diversity of clubs, interest organisations, and support or protest groups initiated by women in Stevenage, that far from being marginalised or excluded, they became in fact as Durant suggests 'the main stay of community life.'<sup>iii</sup> Some groups formed were local branches of national organisations, the Townswomen Guild for example, while others were formed more along the lines of social and support club for mothers and toddlers. Other groups were formed to agitate for or protest against specific issues, for example the pedestrian shopping centre, a footbridge across a busy main road, the safe-guarding of public open space, or the adequate provision of school places. The women who moved to Stevenage had chosen to move away from traditional close knit communities. Far from becoming isolated and depressed, the women used their knowledge and experience gained from the old communities to form new social, support and protest networks that undoubtedly influenced the development of the town.

### **Milton Keynes**

Milton Keynes was designated in 1967. It is unique within the New Towns programme, in that its Master Plan encompassed an explicit programme for social development. The role of women in society in 1967 was very different from that of 1946. A more affluent society, the changing nature of industry and working patterns, and the rise of 'Women's Lib' had altered the perceptions and expectations of many women. The government was no longer urging women to stay at home and raise families, the emphasis was on choice, and women had become a significant part of the country's work force.

The first Milton Keynes Development Corporation was formally established on 13 March 1967. The Board consisted of nine members, seven men and two women, Baroness Serota (JP and Labour Chief Whip, G.L.C.) and Mrs A.M. Durbridge. Mrs Durbridge was a member of Buckinghamshire County Council, a local magistrate, a school governor, and incidentally, a founder member of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (an organisation that opposed the designation of Milton Keynes). Baroness Serota resigned from the Board within the first year, thus leaving Durbridge the sole female member. She was a proactive board member with a special interest in education, health, transport and the arts. She served on many committees including those of Social Development, Public Relations, and Housing where her judgement was highly valued. Furthermore, she became chairman of the Social Policy Committee whose brief was to liaise with local authorities and voluntary groups on matters of social development and subsequently make recommendations to the Board on the formulation of working policies that would lead to achievement of Master Plan social objectives.

In spite of being the only woman on the Board, hers was not the only female voice that influenced the planning and development of Milton Keynes. Other women, particularly Miss Suzanne Beauchamp, a member of the consultant team Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier Walker and Bor, played a significant part. Beauchamp was principally concerned with the social development aspect of planning. In May 1969, Beauchamp was asked by the Board to prepare a report that clearly defined the nature of the social development proposals that were to be included in the final master plan. Her report rejected a social development programme of 'clearly defined policies and responsibilities' in favour of a more flexible programme that simply defined the 'main principles by which ... policies and responsibilities should be determined.'<sup>iv</sup> Beauchamp viewed the provision of social facilities, therefore, not as the function of social development, but as a catalyst to ensure their provision where and when there was a need.. However, she emphasised the importance of vigorously promoting all social facilities, whether informative, physical or administrative within the new city.

Beauchamp agreed with the principal of arrivals workers, as recommended in *The Needs of New Communities*.<sup>v</sup> She believed, however, that arrival work should begin before the move to Milton Keynes, and stressed in her report the importance to community development of sufficient information concerning housing, education, health and recreational facilities, and employment opportunities being readily accessible to future residents before they moved to the town. In order to accomplish this, she suggested the establishment of an information office in London where all interested parties could obtain detailed information. Her recommendation directly influenced corporation policy and wheels were put in motion to establish a London office.

Beauchamp regularly attended meetings of both the Social Development and Housing Committees and her expertise was highly valued. So much so that, even after formal arrangements with the consultants ended, the Social Development Committee decided that she should be kept informed of their activities and be given an open invitation to attend any of its meetings when subjects under discussion were of particular interest to her.

Milton Keynes Development Corporation placed a great deal of emphasis on encouraging social cohesion and community development, and to this end employed a full time community artist. Liz Leyh was the first recipient of a bursary given by the Arts Council for an artist to work in a new town. She believed that "people should be given the opportunity to contribute ideas for the design of public spaces as well as contributing to making these in their own neighbourhoods,"<sup>vi</sup> and encouraged residents to become active participants within their communities. Leyh's contribution to the provision of art in Milton Keynes, her creative guidance in developing local environmental character, and her influence on community development throughout the four years she was community artist is significant.. The small

herd of life sized concrete cows she created as a parting gift to the town, are an enduring memorial of her community art work and have attracted widespread attention, not all of it complementary. Corporation chairman Lord Campbell paid tribute to her work as community artist, asserting publicly 'there is many an underpass or other public corner which has been enlivened by Leyh's painting and models...her concrete cows, known as the corporations sacred cows... have given a great many people great pleasure.'<sup>vii</sup>

As in Stevenage women living on the new housing estates were influencing and directing the development of Milton Keynes by their actions, protests and participation in social networks. One of the issues that particularly gained the support of women, was the campaign for the building of a district general hospital. The Hospital Action Group (HAG) under the chairmanship of Mrs Margaret Jones, a local teacher, came into existence in 1973 following a public meeting attended by several hundred people. Jones was a determined woman, who co-ordinated and organised the campaign through its many phases of development, becoming equally adept at lobbying parliament and negotiating with health authorities, as she was at maintaining public interest or raising funds. In January 1978 she led a deputation to meet Health Minister, Mr Roland Moyle, and presented him with a petition containing over twenty thousand signatures supporting the need for a hospital. The meeting was very successful and the deputation was given assurances by the Minister that money would be made available. It is not unreasonable to assert that the success of the Hospital Action Group would not have occurred without its chairman, Mrs Jones. Beyond doubt her skill, determination, and tenacity in leading the Hospital Action Group determined events and undoubtedly influenced the development of Milton Keynes.

## **Conclusion**

In both Stevenage and Milton Keynes research has shown that women, contrary to media portrayal and popular perceptions of passivity, were involved at all levels of planning and development and both directly and indirectly through their actions contributed to and influenced the evolution and development of the towns. However, study of Stevenage, the earlier new town, has shown it to be the more liberal in its approach to appointment of women to positions of authority. The women were well educated, middle-class, and highly motivated professionals, confident in their particular area of expertise. They shared a belief in a utopian vision that new towns could become the means to a better way of living. Middle-class women in the community were both socially and politically aware, and were usually the initiators and leaders of organisations concerned with environmental and health issues.

Unlike Stevenage Development Corporation, who had appointed Miss Tabor as Housing Manager, Milton Keynes Development Corporation did not appoint any women as heads of department, therefore, women employed by the Corporation had no direct access to the

decision making process. Given the improved position of women in the nations workforce, this is surprising.. The reluctance to appoint women to positions of authority is reflected in correspondence concerned with the appointment of Margaret Durbridge, held in Development Corporations records for 1967-1971 at the Public Record Office in groups HLG 115/116.

The planning consultant firm of Llewelyn-Davis, Weeks, Forestier Walker and Bor clearly did not have such reservations and actively sought the views and opinions of women, particularly those of Beauchamp. Her report on the process of social development directly influenced the formulation of a master plan and hence the way in which the new town evolved.

A major similarity between Stevenage and Milton Keynes is the way women of all social classes organised themselves into groups, clubs and associations that through protest, and negotiations with authority were able to influence and determine policy. In both towns women with young children were predominately concerned with what has been termed 'the domestic sphere', meaning issues that concerned the well being of their children in terms of education, health and environment.

Both towns had a proliferation of interest and protest groups initiated by women, which were extremely successful. Although the majority of these groups did not influence policy decisions as to the way each town developed it should be recognised that without the presence of such groups each towns development would not have been as rounded or complete as it was.

Analysis of research so far indicates that Durant's assertion that women's networks became the mainstay of community life were correct. Although women may well have been under represented within certain professions their voices were heard, and indeed in many cases it was women who directed policy.

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<sup>i</sup> Stevenage Development Corporation minutes, CNT/ST, File ScE/F3, 19 November, 1970.

<sup>ii</sup> Mary Tabor, personal interview (taped), 7 July, 2000.

<sup>iii</sup> R. Durant, *A survey of Life on a New Housing Estate*, (London: P.S. King, 1939).

<sup>iv</sup> Suzanne Beauchamp, 'Social Development', July 1969.

<sup>v</sup> Ministry of Health and local Government, *The Needs of New Communities*, 1967.

<sup>vi</sup> Elizabeth Leyh, *Concrete Sculpture in the Community*, (London: Inter-Action, 1980), p.VIII.

<sup>vii</sup> *Milton Keynes Gazette*, 20 October, 1978.

## **“Le Cottage:”**

### **Rehousing the Urban Multitudes in 1900, Brussels and London Compared**

The teeming, chaotic, and congested capitals of Belgium and Britain troubled reformers in the first two industrialized societies in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. These cities into which workers and their families were flowing at an ever intensifying rate loomed as an increasingly unnatural habitat for civilized men and women. The bourgeoisie had already abandoned Brussels and London for the restful greenery of the suburbs and rural villages where they retreated every evening to begardened villas. That left the city at night to the ever-growing mass of workers who had migrated to the cities in search of work, forever further subdividing the bourgeoisie's abandoned residences or seeking sheltering in the notorious rookeries and impasses.

The workers dwelt in sordid quarters amidst the stately monuments and wide avenues envisioned and built by ambitious planning mayors such as Jules Anspach. These districts of densely packed hovels and tenements rendered the city itself suspect to the bourgeois who rarely ventured from the safety of the major boulevards. The city came to be identified in the middle class imagination with masses—multitudes of workers, of criminals, of vermin. Bad air, criminal conspiracies, revolts, putrid water, all festered in the urban center.

The tumbled down tenements and malodorous hovels of the poor, hidden from light and the gaze of passers-by, frightened the middle class. Epidemics and debauchery were spawned at the core of the ever expanding capitals, criminal conspiracies and rebellions were bred. Gustave

Dore's haunting image of the London slums under the railway trestle over which the suburban middle classes rushed on their way to and from work captures the "otherness" of the dark, shadowed urban world.<sup>i</sup>

Belgian and British reformers recognized that they were confronting a common crisis in their urban capitals. The industrialization and urbanization that had transformed British society at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century revolutionized life in Belgium just a few decades later. Belgian reformers watched intently as the British struggled to cope with the profound changes wrought by the economic and technological revolutions.

According to Belgian and British reformers alike, if unsanitary, crowded urban tenements foretold the downfall of civilized society, then tidy housing would nurture the moral and physical well-being of a responsible citizenry. These reformers also shared dreams of a remade respectable working class residing outside a reconfigured urban space.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Belgians and the British alike adopted residential dispersion as the solution to their shared crisis of urban overcrowding. Toiling masses by day, Belgian and British workers and their families would be separated each night in individual cottages spread through the countryside. Respectable workers would commute like the middle class. Belgian and British reformers were convinced, with an optimism that defied all reason, according to the late Professor Dyos, that the urban crisis would be resolved by removing the regularly employed respectable workers from the city, restoring them each evening in a cozy cottage.<sup>ii</sup> How they accomplished that dream is the story I will tell this afternoon.

By the turn of the last century in London, if not so decisively in Belgium, housing reformers had begun to question seriously the efficacy of rehousing workers in the massive tenement blocks where, in the words of George Gissing, "the weltering mass of human



weariness, of bestiality, of unmerited pain, of hopeless hope, of crushed surrender, tumbled together within those forbidding walls.”<sup>iii</sup> In his report to the International Congress on Affordable Housing, Raymond Unwin suggested that not only were these large-scale housing developments “ugly,” but it was impossible to “give any expression to the sense of homeliness” in tenements that “consist of the repetition of tiny cell-like units.”<sup>iv</sup> It made little sense, the editors of The Times reiterated, to replace vertical overcrowding for lateral overcrowding. The effect was the same—too many people crammed into too small a space. The masses might shelter in high-rise urban blocks, but individuals and their families should reside in separate cottages.

"Block dwellings common enough in some places...never appealed to the English," one London reformer proclaimed.<sup>v</sup> The British had no long-standing tradition of flats. The Builder observed that an English woman who traveled on the continent relished her return to her home, the domestic English have. “The Insular wife and mother has enjoyed in Paris or Vienna, hotel-life, café-life, garden-life, and out of door life, of every description, but no home-life; and she draws the rapid inference that ‘home,’ both in name and fact, is exclusively English.”<sup>vi</sup> The philanthropists who had borrowed from continental capitals these “tall blocks containing great heaps of humanity” had led Londoners down a dead end.<sup>vii</sup> The British housing reformers concluded that large blocks of flats belonged on the continent, rather than in Britain.<sup>viii</sup>

The Belgians were not so sure. Several Brussels housing reformers shifted the question, suggesting instead that multi-story urban dwellings belonged in Paris, not Brussels.<sup>ix</sup> The mayor of Brussels, Charles Buls summed up the prevailing Belgian sentiment when he declared: “We do not like the ‘huge barracks’ divided into apartments. Like Dante, we want to ascend our own stairway.”<sup>x</sup> Perhaps, Buls speculated, that explained why the few multi-storey blocks that had been built in the center of Brussels were occupied by foreigners, not Belgians. The Belgians

loved their “*home*” as much as the British, he asserted. Other Belgian reformers contrasted the “workers' barracks, less healthy than prisons” with the “small well-aired houses lodging one family surrounded by a corner of greenery.”<sup>xi</sup> Flats in the city constricted their lodgers, “cubes of masonry, rental machines constructed by the devil,” lacked a soul, the editors of the Belgian journal, Le Cottage complained in his call for *l'exode urbain*—the return to the countryside.<sup>xii</sup>

This distrust of the dense vertical housing directed most of the reformers outwards towards greenery in their search to secure morally uplifting housing for urban laborers. With the exception of a few Socialists in Brussels who defended the right of the workers to remain in the city rather than being shunted off to reservations like the American Indians, British and Belgian reformers dreamed of a future when “the face of the whole land may be made merry with colonies of cottages and with smiling gardens and orchards, verdant meadows and waving corn, happy village workshops, and beautiful buildings.”<sup>xiii</sup>

These housing reformers drew their inspiration from the development of garden cities in Britain. Like the garden city visionary, Ebenezer Howard, who feared that the further degeneration of urban life spelled doom for civilization, they too expected to transform society by radically changing the physical environment in which people lived. The influence of the garden city developers on the London County Council can be traced directly through the band of young architects hired to design the Council housing estates on the edge of London. Less concretely, it can be seen in the optimism that drove reformers on both sides of the Channel beyond the city in their quest for a solution to the urban housing crisis.

The reformers on both sides of the Channel adopted the cottage as a distinctly anti-urban form. This romantic William Morris-inspired vision of garden-surrounded cottages flourished around Brussels as well as London. Cottages assured families the privacy denied by shared

tenement corridors. The isolation afforded by greenery also helped to prevent the spread of epidemics, the scourge of urban life. But more than that, cottages enhanced home-life. Throughout the period, Belgian architects borrowed cottage plans from these English developments. The Belgians adapted British designs with an eye toward incorporating the best traditional features of Belgian peasant dwellings. They scaled back some of the features that the British reformers borrowed from their own middle class villas.

The most striking confirmation of this trend was the move of the Progressives on the London County Council to build cottages on the periphery of the city. In 1898, after building its own blocks with the city, most notably Boundary Street Estates in East London, the London County Council resolved to use the full powers granted to them by the 1890 Housing Act, to buy land and construct housing for workers outside of the County. Over the next decade, the LCC would build four housing estates designed for working class families at the boundaries of the city. The municipality itself, rather than private developers, constructed the workers' cottages in clustered developments.

The first building phase at Totterdown Fields was completed by June 1903. Each of the homes had its own small back garden and a plot at the front. Designed to resemble country houses, the cottages also had porches. Attention to detail clearly mattered to the architects in this high density development; bay windows overlooked the streets and gables broke up monotony of the small houses. Contemporary observers lauded the London County Council architects for their ingenuity in the pleasing and varied design of the simple cottages that differed so markedly from previous municipal building for the working class.<sup>xiv</sup>

The layout of the streets for the second LCC project, Norbury Estate, resembled Totterdown Fields. The brick paving and low walls lent a rural feeling to the Norbury estate.

Critics ridiculed the fanaticism of the LCC's unsuccessful attempt to manufacture bricks from local London clay.

It was on their third estate, White Hart Lane, that the Progressives on the Council sought to put into practice their complete vision of a workers' garden city.<sup>xv</sup> The eight different house plans for White Hart Lane relied on bay windows and gables to distinguish one house from the next. Once again, however, the architects found themselves limited by the grid pattern of the streets necessitated by local bye-laws. Funding requirements also meant a density of 30.5 houses per acre.

The Council bought land in Acton in 1905, but given the shift in control away from the Progressives, it did not begin building the Old Oak Estate until 1912. Once completed, the Old Oak Estate in Acton was lauded as the highest architectural achievement of the LCC for its innovative grouping of houses around an open common area. Borrowing ideas from town planning at Hampstead, observers reported that the estate resembled "a fairy tale village."<sup>xvi</sup> In comparison with Barnett's Hampstead, however, the necessity of economical construction defined limits on the design of Old Oak.

These constraints aside, advertisements for the London County Council estates depicted happy, robust children romping in gardens around stucco cottages.<sup>xvii</sup> Surrounded by parks but lacking pubs, with public libraries and quiet tree-lined streets, but without carnivals and street football games, and with clearly demarcated boundaries between public and private spaces, it was implied that "respectable" London workers could live like the bourgeoisie in the suburbs away from the temptations of urban life.<sup>xviii</sup>

In much the same way, Belgian reformers promoted the benefits of life beyond the city. Belgian laborers' families too would maintain their innocence in the bucolic countryside, far

away from the noise and bustle of the capital. But the Belgians followed a very different path towards this end.

In the first place, in contrast to the organization of the London County Council, the nineteen municipal governments of Brussels remained administratively distinct throughout the period, despite intense lobbying the Belgian parliament for amalgamation. That bothered Charles Buls who fantasized that given a different administrative structure, he too could design workers' housing in the suburbs of Brussels. As in London, he dreamed that the Brussels laborers residing in single family suburban houses, would be able to enjoy public services as well as easy access to the center of the city and employment by the abundant public transportation.<sup>xix</sup>

Buls, and the other Brussels Liberal were forced into a compromise by the Socialists on the Communal Council planning vertical housing for workers inside the city, long after their London counterparts had abandoned such schemes. They modeled the Cité Hellemans, completed in 1912, on Hornby Street in Liverpool.<sup>xx</sup> The apartments in the seven blocks were laid out to give each family a kitchen, a common room and bedrooms, usually three, for independent, separate sleeping of parents and children. Provisions closets in the kitchen aired directly to the outside. Between the housing blocks, asphalt public spaces gave the children places for their games out of traffic but above all, the spacing allowed the sunlight to penetrate all of the buildings.<sup>xxi</sup> The outdoor life of the family was channeled onto private gallery-type balconies and individual gardens. Underlying the construction plans was the goal of creating the conditions for independence for each family with the explicit aim of dissipating the sociability of worker neighborhoods.<sup>xxii</sup>

Although the Council of neighboring Schaerbeek also constructed housing for its workers within communal limits, it dispersed the sites throughout the commune. For the most part

housing to accommodate Brussels workers was constructed by private housing societies with loans extended by the semi-private savings and loan bank according to the terms of the 1889 Belgian housing legislation. Like the suburban Londoners, most living in housing constructed by private developers or co-partnership tenants' societies, the home-owning Belgian laborers were to be safely removed each evening from the urban promiscuity that the bourgeoisie on both sides of the Channel so feared.

In contrast with Britain, Belgian reformers believed that workers could be induced to save and could hope to own their own house. They imbued home ownership with sacred characteristics.<sup>xxiii</sup> Surrounded by their own flower and vegetable gardens, workers would weather frustration and discouragement.<sup>xxiv</sup> A leading Brussels housing reformer explained, through facilitating home ownership, "One thereby inculcates little by little into the working populations, the special faculties that have distinguished the bourgeois classes, the moral forces that have come through a long series of struggle, the traditions of a series of meritorious generations."<sup>xxv</sup> As Seebohm Rowntree pointed out in his 1909 comparative study, the property-holding systems of the two countries had significant consequences.<sup>xxvi</sup>

The other major difference was that rather than advocating migration to the suburbs for the workers, most Brussels reformers championed the healthy life of the countryside. Advertisements in Ma Maison extolled the benefits of rural living.<sup>xxvii</sup> The Belgian reformers encouraged individual laborers to build their own houses in the countryside with the assistance of the CGER (the semi-public Savings and Loan Bank) and the Housing Committees. From their cottages, the Belgian workers would be able to commute daily on the workmen's trains to jobs anywhere in Belgium. Housing reformers trumpeted the unique benefits to be enjoyed by Belgian workers with their nationally subsidized system of workmen's trains, a marked contrast

to the private British railways that fought against the introduction of workmen's fares. While the British struggled to transplant workers to the suburbs, the Belgians worked to keep workers from migrating to the cities in the first place.

Their two different patterns led to the same ideal. That they followed a common dream of an individual abode surrounded by greenery can be seen in the plans for workers' housing published during the period. A model "inexpensive self-standing house" built by the semi-private savings and loan bank for the Exposition Universelle de Bruxelles in 1913 boasted ivy covered balconies, bow windows, and a white brick facade to contrast with the overhanging red roof. Inside this "ménage modeste," it was expected that family life would "pivot" around a kitchen, although individuals could retreat to the privacy of three separate bedrooms upstairs.<sup>xxviii</sup> This spacious cottage, inspired by middle class ideals of family life, was clearly beyond the budget of any laborers. That did not deter the planners from holding it up as an ideal.

The reformers in Belgium as well as Britain in fact read directly from their own experience in designing suburban and rural housing for the working class. The author of the Suburban Homes of London eulogized suburban life that "affords to the citizens a delicious retreat from the care, the hurry, the tumult, and the smoke of a busy day."<sup>xxix</sup> Boredom was easily compensated for by the reveries of the quiet hearth. If the middle class desired privacy, then surely the workers did too, the reformers assumed.<sup>xxx</sup> (Brussels: P. Weissenbruch, 1889), p. 62.

Thatched houses whether in rural villages or suburban faubourgs lent confidence to Belgian politicians wary of industrial urbanization, just as suburban cottages confirmed the British self-image of a nation of quiet, content, garden-tending home dwellers. The Belgian vision of laborers residing in the countryside idealized the same greenery that infused the appeal of London suburbs. These cozily-housed workers, whether in their rural Belgian cottages or in

their British suburban semi-detached houses, like the bourgeoisie, would learn from their environment to become independent individuals, unlike the masses of workers haunting the cities. Despite their different trajectories of housing reform, the Belgians and the British ended up realizing their complementary dreams of removing the respectable working families from the teeming chaos of the urban center and settling them in the greenery beyond. Their common solution to the shared dilemma created by the urban work force resonated from one side of the Channel to the other.



## Notes

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- <sup>i</sup>Gustave Doré, and Jerrold Blanchard. London. A Pilgrimage (London: Grant & Co., 1872).
- <sup>ii</sup>H.J. Dyos, "The Slums of Victorian London," Victorian Studies XI,1 (September 1967): p. 37.
- <sup>iii</sup>George Gissing, The Nether World (1889) cited by Susan Beattie, A Revolution in Housing. LCC Housing Architects and their Work, 1893-1914 (London: The Architectural Press, 1980), p. 15.
- <sup>iv</sup>Raymond Unwin, "Rapport, Vie Question," Congrès International des habitations à bon marché (1905), p. 31.
- <sup>v</sup>Ernest Dewsnap, The Housing Problem in London (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1907).
- <sup>vi</sup>The Builder XXXIV (1876), pp. 966-967 cited by Donald Olsen, "Victorian London. Specialization, Segregation, and Privacy," Victorian Studies XVII 3 (March 1974), p. 270.
- <sup>vii</sup>W. Thompson, The Housing Handbook (London: National Housing Reform Council, 1903), p. 5.
- <sup>viii</sup>J.N. Tarn, "French Flats for the English in Nineteenth-century London," in A. Sutcliffe, ed. Multi-Storey Living: the British Working-Class Housing (London: Croom Helm, 1974).
- <sup>ix</sup>Edouard Van der Linden, Etude sur l'amélioration des habitations ouvrières et sur l'organisation du domicile de secours (Brussels: Librairie Polytechnique Decq & Duhent, 1875), pp. 26-27; and H. Langerock, De arbeiderswoningen in België (Ghent: Boekhandel J. Vuylsteke, 1894), p. 10.
- <sup>x</sup>Charles Buls, Esthétiques des villes (1894) (Brussels: Sint-Lukasdossier, 1981), p. 28.
- <sup>xi</sup>Moniteur des Comités de patronage et des sociétés d'habitations ouvrières (25 October 1900).
- <sup>xii</sup>Charles Didier, "Notre programme," Le Cottage (June 1903).
- <sup>xiii</sup>R. Williams, London Rookeries and Collier's Slums: a Plea for More Breathing Room (London, 1893), p. 12.
- <sup>xiv</sup>See: Susan Beattie, A Revolution in Housing. LCC Housing Architects and their Work, 1893-1914 (London: The Architectural Press, 1980), p. 97.
- <sup>xv</sup>R. Thorne, "The White Hart Lane Estate: An LCC Venture in Suburban Development," London Journal 12 (1986): p. 81.
- <sup>xvi</sup>Susan Beattie, A Revolution in Housing. LCC Housing Architects and their Work, 1893-1914 (London: The Architectural Press, 1980), p. 113.
- <sup>xvii</sup>London County Council, Workmen's Trains and Trams, with Particular of the Council's Dwellings for Workmen (2 February 1914), Greater London Records Office. The pamphlets and time schedules are filed under Workmen's Trains as well as Housing at the Greater London Record Office, Minutes of the London County Council.
- <sup>xviii</sup>Daunton, House and Home in the Victorian City, pp. 12-15.
- <sup>xix</sup>Charles Buls, Bulletin Communal de Bruxelles I (1899), p. 274, cited by M. Smets, Charles Buls, p. 91.. ["Voyez...avec quelle facilité le problème se résout à Londres, à Berlin, à Vienne et même à Paris, grâce aux moyens que nous indiquons: la présence à la périphérie de la ville de terrains spacieux et peu coûteux, le bon marché du transport en commun."]
- <sup>xx</sup>Bruno De Meulder, "Gallerijwoningen te Brussel," Eind verhandeling voorgedragen voor het behalen van de graad van burgerlijk ingenieur architect door Bruno De Meulder" Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1982-83.
- <sup>xxi</sup>De Meulder, "De 'Cité Hellemans,' 1906-1915," p. 33.

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<sup>xxii</sup>De Meulder, "De 'Cité Hellemans,' 1906-1915," pp. 27-36; and Bruno De Meulder, "Galerijwoningen te Brussel," With thanks to Professor De Meulder for sharing his work with me.

<sup>xxiii</sup>Congrès national des habitations ouvrières, 1910.

<sup>xxiv</sup>Alex Bidart, L'exposition du mobilier ouvrier à Saint-Gilles (Brussels: L.G. Laurent, 1901).

<sup>xxv</sup>Hippolyte de Royer de Dour, Les habitations ouvrières (Brussels: P. Weissenbruch, 1889), p. 79.

<sup>xxvi</sup>B. Seebohm Rowntree, Land & Labour. Lessons from Belgium (London: MacMillan, 1911).

<sup>xxvii</sup>. Ma Maison. ["Vivre à la campagne! C'est le rêve de tous les citoyens."] See also: "Notre programme," Le Cottage (June 1903); Les Logements de la classe peu aisée dans le ressort du comité de patronage des habitations ouvrières et des Institutions de prévoyance pour les Communes d'Anderlecht, Laeken, Molenbeek et Saint-Gilles. Enquêtes & Rapports (Brussels: Imprimerie des institutions de prévoyance, 1892); and Comités de patronage, Rapport pour l'année 1891 (Brussels: P. Weissenbruch, 1893).

<sup>xxviii</sup>.Caisse générale d'épargne et de retraite, Une habitation a bon marché (Brussels, 1910).

<sup>xxix</sup>. [W.S. Clarke], The Suburban Homes of London (London, 1881) cited by D. Olsen, "Victorian London. Specialization, Segregation, and Privacy," Victorian Studies XVII 3 (March 1974), p. 274.

<sup>xxx</sup>.Hippolyte de Royer de Dour, Les Habitations ouvrières

"Memorials and the Urban Landscape  
Remembering and Forgetting the Past"  
International Planning History Society  
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Session Theme: Collective Memory  
Jeffrey M. Diefendorf  
University of New Hampshire

This paper will examine the relationship between urban memorials and monuments and collective memory. It has become a cliché to say that memory is socially constructed, and for some time now "memory" has been a hot field of study, with scholars in many fields working on "sites of memory," "memory work," collective memory, collective remembrance, and the relationship between memory and identity.<sup>1</sup> This area of inquiry is important, it is argued, because the accelerating transformations of the past two centuries have so destroyed or completely transfigured the traditional referents for individual and collective memory that we live in a memory crisis; we are condemned to live in an unstable present unsupported by a reassuring past.

So what is collective memory? While individuals have individual memories, the images and language that give form to memory derive from the society in which one lives. Shared experiences, shaped by shared images and language, result in collective memories. Because an individual belongs to many groups (family, class, village, religion, etc.), collective and individual memory are multiple and often competing and contradictory. Historians, guided by current professional criteria of selectivity and emphasis, may have become custodians of official memory and the past, but in their daily lives, people remember not the texts of historians but individual, familial, and community rituals and practices that serve as reference points in

helping them make sense of their lives.<sup>2</sup>

For city dwellers, rituals, symbols, and physical artifacts like buildings, streets and the kinds of activities that animate them are among the things that keep memories from fading and their content relatively intact over time. But if modern culture and identity are imagined, created, or constructed, how and by whom and for what purpose? What determines whether some part of a city survives to serve as a continuous reference for memory.<sup>3</sup> Since public memorials are presumably erected to shape and conserve collective memory, looking at memorials seems a useful way to explore the relationship between cities and memory.

In fact, the creation and functioning of "memory markers" has proved a troublesome subject. A few examples suggest the problem. Recently a young historian wrote a book about postwar Munich that contains an excellent analysis of the historical remnants as well as various kinds of monuments in that city, but it also castigates Munich's citizens for *not*, while rebuilding the city, devoting much of their energy to turning that city into a site for remembering the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis and Munich's population. Instead Munich focused on either the more distant past or the present and preferred not to harken up the dark Nazi years.<sup>4</sup> In other words, the monuments and memorials erected by the citizens were not what a historian wished them to be. Instead, Munich intentionally or unintentionally sought to forget things, ease them out of the memory of the city. Probably most at this conference are well aware of the nearly endless, heated debate about the placement and design of a

Holocaust memorial near the Brandenburg gate in Berlin. It took over a decade to decide just how the Germans might memorialize and remember the victims of the Nazi years. Finally, New Yorkers are currently engaged in an intense discussion of how to redevelop the site of the World Trade Center in a way that is in line with current thinking about good urban design while also serving to remember what happened last September and honor those who died. The interests of memory and the interests of future development and prosperity appear in conflict.

In each of these cases, the issue for urban historians, citizens, and city officials is the relationship between parts of the built environment—namely memorials and monuments—and the shaping and retention of collective memory. Now I must admit to being skeptical about the concept of collective memory. I am all too aware how little the massive destruction of cities in World War II shapes the consciousness of younger generations and new residents of those cities. In order to comment on this issue today, I will make a few remarks about memorials in 3 places: Cologne, Boston, and my home area around Portsmouth, New Hampshire.<sup>5</sup> I will look briefly at the memorialization of traumatic events, focusing particularly on siting, design, and texts.<sup>6</sup> And, to anticipate, I will argue that in most cases memorials have *not*, over time, done much to shape, energize, and perpetuate collective memory.

#### I. Memorializing the Civil War in Portsmouth and Boston

Probably every town in America that saw citizens die in the Civil War erected some sort of memorial to the casualties in that horrible

conflict, and it is surely true that memorials in Southern cities have played a role in keeping alive a collective memory of "the lost cause" of the South.<sup>7</sup> Portsmouth, New Hampshire, dedicated its "Soldiers and Sailors" monument on July 4, 1888 before a crowd of 15,000, after Mayor Eldredge both challenged the local army post to raise money and then donated a parcel of land across the street from the home of the state's Civil War governor.<sup>8</sup> The site on Islington Street seemed a good one: Islington and Congress Streets formed the main street of the town.

However, the monument itself was purchased from a catalog of the Monumental Bronze company, which allowed clients to mix and match various statues and bases. It was originally 36' high on a square base, topped by a statue of "liberty" with statues of soldiers, cannon balls, plaques with battle names, a relief of a ship representing the locally-built Kearsarge, and other items. The text on the front read: "In Honor of the Men of Portsmouth Who Gave Their Services on the Sea in the War Which Preserved the Union of the States. This Monument is Erected by Grateful Citizens, 1888."

Unfortunately the monument was made of inferior materials, which subsequently deteriorated. The middle third had to be removed in 1955, the remainder fenced in to protect the public, and it is only now being restored. A smaller stone monument with a plaque honoring Portsmouth's dead from later wars was added to the site, but Goodwin Park and this memorial has not proved a good location for shaping local memory or identity. Civic activities take place elsewhere, particularly around Market Square, and Islington Street became a

slightly run-down commercial street with considerable traffic but very few pedestrians. Neighborhood residents who use the park, many to "walk" their dogs, are unlikely to reflect long on this eclectic war memorial.

The Boston Civil War memorial which I want to mention is unusual, because it celebrates the first regiment of black soldiers recruited in the North and its white commander, Robert Gould Shaw, a member of a prominent Boston family. The bronze relief, commissioned by Shaw's family in 1885, was by the famed sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, with the architectural setting by the prestigious firm of McKim, Mead, and White. Inscribed texts include the Latin motto of the Society of the Cincinnati, to which Shaw belonged, and sentences by Charles Eliot, then President of Harvard University, honoring the courage of the 62 "Americans of African descent" who died for the Union cause. The sculpture most prominently features Shaw in the foreground on horseback, with his soldiers marching alongside.

The Saint-Gaudens sculpture is remarkable, enough so that a copy was recently displayed in Washington's National Gallery with brilliant gilding. The site, one might think, would be excellent. It is across the street from the Massachusetts State House, with the Boston Common (the oldest public city park in the US) below. In fact, it is somewhat dwarfed by the site. From the State House on the hill, it is too low and distant to make out clearly. (Were it gilded, as was apparently intended, it would mirror the gold State House dome, but in fact the sculpture is quite dark.) From the Common, one sees only the smooth back of the monument, not the dramatic sculpture. The spot

does not encourage lingering. Visitors are perhaps more apt to view it than Bostonians; it is as a marker on Boston's Black Heritage Trail, which celebrates the history of Boston's black community, and it is on the Freedom Trail, which celebrates the colonial and revolutionary era. Both trails are walking routes recommended to tourists.

The place of the monument on the Black Heritage Trail reveals something about its current role in shaping memory. Though commissioned primarily to honor Shaw at a time when Boston was quite ambiguous about its local black citizens, the renewed confidence of the Boston black community, aided by celebration of the black soldiers in the film *Glory*, has focused the meaning of the monument squarely on racial equality.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the black community raised funds to repair the monument, which had deteriorated and been defaced with graffiti.

## II. Memorializing World War I in Cologne and Portsmouth

The circumstances in which Cologne found itself after World War I were quite unusual. Up until mid-1918, Cologners had, like all Germans, accepted government propaganda about the successful conduct of the war, in spite of the counter evidence of high casualties and declining living conditions. Then, of course, the war effort collapsed. Germany sued for an armistice amidst a revolution. The draconic Versailles Treaty blamed the Germans, mandated the dissolution of the imperial army, and brought an occupying army into the Rhineland. In this context it was difficult to memorialize the war dead.



One monument, erected by the local veterans' association after the war, is in the Hindenburg Park on the southern edge of the Neustadt, just outside the Ring. The park is part of an earlier defense belt around the city, and the location probably seemed appropriate, since Field Marshal Hindenburg was a great hero of the war. The monument consists of a brick tower with an enormous bronze eagle on top and plaque with the words "Den Helden (the heroes), von 1914-1918." On top a Latin inscription suggests the stabbed-in-the-back legend. Sometime in the 1950s the dates 1939-1945, without any other commentary, were added in order to include the fallen soldiers of World War II.

Beginning in the late 1950s [I believe], ceremonies were held twice a year here to honor the dead of both wars. Around 1972, an early part of the "extraparliamentary opposition" (Ausserparlamentarische Opposition) demonstrated against this militarist activity, and there was an unpleasant conflict between the veterans and leftist demonstrators. Subsequently, another alternative group decided to petition the city for permission to stage an event for children to play in the Hindenburg Park. The city failed to notice that the appointed day was the same as the veterans' ceremony. When the vets showed up and found children there, they moved their ceremony elsewhere. I've been told that local mountain climbers have used the vertical tower for practice and have named and marked routes to the top. At some point a climber painted the eagle red. Upon removing the paint, the city conservator discovered the eagle had deteriorated, and had it removed for repair. Then, either while on

the ground or once it was put back up, the eagle was tarred and feathered. Eventually it was cleaned up and reinstalled atop its pedestal, though the base is defaced by graffiti. In any event, this monument now stands mute and largely unknown by the city's citizens, reflecting the ambivalence still felt toward commemoration of soldiers.

What can we make of this? At its creation the site seemed well chosen, the design martial but not bombastic enough to earn the criticism of the political left or Germany's foreign enemies. The monument was part of a well-established tradition of German war memorials, though this one did not have the mix national and Christian iconography that characterized many memorials since the 1870s.<sup>10</sup> But without regular ceremonial visits from veterans groups, there was nothing to draw citizens to the relatively out-of-the-way site, and since the mid-1970s, those that did go there were not taken by the solemnity of the design or text. Here, in other words, is a memorial that has failed to shape collective memory in Cologne.

There are World War I memorials in Portsmouth and Kittery, Maine, where I live. Maine passed a law in 1919 endorsing a state memorial to the war dead, and in 1924 Governor Baxter commissioned the first state-sponsored veterans' memorial, a bas relief sculpture to be completed by Bashka Paeff, a Russian-born sculptor raised in Boston. The base was dedicated before a crowd of 2,000 in 1924, but Baxter's successor, Governor Brewster, rejected the initial design as too pacifistic. (Kittery today has around 12,000 inhabitants, so 2,000 would be a remarkable turnout if the viewers were locals. Presumably

they came from different parts of the state.) That design featured a mourning mother with baby hovering over two youths writhing in the agony of death. Paeff modified her design, blended some soldiers into the swirling clouds in the background, and the new monument was dedicated again on May 31, 1926, again before a crowd of 2,000, including Governors Baxter and Brewster and some notable local veterans.<sup>11</sup>

The conflicted meaning of the memorial is interesting enough. It reflects the wide-spread, contradictory reactions to the horrors of that war, where trench warfare and enormous casualties turned even the victors into losers. "The Horrors of War" was in fact the original title, though the compromise inscriptions read: "State of Maine, to Her Sailors and Soldiers. Lord God of Hosts Be With Us Yet, Lest We Forget, Lest We Forget." There was no clear-cut meaning that could shape collective memory. But the site chosen is also interesting. This first Maine memorial is located at the southern-most tip of Maine, in a small park facing across the Piscataqua river toward New Hampshire. At one point there was a plan to having matching monuments on both sides of the river. Instead, in 1923 New Hampshire and Maine (with federal support) built a new steel lift-bridge connecting Portsmouth and Kittery and dedicated this "Memorial Bridge" to the state's veterans. A war memorial in a park in the New Hampshire approach to the bridge was never built because various veterans groups could not agree on it.<sup>12</sup> Hence travelers now leaving New Hampshire, if they look up, see the bronze eagle and inscription overhead upon entering the bridge, and, if they look closely, they will see the

Maine memorial upon entering Maine. The naming of the bridge and the eagle are more closely in tune with the martial memory of the war; the Kittery memorial is still more in tune with the reaction against the war. Both "memories" are embodied in physical artifacts, but is either memory active?

It is, I think, also significant that the Kittery memorial has suffered from the fact that this bridge long ago ceased to be the primary bridge over the river. Both a second draw bridge and a high 6-lane interstate highway bridge carry most of the traffic volume. In other words, the site in Kittery proved infelicitous, and no maintenance was done on the bronze relief and grounds between its dedication in 1926 and 1999. It has now been restored, but it remains overlooked by residents and visitors alike.

Sadder still is the Portsmouth veterans memorial in August 1919 before a crowd of some 4,000 to honor Portsmouth's 24 war dead. The memorial featured a granite boulder with a bronze marker, and 24 maple trees were planted, each with a bronze tablet containing the name of one of the dead. The site chosen was the "Plains," a park at the southern end of Islington street from which Portsmouth's volunteers had left for the battle of Bunker Hill in the revolutionary war and where George Washington was later welcomed when he visited the city in 1790. Clearly, then, city officials sought to link the heroism of the 2 eras.

The location of this memorial has proved badly chosen. Portsmouth celebrated Armistice Day for a few years, but downtown, around Market Square, and not at the Plains. The trees at the Plains

memorial died and were replaced with granite posts, upon which the name plaques are mounted. Some other trees now obscure the boulder. But worst of all, the site is the point where now a great deal of traffic hurriedly flows in and out of the city on the way toward an interstate highway exchange or toward Exeter. The remainder of the site is dedicated to a Little League baseball field. Thus almost the only people who actually inspect the memorial are bored parents who stray from watching their kids play ball.

### III. Memorializing the Victims of Nazism and World War II in Cologne and Boston

Finally, a few words about post World War II monuments.

Surely the apocalyptic events of World War II created an agonizing memory crisis for many Germans. It is easy to imagine that one could see oneself as a victim (of the Nazis, the war, the Allies) as much or more than as being somehow responsible for the misery that was Germany. Naturally many felt a powerful urge to forget the past completely, or at least the more recent past, and concentrate on immediate needs—shelter, a job, food. Others felt an equally strong need to remember certain things, especially from the more distant and attractive past, a past linked, for example, to admirable strains in Western culture. In the midst of such destruction, barbarity, and misery, who would not have been torn between searching desperately for aids to remember a more peaceful, harmonious, meaningful past and asserting that 1945 was a "zero hour," a point for a conscious break with the past and a resolute concentration on the needs of the present

and future?

While the dead of earlier wars were perceived as heroes, martyrs, and sufferers for a just national cause, that wouldn't work right after 1945. Germans were well aware of the brutal conditions of Hitler's war, making it difficult to mythologize military life. Moreover, the tradition of honoring the war dead had been partly discredited by the Nazis, who had copied these forms but paganized them in homage to supposed party martyrs. The Allies then effectively outlawed the tradition by demolishing Nazi memorials and forbidding the construction of militaristic monuments. The Germans could not, even had they wished to, celebrate the great victories that had characterized the first years of the war.<sup>13</sup>

If one were to construct a memorial after World War II in Germany, just what or whom would it memorialize? One could erect memorials to the dead, to be sure, but to soldiers, or civilians? To German victims generally? The victims of Nazism? If the latter, would it include non-German victims?<sup>14</sup> Honoring German war dead after 1945 was problematic and could occur only in a modest way.<sup>15</sup> For Germans to memorialize the victims of Nazism, and in particular the Jews, was also difficult. First one had to overcome the legacy of Nazi ideology and propaganda. Then one either had to admit that these victims were victims of German policy and actions--actions for which all Germans were responsible--or make a distinction between Germans and Nazis. The former required an extraordinary humbling of national consciousness and the ability not to see oneself as a victim, neither of which was easy in the immediate postwar years. In time Germany

have indeed memorialized the victims of Nazism, and from a perspective of 50 years, it may be possible to say that they have done a better job than other countries of acknowledging their crimes, but to have done so right after the war was perhaps more than could be expected.<sup>16</sup>

The primary and most widely acceptable form of remembrance was to memorialize in a general way the victims of the war, whether soldiers in battle or civilians dying in the bombing campaigns. Germans also memorialized of the loss of inanimate things rather than people. Germans could safely mourn the destruction of the physical embodiments of their culture, the destruction of their historic cities. Here memorialization and remembrance were closely connected with postwar reconstruction. A common forms for these types of memorials was the preservation of ruins. Buildings, Nazi buildings excepted, were innocent victims of the war. Even the use of ruins as a vehicle for commemorating the war and especially the victims of the war (i.e., civilian dead rather than simply military dead) was, however, somewhat problematic because such ruins echoed the interest of the German romantics in ruins, real or artificial, as well as the romantic fantasies of Hitler and Albert Speer, who admired the great ruins left from ancient Rome and proudly imagined that their buildings would become impressive ruins in another thousand years.

In February 1947, the executive committee of Cologne's city council commissioned sculptor Gerhard Marcks to make a statue to stand in the courtyard next to the Romanesque basilica of St. Maria im Capitol. When the statue, entitled "Angel of Death," was dedicated in November 1949, the church itself was still in ruins. Placing a

monument in the form of an angel next to a Christian church followed in the tradition of war monuments constructed after the Franco-Prussian War and World War I, except that after World War II all references to patriotism and nationalism were omitted. Newspaper photos of the dedication ceremony show a small crowd of some 150 persons gathered on a cold day to hear speeches by the Lord Mayor, the city deacon, and a representative of Cologne's tiny remaining Jewish community. (According to the paper, it was All-Saint's Day, and most citizens were making pilgrimages to the cemeteries. Did city authorities fail to anticipate that people would prefer to visit a family grave site rather than a general monument?)

The mayor's address is interesting, because it shows how he sought to place this monument within the earlier tradition of monuments to fallen soldiers but also to give it a new and larger meaning. The monument, he said, honored not only the fallen soldiers but also "the women, mothers and children who died a multitude of deaths in the ruins of our beloved city, the workers whom death visited in their places of work, those evacuated [from their homes] who died far away from their Heimat, and those persecuted for political, racial, or religious reasons who were victims of a criminal insanity." "The dead," he said, "were all members of the human community; they suffered and died through it and within it." We should remember the dead not just in consolation for loss but also to admonish the living and future generations to build "a peaceful social order" and thereby avoid the catastrophe which those present and the dead had experienced.<sup>17</sup>



Two years later another Lord Mayor gave another memorial speech before Marcks's statue. He mourned the fallen soldiers, those buried in the rubble of the city, prisoners of war who died suffering behind barbed wire, and the innocent victims who, because of "belief, race, or political conviction, fell victim to the base irrationalities [*Ungeiste*] of the past years." He also observed that "death not only greedily seized people by the hundreds but destroyed Cologne, our beloved city, Cologne with all its buildings, churches and byways, monuments and intimate spaces." He urged his audience to think about "the origins of the catastrophe" which so afflicted the city and its citizens and thereby prevent any repetition of those events.<sup>18</sup>

These speeches suggest that this was a quite conscious attempt to use a memorial to forge a collective memory of a particular kind. Note that neither mayor mentioned the Nazis by name. Instead both made general references to anonymous forces of persecution that brought on the great catastrophe, thus denying any complicity on the part of the city's citizens in what had happened. In its setting by a ruined church, the monument was clearly intended to help Cologne's citizens be inclusive in their remembrance of all kinds of victims, both human and inanimate, to reflect generally on the evil deeds of the recent past, but also to forget any actual complicity in those deeds.

Probably the most noteworthy attempt by Cologne to honor those who died in the war took the form of combining the preserved ruins of the Gothic church of St. Alban's with a rebuilt meeting hall, the Gothic Gürzenich hall near the town hall. The rebuilt Gürzenich was to serve many purposes: a modern concert facility, a meeting hall for

large and small congresses, a hall for carnival dinners and balls and other festive city occasions. Discussion about rebuilding it began a couple of years after the war, and the city acquired the property of the destroyed St. Alban's from the Catholic Church, which had decided not to rebuild because even before the war there were too few parishioners to support it.

The final design, by Rudolf Schwarz and Karl Band, was what one journalist called "a phenomenal architectonic event" because it combined a "Totenhof," or courtyard honoring the dead, with a building designed for pleasure--concerts, wine tasting, beer drinking, celebrating carnival, and the like.<sup>19</sup> Some of the original facade of the medieval Gürzenich was retained, but new sections were added for the considerably enlarged building. Most important, Schwarz incorporated a remaining part of the ruined church into the structure of the rebuilt Gürzenich. The shell of what remains of the church stands exposed to the elements, and it is visible both from outside and through the windows of the stairwell of the concert hall. Schwarz said that the ruins should "remain for all time; the ground would be covered with stones and not prettied up with forgiving grass; and this space would be dedicated to the statues of a kneeling couple by Käthe Kollwitz expressing meaningless suffering."<sup>20</sup>

It is significant that the originals of the statues date from after World War I and stand in a Belgian military cemetery, where Kollwitz's son lay buried.<sup>21</sup> The ensemble of church ruins and statuary thus evoke the earlier tradition of monuments to fallen soldiers that combined patriotic and Christian themes, but because the impression of

the ruins is so strong, and because the figures are mourning parents rather than heroic soldiers, the memorial makes a statement appropriate for the post-1945 era. In the words of one scholar, it was supposed to constitute an "island of tradition" to help Cologne's citizens understand and identify with their city's complex history.<sup>22</sup> And as long as the Gürzenich hosts various civic and cultural events--which it still does--the ensemble perhaps fulfills that function. Eventually, however, it proved too small to serve as a modern concert facility, and a new modern hall was built next to Cologne's cathedral.

I will discuss only one American memorial to the victims of Nazism, namely the New England Holocaust Memorial in Boston. Efforts began in 1990 to create a Holocaust memorial in Boston--part of the wave of interest in building such memorials around the United States and in Europe. This wave was propelled by many factors, including new scholarly work on the Holocaust, and the aging and passing of the survivor generation. As far as I have been able to determine, Boston was chosen as a site because of the presence of an active group of individuals from within and without the local Jewish community that was interested in building a memorial, not because of some connection comparable to the black 54<sup>th</sup> regiment in the Civil War.

A city-owned site was provided by Boston's chief planner, and a diverse committee drew up parameters and staged a competition for the design.<sup>23</sup> That committee included not only a leading planner from Harvard's Graduate School of Design (Alex Krieger), a representative of Boston's chief planning agency (Rob Kroin of the Boston Redevelopment Authority), but also James Young, a cultural historian

perhaps the foremost authority on Holocaust memorials, and a presentation by Young of memorials elsewhere opened the first committee meeting. The competition program stipulated that the memorial was "to fix memory, to bear witness, to embrace the ineffable sense of loss"; it was to encourage "reflection, conversation, contemplation, discussion, strolling, sitting." This was to be a memorial that, from the beginning, was to promote active and continuous viewer interaction. The winning design was also supposed to be resistant to vandalism.

From the 520 entries, that of Stanley Saitowitz was chosen: 6 armor-strength glass towers, 64 feet high, and illuminated from below. Dedicated in 1995, the many texts on the towers, walkway, and explanatory panels convey complex messages. The memorial honors not just Jewish victims but Polish Catholics, gays, Gypsies and others. There are statements of survivors, explanatory texts about Nazism and the origins and nature of the Holocaust, numbers representing the 6 million Jews who died, and the names of the camps. In other words, the message or meaning of the memorial goes beyond just mourning and remembrance to include education about past events.

But from the perspective of urban design, perhaps the most important feature is the site, which was small, noisy, and replete with visual distractions. The memorial rests on what is essentially a traffic island between the gigantic, brutalist concrete mass of city hall and the Blackstone Block of 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century brick buildings, with historic Faneuil Hall quite nearby. It also lies just off the Freedom Trail. The site had been created during the renewals

of the 1960s; a hotel or some building was to stand there, but nothing was constructed and it became a small park, featuring a statue of former mayor Curley at one end. It is a location encountered by some 16 million people a year, both tourists and locals going to and from work or on their way to enjoy the pleasures of the restaurants, shops, and bars at the Quincy Market and Faneuil Hall. While there may be flaws in the design, both the site and the design make it impossible to overlook; it becomes an integral part of the urban landscape of Boston in ways that the other memorials discussed in this paper do not.<sup>24</sup>

#### IV. Conclusion

At the beginning of this paper, I suggested that individual and collective memory function in relation to shared experiences of such things as rituals and physical sites. I want to conclude by suggesting that when such physical memory references as ruins and monuments become part of everyday life, they are no longer seen and experienced in such a way as to produce the kind of conscious reflection that was their purpose, especially when they are being viewed by those who are too young to have shared the experiences of that period.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, they may not be consciously "seen" at all. In 1983, the photographer Hermann Claasen was asked what he thought his famous pictures of the destruction of Cologne mean to the younger generation, and he replied "absolutely nothing. Whoever did not experience it cannot imagine it. One must have the smoke in one's

eyes, one must have inhaled the smoke and the fear of everything. One cannot describe the atmosphere of that time."<sup>26</sup>

I suspect that the statue of the angel of death by Gerhard Marcks means rather little to the present residents of Cologne. The basilica of St. Maria im Capitol is now completely restored. The statue just stands there in the courtyard beside it, without any inscription to indicate the name of the artist or the purpose of the work. When I visited the site repeatedly in August 1994, I was the sole person in evidence. The statue has become decoration, a piece of art, except on those few occasions when someone lays a wreath. Ruins, architecture, and monuments become artistic objects inviting aesthetic judgment more than the contemplation of events past.<sup>27</sup> The statues by Käthe Kollwitz are seen as part of her artistic corpus. The Gürzenich/St. Alban ensemble is considered an example of good postwar architecture and design and thus worthy of preservation as a monument to the era of reconstruction as much or more than as a war memorial. None of this is surprising. The Germans today live in a vastly different setting than that of their grandparents.<sup>28</sup> If the meaning of a preserved ruin in the heart of a great city changes, can we expect that a World War I memorial like that in Portsmouth Plains has meaning for the 10-year-old kids playing baseball there?

In general, I agree with James Young that for monuments to the past to retain something of their original purpose, local citizens and authorities must be prepared to expend some energy and money to keep the collective memory behind these monuments alive.<sup>29</sup> Only then will each new and younger viewer will experience the monuments in an

individual, personal, but active way, including consolation for loss, reconciliation between foes, solidarity between those who died and those who survived, and perhaps solidarity between generations. Monuments, after all, can have many functions.<sup>30</sup> Ceremony and ritual are needed, as are an active desire and commitment to remember and periodic discussions of just which memories should remain alive. Such ceremonies and rituals, moreover, can potentially remind present viewers and participants that the "original intent" of memorials was often quite complex and contested, as was the case with most of those I've discussed today. Monuments constitute also one of the points of intersection between the public's conception of history and history as conceived by historians. An active partnership between the public, the builders and maintainers of monuments, and historians can help moderate the swing between attention and neglect, highly charged memory and oblivion. The outcome of the design competition for Boston's Holocaust memorial benefitted from James Young's participation in that process. Put another way, memorial designers and the urban planners who find sites for memorials today can benefit from the new and important scholarship on how memorials really function.

Lastly, even if memorials may not conjure up the specific images or activate the collective memory intended by their creators, they are not for that reason meaningless. Because older memorials have become well integrated into the physical and visual cityscape, they constitute subliminal reference points that shape the identity of the city, and they are important as the physical markers by which

residents orient themselves and understand their city. This is in good part why memorials like those in Kittery and Portsmouth are restored. They become artifacts valuable to a diverse cityscape, whatever their meaning to the present, and diversity does meet a present need, namely a widely sensed need to preserve the historicity of cities.



1. There is a rich literature on this subject. Key starting points are Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Lewis A. Coser, ed., trans., and Introduction (Chicago and London, 1992) and Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," in *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989) special issue: *Memory and Counter-Memory*, 7-25, and Pierre Nora, ed. *Realms of Memory. The Construction of the French Past. Vol. 1 Conflicts and Divisions* (Arthur Goldhammer, trans.) (New York, 1996). Susannah Radstone has edited a new book entitled *Memory and Methodology* (Oxford and New York, 2000), and the German publisher Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht has a series on "Forms of Memory." See also Susan A. Crane, "Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory," in *American Historical Review* 102 (1977): 1372-85.
2. See for example Richard Terdiman, *Present Past. Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca and London, 1993), and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York, 1991).
3. The idea of culture being simply determined by some dominant class or group must surely be modified to include the interaction between dominant and subordinate groups in society. Here the theory of cultural hegemony might be useful. See T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," in *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 567-93.
4. Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments, and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2000). See also the work of Rudy Koshar in his books, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998) and *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 2000). For an extended argument that deals primarily with American cities, see M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: its historical imagery and architectural entertainment* (Cambridge, MA, 1994).
5. I want to thank my research assistant, Rod Waterson, for digging up valuable material on the memorials in Boston, Portsmouth, and Kittery.
6. See the useful volume edited by Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, 1999).
7. Here one thinks of the monuments in central Richmond, Virginia, the capital of the confederacy, but also the controversy generated by the placement of a memorial to the black tennis star Arthur Ashe near those celebrating Southern military heroes.
8. A good source for this is Ray Brighton, *Rambles about Portsmouth*, The Portsmouth Marine Society (1993?), pp. 32-38.
9. See the web site of the Museum of Afro American History, Boston:

<http://www.afroammuseum.org/site1.htm>

10. Germany has had a strong tradition of memorializing fallen soldiers in special cemeteries, with monuments of various kinds, such as obelisks or boulders, the *Totenburgen* (mock-fortresses), or groves of trees. These memorials almost always mixed national with Christian iconography, and, as George Mosse has noted, "the cult of the war dead had become an important part of German national consciousness." See George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York and Oxford, 1990), 92. Mosse points out that, unlike the Americans, the Germans rejected building "memorial" halls and theaters because these were profane rather than sacred buildings. (p. 100) See also Mosse's *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich* (New York, 1975).

11. See <http://www.seacoastnh.com/monuments/kittery.html>; Bureau of Parks and Lands, Maine Department of Conservation, "The Maine Sailors and Soldiers Memorial, Conservation Treatment Proposal," (March 1999); and front page stories in the *Portland Press Herald* from November 12, 1924, August 29, 1925, and June 1, 1926.

12. *The Portsmouth Herald*, Dec. 22, 1923. The American Legion wanted a memorial only to veterans of the World War, but veterans of early wars wanted to be included too. Until 1923 Portsmouth and Kittery had been connected a half-mile up the river by an old, wooden toll bridge that served the railroad, carriages, and pedestrians. This bridge was replaced in 1941.

13. Here it is instructive to compare the German experience of commemoration with that of the Soviet Union. The Russians used the process of commemoration of the "Great Patriotic War" to turn spectacular defeats in the first part of the war into supposed victories. The collapse of both Communism and the Soviet Union has meant a flood of revelations about the true nature of those massive defeats, and this historical discussion has proved very traumatic for the older generations that experienced the war. See Nina Tumarkin, *The Living and the Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia* (New York, 1994).

14. Meinhold Lurz, *Kriegerdenkmäler in Deutschland*, Vol. 6, *Bundesrepublik* (Heidelberg, 1987), p. 9, estimates that there are perhaps 35,000 to 40,000 war monuments in the 25,000 communities of the Federal Republic alone. Walter Grasskamp claims that Germany is unique in having memorials to the victims of Germans and not just to Germans who were the victims of others. "Die Behaglichkeit des Gedenkens," in *Die Zeit*, International Edition (November 25, 1994): 13-14. Ulrike Puvogel, *Gedenkstätten für die Opfer des Nationalsozialismus: Eine Dokumentation*. Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, vol. 245 (Bonn, 1987), contains some 750 pages of listings of monuments and memorials of various types that commemorate the victims of National Socialism. The majority of these monuments are tablets, followed by sculptures, with truly major monuments, such as those at former concentration camps, being rather few in number.

15. The American South experienced a catastrophic defeat in the Civil War but not necessarily the sense of guilt or shame over slavery in the same way that Germans sensed guilt or shame over the atrocities committed in their name. Southerners turned their continued belief in the

"Lost Cause" into a kind of civic religion replete with memorial associations, special cemeteries, and monuments celebrating the heroism of their dead (and living) soldiers. There is nothing in Germany comparable to the memorialization of the lost Civil War in Richmond, Virginia, with its statuary of confederate heroes on Monument Boulevard. See Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York and Oxford, 1987), and Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood. The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865-1920* (Athens, GA, 1980).

16. It has, however, taken until mid-1995 for Germany to decide to construct a national monument to the victims of the Holocaust. This structure, which will be constructed on a 20,000 square meter plot south of the Brandenburg Gate, will thus assume an important place in that vast and formerly undeveloped area that lay between West and East Berlin, an area which will also house most of the new buildings for the federal government when it moves from Bonn.

17. Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln/Abt. 2 Oberbürgermeister/628: Totenfeier 1949 und 1951. Enthüllung des "Todesengels" von G. Marcks. p. 18.

18. Ibid., speech by Schwering on 1 November 1951, 2-9.

19. Henry Blackmann, "Köln hat seinen Gürzenich wieder," in *Westfalenpost* (4 October 1955), clipping in HASK/ACC. 148 Nachrichtenamt/171/Pressestimmen zum Wiederaufbau der Gürzenich, p. 36.

20. HASK/Acc. 148 Nachrichtenamt/200, p. 7-8.

21. Along the same lines as the statuary by Käthe Kollwitz is a statue of an angel by Ernst Barlach that hangs in the Antoniter-Kirche. Barlach originally created this monument to the dead of the First World War in 1927 for the cathedral in the town of Güstrow. Barlach's work was considered decadent by the Nazis, and his statue was broken up in 1937 and melted down for armaments. Shortly before his death, Barlach made a new casting, which was hidden away during the war. In 1952 it was offered [by whom? to save it from the GDR?] to Cologne's city museum, though it was given a home in the evangelical Antoniter-Kirche, a small church on one of the main pedestrian shopping streets. Both the Kollwitz figures and that by Barlach were created to honor the dead of World War I. Their display after World War II enlarged that memorializing function in a safe, non-controversial form.

22. See Angela Pfothenhauer, *Die Kölner Traditionsinseln. Eine Betrachtung der Altstadt unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Traditionsinsel Gürzenich-Sankt Alban*. Diss., (Cologne, 1991).

23. Key documents include the minutes of the meetings of the Design Competition Committee, which began on March 15, 1990, "The New England Holocaust Memorial Competition Program" provided to those interested in submitting designs (which were due on March 4, 1991), and the pamphlet describing the exhibition about the competition, staged at Harvard's Graduate School of Design, April 27-May 29, 1992. All provided by The Friends of the New England Holocaust Memorial.

24. See, for example, architecture critic Robert Campbell's essay "A Matter of Design: Evaluating Boston's Holocaust Memorial," *The Boston Globe* (November 16, 1995).

25. See Walter Grasskamp, "Die Behaglichkeit des Gedenkens," pp.13-14.

26. Claasen, p. 16.

27. See James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven and London, 1993), p. 12. Young observes that monuments are physical artifacts, whereas memorials can also be acts, such as moments of silence.

28. Throughout 1994 a multi-sided controversy raged over the plans to renovate the Gürzenich to make it suitable as a convention center. The key proposal was a radical alteration of the lobby and cloakroom area. Many local architects and historic preservation officials opposed the plans, while various economic interests argued that preserving the building as designed by Schwarz and Band was expensive sentimentalism. In October the Obere Denkmalbehörde of Northrhine-Westphalia ruled that only very minor modifications would be allowed, much to the dismay of the convention promoters. This dispute was followed in the local press. For example, see *Kölner Stadt Anzeiger* (August 11, 1994 and October 28, 1994).

29. Young, pp. xii-xiii.

30. See John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 3-9, on the many meanings of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington.

**The City Vulnerable**  
**The fall and rise of Napier New Zealand**

Elizabeth Aitken Rose and Jennifer Dixon  
Department of Planning  
University of Auckland  
Private Bag 92019  
Auckland  
New Zealand  
[e.aitken-rose@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:e.aitken-rose@auckland.ac.nz)  
[j.dixon@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:j.dixon@auckland.ac.nz)

## **ABSTRACT**

A massive earthquake, followed by fires, effaced the colonial port town of Napier on the east coast of New Zealand's North Island on 3 February 1931. The area rose two meters and around 3,000 hectares were instantly reclaimed from the seabed. Despite the hazardous nature of the site, reconstruction of the town commenced almost immediately according to the original 1865 plans of Alfred Domett, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, with some concessions to 'modern town planning principles'. Funded largely by the private sector and assisted by those seeking work during the Great Depression, the 'New Napier' was nearly complete by 1933.

Although remote from the great design metropolis of the twentieth century, the town was built according to the fashionable international architectural styles of the 1930s. A 'Spanish Mission' town modelled on the California's Santa Barbara (rebuilt after an earthquake in 1925) was initially proposed, but abandoned through lack of government support. Art Deco was ultimately favoured for its simplicity, safety, economy and progressive poetry.

Napier had achieved city status by the 1960s. By then its pride in its avant garde appearance had diminished and over the next two decades sporadic 'high rise' replacement began to occur in the central business district. A visiting group of international design experts drew attention to the special character of the city in the 1980s. Following public advocacy, a non-government Art Deco Trust was established to preserve and publicise Napier as 'The Art Deco Capital of the World', distinctive for the concentration, variety and authenticity of its buildings. The heritage status of the city has become a prominent place promotion theme, as Napier seeks to move from an economy dominated by rural production and processing and position itself as an international tourist destination. While Napier's past may be critical to its future, the conservation and restoration of its Art Deco heart relies on the foresight and investment of building owners and vicissitudes of the property market. Government contribution to heritage development – through statute and financial assistance- is limited.

This paper explores the interrelationship between urban policy and civic vulnerability in Napier. In a series of snapshots across time, it examines the reconstruction and repositioning of the city and concludes that forces of urban agglomeration and inertia are more powerful than the forces of fear and calculation of risk. Natural disasters and local policy makers have changed Napier, but not as persuasively as global economic and cultural trends.

## INTRODUCTION

*And after the earthquake a fire...and after the fire a still, small voice*  
1Kings 19

The horrific nature of events in Manhattan on September 11 last year gives cause to reflect on the many dimensions of the tragedy that unfolded, and will continue to do so for a long time to come. One outcome is a radical rethink that is now taking place about cities and their buildings. History points to cataclysmic events where paradigms of what a city means have been shaken up by disruptions of one kind or another. These illustrate that what a city is and how a city is planned and built is by no means static.

This paper focuses the reconstruction and repositioning of Napier, a town on the east coast of New Zealand, following a catastrophic earthquake in 1931. The case of Napier is particularly significant, given the magnitude of the disaster (New Zealand's severest earthquake if measured in loss of life and property) and the impact of the event on a depression economy.

While the Manhattan tragedy is comparatively recent, there seem to be interesting parallels with the Napier experience. Both events were alien to normal human understanding and caused terrible destruction. Both prompted a review of structures, emergency management procedures and hazard reduction policies. Both provided the impetus for urban renewal: the opportunity to break with the past and respond to new cultural and economic possibilities.

Cities and their buildings have always been vulnerable to natural phenomena such as earthquakes, floods and volcanic eruptions or to human influences such as war, terrorism and economic failure. An element of risk is inherent in city living: its management is part of the business of modern government and future oriented planning mechanisms. The paper explores the interrelationship between urban policy and civic vulnerability and the extent to which trauma leads to a genuine shift in paradigms. It does so by examining Napier before and after the earthquake and in contemporary times.

### 'NICE OF THE SOUTH'

The sunny, fertile plains and harbours of the region attracted Maori settlement long before it was discovered by Captain James Cook in 1769 and named for the English after Sir Edward Hawke, First Lord of the Admiralty. The future site of the town, a sand-spit enclosed by hills, was known to Maori as Ahuriri 'the rushing in of waters'. Whalers, traders and missionaries arrived from the 1830s. Permanent colonial settlement did not commence in earnest until after Donald MacLean, the Chief Land Purchase Commissioner, bought the land from Maori in 1851. Alfred Domett, Commissioner of Crown Lands and Resident Magistrate 1854, prepared the plan gazetted in 1855. The design was shaped by topography, with .25acre town sections laid out on the flat land and suburban sections of 2.5-8acres on the accessible parts of the hills. The street pattern was based on existing paths and a more generous provision was made for reserves than was customary in other towns established at the time. Land was set aside for public institutions and services (New Zealand Government, 1855). The first sections were sold the following year.

Imperial associations also shaped the town. Domett named it after a British war hero, finding

*The native names in this district... particularly harsh, discordant to European ear or low and disgusting in signification...I propose that the (town) be named in commemoration of one of our greatest and best Indian Captains just dead - Sir Charles Napier. I have caused the subordinate names of streets etc, to be inserted in association with that most public-spirited benefactor of his county (Domett, 1854)*

When the names connected with Napier ran out, he drew on other military campaigns and prominent English scientists and poets, arguing that:

*...It is better to have pleasing associations with the names of our roads and ravines than to be constantly reminded of the existence of obscure individuals (ruffians possibly and runaway convicts)' (Domett in Shaw and Hallet, 1998:9).*

Napier evolved as a provincial centre of government and export port for its pastoral hinterland. Wool, meat, dairying, timber and later orcharding formed the economy. The town prospered after the development refrigerated shipping in the 1880s and through the growth of rural service and processing businesses. Railway links to Wellington were completed in 1873 and to the east in 1912. It was constituted as a borough in 1874<sup>1</sup>. Growing wealth was reflected in its British Victorian colonial architecture, often hastily built. The timber structures<sup>2</sup> of the settlers were replaced by large and ornately decorated two to three storey brick and concrete buildings or updated through the addition of elaborate façades and porticos.

By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Napier was being promoted nationally and internationally as a holiday resort, modelled on an English seaside town 'The Brighton of the Pacific'. Early in the twentieth century, it was recorded that the town had an '*an exceedingly neat and clean appearance*', asphalted streets, water from wells and artesian bores, gas lighting, botanical gardens, town squares and a Marine Parade and bay '*which resembles somewhat that of Naples*'. '*Handsome*' buildings accommodated leading business and government institutions; there was a cathedral, churches, a Municipal Theatre, gentlemen's club, schools, hotels and newspapers (Cyclopedia of New Zealand, 1908: 304-305). There was a strong sense of civic pride and philanthropy. A group of businessmen formed the Napier Thirty Thousand Club in 1913 to boost the town's population through improvements in amenity, social vitality and marketing; advertising references again evoked Europe:

*Napier – Bright, Breezy and Beautiful – an ideal spot to live in, excellent in its natural beauty of situation, which gained for it the reputation of being the 'Nice of the South' (Campbell, 1975: 125).*

The population grew from 343 in 1858, to 8, 341 in 1891. By 1930, there were 16,160 people (1.14% of New Zealand's population), just over half the Thirty Thousand Club's target<sup>3</sup> (Childs, 1972: 3).

Despite the publicity extolling nature's kindness, there had been unsettling environmental events in the district: storms, floods and earthquakes<sup>4</sup> (Campbell, 1975: 129). Drought, falling agricultural prices and unemployment were, however, of far greater concern at the beginning of the thirties as the Great Depression '*settled on New Zealand 'like a new and unwanted stranger, a ghostly visitor to the house'* (Belich, 2001: 243). At the end of the financial year ending 31 March 1931 only around £17,000 had been paid of the £68,000 borough rates levied that year (Committee of Management, 1933: Appendix IV).

## **'EARTHSHOCK 7.9'**

The earthquake on 3 February 1931 came 'like a bolt from the blue' at 10.46am on a still and sultry Tuesday. The ground shook for two and a half minutes, with a thirty-second lull in the middle. It measured 7.9 on the Richter scale<sup>5</sup> and was followed by 525 aftershocks over the next fourteen days. The area tilted upwards over two metres and 2230-3,000 (figures vary) hectares of seabed was 'naturally' reclaimed. 162 people died (1% of the population, equivalent to 10,000 in a city of one million) 258 died in the region (2% of the population). Many were killed by falling masonry or caught in the devastating fires that followed. Ignited by chemist shop gas burners, the central area of the town was in flames an hour after the shake<sup>6</sup>. By the next day it had vanished. All the bridges collapsed and communications, sanitation and the water supply were severely disrupted. Damage to property was estimated to exceed £5 million<sup>7</sup> (Art Deco Trust, 2002).

Many public buildings including schools, hospitals, churches and an old people's home crumbled, some only recently built:

*The quality of the building more or less decided its fate in the earthquake... There were a number of buildings soundly constructed of ferro-cement which showed no ill effects of the earthquake beyond slight cracks. Others, where the construction was faulty, were reduced to ruins. The whole town bore the appearance of having been subjected to a severe artillery attack for some days, and many of the buildings, of which portions remained erect, constituted a continued source of danger owing to their cracked and fissured walls (Callaghan, 1933:9).*



The earthquake became vividly fixed in the public's mind. Comparisons to the Great War were common, both in descriptions of destruction and in the social bonds forged between people in hard times. Class distinctions broke down and there were many stories of heroism, stoicism and simple human kindness. In a few unpredicted minutes all sense of normal life was destroyed and confusion and desolation followed. It was a small community and few were unaffected by the death or injury of family and friends. There was no emergency plan and local authority systems collapsed. Early recovery was assisted by the disciplined presence of the navy<sup>8</sup> and the public service. The local press, The Daily Telegraph reported pessimism at first: "*It's the end of Napier*" was the unanimous verdict. "*You will never get any one to live here again*" (1981:126) and later, "*to get back to normal...To be as 'you were'* was the general desire...(but) bigger, brighter and better than before" (1981: 112).

### **'THE NEW NAPIER'**

Abandoning Napier appears to have never been seriously debated, although fleeting consideration was given to moving the central area to suburban Pandora (Wright, 1994: 162). Citizens in 1931 might have had their concerns, but they could hardly have known that that were deliberately putting themselves in seismic harm's way. The cause of the earthquake was not identified until the 1960s, when plate tectonics theory was accepted and placed Napier on the edge of 'Ring of Fire': on the shifting and volatile intersection of the great Pacific and Indo-Australian Plates. By the thirties, geologists had noticed a pattern of activity running laterally across the upper west of the South Island, through the east coast of the North Island and speculated that a giant earthquake long ago ripped the islands apart. As noted, the Hawke's Bay earthquake was not a novel event in the locality. Nor was it the most severe recorded in New Zealand, but previous shocks had occurred in sparsely populated areas and not led to significant loss of life and property. The Napier Earthquake continues to be the nation's single worst disaster.

The gift of the Ahuriri seabed provided opportunities for urban growth and relieved tensions between the Borough and Harbour Board over potential reclamations. Nature's 'tabula rasa' laid opportunities for change. The Daily Telegraph and local architects called for a new city modelled on the post earthquake white Spanish uniformity of Santa Barbara in the United States. A shortage of finance made this scheme impractical and a more pragmatic approach was adopted. 'New Napier' was reconstructed on the bones of the Domett plan, considered '*quite sound and on reasonably good lines*' (Natusch, 1933: 21), with some carefully negotiated concessions to 'new town planning principles', ideas in currency before the earthquake. Environmental anxieties, if they existed, were surpassed by economic and psychological imperatives. Owners wanted to rebuild as quickly as possible and get back in business. There was no time for a radical re-evaluation of civic design or for a revision of land titles<sup>9</sup>.

Local governance structures and many of the existing statutory frameworks could not deal with the circumstances of the disaster. Premises and records had been destroyed and personnel afflicted or killed. On the day after the earthquake, local officials, councillors and representatives from non-government organizations formed the ad hoc Napier Citizens Control Committee to coordinate rescue efforts and restore public services. Two days later it became an official sub-committee of Council and operated for five weeks until the appointment of two Government Commissioners<sup>10</sup> who took over the 'functions and duties' of Council and became the region's 'benevolent dictators' for the next 26 months until council elections. Their mandate was subsequently confirmed and extended with the passage of the Hawke's Bay Earthquake Act 1931 in April. This controversial legislation established an Adjustment Court and a Rehabilitation Committee: statutory bodies empowered to mediate in financial disputes and administer relief from £1,500,000 finally allocated by Government for reconstruction (£1,250,000 for private relief and £250,000 for local bodies). Many regarded this sum as parsimonious, meeting only one fifth of the estimated losses in Napier and the nearby ruined town of Hastings (Campbell, 1975: 148). It was also subject to interest after five years.

Undoubtedly the Forbes-Coates Coalition Government was grappling with larger issues. The country had a 'national debt of truly awesome proportions' and falling export prices. By 1931-2 twenty six per cent of the country's exports went towards paying the interest which, by 1933, added up to forty percent of government expenditure (Sinclair, 1969: 256). Forbes, who has failed to inspire any of New Zealand's leading historians, was an orthodox neo-classicist who resisted any form of 'charitable intervention' and was preoccupied with balancing the budget by slashing public expenditure. Napier

officials urged the Government to take out charity loans, but Forbes turned down English and American offers defiantly insisting that 'New Zealand would look after its own' (Natusch, 2002 and Wright, 1994: 161) and called on New Zealand donations, setting up the Prime Minister's Relief Fund 1931.

Reconstruction was hampered by lack of funds. Insurance offices held policies for more than £5million in the area, but policy holders discovered that the fine print excluded earthquake risk or damage from fires triggered by earthquakes and payments met little more than ten per cent of the assessed damage (Wright, 2001:116). Private companies were ineligible for government support and had to finance their own reconstruction. Despite the difficulties, businesses were eager to commence trading and took out large mortgages. Private rather than public building characterised the early recovery phase. Local government focussed on restoring essential infrastructure and borrowed on the open market to supplement state loans (Committee of Management, 1933: 4). Private philanthropy was a significant source of relief. Gifts of £396,000 were administered under the Hawke's Bay Earthquake Relief Funds Act 1931. The private, public and personal financial consequences of the earthquake endured for decades. According to Napier architect Guy Natusch (2002) local growth waned after World War II as companies struggled to pay off debt finally discharged in the 1960s. The cost of meeting local government interest payments was prohibitive until the Labour Government wrote off state loans in 1938 (Wright, 1994: 161). Personal losses were never fully compensated and some houses not properly repaired (Wright, 2001: 117). Chapple (1997:47), however, claims that while capital losses were considerable, they were greatly exaggerated and quickly made up in the reconstruction boom that followed. As refugees left the town, the unemployed flowed in looking for work. In such great numbers, that a permit was initially imposed on those entering the stricken area. The earthquake 'primed the Keynesian pump', in spite of government ideology.

The Napier experience eventually led to revisions in state insurance policy and emergency management. Proposals for an insurance tax went before Parliament in the Hawke's Bay Earthquake Bill 1931, but were dropped because of arguments over costs to property owners and economic freedom curtailments (New Zealand Parliament 1931: 1287-90). An earthquake in 1942 prompted the passage of the Earthquake and War Damage Act 1944 to indemnify property owners and provide disaster recovery resources. The fund has worked well to date<sup>11</sup>, but there is concern that it could not meet the costs of a severe earthquake in an urban area. Hazard reduction also became a general responsibility of local government under the Municipal Corporations Act and later, the Local Government Act 1974. The Civil Defence Act now requires every urban authority to have emergency strategy based on a risk management approach.

The national and local response to improving the physical structure of buildings was immediate and a Building Regulations Committee was set up in February 1931, followed by the Building Regulations Act 1932 introducing a uniform national building code and establishing a Standards Institute to develop and apply it. Many local authorities did not have building by-laws at this time and it was evident to public works engineers Brodie and Harris (1933) that lives and property were lost in Napier through errors in the design and construction of buildings and cost cutting driven by consumer demand. Foundations were poorly laid, bracing often inadequate, and sometimes the mortar consisted only of sand and water<sup>12</sup>. Timber buildings proved more resilient and, along with ferro-cement, replaced brick in New Zealand construction. Noonan (1976: 133) observed a change of emphasis within the Public Works Department

*...previously public buildings had been the almost exclusive concern of architects, after the earthquake the role of engineers in structural design became increasingly important.*

A Town Planning Committee<sup>13</sup> was set up to advise the Commissioners and to assist in the preparation of a plan for the central business district. The Town Planning Act 1926 required that all cities and boroughs with a population of over 1000 inhabitants prepare and administer a town plan regulating the use of land through zoning. In the end it proved technically difficult, politically unappealing, and was implemented by few local authorities. Its powers for dealing with emergencies were also limited. The Hawke's Bay Earthquake Act 1931 S66 allowed for modification of the Town Planning Act and special powers were granted in the Napier Town Planning Regulations gazetted in October 1931. Town planning schemes could be prepared for sections of the borough (rather than the total jurisdiction) and modifications were made to speed up objection processes, deal with issues of compensation and betterment, and clarify legal standing. Some of these adjustments were later

incorporated into the Town and Country Planning Act 1953. The Napier Harbour Board and Napier Borough Enabling Act 1933 gave the Borough the authority to lease and develop reclaimed land for housing in the area now known as Marewa<sup>14</sup> and ensure that the '*Work of restoration went hand in hand with plans for expansion*' (Watters, 1958: 64). A voluntary body, the Napier Reconstruction Committee, consisting of thirteen of the town's leading professionals, businessmen and local body interests advised on architectural and urban design issues, public health matters and building inspection. They drew on the post earthquake innovations of California and Japan (Shaw and Hallet, 1998).

Before the earthquake, there was concern that the layout of the town could not accommodate the growth in traffic and a proper planning scheme was advocated (Childs, 1972). Street widening was discussed, but no agreement reached '*It is difficult when times are normal and there is no particular incentive beyond the civic pride of a minority to foster community action*' (The Dominion, 1933: 19). The earthquake provided the civic pride and incentive necessary. J. W. Mawson, the Government Town Planner who later, as consultant to the Council, was responsible for Marewa, prepared a sectional scheme. Main thoroughfares were widened, corners splayed back, service lanes<sup>15</sup> created and a grand promenade park laid out on Marine Parade on top of the debris moved from the ruins (Callaghan, 1933:35). The Napier Thirty Thousand Club and other private benefactors contributed to its amenity with public art, memorials to the dead and rescuers, an outdoor dance floor and Hollywood styled soundshell.

The construction of temporary shops and business premises 'Tin Town'<sup>16</sup> allowed people to return to work and time to reflect on the future

*It was partly to prevent the town going back to the old order of things that temporary business premises were built in the Square. Had we encouraged the desire to rebuild at all costs, to rush back to the ruined buildings, clear away the debris and run up any sort of structure, the difficulties in the way of street improvement would have been as great as ever. Instead the business people for the time being moved out of the way...in the meantime it was possible to take stock of the situation and plan for the future' (A.R. Hurst, Chair of the Town Planning Committee and Napier Businessman, The Dominion, 1933: 20).*

Property owners were generous. Many waived their right to compensation and gave up land to create better access ways. The special powers of the Town Planning Regulations were invaluable in resolving legal difficulties. Compensation was paid, on occasion, financed from an insurance company loan. These measures, it was argued, were a good investment, raising betterment charges and increasing revenue from revaluation. The opportunity was also taken to underground power and telegraph lines. Trams were not replaced on the grounds of cost and evidence of scrapping elsewhere (Committee of Management: 1933:22). Overall, however, changes were modest, perhaps attributable to '*the limited town planning knowledge in New Zealand at the time*' (Childs, 1972: 5) and the inevitable complexity and inertia of established property ownership patterns.

Real transformation came through architecture. Four local firms put aside competition and formed the 'Associated Architects'<sup>17</sup>. With the assistance of Wellington architects and recent graduates from the University of Auckland, they created what has now become known as 'Art Deco Napier'. This is a generic term for an eclectic range of loosely interpreted modern styles<sup>18</sup> reflecting the different preferences of the architects and vernacular materials and motifs. The effaced Victorian town was replaced with buildings influenced by Paris and the United States. American culture had reached New Zealand via the cinema and resonated with a cheerful optimism: the magic and pizzazz of the pre-depression jazz era. Art Deco conformed to the new building standards: it used reinforced concrete, was low in height and spare in ornamentation. It was also cheap and allowed Napier businessmen to make a progressive statement on a tight budget. It responded to the community's rejection of severe modernism and call for some decoration, albeit restrained (Natusch, 2001). While the architects co-operated in the standard height of the verandas, co-ordination was limited '*Spanish Mission, Modern and Chicago School-style buildings sprang up alongside each other in confused profusion*' (Wright, 1994:163). The apparent coherence and identity of Napier today was not achieved through a blueprint. It evolved through a commitment to modern ideals and the urgency of reconstruction.

Napier was substantially rebuilt by 1933, and celebrated with a carnival. The new town appealed to the popular imagination

*The Napier of tomorrow - it might be said the Napier of today... will rouse admiration, for it is being transformed into a model town - beautiful in architecture and modern in every detail, from the curved corners of its widened streets to the glinting plate-glass and nickel steel of its fascinating shop windows (The Dominion, 1933: 19).*

Resurrection, of a sort, had been achieved through the built environment<sup>19</sup>.

### **‘THE ART DECO CAPITAL OF THE WORLD’**

Art Deco was no longer in vogue in the Napier of the sixties, susceptible to redevelopment spurred by economic buoyancy and a taste for high-rise buildings. Many of the better Deco buildings were demolished before a team of OECD<sup>20</sup> design experts drew attention to the town's unique heritage in eighties. Natural, rather than cultural, attractions dominated tourist strategies. Parks, aquariums and sporting facilities were promoted to the cultural traveller. Napier was a microcosm of the New Zealand policy mindset where heritage, other than Maori tradition and momentous Victorian architecture, went unappreciated. Stimulated by the OECD's enthusiasm, the Ministry of Works undertook a survey of the remaining buildings commenting on their significance as an earthquake memorial and example of innovative architectural adaptation (Ives, 1982). A small, but passionate Art Deco Group<sup>21</sup>, incorporated as the Art Deco Trust in 1987, worked to educate the public and the Council about the value of the buildings and benefits to tourism, civic pride and identity. In 1992, with a Council grant, it employed a director and expanded its programme of advocacy, tours, events, networking and design advice. This grant now forms a small portion its income, which comes from a range of sources, including merchandising. It markets Napier as 'The Art Deco Capital of the World', linking the city into an international enthusiasm for the art form and inspiring global conferences.

Statutory planning mechanisms provide limited protection. While the Resource Management Act 1991 gave local authorities greater regulatory powers, potential compensation claims over loss of development value continues to favour conservative policy settings. The Napier District Plan 1985 merely listed buildings registered by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. In 1992 a small Conservation Area containing the best buildings was defined within a larger Heritage District. Height limits and incentives for sympathetic restoration and maintenance were offered through a Design Guide. Ten years later, the proposed District Plan (yet to be adopted) amalgamates these areas into an 'Art Deco Quarter', extending height limits, restricting signage and requiring consents for alteration or demolition of identified heritage buildings. Special character zones have been identified in the suburbs and development restrictions imposed. These are surrounded by Advocacy Areas where conservation is encouraged through education (Napier City Council, 2000). Small grants for repainting are available.

The growing sophistication of planning policies is testament to the effectiveness of the Art Deco Trust and to Council's recognition of the role of cultural tourism in local economic diversification. Persuasion and public outcry, however, are still the major mechanisms for ensuring preservation and the privately owned Deco buildings remain vulnerable to market forces.

### **‘THE CITY OF TOMORROW’**

Out of disaster comes opportunity. The earthquake provided the impetus for change and forged, in unsettled circumstances, the public will to achieve it. A better and brighter future ameliorated the impact of a terrible event, but radical change was muted. The human desire for order and regularity, local business imperatives, and the broader economic and social context shrunk the vision of what Napier could have become. Environmental common sense was also transgressed. The most significant paradigm shift occurred in building construction. It was taken for granted that the town would be rebuilt, but this time technological ingenuity would make it stronger than before. New Zealand's understanding of seismological engineering advanced considerably over the next decade and the country developed an international reputation for innovations, such as the sonic base isolator. Other policy changes followed more slowly. There remains a tension between the need for precaution, the elimination of risk as far as practical, and the economic and social dynamism inherent in risk taking.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain was the main source of models and styles. By the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the United States had become the dominant influence. Given its local interpretation, California was etched into the cultural landscape in the rebuilding programme. Art Deco emerged as a positive earthquake bequest and is certain to continue to play significant role in the future. The town of yesterday may yet be the Napier of tomorrow but only if the forces of market driven urban development can be held at bay.

In New York, the future of the World Trade Centre site has yet to be decided. The mega-skyscraper may no longer be fashionable in the United States, but as in Napier, the opportunity will be taken to improve accessibility to the devastated Ground Zero area, whatever happens. Indications suggest that there will be a return to old street patterns. The area will shift from finance and high technology towards diversified residential, tourist and cultural activities (Goldberger, 2002). Napier-like, this patch of New York will attain its future by utilising dimensions of the past. However, as the case of Napier has demonstrated, while a major catastrophic event creates opportunities for significant innovation in the built environment, and for related policy making, global economic and cultural forces, along with inevitable inertia, remain powerful suppressants of any significant paradigm shift. It's business—nearly as usual.

## NOTES

1. Napier became a city in 1950, when its population reached 20,000.
2. Building regulations after a 1886 fire required all new inner city buildings to be constructed of brick or concrete (Campbell, 1975: 129).
3. The population of Napier in 2001 census was 53,661 (1.35% of the population of New Zealand) <http://www.stats.govt.nz>
4. Earthquakes were recorded in 1863, 1890, 1894, 1921, 1929 and 1930 (Campbell, 1975: 129).
5. Some accounts downgrade it to 7.8. It was shallow (at approximately 16 kilometres) with an epicentre 15-20 kilometres north of the town.
6. Water mains had ruptured, sumps (irregularly checked, had dried up) and hoses clogged with sand when fireman tried to pump water from the sea.
7. \$NZ300 million today.
8. HMS Veronica was in port and two more vessels were quickly despatched from Auckland.
9. Architects argued for comprehensive redesign, but the time necessary for resurvey was not supported by business (Natusch, 2002). The town was resurveyed along existing roads.
10. John Saxon Barton (magistrate) and Lachlan Bain Campbell (lawyer), initially appointed under the Municipal Corporations Act 1920, are widely praised in the literature, undertaking *'their task with zeal, thoughtfulness, and a generous perspective...(to) enable a much improved town to rise from the ruins of the business area of Napier'* (Callaghan, 1933: 35).
11. Replaced by the Earthquake Commission Act 1993, which dropped war damage and excluded non-residential property from mandatory coverage.
12. Natusch (1933: 22) also blamed regulations where *'90 per cent of the building work is done by the unqualified'*.
13. There were seven members: Barton, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, the Surveyor General, a citizen, an architect, a surveyor, and the Borough Engineer.
14. A comprehensive public housing scheme which drew on the ideas of Raymond Unwin and was built in Art Deco style
15. Service lanes were ratified under Napier Borough Empowering Act 1943 and subsequently incorporated into the 1953 planning legislation.
16. Tin Town was built with a government loan of £10,000 and opened on 16 March 1931.
17. The 'Associated Architects' were E.A. Williams (favouring Art Deco), Finch and Westerholm (Spanish Mission), J.A. Hay (Frank Lloyd Wright) and Natusch & Sons (International Style) (Art Deco Trust, 2002)
18. Influences included: Stripped Classical, Classical Moderne, Spanish Mission and Art Deco. Distinctions now made between the styles were far from clear at the time (McGregor, 2002).
19. Local poets, in a rush of utopian defiance, believed that nature could be remedied through urban renewal

*I never understood before how man could dare  
To watch a city shaken to the ground*

*To feel the tremors, hear the tragic sound  
 Of houses twisting crashing, everywhere,  
 And not be conquered by a sick despair,  
 Although his buildings crumple to a mound  
 Of worthless ruins, man has always found  
 The urge to build a stronger city there.  
 Within my soul I made my towers high.  
 They lie in ruins, yet I have begun  
 To build again, now planning to restore  
 What life has shaken to the earth; and I  
 in faith shall build my towers toward the sun  
 A stronger city than was there before.*  
 Gertrude Rydd Bennett (Conly, 1980: 231)

*Another Athens shall arise  
 And to remoter time,  
 Bequeath like sunset to the skies,  
 The splendour of its prime  
 (Daily Telegraph, 1981:163)*

20. OECD (the Paris based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)  
 21. A group of six people: an architect, community arts enthusiast, museum director, artist, journalist, city councillor and a planner. Involvement in arts issues provided the initial link.

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## Recreating the past: the *Barri Gòtic* of Barcelona 1880-1950

Joan Ganau  
Profesor Titular de Geografia  
Department of Geography and Sociology  
University of Lleida  
Pl. Víctor Siurana, 1  
25003 Lleida (Spain)  
e-mail: [ganau@geosoc.udl.es](mailto:ganau@geosoc.udl.es)  
Phone: +34 973 703139

### **Abstract**

Every morning, hundreds of tourists get off the coaches that have driven them to the centre of Barcelona to visit the *Barri Gòtic* (gothic quarter). Most of them wander around at a leisurely pace contemplating the eye-catching facade of the cathedral, or the less spectacular architecture of some of the other public buildings, enjoying the atmosphere of streets that seem to carry them back in time to a medieval city.

Others, who either already know the city's history, or who have been previously informed by tourist guides, observe the scene in the knowledge that the facade was built just over a century ago and that many of the gothic elements and houses that populate the quarter were, in fact, constructed in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

But the *Barri Gòtic*, besides being one of the city's main tourist attractions, also provides one of the most complete syntheses of Barcelona's recent urbanistic history. It was conceived at the confluence of two long and controversial processes that Barcelona experienced in the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. On one hand, there was the construction of the cathedral facade and the urbanisation of its immediate surroundings. On the other, there was the long and complex process of reforming the inner part of the city.

The idea of constructing the *Barri Gòtic* had its origins between the years 1908 and 1911. It was seen as a way of conserving the abundant archaeological remains that came to light during the demolition work associated with the redevelopment. It was also a way of providing the cathedral, which was just being finished at that time, with an environment in an appropriate gothic style.

When the demolition work in the old city centre was over, and the contribution of new archaeological materials was finished, the concern for Barcelona's historic centre turned to adapting existing projects to the new urbanistic ideas of the time. The construction of the gothic quarter was therefore postponed, and the idea was not resurrected until some time later, during preparations for the Universal Exhibition of Barcelona of 1929; at the same time that the *Poble Espanyol* was built.

Although having very different objectives, the two projects shared a common base: that of creating a uniform urban space through the choice of a single unifying theme. In the case of the *Poble Espanyol*, that unit was geographical. In that of the *Barri Gòtic*, it was historical: the recovery of a central space by creating a setting that offered a stylistic unity, like some kind of historical theme park.

It was a falsification of the passing of time, and one that would be gradually developed over the following decades, built upon a partial reality. From the 1950's onwards, the *Barri Gòtic*, which had now become consolidated, became one of Barcelona's best known images. Transformed into an island within the city's historic centre, it came to focus principally on tourist and cultural uses.



## Introduction

Every morning crowds of tourists wander through the historic centre of Barcelona. The most frequented streets are those near the cathedral, in the Barri Gòtic (Gothic Quarter). This is where there is the greatest concentration of monuments and where, thanks to a setting which recalls a medieval city, the visitor has the sensation of being transported back through time.

In fact, in recent years, the historic centres of many cities have been converted into a tourist attraction of the first order. We find ourselves before a phenomenon in which many groups of monuments have been effectively turned into a type of theme park, through which the past has been made an object of mass consumption (Solà-Morales, 1998, Amendola, 1997).

But this phenomenon of recreating the past is, in fact, nothing new. It can be traced back until at least the 19th Century. Thus, for example, the *tableaux vivants* enjoyed great success in Paris from the mid-19th Century onwards (Lowenthal, 1985, Boyer, 1990). Similarly in Spain, Seville's Barrio de la Cruz was built at the beginning of the 20th Century with the aim of offering tourists the typical historical themes associated with Andalucía in a small area of the city. In 1929, Barcelona itself inaugurated its Poble Espanyol (Spanish Village), which reproduced fragments of historic architecture from all over the country with the objective of producing a pueblo condensing all of the geographical variety of Spanish architecture.

But the Barri Gòtic is a more interesting case to study for a series of reasons. In the first place, because of the great length of the process: the origins of the Barri Gòtic go back to the middle of the 19th Century, while it was not constructed until almost a century later. Secondly, because its management combines two very significant processes for the urban planning of contemporary Barcelona: on one hand, the internal redevelopment of the city; on the other, the termination of the cathedral and the organisation of its surrounding area. Thirdly, the history of the Barri Gòtic presents an excellent example of how plans for interventions involving monumental historic centres constantly changed and evolved: from the isolation of the monuments to the use of all available resources to recreate the past and, in the midst of the 20th Century, build a quarter with a completely Lower Middle Age atmosphere.

### A large square around the cathedral

Barcelona cathedral was essentially built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but it was left unfinished; its facade was never constructed. The industrial Barcelona of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with its rich merchants and traders could not allow its most symbolic building to remain so apparently neglected. Following the precedent set by other European cities, including Milan and Cologne, Barcelona decided that it needed to give its cathedral an appropriate facade.

But what sort of facade should a gothic cathedral have in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century? Other cathedrals, throughout Europe, had been completed at the beginning of century with elegant neoclassical facades. Indeed, there were various such examples within Catalonia, and even in Barcelona itself, such as the gothic style *Llotja* and *Ajuntament* (City Hall), which had both been partially reconstructed in the purest neoclassical style during the 1840s.

But the penetration of romanticism and eclecticism in the world of architectural thought led people to change their ideas regarding the cathedral. Pau Piferrer, one of the main people responsible for introducing neo-medieval concepts into Spain, forcefully affirmed in 1848 that the cathedral should be finished in the same gothic style in which it had been conceived (Grau and López 1986). Furthermore, the discovery in the cathedral's archives of an allegedly medieval project for the cathedral, attributed to a certain "maestro Carlí", proved decisive in ensuring unanimous agreement about the style in which the cathedral should be completed.

It was, in fact, one of the leading members of Barcelona's financial elite, Manuel Girona, who was mainly responsible for the cathedral being finished. In 1860, this banker, who was a deeply religious man with a passion for the arts, produced a project for the facade in collaboration with the architect Josep O. Mestres. The project followed the allegedly original plan by Carlí and the first phase of the work was completed by 1868. The finishing touches to the facade had, however, to be postponed for several years on account of the complex political situation that reigned in Spain after 1868.

In 1880 thoughts once again turned to the need to finish off the work. But at that time there was a major controversy in the city concerning the exact type of gothic model that should be adopted for the

construction of the rest of the facade. On one hand, there was a project by M. Girona and J. O. Mestres, which sought continuity with the cathedral's original gothic style. On the other, there was that of Joan Martorell, which enjoyed the support of L. Domènech i Montaner, Antoni Gaudí and a large sector of Barcelona's intelligentsia of the period (Bassegoda, 1981). Martorell's project was directly inspired by the gothic architecture of the north of Europe and proposed a spectacular facade that was more in keeping with the traditions of northern France or Germany than of Catalonia.

The controversy continued until 1887, when M. Girona offered to pay the entire cost of the work, a factor that swung the argument clearly in his favour. The building work therefore resumed in 1888. Initially the project was supervised by J. O. Mestres, but later this function was assumed by August Font, who finally built a facade that synthesised features of both of the projects that had given rise to the original controversy. The cathedral facade's central spire was finally completed in 1912.

But even though the cathedral now had a new facade, it continued to lack a square from which people could contemplate its magnificence. The building remained surrounded by narrow streets of medieval origin and by a number of neighbouring constructions that almost hid it. In the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century many other monuments, throughout Europe, suffered the same fate, with a process of progressive isolation being followed by the construction of neighbouring squares and open spaces to enhance their presence. In Barcelona, in the same years that people were arguing about and finally constructing the new facade of the cathedral, a number of proposals emerged for the transformation of its immediate neighbourhood.

The first of these accompanied redevelopment proposals and projects for the *Ensanche y Reforma* (expansion and redevelopment) and were presented in a public competition, which was organised by Barcelona City Council in 1859. An analysis of the different proposals makes interesting reading. The winning project was one signed by Antoni Rovira i Trias, whose main proposed intervention in the historic city was the creation of an avenue running from a large central square located in the *Ensanche*, up to the facade of the cathedral. This solution offered precisely the perspective that the cathedral had hitherto lacked (though it should also be remembered that at this time, construction work on the facade had yet to begin). Josep Fontseré, another architect who was also a finalist in the competition, offered a similar solution to that of Antoni Rovira, though one that was perhaps a little less bold. He proposed opening a street that would run directly from the large square to another square located just in front of the cathedral. The other winner, Francesc Soler i Gloria, planned a great avenue that would cross the whole historic centre and connect the *Ensanche* and the port. This avenue was also to include a large square just in front of the cathedral that would help to enhance its presence.

The symbolic importance of the cathedral was therefore clearly important in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and it continued to occupy a central place in the urban planning of the city. Even Ildefons Cerdà had a soft spot for the cathedral, despite the fact that his project for redeveloping Barcelona adopted a rationalist approach to urban planning, and practically entailed knocking down the historic centre and starting afresh. He did not only condition his redevelopment project in the interests of preserving the cathedral, but also eliminated any new streets that might affect it. In the definitive version of his project, he even used the cathedral's facade as a point of reference. He created a square in front of it, when laying out one of his three large avenues, yet did so without sacrificing the straightness of the street in question.

But the most ambitious proposals for transforming the area surrounding the cathedral appeared around the year 1880. Just when the debate about how the inner part of Barcelona should be redeveloped had been rekindled, and when that concerning the cathedral's facade had reached its climax, three new proposals were presented. All were by authors closely associated with the city, and they all shared a common objective. The first was presented by L. Domènech i Montaner, one of the most important Catalan modernist architects. In 1879 he proposed the demolition of all the existing buildings lying between the cathedral and the *Plaça Sant Jaume*. Domènech then proposed transforming this great space into a square surrounded by monumental buildings and presided over by three great columns from the city's ancient Roman temple, that were to be placed in its centre (Domènech, 1879).

A few years later, Jacint Verdaguer, Catalonia's great national poet, included this same idea in his ode "To Barcelona". The City Council published a hundred thousand copies of this work, which were distributed throughout the city. Thus, the idea of an isolated cathedral began to become increasingly accepted by the citizens of Barcelona. Soon after, Àngel J. Baixeras gave form to this concept and

incorporated it into his project for the redevelopment of inner Barcelona, which was officially approved in 1889.

The symbolic value of this proposal was evident. The square brought together all of the city's religious and political power. Apart from the cathedral, the great raised platform was enclosed by the *Ajuntament*, the royal and bishop's palaces and the seat of the *Generalitat* (Catalonia's historic government). A single space therefore offered a reminder of the most important moments in Barcelona's history. It brought together the remains of the Roman temple—which were returned to their original location—the major neoclassical style redevelopment of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and, above all, the great medieval and renaissance buildings, which were built at the time of the city's maximum splendour.

However, this project also represented a contradiction with the architectural language used to finish the cathedral. As we have previously said, the consensus with respect to the need to finish the cathedral with a gothic style facade was practically unanimous in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Barcelona. Romantic and neo-medieval ideals had therefore managed to make a major impression upon Catalan architectural thought. Yet this break with neoclassical academicism, which in architectural circles took place in the second third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, would still take some time to exert its influence upon urban design.

The projects, that we have just mentioned, for reorganising this area around the cathedral were all, to a certain extent, based on a liking for grandiose baroque scenes in urban settings, which the influence of the *Beaux Arts* tradition helped to prolong throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They also followed another tendency, which predominated throughout Europe, that of conserving only the most important historical monuments and leaving them free from the presence of lesser constructions, which left them as landmarks within their respective urban landscapes.

This mismatch between the renovation of architectural and urban planning language could be observed throughout Europe, though there were subtle differences in how it manifested itself in different contexts. The reasons for this were complex and have perhaps not received sufficient study or attention. Firstly, while architecture could boast a long tradition of historical studies, urban planning had hardly even emerged as a scientific discipline. As a result, neo-medieval architecture spread when and where romanticism triumphed. Such representative authors as A. Pugin, J. Ruskin and E. Viollet-le-Duc, had all published their work by the middle of century. On the other hand, however, C. Sitte and C. Buls would not publish their work on the revaluation of historic urban planning until the end of the century (Choay, 1993).

Secondly, there was also a clear mismatch between the origins of the historic evaluation of architectural monuments and the perceived need to conserve the historic city as a complete group. From a 19<sup>th</sup> century point of view, it was possible to conserve great architectural landmarks without the need to maintain the corresponding network of streets and other buildings that were otherwise considered obsolete. The need to change cities and to adapt their old urban structures to meet the new demands of the industrial society were perceived as being more important than the permanence of these historic centres.

### **The demolition of old Barcelona and the relocation of its archaeological remains**

The second process that was responsible for the birth of the idea of the *Barri Gòtic* was the redevelopment of the inner part of Barcelona. The start of this redevelopment process can be traced back to the year 1859 when, as already seen, various projects were presented for the remodelling of the historic city, which coincided with work to extend this area out into the *Ensanche*. But this project was delayed for many years on account of the numerous obstacles that confronted it. These included the sheer magnitude of the undertaking, its high cost, and the associated legal difficulties. There was also opposition from the city's real estate sector, though perhaps the definitive obstacle was the inability of Barcelona's wealthy merchants and traders to carry out such a major project without the help of the State – as, for example, had occurred in the case of Paris.

In fact, following a multitude of problems, work to redevelop inner Barcelona did not finally begin until 1908 (Ganau, 1997). As a result, the first demolitions of houses to make way for the *Via Laietana* avenue accidentally coincided with the last phase of construction work on the facade of the cathedral. It was also at this time that the apparent contradiction between a completely gothic style cathedral in a clearly baroque style setting was finally resolved.

Half a century had passed since the presentation of the first projects by I. Cerdà in 1859. Various projects had been discussed, all of which had adopted a very aggressive stance with respect to the medieval fabric of the historic centre. But despite this, there was still no clear consciousness in the city of the real impact that the demolitions would have. Having postponed the onset of the work for several decades, and having witnessed a progressive deterioration in the living conditions of local inhabitants and the value of their properties, the most important thing was to begin the redevelopment work as quickly as possible.

A conservationist conscience was gradually emerging all over Europe at the same rate at which the historical patrimony of its cities was disappearing. The work of Sitte, for example, was a direct response to the redevelopment of Vienna's *Ringstrasse* (Collins and Collins, 1965). In Paris, the demolitions carried out by Haussmann in the medieval part of the city were the main reason for the appearance of a powerful conservationist movement at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Sutcliffe, 1970). Similarly, in Barcelona, the onset of redevelopment work stirred the already existent conservationist movement into action. This was mainly because the project applied was already outdated and clashed with the city's new urban planning culture; a situation well exemplified by Léon Jausse's "Plan de Enlaces" (Plan for Connections) which had recently been approved (Torres, 1987, Monclús, 2000).

Even so, in the light of evidence that part of the historic city would disappear, plans were prepared to use the available conservation instruments before the redevelopment work began. Firstly, a competition of graphic memories was organised in which some of the city's main designers and photographers participated, including Modest Urgell, Dionís Baixeras and Adolf Mas. The result was an important archive of images that captured streets, atmospheres and corners of the city that were destined to disappear (Torrella, 2001). Along the same lines, the historian F. Carreras i Candi was commissioned to make a compilation of historical information about those same streets and to write a chronicle of the redevelopment work (Carreras, 1913).

Secondly, plans were made to transfer the most important archaeological discoveries that might arise during demolition work to a museum. For this reason, in the contract with the company that financed the works, the *Ajuntament* reserved the right to collect fragments of artistic and historical interest in order to send them to one museum or another. But all of these provisions were soon exceeded. Hidden beneath what had been apparently poor quality houses that had been modified over the centuries, emerged a great wealth of medieval architecture. The demolition work had to be constantly brought to a halt in order to examine buildings and carefully remove their most valuable architectural treasures. It was not long before the company charged with the task of carrying out the demolition work complained to the *Ajuntament* and pressured for a limit to be set on the selection criteria applied by the archaeologists.

But in spite of everything, the findings began to accumulate in the municipal warehouses. No museum was capable of harbouring all of the archaeological remains that came to light as a result of the demolition work, which included arcades, picture windows, capitals and stairways. Moreover, it soon became evident that in some cases it was not enough to save only fragments: instead it was necessary to conserve whole buildings. There were cases of some medieval guild houses, for example, that had perfectly maintained their original structures. In such cases, the procedure followed until that time had been to transfer the building in question to some other part of the *Ensanche*. This is what had occurred with several convents, or parts thereof, in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But the criteria had changed, and they were now supposed to remain at their original locations.

### **The birth of the idea of the *Barri Gòtic***

As the conservation instruments available at that time progressively revealed their failings, the idea of creating a gothic quarter began to emerge. This was to be a kind of outdoor museum in which it would be possible to deposit all of the archaeological remains from the demolition work and the creation of the *Via Laietana* (which were taking place only a few metres away).

The idea of opening the city to art, or rather, building the city as a work of art was certainly not a new one (Olsen 1986). Converting urban into monumental space and its relationship with relics from the past both tied in perfectly with this idea. Léon Jausse himself, in the memory of the previously cited Enlaces project, wrote that "museums should be external and should only enclose what it is absolutely necessary to preserve from the vicissitudes of the natural elements, and even then, this should be housed in very open buildings" (Jausse, 1907). These ideas, taken from *Civic Art*, connected perfectly with views that already existed in Barcelona at that time (Monclús, 1996).

By the end of 1908, in the midst of the process of demolishing ancient Barcelona, the conservationist movement gained support. The sequence of events was very precise. Within a few months the idea had spread and proved successful. In the month of November, the *Diario de Barcelona* published an interview with Antoni Gaudí in which the architect expressed the need to conserve monumental remains and to use them to enhance the beauty of the city. Gaudí also advanced news that the poet Joan Maragall was preparing a document in defence of the old city, which had been signed by the city's main cultural entities (Nicolau and Venteo, 2001).

The idea floated in the air. Throughout the month of December 1908, the *Associación de Artistas de Barcelona* and the *Associación de Arquitectos de Cataluña* presented similar proposals. These documents, which were most probably written by the architect Jeroni Martorell, laid out the basic features of what they suggested the *Barri Gòtic* should be like (Ganau 1996). Finally, in 1911, the magazine *La Cataluña* dedicated a monographic issue to the redevelopment of Barcelona. The introduction was signed by Jeroni Martorell and in the main article the writer R. Rucabado explained, in quite elaborate detail, how a gothic quarter should be constructed in Barcelona (Rucabado, 1911).

Rucabado identified a series of supposedly gothic buildings in the quarter (although in reality, not all of those cited merited this qualification) that, at the time, were mixed amongst modern houses and "garishly decorated modern shops, with vulgar bourgeois stairways". Against the heterogeneity, which according to Rucabado reduced the artistic value of the whole group, he proposed giving the area around the cathedral a uniform appearance. He advocated transforming it into a totally gothic quarter and asked himself "Why could a unification of style not be applied in this space, formed between venerable constructions, a glorious inheritance and legitimate source of pride for the city of Barcelona, and the modern constructions rigorously subjected to their style and character, a truly gothic quarter?"

This "subjecting" of more contemporary architecture to gothic canons revealed the true extent to which the defenders of the gothic quarter sought to impose uniformity. Rucabado wrote that all the streets and houses should be modified and adapted to the Catalan gothic style, thereby creating a uniform environment throughout the quarter. He also suggested that even the shops, stairways of houses, and street lamps should be subjected to this process of *gothicisation*. In his opinion, the final result would justify the efforts involved, because "a marvellous unit would flourish in that area, which would come to be regarded as the heart of the city of Barcelona, carefully conserved in a type of reliquary."

From this early description that Rucabado offered of what, with the passing of time, would become the *Barri Gòtic*, it is possible to pick out a series of ideas that need to be highlighted. In the first place, despite being an indirect fruit of the demolition work associated with the redevelopment work that was taking place just a few metres away, the *Barri Gòtic* was, in fact, an invention. It was a conscious invention, built upon the flimsy evidence of a certain concentration of gothic buildings, but conceived from the very beginning as a recreation of the past, a falsification of the historic centre of Barcelona. The existence, or non-existence, of gothic buildings was secondary. They were able to be rescued from the demolition work on the *Via Laietana*. The most important thing was to give this whole group of buildings a semblance of uniformity, by making it conform to supposedly gothic canons.

Secondly, this proposal put an end to the previously mentioned contradiction between the gothic cathedral and its baroque style surroundings. At long last, the cathedral was to have a more appropriate setting. Furthermore, if the construction of the neo-gothic facade had been a falsification of history that almost everyone had consented to, why could not the same formula be applied to the area that surrounded it?

But, at the same time, it should be remembered that the idea of the gothic quarter had its origins in a concept that had long been called into question in the world of architecture. This same concept, when formulated and applied by E. Viollet-le-Duc, had played a key role in interventions involving architectural patrimony during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But by the end of the century, this pillar of the architectural rationalism of Viollet-le-Duc, which was based on the positivist biology of G. Cuvier, had begun to crack and crumble. From various different sectors, but above all from the world of archaeology, the very existence of these styles was questioned and with it the methodology behind the restorations carried out by Viollet-le-Duc. In Catalonia, these same criticisms had been voiced by the french archaeologist Jean A. Brutails, who had exerted a great influence over Josep Puig i Cadafalch and other architects of that time.

Paradoxically, it was this very concept in crisis that was then spread from the world of architecture to that of urban planning, and from these buildings to the different quarters of the city. From a base of a few existing buildings, it was even possible to build an entire gothic quarter... but also a baroque quarter too. In 1916, for example, two young architects, Antoni Puig and Lluís Bonet, drew up a daring

project that was based on a very simple idea. The first demolitions of the redevelopment work had taken place in part of Barcelona that had been consolidated during the Middle Ages, and had revalued the monuments of that period. Thus, when new avenues were opened in the *Raval* district, which had basically been constructed in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, why was it not possible to think of creating a *Barri Barroc* (Baroque Quarter) with the monuments that were already there? The proposal was attractive, and in fact opened the possibility of zoning the historic city according to the predominant architectural style of each particular quarter (Giralt, 1917).

Thirdly, deep down, all of these reappraisals of architectural styles were based on historiographic interpretations that contained clearly ideological connotations. The idea of the *Barri Gòtic* had its origins in a very specific political and cultural context. In its own particular interpretation of history, the conservative nationalist movement of the latter years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had imposed Romanesque as the "official" style of Catalonia, searching for the roots of the Catalan nation in the upper Middle Ages.

In the face of this rural style of Romanesque, there were now calls for a more urban and bourgeois type of architecture. Emphasis was placed on the unique nature of the city of Barcelona, evoking the memory of its golden age, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when the city had dominated Mediterranean trade. In a decisive reinterpretation of the past, gothic would become Barcelona's most representative architectural style. And years later Modernism would also be added to this cultural image of the city.

### **The construction of the *Barri Gòtic***

But various years would have to pass before the gothic quarter became a reality. 1913 saw the end of the demolition work that opened the way for the *Via Laietana*. The source of archaeological remains ran dry and therefore the problem of where to put them also disappeared. Furthermore, in the following years, the main emphasis turned to other questions that were more closely related with redefining the redevelopment project (Ganau 1997).

The idea of the gothic quarter was, for a time, left to one side, and although acceptance of the idea was quite widespread, it was not unanimous. In the year 1911, for example, the architect F. P. Nebot presented a spectacular project for the urbanisation of the area behind the cathedral. It recovered the old idea - which for the first time was committed to paper in the form of a plan - of building a great square, demolishing all of the less important buildings, and leaving the Roman columns in the centre.

In 1923, a radical change took place in Catalonia's political situation as a result of the beginning of the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. Amongst other things, this supposed the disappearance of the *Mancomunitat* (an institution that had permitted Catalonia a degree of self-government in certain areas) which had, in previous years, been presided over by the architect J. Puig i Cadafalch.

The question of the area around the cathedral now became an important issue for the new government. So much so, that in 1924, the City Council re-launched the project that F.P. Nebot (now a city councillor) had drawn up in 1911. The reply from J. Puig i Cadafalch, who had also been one of the promoters of the idea of the *Barri Gòtic*, was immediate and the project had to be immediately paralysed on account of the opposition aroused. But a new urbanisation project was soon put forward, in 1927, this time by the provincial administration. In this case, its author, J. Rubió, denied the existence of a true gothic quarter. With this as his starting point, he proposed the free construction of a new gothic quarter with hardly a thought for the existing buildings. This proposal also met widespread opposition from many sectors of the city (Rubió, 1927).

At the heart of this interest lay the proximity of the Barcelona Universal Exhibition of 1929, which the dictatorship government had converted into the essential objective of its urban policy. Included amongst the interventions that needed to be carried out in the city was an intense campaign to restore buildings and improve streets in its historic centre and in the area near the cathedral (Nicolau and Venteo 2001).

There was also a temptation to look for parallelisms between the *Barri Gòtic* and the *Poble Espanyol* (Spanish village). The latter was, without a doubt, one of the great successes of the 1929 Exhibition. Although originally conceived as just a temporary architectural work, it still remains to this day. The idea had its precedents in other previous exhibitions, such as those of Geneva 1896, Liege 1905 and Brussels 1910, where as well as exhibiting the latest technological novelties, the host country had also shown papier-mâché models of its most representative architecture (Martínez et al 1989).

In the case of Barcelona, following painstaking research, the authors of the *Poble Espanyol* built a collage in which typical architectural elements characteristic of different parts of Spain were mixed together in a series of streets and squares. In fact, under the theoretical geographical unity that gave

name to the group, a single space – and often even a single building - brought together architectural elements that differed greatly in terms of both their styles and places of origin. The quality of the *Poble Espanyol* lay fundamentally in the ability of its authors to create a harmonious unity from the most varied bits and pieces of monumental and popular architecture taken from all over Spain.

But at the same time that preparations were being made for the construction of the *Poble Espanyol*, another commission was established with the task of designing an exhibition entitled “Barcelona retrospective”. Its mission was that of reconstructing, also at the Universal Exhibition site, a reproduction of Barcelona as it had been in the past. As F. Carreras i Candi explained, they sought to recreate the Barcelona of the 16<sup>th</sup> century that still conserved the most important buildings of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Carreras, 1927). In contrast with the heterogeneity of the *Poble Espanyol*, the historian presented this group as what he called “a perfect whole”.

Thus, the general idea was to reproduce a kind of *Barri Gòtic* at the Exhibition site. The inevitable point of reference was the *Vieux Paris* complex that had been such a success at the Exhibition of 1900. That site had reproduced the medieval Paris, which had been demolished a few years earlier during the redevelopment undertaken by Haussman. The similarity with the case of Barcelona seems evident. In both cases attempts were made to recover the collective memory through the reconstruction of the city’s former buildings.

But in the case of Barcelona, a good part of the former city, and above all its monumental centre, had been conserved. In the end, the papier-mâché “*Barcelona retrospectiva*” exhibition was not built at the Exhibition site. But the idea did remain, and years later it was built in the centre of the city, using real stone. The creation of the *Poble Espanyol* certainly renewed interest in the gothic quarter, but from a different perspective.

From 1927 on, the architect Adolf Florensa was given the task of managing conservation policies for the *Barri Gòtic*. Over the next three decades he patiently supervised a gradual transformation of the city centre with the help of the historian Agustí Duran (Florensa 1967). They transferred various houses affected by the redevelopment work, such as *Casa Clariana-Padellàs* and later, in the 1940s, also moved the boilermakers and shoemakers guild houses. They modified some squares and created other new ones, such as the *Plaça del Rei*, and those of *Garriga i Bachs*, *Sant Felip Neri* and *Sant Iu*. Many buildings were restored, such as the *Ajuntament*, the *Cases dels Canonges* and the *Palau del Rei* (Royal Palace). A multitude of fragments from demolitions associated with the redevelopment work or from other parts of the city were taken advantage of in order to give a more gothic character to the buildings in that part of the city. Finally, the bombings of the Spanish Civil War also helped this work and contributed to the creation of a large square in front of the cathedral after 1939 and to the recovery of the city’s Roman walls, which occupied most of A. Florensa’s energies in his final years.

### **The *Barri Gòtic*: a balance**

Back in 1903, Alois Riegl had already explained the change that was taking place in the social perception of monuments (Riegl, 1903). While he considered that the 19<sup>th</sup> century had been dominated by historical value, he predicted that in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the most important factor would be that of the emerging age-value. The former was based on objective historical fact, could be supported on a scientific basis and called for a certain degree of knowledge. Age-value, on the other hand, had a sensorial and subjective base, that did not require such previous knowledge. Until that time, age-value had remained the almost exclusive patrimony of the learned elite, but its emotive content would eventually make it accessible to the whole of society.

To a large extent, the long path trodden by the *Barri Gòtic* from its initial conception and construction to its present form, has been the product of the transition between the two values identified by Riegl. The initial projects, such as the construction of a great square in the vicinity of the cathedral, were clearly based on the concept of historical value. The only things that mattered were the cathedral and the monuments of historical relevance, but not the lesser constructions.

Nevertheless, from 1908 onwards, the value of antiquity began to impose itself. Its importance did not so much reside in historical truth but rather in the effect that it had upon the general atmosphere and in the feelings that it aroused in those who contemplated it. Even so, it was still a project that had emerged in exceptional circumstances; being the result of the demolitions associated with redevelopment work. And when this work came to an end, the project was quickly forgotten.

Why was the project revived at the end of the 1920s? In part, this was, once again, due to the circumstances of the moment, such as the Universal Exhibition of 1929. But the fundamental reason was that important changes had taken place in people's attitudes towards monuments.

The principles that the likes of Camillo Sitte had defended in its work at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had now begun to be widely accepted (Zucconi, 1992). These included: a re-appraisal of the pre-industrial city, an emphasis on the quality of the city as opposed to the extent of its urban expanse, and a preference for irregularly shaped squares and curved streets. As I. Solà-Morales wrote some time ago in reference to the *Poble Espanyol*, all of these values could now be assimilated by "the urban masses as something gratifying, like a distraction that fills them with satisfaction, like a place removed from the rationalised and divided reality" (Solà-Morales, 1986).

In fact, when the restoration-reconstruction work on the *Barri Gòtic* began, in 1927, the idea was reborn. With the passing of time, the references of Jeroni Martorell and Ramón Rucabado had been lost. Florensa, for example, was to assure years later that the concept had arisen around the year 1927 (Florensa, 1958). Yet in 1928, A. Duran had published a study of "the cathedral quarter" in which there was not one single reference to the *Barri Gòtic* (Duran, 1928). And in fact, both of these men repeatedly question the validity of such a denomination because, in their opinion, it did not reflect the historical reality of the quarter.

The archaeological work and restoration of the *Barri Gòtic* would be clearly marked for its scientific rigor. Historical fidelity would constitute the central axis of the works of Florensa and Duran. But also, on many occasions, this would give way to historicist creation and pastiche in the interests of creating the best possible general atmosphere. All in the interests of connecting that historic space with the present, and giving pleasure to the visitor who contemplates it and consumes the past.

The *Barri Gòtic* was not incorporated into the tourist circuits until the 1950s. A reading of the magazine *Barcelona Atracció*n, which was the most important publication of its type after 1924 in terms of diffusion outside the city, demonstrates that until the years 1949 and 1950 the *Barri Gòtic* was not mentioned as one of Barcelona's tourist attractions. However, from that time on, with restoration work already well advanced, Duran and Florensa themselves took an active part in diffusing information about the *Barri Gòtic* through the publication of tourist guides with a historical content (Duran, 1950).

In the following decades, the *Barri Gòtic* would become a historical consumer good. On one hand, it became a space that was almost exclusively given over to cultural, museum and tourist uses. On the other, it gradually became isolated from the rest of the city. With all of its streets pedestrianised and with practically no commercial activity, like so many other historic centres, it gradually become a kind of historical theme park (Goodey, 1991). This sensation was accentuated by the last interventions in the cathedral square, which attempted a neutral design that would further highlight the medieval architecture of the *Barri Gòtic*.

But it was sought to do this by promoting a uniform design. As the space with the greatest density of historical interest in the city, it should also be the most heterogeneous. However, the unitary conception of its design and the work carried out in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to give it atmosphere have transformed it into a strangely unitary space, almost as if it had been conceived as an *avant la lettre* theme park. Yet, even so, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the *Barri Gòtic* still remains very attractive for anyone walking through its streets or contemplating its monuments.

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## Dreamland and Dystopia:

### Representations of Suburbia in 20th-Century American Media

John Archer  
Associate Professor  
Department of Cultural Studies and Comparative Literature  
350 Folwell Hall, 9 Pleasant St. SE  
University of Minnesota  
Minneapolis, MN 55455  
USA

#### *Abstract*

Amid the abundant discussion devoted to the rise and spread of American suburbia in the 20th century, one topic that remains notably underinvestigated is the role of the mass media (especially film, music, advertising, and television) in disseminating lasting prototypical and stereotypical images that have substantially colored the understanding of suburbia and suburbanites. Examples range from the 1920's rise of a "dream house" genre of popular music that played directly into post-war merchandising of suburbia and all its commodity accoutrements, to increasingly pessimistic and condemnatory views of suburbia that predominated from the late 1950s through the 1990s, to recent cinematic and musical reconsiderations of the suburbs. In all these cases the media have been instrumental in setting the terms and the agenda of the national discourse over suburbia and its relation to cities, the environment, the family, and a host of other societal interests.

The premise of this paper is not that the media have necessarily served as hegemonic forces in defining our understanding of suburbia. Rather, the goal is to explore how the media have, decade by decade and generation by generation, established representations of suburbia that serve to consolidate popular understanding of, and attitudes toward, suburbia within a limited range of conventions, many of them highly formulaic.

This paper examines the historical evolution of these conventions as produced in the media, and with respect to political and social contexts of their times (e.g., 1920s government efforts to advance privatism and capitalism, 1940s efforts for postwar economic recovery, the Cold War in the 1950s and 1960s, the 1990s cult of the self, etc.). This is done with specific reference to examples in a number of different genres, including: romantic songs from the 1920s to the present day that center around conventions of "dream" dwellings; mass-marketing campaigns for housing, appliances, and furnishings; films extolling suburbia as an ideal haven, such as *Modern Times* and *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House*; films portraying the pathology of suburbia, such as *No Down Payment*, *Over the Edge*, or *Crime and Punishment in Suburbia*; similar condemnations of suburbia in folk and popular music, such as "Little Boxes" by Pete Seeger and "Subdivisions" by Rush; and recent films such as *The Wood* and *The Family Man* that tentatively explore possibilities that suburbia is a respectable and viable component of contemporary American culture.

Amid the abundant discussion devoted to the rise and spread of American suburbia in the 20th century, one topic that remains notably underinvestigated is the role of the mass media (especially film, music, advertising, and television) in disseminating lasting prototypical and stereotypical images that have substantially colored the understanding of suburbia and suburbanites. Examples include the 1920's rise of a "dream house" genre of popular music that played directly into post-World War II merchandising of suburbia and all its commodity accoutrements; increasingly pessimistic and condemnatory views of suburbia that have predominated from the late 1950s through the 1990s and deeply colored public debate and policy; and recent artistic and cinematic reconsiderations of the suburbs that may suggest the advent of new directions in thinking about suburbia. In all these cases the media have been instrumental in establishing the terms and the agenda of the national discourse over suburbia and its relation to cities, the environment, the family, and a host of other societal interests.

The premise of this paper is not that the media have necessarily served as hegemonic forces in defining our understanding of suburbia. Rather, the goal is to explore how media representations of suburbia have consolidated popular understanding of, and attitudes toward, suburbia within a limited range of conventions, many of them highly formulaic.

Already in the 1920s, following efforts by Herbert Hoover and others in the Harding and Coolidge administrations to promote home ownership as a defense against Bolshevism and as a spur to economic growth, the private single-family dwelling became an object of popular reverie. An entire genre of songs centering around the "dream house" was launched with the 1926 hit recording "Dream House" by Earle Fox and Lynn Cowan, a song that remained popular for decades. The first line announced, "I've got a secret to tell you," and the lyrics went on to reveal:

I have built a Dream House

Cozy little dream house

Happiness is there

Hiding ev'rywhere.<sup>1</sup>

Crucial to the dream house motif, which has continued unabated in musical and cinematic representations straight through to the present, has been its close association with suburbia. Already by 1936, in the film *Modern Times*, we see in the reverie of a down-and-out

Charlie Chaplin a suburban dream-house where he, returning after a hard day's work at the factory, can enjoy not only marital bliss but pastoral splendor. Here, for example, he picks grapes right off the vine outside the kitchen door.

By late 1944 and early 1945, with the end of the war in view, manufacturers eagerly adopted the suburban dream house ideal, ordinarily a detached, suburban, single-nuclear-family house, as an expectation that returning GIs and their families should justifiably look forward to after years of separation, privation, and loss. No doubt those manufacturers hoped that the postwar economy would be geared up to produce sufficient houses to satisfy the ensuing demand, and simultaneously necessitate the purchase of countless new products. An advertisement for Kelvinator kitchen appliances, for example, employed the dream house ideal in this fashion to create a market for its appliances in “your postwar kitchen.” The very title of the advertisement, “We’ll Live in a Kingdom All Our Own,” along with the central image—father, mother, and boy—suggested the dream vision of a properly suburbanized nuclear family household. The copy for the advertisement, ostensibly in the form of a letter from a woman to her serviceman overseas, imitates the lyrics of a “dream house” song:

When you come home to stay . . .  
 We’ll live in a kingdom all our own . . .  
 A kingdom just big enough for three . . . with a picket fence for boundary.  
 And I can picture as plain as day, ivy climbing a garden wall and smoke curling  
 up from a tall, white chimney . . . and a fanlight growing over our front door. The  
 door of the house we’ll build . . . after the war! . . .

And yet, the advertisement promises, “This is no dream.” It is, rather, a realization of the nation’s destiny, as well as every individual American’s destiny, now secured by the War effort: “a strong, vital and growing America—where every man and every woman will have the freedom and the opportunity to make their dreams come true.”<sup>2</sup>

The 1948 release of *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House*, as it recognized Americans’ growing suburban aspirations, proved the perfect opportunity for more extensive corporate cross-marketing campaigns. General Electric mounted the biggest campaign, sponsoring the actual construction of at least 77 “Dream Houses” in cities across the United States. Proclaiming that

“General Electric has made your *Dream House* come true!” a nationwide advertising campaign featured General Electric’s fully “automatic” kitchens, featuring a host of electric appliances.<sup>3</sup>

General Electric also extended its dream-house campaign well beyond the Blandings tie-in. In a 1948 advertisement the company promoted the fully electric houses then being built in Levittown on Long Island as “dream homes.” In words ascribed to Levitt, the advertisement stated: “A dream home is a house the buyer and his family will want to live in a long time—a house that makes living comfortable and easygoing by taking the chores out of running a home. That goes for cottages as well as for mansions.”<sup>4</sup> This democratized vision of the dream house, at least in the immediate postwar years, sustained the relatively high regard accorded even to mass-produced tract developments such as Levittown.

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But as the suburban dream-house ideal consistently gained popularity throughout the second half of the twentieth century, it also became a consistent source of controversy. Put in simplest terms, the question was whether the suburban environment that resulted from seemingly endless tracts of houses sprawling across the landscape was an apparatus of liberatory individualism, or crushing conformity. More critically, the debate began to question whether the privatist-individualist dream, seemingly so democratic and empowering on the one hand, could survive in a landscape that is necessarily so beholden to mass production, standardization, and corporatization. Indeed the debate was in good measure fueled by America’s intense rivalry with the USSR in the 1950s, as many feared that the uniformity of America’s spreading tract development foretold a capitulation to the socialist threat from abroad.

John Keats presented the problem in near-hysterical terms in his 1956 polemic-cum-novel *The Crack in the Picture Window*. Noting that mass-produced housing currently spreading across suburbia often was manufactured in rows after rows of identical boxes, he warned that they would shape suburbanites into legions of identical conformists. Worse, the standardized plans of such houses would force residents into the worst of stereotyped gender roles: “the familiar box on the slab contributes toward the father’s becoming a woman-bossed, inadequate, money-terrified neuter, instead of helping him to accomplish the American dream of the male: rich, handsome, famous, masterful, and the dispenser of even-handed justice.”<sup>5</sup>

By the mid-1950s, the charge that more and more of suburbia threatened to repress individualism had entered mainstream discourse, as in this pessimistic appraisal by sociologist David Riesman: “there seems to me to be a tendency, though not a pronounced one, in the suburbs to lose the human differentiations which have made great cities in the past the centers of rapid intellectual and cultural advance.”<sup>6</sup> Similarly ominous findings were published by C. Wright Mills, and by William H. Whyte in his famous study of suburban company men, *The Organization Man* (1956). Just a year after Whyte’s book, the film *No Down Payment* (1957) offered a graphic and disturbing portrait of suburbia as unequal to the task of serving its residents’ interests.<sup>7</sup> Here spiffy new subdivisions represented considerable progress over Depression and wartime housing deficiencies. But they were still unable to serve the diverse needs and abilities of their individual residents, who instead succumbed to alcoholism, abuse, angst, and cowardice. The conclusion to be had was that the individualist dream was not faulty, but the manner of its implementation—suburban tract housing—was wholly inadequate.

In light of such fear and loathing, suburbia became a notably ripe terrain for the setting of soft-core pornographic novels. Two by Dean McCoy, for example, *The Development* (1961) and *The Love Pool* (1964), proclaim the depravity of suburbia from their cover blurbs: “A biting novel which strips bare the flimsy facade of decency concealing the unbridled sensual desires of America’s sprawling Suburbia,” and “the story of degenerating morals in modern suburbia—where extra-marital love is taken for granted, and loose behavior is a mark of status!”<sup>8</sup> Suburbia had become a place of frustration, fear, loathing, and alienation.

Twenty to forty years later, films like *Over the Edge* (1979), *SAFE* (1995), and *subUrbia* (1997) maintained the media’s narrow focus on the material apparatus in which suburbia had been realized, arguing that the physical fabric that the planners and developers had given us—from dwelling type to subdivision plan to strip mall—itsself was at fault. It could be blamed for the alienation, violence, and anguish that had been visited on its inhabitants.

In very recent years, however, cinematic assessments have begun to explore ways in which the American individualist dream itself is corrupt, moreso than any structure or trappings of the material culture in which we live. In films like *American Beauty* (1999) and *Crime and Punishment in Suburbia* (2000) the dream transforms inexorably into a nightmare. Here the

material fabric of suburbia itself does no direct harm, but instead takes on the role of enabler: it is an apparatus that can abet private urges and desires that are otherwise insufficiently checked in a culture that idealizes privatist individualism. Here the setting is more closely focused on just a single private home, and the psychological focus narrows to a single family or character. The contest boils down to this: does a single individual have the mettle necessary to make good use of all the material accoutrements of the dream, which are so abundantly present here, or will he or she descend into a nightmare of private excess? In the outcome of the contest lie profound implications for the dream: not only is suburbia an unsuitable apparatus for its realization, but the dream itself may lead to nothing more than an existential ordeal. In *Crime and Punishment in Suburbia*, for example—a nightmare of abuse, murder, and guilt—only following the purgatory of prison does the central character get on her boyfriend’s motorcycle and abandon suburbia for the open road and, presumably, the redemptive cosmopolitanism of New York.

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Some of the most caustic critiques of the dream, particularly as it has been realized in suburbia, have come from musicians. As with films, lyrics that concern suburbia turned almost uniformly mordant starting in the mid-1950s. Well known examples include “Little Boxes” (Malvina Reynolds, 1963), “Down in Suburbia” (Bob Lind, 1966), “Subdivision Blues” (Tom T. Hall, 1973), “Suburbanites Invade” (False Prophets, 1981), or “Subdivisions” (Neil Peart, 1982); the title of William Wimsatt’s 1994 hip-hop tract, *Bomb the Suburbs*, is exemplary. Nevertheless the nature of such critiques is much the same as in postwar film: even while casting suburbia as the antithesis of the dream, the terms in which the criticism has been cast—extolling individuality and personal expression—still serve to reinforce the legitimacy of the privatist-individualist “dream.” Neil Peart’s “Subdivisions” typifies this kind of critique: here the “dreamer” is equated with the “misfit” in suburbia—in other words, the individualist whose dreams are frustrated by the uniformity and standardization of suburbia.

Sprawling on the fringes of the city

In geometric order

An insulated border

In between the bright lights

And the far unlit unknown  
Growing up it all seems so one-sided  
Opinions all provided  
The future pre-decided  
Detached and subdivided  
In the mass production zone  
Nowhere is the dreamer  
Or the misfit so alone.<sup>9</sup>

The imagery becomes darker yet in “Suburban Life” (Kottonmouth Kings, 1997, on the sound track for *Scream 2*), as a parent’s wide-eyed appetite for suburban consumerism is shown to have devastating consequences for the children of suburbia:

Now my pops bought the system, American dreamer  
Bought a new home and a brand new Beemer  
But it didn’t take long for things to fall apart  
Because the system that he bought ain’t got no heart  
From the bills for days he got blood shot eyes  
The American dream was a pack of lies  
Six months later Municipal Court  
Divorce time baby, child support  
I went from home cooked meals to TV dinners  
No more little Steven, now it’s Saint Dogg the sinner  
There’s no cash back cause there was no receipt  
Man suburban life ain’t done a dime for me.

A common element of these and almost all other musical critiques of suburbia remained the complaint that suburbs, including their standardized housing and consumerist culture, repressed the individuality of those who lived there. The upshot was a bitter lament that suburbia, far from realization of the dream, was dystopia. Nevertheless throughout all these lyrics there was little occasion to doubt that the dream itself was in dispute. Rather, suburbia as



realized was the wrong means for such an end; suburbia, it would seem, was not individualist enough.

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In recent decades there have been sparse, but real, attempts in some media to address possibilities that suburbia is a respectable and viable component of contemporary culture. Music is still overwhelmingly antipathetic toward suburbia.<sup>10</sup> On the other hand photographers such as Joe Deal and Bill Owens beginning in the 1970s, or Gregory Crewdson more recently, and painters such as David Hockney and Eric Fischl, have begun to depict suburbia in a fashion that not only accords it and the people who are there their own dignity, but also affords a sense of the complexity of their lives. A few recent feature films also have pursued a more complex and engaged view of suburbia, including *The Wood* (1999) and *What's Cooking* (2000). Ironically enough—and perhaps predictably—such an exploration of suburbia is undertaken here by focusing on family members who are African-American, Vietnamese, Hispanic, and lesbian. Stereotypically members of such groups are absent from suburbia, but these films mirror actual demographic changes—and portray real dreams that people are pursuing.

*The Family Man*, released in 2000, is an even rarer statement, not only because its central characters are Caucasian, but because it offers an explicitly positive assessment of suburbia in film. The central character, Jack Campbell, rejects a life of success and affluence in Manhattan for a vision of life in suburbia, where he has a wife, two children, a minivan, and a career as a tire salesman. He wins back Kate, his college sweetheart, by encouraging her to abandon her own flourishing professional career in Paris, in the course of which he blurts out, “We have a house in Jersey!” and describes the nuclear family that he sees himself and Kate raising there.

Unhappily this doesn't mean that the media at large are ready to reject the common formulas by which they have portrayed suburbia for the past half century, a period over which that physical and social landscape has changed in many different ways. There are many opportunities to explore critically the ways that people do pursue their dreams in suburbia and, so far as they are concerned, commonly succeed. What is most necessary, perhaps, is to abandon formula and stereotype in favor of recognizing the multiplicity and diversity of suburbs that

surround us, and to approach them more openly and critically as landscapes that sustain complex processes of *distinction* and *differentiation*, on both private and social scales.

## NOTES

This paper is a much abbreviated version of portions of my forthcoming book, *Housing Dreams: Architecture and the Self, 1690-2000*.

<sup>1</sup> “Dream House,” lyrics by Earle Fox, melody by Lynn Cowan (San Francisco: Sherman, Clay & Co., 1926).

<sup>2</sup> Nash-Kelvinator Corporation, “We’ll Live in a Kingdom All Our Own,” *Life* 18:4 (22 January 1945), inside front cover; ellipses in original.

<sup>3</sup> “77 Dream Houses,” *Banking* 41:1 (July 1948), 66, 112. Advertisement, *Life* 24:26 (28 June 1948), 78. Advertisement, *Architectural Forum* 89:1 (July 1948), 43. Advertisement, *The Saturday Evening Post* 220:52 (26 June 1948), 55. Also see Catherine Jurca, “Hollywood, the Dream House Factory,” *Cinema Journal* 37:4 (Summer 1998), 29-30. Blandings houses were originally intended for 100 cities: see “Mrs. Blandings’ Dream Kitchen,” *General Electric Review* 51:6 (June 1948), 54.

<sup>4</sup> Advertisement, *The Architectural Forum* 88:6 (June 1948), 138-139.

<sup>5</sup> John Keats, *The Crack in the Picture Window* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1956), 181. In support of his argument Keats cited Robert Woods Kennedy’s book *The House and the Art of Its Design* (New York: Reinhold, 1953). But Keats’s conclusion was in fact hardly consistent with Kennedy’s argument, which instead focused on the opportunities that domestic design provided for broadening and both male and female gender roles.

<sup>6</sup> David Riesman, “The Suburban Dislocation,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 314 (November 1957), 134.

<sup>7</sup> The film was based on John McPartland’s novel of the same year, *No Down Payment* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957). Rick Moody offered comparably dark view of the pathology of suburban living in the novel *The Ice Storm* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1994), which also was turned into a film (1997).

<sup>8</sup> Dean McCoy, *The Development* (New York: Universal Publishing and Distributing Corporation, 1961), front cover. Dean McCoy, *The Love Pool* (New York: Universal Publishing and Distributing Corporation, 1964), front cover.

<sup>9</sup> Neil Peart and the group Rush that performed “Subdivisions” are from Canada, not the United States. But their perspective on the “dream” is legitimate to no lesser degree than Canadian suburbs incorporate United States (“American”) paradigms.

<sup>10</sup> In recent years the musical critique of suburbia has occasionally recognized the fact that much of actual suburbia is far grittier than the clean and orderly, if overly uniform, depictions seen in the likes of “Subdivisions” or “Pleasant Valley Sunday.” See, for example, the dystopic portrayal of suburbia by the post-grunge rock band Less than Jake in their 2000 release, “Suburban Myth”:

So let's hit the streets tonight  
And I'll show you where I lost my job  
And where I got chased by cops  
So we'll jump the fence at 13th and 10th  
To see where we played our first show  
I told you everybody loses sight of  
All the how it's been and never was  
So let's hit the streets tonight  
And I'll show you where I drank on the job  
And hung out in that parking lot  
Left at the light there's park 16th on the right  
And that's the place that we called home  
That place you'll never get a chance to know  
And all the people through the years you could've known  
It makes me wonder what you're seeing is almost “home”

## **CAMPUS PLANNING : BEYOND JANUS**

**John Muller**

### **Introduction**

It seems reasonable to suggest that few people would know - or would be particularly interested in knowing - that Charles Dickens visited Yale University in the 1840s. That he did so is perhaps of minor historical import: that he was impressed with the appearance of the university and was taken with the manner in which its buildings were “erected in a kind of park ....dimly visible among the shadowing trees” is of particular interest. It is interesting because Dickens, probably unknowingly, captured the essence of the traditional American university campus in that single sentence. It is precisely the setting of buildings on a parklike swathe of green punctuated with tall trees that gave the early American campus its distinctive character.

It is tempting to attribute the origins of that spatial arrangement to a reverence of the sylvan groves of Athenian Academia. A rustic haven of planes and olives on the banks of the river Cephissus, one mile from Athens, Plato and his students chose Academia as the site of their university. The pastoral setting of this type of idyllic site appears, since those early days of classical Greece, to have possessed the minds of subsequent educationists (Dunbar-Nasmith 1986). It is however argued that the parklike quality of the traditional educational institutions - even the early colonial

colleges - is derivative, not from the classical Greek or any other historical model, but from a rejection of the institutional traditions of the mother country. The example of the enclosed cloistered collegiate quadrangles of the Oxbridge colleges was studiously ignored in the colonial and immediate post-colonial periods in America (Turner 1987-88). In its place, an extrovert pattern of separate buildings set in generously proportioned open spaces, “looking confidently outward to the world “ developed as a home-grown product. The quadrangular theme was to be picked up later by some universities, Stanford being a prime example. The overall plan of arcades and enclosed courtyards at Stanford was unique to American colleges but “the design did not have as great an influence on American architecture as it might have ...”(in Knight 1983). Conversely, the early open arrangement is clearly discernible in the incipient layouts of such illustrious 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> colleges as Harvard, William and Mary, Yale and New Jersey (later Princeton). This approach to campus planning is evident in modified form in Thomas Jefferson’s 1817 University of Virginia masterpiece.

The expansion of tertiary education has introduced a plethora of new campus forms ranging from the down-town single concrete and glass high-rise structure and cramped assemblage of buildings to layouts accommodating secluded buildings located in substantial outlying tracts of land. The philosophic/educational underpinnings of such developments are difficult to identify - unlike the essentially rationalist foundations of the open and enclosed campus models referred to above. It is the latter that will form the body of discussion in this paper.

## **Janus**

The fundamental difference between the open and enclosed models lies in their orientation, the one outward-looking, the other inward-looking. One finds in this the spirit of the *Janus Principle* - a concept that provides a useful framework for the analysis of the subject of campus planning. Although acknowledged as one of the four most famous gods of Ancient Rome, Janus today enjoys somewhat less recognition than that accorded his divine colleagues, Mars, Jupiter and Quirinus. The subject of speculators, Janus has been pronounced a sun-god, a heaven-god, a year-god, a wind-god, the mate of Diana, the Jupiter of aboriginal Latium, and so on. Conjecture of this sort would make Janus disconcertingly enigmatic were it for the fact that certain properties attaching to him are undisputed.

It is known that Janus was associated with the north-eastern gateway of the Roman Forum and was essentially a spiritual symbol of the point of entry to the heart of the city. Beyond this deified role at the state level, he was also part of the Roman domestic cult as the protective spirit of the doorway to the house. As the vigilant protector of the entrance to towns and dwellings, Janus had perforce to look both inward and outward because, as Ovid explains, “every door (ianua) has two faces, on this side and that, one which looks on the world (populum), the other on the home (larem)” (Bailey 1932). Thus Janus is portrayed as a sentinel god with two faces, looking simultaneously both before and behind, casting a concerned eye inward on the sanctuary of the home and another outward to the unpredictable world beyond. The epithet “bifrons” or “two-faced” is thus associated with Janus.

In his writings on the Janus principle, Koestler (1979) refers to the inward and outward orientation of *holons* (entities that are described as wholes or parts depending on the view adopted) which reflect two opposite tendencies or potentials : an

*integrative* tendency to function as part of the larger whole, and a *self-assertive* tendency to preserve individual autonomy. All social holons, including educational institutions, have Janus-based attributes - a face turned upwards to the higher comprehensive levels making it a subordinate part in the larger system, and a face turned downward to a restricted lower level making it a quasi-autonomous system in itself. Organisational entities tend to oscillate between the interests of the external world and internal self-interest but the general practice is to place emphasis on one of the approaches.

### **Philosophical and physical origins**

The adoption of a particular Janus vision is, it can be argued, strongest at the time of the establishment of a university. It is then that the governors seek to lay a platform on which the philosophy of the university can be constructed. The philosophic approach defines which fields of study are to be pursued and the course curriculum gives body to the designated fields. History has shown that certain universities have from the outset sought to place their study programmes within the societal milieu, integrating their scholarly work with , and being informed by, the interests of the society. Janus' outward-looking principle is in such circumstances obvious. It is equally clear that some universities have seen as their quest, their duty, the pursuit of knowledge and understanding and have accordingly applied their energies not to the satisfying the wishes of society, but to intellectual endeavours. This is basically a manifestation of Janus' inward-orientation.

The translation of institutional philosophy into physical dimensions is difficult but it is possible to make certain generalisations based on past experience. That experience inclines one's thinking to the environmental determinism proposition, which holds

that social behaviour is directly influenced by environmental conditions. Based on precedent, this has applicability to universities - particularly so when considered against the inward/outward concept outlined above. It can be shown that those institutions choosing to integrate closely with society tend to give physical form to that relationship in a layout that could be characterised as lacking in formal discipline. A ready response to external pressures, to a willingness to accommodate new societal demands, can, if not handled in a markedly sensitive manner, impact negatively on environmental conditions on campus. Moggridge (1986) expresses the view that “most civic universities thus present to their students a jumble of buildings , the external character of which expresses lack of co-ordination between one activity and another and a lack of respect by later buildings for their well-built if often pompous precursors. The external spaces surrounded by these diverse buildings tend to be as jumbled as the buildings themselves”.

The inward-looking university frequently takes form in a pre-planned layout of buildings surrounding a clearly defined open space. This approximates the historical courtyard approach of the early British colleges, but it has been contended that Oxford and Cambridge did not hold with university plans, preferring to expand site by site; by the traditional town-gown push and pull (Wright 1974) and by introducing independent courtyard buildings on new sites. Other institutions have progressively produced designs with central spaces of different dimensions, scale and character - ranging from the main quadrangle at University College London to the lawned and treed court at Macquarie. In most cases, the correlation, integration, of the built product with the central courtyard space gives definition and environmental cohesion to the campus. The protection of the integrity of this spatial arrangement becomes fundamental in the face of the growth pressures on the university. The question



arises whether an institution structured around the inwardly oriented concept is likely to yield to the demands of society by permitting invasions of the central space.

### **Considering Change**

Janus is useful in addressing this and other questions. The permanence of the original plan, the retention of the basic form of the plan, is, it appears, a consequence of the plan itself. In other words, where there is an absence of strong, formal layout, the probability of change in the layout is greatest. And so, the outward-looking somewhat informal plan - characteristic of the open park-like approach of the early American colleges - is amenable to variation. It is accepting of the new although this might well put paid to the original spatial concept. Ill-considered change can of course result in the imposition of inappropriate elements (the problem of the imposition of prevailing fashions in architecture being apposite here) which react negatively upon the physical identity of the university.

Turner (1987-88) refers to the spirit of the Olmsted park plans which permeates the layout of the American land grant colleges and which accommodates the informality and rural attributes of the educational system of the time. "So these simple, park-like campus plans embodied a new spirit of democratic education versus the elitism of the older, Eastern schools. In time, these original motives were largely forgotten, and as the land grant colleges grew, the character of their campuses naturally changed, with large structures replacing the more modest buildings, winding roads becoming obliterated, and new fashions in planning taking over .... Some of these schools now have no vestige of left of their original plans"(Turner 1987-88p.25). Sadly, the ideals that gave birth to these universities have been obliterated or lost in the dust of change

- as has been the physical identity of the institution. It is tradition that gives meaning to any institution and is irreplaceable.

It is in some ways ironic that the elements of tradition that support the principles of the formal inward-looking university can act as a strait-jacket inhibiting the introduction of new, and perhaps desirable or necessary, departures. The counter-argument holds that quintessential inward-oriented enclosed quadrangular plans of Clare, Pembroke, Kings and the other venerable colleges of Cambridge - or Oxford - can be emulated, not extended. In this way the spatial tradition of the colleges have over many years been respected and protected. The colonnaded courtyards of Stanford have been similarly treated but have not constituted a model for the further development of the campus. Fortunately, the Richardson architectural ethic has not been lost in many of the more recent buildings. "Possibly the most successful and beautiful campus in the world" (in Dunbar-Nasmith's estimation), Jefferson's University of Virginia provides a prime example of the features of the inward-looking institution. His academical village comprising an "open square of green and trees" flanked by pavilions and anchored by a library of Pantheon proportions, remains as originally planned, while later growth has been situated beyond the bounds of the village. Virginia has been conceptually influential and inspirational in the planning of numbers of universities - including the University of the Witwatersrand which will be discussed in the section that follows.

Before leaving the topic of the internal focus of the courtyard or central space type of plan, it is interesting that Jefferson believed that buildings have a significant moral influence on those who used them. This line of thought was manifest in the thinking of other campus planners : Ralph Adams Cram, who worked on the planning of

Princeton briefly, suggested (questionably one feels) that the Gothic quadrangle was “the only style that expresses the ideals of an education ....for culture and character”, and Charles Klauder who was also involved in Princeton, advocated the adoption of the enclosed courtyard in preference to the pattern of buildings set in space which he considered to be lacking in pedagogical respectability (Turner 1987-88). There is, to my knowledge, no definitive evidence to suggest that a particular form of campus layout promotes intellectual development; that sub-standard surroundings cause impairment of cerebral powers. Moggridge (1986) inclines to the view that the quality of students attending a particular establishment is probably affected by the environmental conditions of the place, and that a jumbled environment will likely spawn graduates insensitive to public surroundings.

In the final analysis, a well conceived campus should be the subject of protection. It appears that this has particular pertinence in respect of the inwardly focussed university incorporating, typically, a central open space that gives cohesion, identity and meaning to the institution. The informal layout, exemplified by Berkeley or Warwick, facilitates an acceptance of accretional growth (which may be commercially or educationally desirable) but can generate a random end-result that mitigates against the cementing or continuity of identity.

### **Case study : University of the Witwatersrand**

Among the many universities that have faced the challenge of expansion in recent years, is the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It is a case study that is useful as an example of the applicability of the Janus principle and the issues that attach to growth in relation to the principle.

Following an abortive attempt to establish an “Oxford-in-the-Veld” - the bequest for which was redirected to Cape Town - the mayors of the towns along the Witwatersrand gathered together the resources to acquire an alternative suitable site for a university serving their region. An offer of a campus site on Milner Park to the west of the Johannesburg city centre was accepted. The first principal of the University, the celebrated Jan Hofmeyr, approvingly described the Milner Park site of his fledgling institution: “Barely a mile from the town’s centre and easily accessible from every part of it, yet isolated from the noisy bustle of its life, looking on the one side over the most beautiful portion of Johannesburg away to the dreamy distances of the Magaliesberg, and on the other over the industrial activity to which it owes its being, this University set upon a hill is indeed admirably placed for the linking together of the idealistic and the practical, which is not the least among its tasks”(in Muller 2000). There is in this statement a marriage of the inward and outward visions; an alliance that was to face stresses and strains with the effluxion of the 20th century.

In 1919, a competition for a design for the layout of the Milner Park site was won by Lyon and Fallon, architects from Cape Town. The assessors’ stated that the “general conception of the schemes for layouts have been given every weight .... the artistic value of those vary considerably, and must be regarded, not only for the fine mental effects of good garden design, but with a view to the correlation of this with the grouping of buildings, which must at any price be kept suitably disposed for the supreme purpose of the university” (in Muller 1989). The somewhat florid literary style of the assessors continued throughout their report, but nevertheless provided a sound review of the winning submission.

Lyon and Fallon produced a symmetrical design comprising a series of buildings flanking a rectangle of green, open at one end and closed at the other by a building of dominant proportions. While there is no surviving or accessible evidence to show that the designers were influenced by the academical village concept, there is an intriguing congruency between the essence of the physical plans of Virginia and Witwatersrand. There is a similar formal discipline in the two layouts; the central green is an obvious common feature; the principal building is located on a central axis on the highest ground overlooking the green. In both cases, the principal building harks back to classical Greece and Rome: the Pantheon at Virginia, the Parthenon at Witwatersrand. The plan for the latter responded to the Principal's vision of an institution embodying an internal ideology and external practicality. The design of the main building presented a face to the outside world; the green heart provided an internal focus for scholarly endeavour. The Witwatersrand University layout thus exemplified the inward/outward attributes of Janus.

The external orientation was however compromised at an early stage. The principal building closed its façade to the city and became conceptually and functionally tied to the green interior of the campus. That green space - the Library Lawn - became the epicentre of University activity. It was, and is, a place of meeting and mingling, and has been the locus of protest gatherings and confrontation with government forces during the apartheid years.

The growth of the University, particularly in the post-1960 period, pushed hard at the structure of the campus as student enrolment increased to some 15 000. Some dozen new buildings were completed and as the density of development increased, the environmental character of the campus inevitably underwent change. While a few

buildings nibbled at the edges of the central green, most construction occurred beyond the green. The new structures continued in the process of turning the back of the University to the city - a process that was further consolidated with the closure of a public road through the campus. The town-gown physical relationship was effectively impaired by this, and was further negated with the erection of security fencing around the site.

It had become apparent in the early 1980's that the carrying capacity of the University's 33 hectare site had been reached and further growth on the Milner Park would not be possible without invading the Library Lawn or playing field area. The University therefore looked westward and following difficult negotiations with the City Council acquired a further 28 hectares of the adjoining Showground site in 1985. The separation of the two sites by a motorway was overcome by the construction of a deck of generous dimensions. Adequate space for future growth was thus secured for the University - and, importantly and significantly, this was achieved without compromise to the spatial integrity and recognised identity of the institution. A university is not however not a building nor group of buildings, nor a composition of open spaces: it is an organisation that is certain to change if it is to survive and retain currency in a dynamic social milieu.

The University of the Witwatersrand has by and large taken the form of an island of intellectual endeavour in a turbulent sea of urban activity. In so doing it has protected the internal face of the campus, possibly at the cost of some external benefits and support. It can, and has been argued, that this would seem defensible in the sense of maintaining the image and autonomy of the institution

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**BELLAMY'S CHICOPEE:  
A LABORATORY FOR UTOPIA?**

**John Robert Mullin**

John R. Mullin, Ph.D., FAICP, is a Professor of Urban Planning in the Landscape Architecture and Regional Planning Department at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.



## **ABSTRACT**

Edward Bellamy is one of the nineteenth century's most famed utopian writers. While there are many authors and theorists that have written on Bellamy's utopian perspectives, few have realistically or comprehensively focused on the influence of his home community, Chicopee Massachusetts, in the development of his thoughts, ideas and concepts. When acknowledged, these writers portray Chicopee as pastoral, quaint community with overtones of a Puritan or Colonial Era village ensemble. Nothing could be further from the truth. By the time of Bellamy's birth it was a thriving manufacturing town of national significance and a place where the challenges and conflicts of America at mid-century could be seen and felt everyday. If we accept that Chicopee was critical in the evolution of Bellamy's utopian writings, it is important that we are able to comprehensively understand the character of his community, what he observed and how he reacted to the changes that were occurring. The purpose of this paper is to contribute to this understanding. The premise of this paper is that these writers were, at best, only partially correct concerning their interpretation of Chicopee's role in the development of Bellamy's utopian ideals and concepts.

## ***Introduction***

Edward Bellamy is arguably America's most famed utopian. His seminal text *Looking Backward* (1888)<sup>1</sup> was one of the top two best selling novels of the nineteenth century (after "Uncle Tom's Cabin"),<sup>2</sup> translated into dozens of languages<sup>3</sup> and has never been out of print.<sup>4</sup> *Looking Backward* and its sequel, *Equality*<sup>5</sup> have had a dramatic and long lasting influence upon many political theorists and planners. Among these were John Dewey,<sup>6</sup> Peter Kropotkin,<sup>7</sup> Thorstein Veblen<sup>8</sup> and John Maynard Keynes.<sup>9</sup> From a planning perspective, one can note his influence on the City Beautiful<sup>10</sup> and Garden City Movements<sup>11</sup> and the American New Deal<sup>12</sup> and even Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City concept.<sup>13</sup> Today, Bellamy's writings continue to be a subject of scholarly discourse.<sup>14</sup> Indeed his books continue to sell. For example, Amazon.com lists five editions of *Looking Backward* on its current list.<sup>15</sup>

While there are hundreds of books and articles written on Bellamy and his utopian perspectives,<sup>16</sup> few have realistically or comprehensively focused upon the influence of his home community of Chicopee, Massachusetts, in the development of his thoughts, ideas and concepts.<sup>17</sup> What is most remarkable about this shortcoming is that historian after historian and political theorists after theorist acknowledge that Chicopee, as a place, was critical to Bellamy's perspectives of a utopian future.

Typically, these theorists and writers note that Chicopee was Bellamy's hometown and provide some basic facts about the town. What is most striking is how they portray his home community. Daniel Bell, for example, while analyzing Bellamy's utopian perspectives, calls it an "indigenous, home-spun, made in Chicopee version."<sup>18</sup> R. Jackson Wilson summarizes *Looking Backward* by commenting that "Boston in the

year 2000 resembled nothing so much as Bellamy's home town of Chicopee Falls before the Irish and the mills had invaded it in the 1860's and 1870's".<sup>19</sup> William Dean Howells, writing shortly after Bellamy's death, summarized his thoughts as follows: "I am glad he died at home in Chicopee – in the village environment by which he interpreted the heart of the American nation..."<sup>20</sup> Charles Madison notes that Bellamy's utopia is "... set in the small town he knew so well..."<sup>21</sup> From Daniel Aaron, who described Bellamy as a village utopian<sup>22</sup> to Walter Taylor who considered Bellamy as "... a villager in his outlook and sympathies"<sup>23</sup> to Joseph Schiffman who noted that Chicopee was Bellamy's village<sup>24</sup> to Edward Spann who described Chicopee as peaceful<sup>25</sup> to Rose Martin who described Chicopee as a "little cotton town",<sup>26</sup> writer after writer has attempted to create a connection between Bellamy's community and his utopian writings.

Throughout these discussions Chicopee is typically described as pastoral, peaceful, small, rural and a village environment. The message one receives is that Bellamy's Chicopee was a quaint community with overtones of a Puritan or Colonial Era village ensemble. Nothing could be further from the truth. By the time of Bellamy's birth it was a thriving manufacturing town of national significance and a place where the challenges and conflicts of America at mid-century could be seen and felt everyday. If we accept that Chicopee was critical in the evolution of Bellamy's utopian writings, as Bellamy himself has stated, it is important that we are able to comprehensively understand the character of his community, what he observed and how he reacted to the changes that were occurring. The purpose of this paper is to contribute to this understanding.

The premise of this paper is that the aforementioned authors, among many others, were, at best, only partially correct concerning their interpretation of Chicopee's role in the development of Bellamy's utopian ideals and concepts. They were correct in that Chicopee, far more than any other place, was Bellamy's laboratory. With the exception of short periods of time when he traveled to Germany, the Sandwich Islands, Colorado and a brief working stint in New York City, Bellamy rarely left home. As John Thomas has noted, Bellamy had a deeply rooted sense of place that made the quiet routine, comforting and reassuring.<sup>27</sup> In fact, he was born, came of age, raised his family and died in houses that were only plots apart. His writings, throughout his life, regularly represented many of the conditions and activities that were occurring around him.

These writers, however, misrepresented Chicopee's character. It was not the small, peaceful, pastoral, long settled and economically balanced village that they portrayed. It was a constantly changing and growing industrial center that was rapidly evolving from a mill town to a city throughout his lifetime. It was a place of powerful industries, of firms chaotically buying and selling in the world's market place and of newcomers with different values. And it was a place that was attracting people from the nearby New England villages as it was almost daily moving to city status. In fact, by 1885, as Bellamy was writing *Looking Backward*, Chicopee had become the sixth most populated town in Massachusetts.<sup>28</sup> For a man who loved order, symmetry and harmony, these trends were disconcerting. For a writer who loved to commune with nature and who espoused village life, this was an anathema.<sup>29</sup> And for a futurist who, like most 19<sup>th</sup> Century utopians, was endeavoring to create a society marked by equality, Chicopee must have represented that which he hoped would be eliminated in his New Jerusalem.

The main body of the paper is divided into five parts. The first is a concise synopsis of Edward Bellamy's life and a summary of his two utopian novels. The second is a description of Chicopee from its first known settlement through to the death of Bellamy in 1898. The third part represents a reconstruction of how Bellamy participated as a "citizen" of Chicopee throughout his lifetime. Part four represents an interpretation of the critical communitarian elements found in Chicopee that worked their way into his utopian ideas and concepts. And finally, in part five, the paper concludes with a concise analytical prospective of why so many of the interpreters of Bellamy's work mischaracterize his home community.

### **Bellamy and His Books**

Bellamy was born in 1850 into a religious family of longstanding Yankee stock in Chicopee Massachusetts. In his early life he was an avid reader and very much caught up in the spirit of the Civil War. Upon finishing his local schooling in 1867, he applied to West Point but was rejected due to health reasons. He then followed his brother to Union College where he enrolled in, what would be called today, a series of independent study courses. After one year at Union, he traveled to Germany where he witnessed the mammoth inequities of the industrializing city and the beginnings of applied socialism over a two year period. Upon returning to the States, he prepared for the Bar and was admitted in 1870. His career as a lawyer was short lived: After one case, where he argued for the eviction of a widowed tenant, he never practiced again! He then became a reporter for the *New York Evening Post* where, once again, he observed the problems of urban life. He returned to Chicopee in 1872 to write for the *Springfield Union* and, five years later, to co-found *The Daily News*. He served at various tasks for both papers

including editorial writer, book review editor and reporter. After resigning from the *News* in 1884, he began to seriously write articles and books and gained a popular audience. In 1888, with the publication of *Looking Backward*, he became famous. Not only was the book a tremendously successful bestseller, it led to Bellamy being treated as a prophet. It also led to his being a spokesperson for the Nationalist Movement in the 1890's which ultimately stimulated the creation of a political party that captured more than a million votes in the 1892 election. Throughout the 1890's, Bellamy's health declined and shortly after he finished *Equality* (1897), he died of tuberculosis at home in Chicopee in 1898.<sup>30</sup>

We assume that the readers of this journal have read, or at least are familiar with *Looking Backward* and *Equality*. In case they are not, the two books describe a utopian society set in Boston in the year 2000. It is a place of prosperity, peace and equality – provided one follows strict rules. It's a time where large cities are magnificent and when small towns are no longer culturally isolated. There is no direct democracy and the spirit of an industrial army rules. There are some differences between *Looking Backward* and *Equality* that may have contributed to the debate over the influence of Chicopee on Bellamy's writing. In *Looking Backward* he wrote of the awe-inspiring character of the New Boston. It was a great city with broad streets, magnificent buildings, glistening fountains, colossal public buildings and marked by architectural grandeur.<sup>31</sup> In *Equality*, published less than a decade later, his concept of the city had changed. The cities are smaller and more defined by regions. Small towns are now connected via technology and have all of the services and activities formally found in the great city.<sup>32</sup> The shift of perspective in the two books leads one to believe that Bellamy was ambivalent over the

place of the city in Utopia. It is no wonder: He saw both the greatness of the emerging city and its evils in his own home community.<sup>33</sup> Bellamy was not alone in developing a utopia that was reacting to social and technological change. Throughout the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, for example, utopian works by Mark Twain, Ignatius Donnelly and William Dean Howell all were popularly received. In all of them, the quest to balance egalitarian ideals with technological advances was paramount. Of all of them, however, Bellamy's work was the most influential.<sup>34</sup>

### ***Chicopee Described***

The land area that became Chicopee is located at the confluence of the Chicopee and Connecticut Rivers, immediately north of Springfield, Massachusetts, one of America's earliest industrial centers. The area was first settled by Europeans in the mid 1630's when William Pynchon of Roxbury, Massachusetts, established a Puritan presence in the Connecticut River Valley between Enfield, Connecticut and the joining of the Chicopee and Connecticut Rivers.<sup>35</sup> Springfield, located at the approximate center of this land mass and at the juncture of several Native American trails near the Connecticut River, became the commercial, religious and residential hub of the area.<sup>36</sup> Chicopee, due to its prime soils and proximity to Springfield's market place, evolved as an agricultural community. It served this function through the end of the Revolutionary War.<sup>37</sup> At that time, however, the Valley began to rapidly grow and Chicopee began to attract new settlers. This, in time, led to the creation of locally owned iron works, sawmills and gristmills amongst other small businesses. By the end of the War of 1812, the Chicopee

area, while still an unincorporated landmass within Springfield, had evolved into several small, compact villages surrounded by abundant fields.<sup>38</sup>

This balance between land, market and community changed abruptly in 1822 when the Boston Associates, builders of the famed mill communities at Waltham, Lowell and Holyoke, purchased water and property rights along the banks of the Chicopee River in the unincorporated village of Chicopee Falls. The Company selected a site near the natural fall and along a bend in the River and began to develop a simple L-shaped mill village layout with the mill structures, a canal and road running parallel to the river while the boarding houses were perpendicular.<sup>39</sup> The plan was scrapped as soon as it was developed: The owners realized that the site was suitable for far more extensive development. Within a very short time, four Lowell System mills were constructed.

The site at Chicopee Falls was quickly joined by extensive construction in Cabotville, another village in the Chicopee area, one and one-half miles distant. Here the Boston Associates used symmetrical planning elements – three main streets, joined at a common point, radiating outward toward the mill structures along the River’s edge. Juxtaposed to the street were the boarding houses and tenements for the mill operatives. John Reys noted that, the Chicopee Falls and Cabotville projects had unique site planning attributes and labeled them as being reflective of a “Milltown Baroque” pattern.<sup>40</sup> The frenetic pace of development in Cabotville was described by George White in his biography of Samuel Slater (1835), as follows: “This pleasant village is growing up with astonishing rapidity and bids fair to become...a second Lowell. A few weeks produce changes here that almost destroy the identity of the place and give to the visitor new objects of admiration.”<sup>41</sup>



The development of Chicopee followed the pattern of Lowell in the sense that it was the implantation of a "total institution" on two small villages. Erving Goffman defines a total institution as places "...of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable amount of time together, lead an enclosed formally administered round of life."<sup>42</sup> With such a pattern of development, it is not surprising that community leaders sought to self govern the area and petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for a town charter. After several attempts, it was granted in 1848.<sup>43</sup> By 1850, the year of Bellamy's birth, Chicopee, with a population of 8,291 residents, was well on its way toward becoming a community that housed manufacturers of national significance. At that time, its mills operated more than 51,000 cotton spindles. It housed one mill complex that was more than one third of a mile long, its goods were sold in the world's market place and its foundries were capable of manufacturing products ranging from heavy guns to the doors of the Nation's Capital.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, commercial and institutional growth grew apace with the mills. A commercial district complete with a hotel and two banks had been developed. It also had a railroad connection to Springfield.<sup>45</sup> Among its six churches was the first Catholic Church in Greater Springfield. It was built to serve the needs of Irish laborers who had been moving to the community since 1830.<sup>46</sup>

The metamorphosis of Chicopee from a dispersed area of agricultural villages to a booming manufacturing center in the twenty-five years prior to Bellamy's birth was hardly evolutionary. One could not see a steady shift out of agriculture to artisanship or to local entrepreneurs taking advantage of natural resources. It was as if, with the coming of the mills, its 170-year dependence on agricultural production, its village character and

its traditional self-rule were simply crushed. As Szetala commented: “It looked as though a distant city had been lifted bodily and transplanted to Chicopee Falls.”<sup>47</sup> Now controlled by bankers, insurance companies and investors located ninety miles distant, it was not one of Winthrop’s idealized cities on the hill, but a town built for profit. As such, its fate rested with the economic cycles of boom and bust that were so common to manufacturing in this period. Moreover, the seemingly constant efforts to find faster machinery, to obtain workers who would require less pay and to remain competitive in the market place, placed enormous economical and social pressure on the community. Chicopee clearly no longer guided its own destiny. As Bellamy’s parents awaited his birth, with a family heritage of more than 200 years residence in New England and staunch members of the middle class, Chicopee’s transformation must have been indeed shocking.<sup>48</sup> As Shlakman summarized “Chicopee did not grow into an industrial community: it suddenly found that it was one.”<sup>49</sup>

In Bellamy’s childhood era (1850-1860), the town continued to change in terms of ethnic composition and economic development. Irish settlers, first attracted to the area by work opportunities on nearby canals and the railroad, readily accepted work in the mills in increasing numbers. They were joined by Irish women and their younger brothers, who were more than willing to replace long-term “Yankee” workers at lower wages. By 1858, approximately 25% of the population and sixty percent of the mill workforce were of Irish heritage.<sup>50</sup> This workforce was dramatically different than the one it replaced. The former workers had roots in the area, were of the same faith as the owners, more often than not had some schooling and, in hard economic times, had a family network as a social and economic safety net. The replacement worker was a

rootless, illiterate, immigrant of Catholic faith who had no commitment to community and who was without an economic backup – as the mill succeeded or failed, so did this worker.

The need of the mill owners to remain competitive led to almost constant efforts to lower wages [while maintaining long hours](#). This in time brought labor strife to Chicopee. [For example, Chicopee workers turned out "en masse" in October 1836 to protest a decision of management to raise boarding house rents.<sup>51</sup>](#) In 1844, [Chicopee workers were successful in persuading management to postpone the lighting of the mill until after breakfast. \(The practice of "lighting" consisted of requiring workers to report to work in the dark before 5:00 a.m. and breakfast and fire up lanterns and candles. It was extremely unpopular.<sup>52</sup>](#) In April, 1858, following the financial panic of 1857, more than 300 Irish workers went on strike. None of the remaining English stock laborers followed. While this strike failed, it was the first of many to follow and provided a powerful message that the Chicopee workforce would not be passive. The conditions of mill work deeply touched Bellamy. In fact, there is a section in one of his preliminary drafts of *Equality* where he writes: "...you will find it easy to understand that in my day native Americans would, for the most part, rather starve than work in our mills. First, the Irish were called to take their place till they too revolted, then the French were called in from Canada to take their places till they too refused to work on such terms any longer, then came the Poles and Hungarians...."<sup>53</sup>

The Irish also caused social consternation. By the mid 1850's, there was reported Irish rowdiness in the streets, popular perceptions that there was a rum shop in every fourth Irish home and even concern over the fact that the Irish practiced their faith

“loudly and considered the Sabbath as a day of amusement.” In this period, the Irish section of Chicopee, called by various names (i.e., Ireland, the Patch, the Huddle), was considered a tenement district characterized by poor ventilation, cholera outbreaks and intemperance.<sup>54</sup> These newcomers were a far cry from the descendants of the Puritans and the serious minded Baptists and Calvinists!

The coming of the Civil War in 1860 ushered in a period of technical innovation and new product development. The non-textile companies in Chicopee, such as the Ames Manufacturing Company, the Massachusetts Arms Corporation and the Gaylord Manufacturing Company, all makers of needed military [equipment](#), prospered tremendously. Chicopee gun manufacturers were quite open-minded in their sales. At various times, as the Nation moved toward war, they served the military needs of John Brown’s Bloody Kansas [initiative](#), the Confederacy and the Union.<sup>55</sup> By War’s end, Chicopee’s manufacturers employed more than 2,400 workers.<sup>56</sup> The textile companies, on the other hand, suffered greatly. For example, the Dwight Company, which employed 1,600 workers before the War, reported a workforce of 400 in 1864. In the post-war period, conditions were reversed. The textile mills recovered quite nicely while the other manufacturing companies struggled to redefine themselves.

Through the 1860’s and 1870’s more immigrants continued to move to Chicopee and consistently challenge the Yankee establishment. Indeed, the 1870 Federal census showed that more than one-third of Chicopee residents were of foreign birth.<sup>57</sup> The lack of security concerning wages, poor working conditions and the attitude of the political elite constantly agitated these new workers. There were now reports of the middle classes leaving the Town, increasing labor strife and even Irish challenges to the Yankee

political leadership.<sup>58</sup> Further, new immigrant groups, including Poles and French Canadians began to be attracted to Chicopee in great numbers. By 1880, Chicopee had a population of more than 11,000 and, given its landmass of 25.7 square miles, could easily handle additional growth.<sup>59</sup> Almost all of these workers were common laborers – the skilled workers, and management were of Yankee heritage. Few of these laborers were prepared for the economic insecurity of the period. In fact, a sequence of strikes, booms, panics, recoveries and depressions and recoveries again marked the period. It was the time of the Strike of 1868, the Strike of 1874, the Panic of 1876 and, ultimately, the Boom of the 1880's.<sup>60</sup>

And so, as Bellamy sat down to write *Looking Backward* in his fifteen room wood framed, Greek Revival, house on one acre, at the crest of a hill overlooking the mills, worker housing and Chicopee River below, what did he see in his hometown?<sup>61</sup> Clearly, it is not his father's and mother's community – it is not an agricultural community where self-employed folk provide farming products to citizens of a swiftly urbanizing neighboring city. Nor is it a piously homogenous community where Puritan, Baptist and Calvinistic values of hard work and “moral purity” are guideposts for life. It is not a community where well-meaning burghers, sitting with their neighbors at town meeting are in control of the body politic. Moreover, town meeting is no longer a place of like people deciding the future of their like neighbors. There are now people who speak differently, pray differently and play differently who are clamoring for their democratic rights. It was not a calm place where workers, managers and owners had similar goals. There was significant self-interest – an attitude of profit, survival and obtaining one's share of the economic pie was the order of the day. It was a place of divisions where

class, ethnicity, skill level, political affiliation, religion and even gender determined how one fit in the community. If one ignored the Civil War years, where was the common good, the betterment of human kind and the balanced village where one helps one neighbor (and is, in return helped)? Bellamy would have had to look deeply to find it.

But there were positive attributes as well. Bellamy would have seen technological advances that, in one way or another, contributed to an improved quality of life. As a young man, he saw the railroad speed up travel, the telegraph make distant communications easier and the promise of turbine power became a reality. And he would have seen the rise of the great trusts that, at least, had the promise of providing more goods inexpensively. All of this could be noted from his front porch – the industrial workers answering the bell, the pride of production, the technological advances, the classism, the hunger, the hovels and the anger. It was an exciting, chaotic and turbulent community.

Thus we can note that Chicopee, by the time that Bellamy was writing *Looking Backward*, was well on its way to becoming a city. Far from isolated, its river, roads, rail and streetcar connections insured that the Town's people and goods could be easily and efficiently moved to the City of Springfield and other communities throughout the region and distant markets. And far from pastoral, it was the home of several of the Nation's largest mill complexes that collectively employed more than 3,500 workers. This is not the postcard New England village that is fixed in our collective minds. It is not Puritan, not Colonial and hardly an agricultural center emerging naturally from a collection of yeomen farmer settlements. It was a place for profit where people made things. Perhaps this could be most vividly noted by examining the official "Town Seal", as selected by

community leaders in 1848. It depicts the profile of Chicopee's brick constructed factories along with three important products of Chicopee Manufacturers (armaments, tools and textiles). It also shows a railroad engine steaming next to the mills and smoke pouring from the mill chimneys. There is nothing in the seal that suggests that Chicopee had a historic past. It is as if Chicopee's beginning was in 1848 rather than 1658. While all of this occurred two years before Bellamy's birth, forty-two years later, when Bellamy was 40 years old, Chicopee formally became a city. Again, its leadership chose a new seal. This time it chose a motto mounted on a shield – "Varied Industries". Certainly far from noble, hardly awe-inspiring and certainly not intended to contribute to warm feelings, the motto bluntly tells us what Chicopee is: A city built for production. (Interestingly, in the early 1980's, Chicopee adopted a slogan to represent itself as a progressive community. It chose "Chicopee Works" – had anything changed?).

### ***Bellamy and His Chicopee***

Bellamy was a strange man. His daughter, in a letter to his biographer Arthur Morgan, wrote that no one really knew him.<sup>62</sup> His brother Charles wrote: "Intent on protecting the sacredness of his inner life, he was ever want to hide under affectations of coldness or cynicism the workings of an exceptional poetic and emotional heart and soul."<sup>63</sup> He kept in almost daily touch with the needs of his family and to the best of his abilities, endeavored to insure its happiness. He was said to be happy, ate raw eggs and drank a beer the same time each day. His involvement with local citizens was, at best, minimal. He would walk throughout town on Sundays, use the local brew master to translate German letters, be kind to paupers and would never fail to be polite to people

passing by. However, he rarely participated in local social or political events. And yet, he was quite pleased when his townspeople commented about his writings.<sup>64</sup> His son, in a letter to Arthur Morgan, commenting on a meeting that his father, supposedly, had with a worker from nearby Cabotville, stated that he didn't think the meeting could have taken place in that village because it was outside of his father's range of daily activities.<sup>65</sup>

Cabotville was less than two miles from his home! The picture one [observes](#) of his life in Chicopee is a man who desired privacy and who worked to insure that his community life centered around his family. There were quiet walks to the library and the town square, slow rambles on horseback and sauntering strolls through nearby woods.<sup>66</sup> By contrast, his time in Boston, to which he commuted regularly, was quite different. Here, among men of cosmopolitan intellect and style, he would come alive. His debates and discussions, whether formal in his office at 13 Winter Street or at the bar, were renowned. He kept late hours, smoked a pipe, never exercised, slept by day, walked Boston Common at night, hobnobbed with newspaper editors, went to boxing matches with the great John Boyle O'Reilly and was known to be able to hold a great amount of liquor.<sup>67</sup>

Bellamy lived among the families that constituted Chicopee's very small middle class in an area of single family homes.<sup>68</sup> The neighborhood was clearly separated from the mill community by its physical and social characteristics. His home, built of wood, contained [a large](#) verandah while the lot included a small lawn with numerous shade and fruit trees. This neighborhood was also separated by topography and nature. It was on the high ground overlooking the mills on one of the highest elevations in Chicopee Falls. This location would automatically place the Bellamy family as living among the local elite: In New England mill towns, typically, the higher one's house was above the mill,



the higher was one's social rank. Between the neighborhood and the mills was a slope covered by natural vegetation – one could see the mills below through the trees and shrubs.

This disconnection, as well, could be noted in terms of the economic condition of the Bellamy Family. Neither his parents nor his family depended upon the mills in any direct sense for their economic well being. His father was both a property owner of some repute and a Baptist minister. He owned a block of apartments, stores and offices in downtown Chicopee Falls from which he gained income.<sup>69</sup> As a Baptist minister, he relied upon the contributions of his congregation for his salary. Yet, very few of workers or mill managers would have been Baptist. And Bellamy himself, first as reporter and then as author, had virtually no need, beyond a reporter's beat, to depend upon the success of the mills for his well being. This sense of removal, of seeing but not participating, was an important part of Bellamy's personality. His first biographer, Mason Green, provided an example of this attribute when he wrote: "After visiting Brooklyn and witnessing a strike, Bellamy was forced to come back to Chicopee early: 'I can get a better view of the Brooklyn strike under my apple tree in Chicopee Falls than from a Fulton Street curb.'"<sup>70</sup> From birth to death, Bellamy lived in an enclave among people who were quite separated from the new Chicopee.

It was an excellent location from which to be a dispassionate reporter and observer of the community. And for someone of Bellamy's curiosity, it offered itself as a social laboratory. Above all he was enamoured with the size, power and output of the mills. [Bender goes so far as to state that these mills were the models for his utopia.](#)<sup>71</sup> In *Looking Backward*, his Dr. Leete, in conversation with Julian West, with admiration

notes "...you used to have some pretty large textile manufacturing establishments even in your day... No doubt you have visited those great mills...covering acres of grounds, employing thousands of hands, and combining under one roof, under one control, the hundred district processes between, say, the cotton bale and the bale of glossy calicos."<sup>72</sup>

Most likely, Bellamy's point of reference would have been the expanding complex of mills that were a short distance from his home. As Arthur Morgan noted: "In *Equality*, he is relying on his own personal observations of factory workers in his hometown of Chicopee Falls."<sup>73</sup> These included the enormous structures of the Chicopee Manufacturing Company. In order to place the size of its complex in perspective, if its structures were placed upright, in the form of a skyscraper, their collective height would have been taller than the Empire State Building.

In terms of organization, Bellamy would have been enamored with the military-like discipline of the workers. As bells rang, and whistles blew, these hundreds of workers would hurry from their homes, in virtual lock step, to their anointed places to begin their labor. Indeed, the paternalistic structure of the mill was so strong that it not only governed one's work schedule but, as examples, where one lived and when one would be home at night. It is here that one can see the precursor of his concept of an Industrial Army.

Bellamy saw this concept as a means to combine order, patriotism, valor and devotion to duty to his community. Consisting of men and women between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five, the industrial army would, through careful planning, eliminate the nation's wasteful economy and create abundance for all.<sup>74</sup>

He would have been equally fascinated with the radial pattern of the new streets. These streets were much straighter and wider than the street pattern that had emerged from Chicopee's earlier times. They represent rationality, standardization, efficiency and planning – all positive traits in Bellamy's envisioned future.

And institutional structures? Did they create positive iconic feelings in the citizens? While there were none of the scale that one could find in Bellamy's ringing image of the magnificent City in *Looking Backward*, the Chicopee schools, churches and Town Hall were certainly impressive. Bellamy's daughter remembered that the community was quite proud of its school system.<sup>75</sup> It must have had some good qualities: Its high school principal was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1883!<sup>76</sup> The one structure that dominated the community was Chicopee's Town Hall. Built in 1870, this huge Victorian gothic structure, complete with a cantilevered tower and rose window, was supposedly modeled after Florence's Palazzo Vecchio.<sup>77</sup> The linking of a building design for Florence, one of the oldest centers of Western culture, with Chicopee, Massachusetts, one of the new world's most modern centers of production, sends an image of a community endeavoring to be sophisticated and urbane.

Concerning nature and parks, there was never a sense of total separation of nature from the mills or the mill residential areas. In less than one mile from these areas, one could be in the countryside. This can be most vividly noted in the pictures of the mill villages taken ten years before Bellamy published *Looking Backward*. In this instance, Chicopee is almost a prototype of the industrial villages described in *Equality*: They were always well connected to other villages in the hinterland. Throughout Bellamy's life, there were many farms operating within the town/city limits. Indeed, the Massachusetts

Census of 1865 noted there were 120 farm operations on 8,658 acres within the community's corporate boundaries.<sup>78</sup>

There was also a negative side to everyday life that Bellamy could not help observing in Chicopee as he was writing *Looking Backward*. This could be noted at several levels. The first was the fundamental problem of existence. There were people who were hungry, nearly starving, without resources and who existed in hovels in the ground in Chicopee. These were well-intentioned people, on the whole, who simply wanted a better existence. When they didn't find it or they failed, they were forced involuntarily to live in these shacks. Moving up a notch on the economic ladder, there were those who were employed but, due to skill level and family circumstance, had little to keep at the end of the day. While these people were not starving, the margin between having a roof over one's head and food on the table, on one side, and the cold and hunger on the other, was very narrow. Beyond this there was little hope for Chicopee's newcomers: The overwhelming number of these workers were not going to rise to the foreman level, become a professional or become a landowner. They were, for all intents, indentured workers. Yes, they had the right to quit, to move or to create a new future, but the reality was quite simple – no work, no pay. It is this constant fear of every day life in Chicopee that touched Bellamy deeply and which caused him to call for changes in the industrial climate in his articles and books. More specifically, one could read of his reactions to these issues in the *Springfield Daily News*— children going hungry, unemployment, cholera and dysentery, alcoholism and the absence of a safety net. Moreover, its thousands of workers dispersed of their waste in privies over ditches that eventually created an offensive stench as it moved to the Chicopee and Connecticut

Rivers. Conditions were so bad that the Massachusetts State Board of Health, in 1876, found typhoid and meningitis related to the City's factory privies.<sup>79</sup> How could such a great country as his United States of America allow these conditions to exist? Indeed it struck Bellamy hard that the evil conditions of the European city that he had observed in 1868, had rapidly made their way to his own industrial community. He also found the chaos of the city, in general, abominable. At its worst, it was a place beset by strikes. He found labor protest particularly disturbing for it created class warfare. Bellamy had lived through strikes in Chicopee and had seen the lockouts, arrests, pain and suffering that occurred.

Finally, Bellamy had little good to say about local politicians. On one hand, it is doubtful that he was pointing his finger at his immediate neighbors. And yet, on the other hand, he was witness to the rising tide of Irish political ambitions and their impact on the local body politic. This was not a community of gentle discourse. The Irish made it clear that it was simply a matter of time before they would be the most powerful political block in the City.

Placing all of the above in perspective, he was clearly influenced by the miserable working and hiring conditions of the workers. He was equally disturbed by the chaos of the day to day life, the failure of politicians to respond to local problems, the coming of class warfare and the failure to have a balanced urban-rural continuum. On a positive side, there was the power of production, the wonder of great mills and the commitment of laborers walking off to work to produce the nation's goods that impressed him. In a final analysis, it would appear that it was the chaos, turmoil and constant change as this community became citified that influenced him most.

### *An Interpretation of Bellamy's Perspectives*

Several years after writing *Looking Backward*, Bellamy described his community as follows:

“Up to the age of eighteen, I had lived almost continually in a thriving village of New England where there were no very rich and very few poor and everyone who was willing to work was sure of a fair living.”<sup>80</sup>

There appears to be a significant degree of embellishment in Bellamy's statement. It hardly fit the definition of a Puritan, Colonial or even Post-Bellum New England Village with a group of homes clustered around a common, a Post Road connecting to other villages and a Protestant Church and a few commercial structures to serve local residents nearby. And the absence of rich and poor? Again, Mr. Bellamy must have forgotten what he had observed in his days as a reporter. There were clearly well-off residents and those who lived in poverty. And finally, in a legal sense, his village of Chicopee Falls, throughout his first eighteen years was not a free-standing village. It was part of a town of approximately eight thousand people.

His Chicopee Falls had characteristics far more common with a newly formed urban neighborhood than a free-standing village with a long heritage. It was a place where there were minimal shared values, a lack of collective responsibility, extensive religious and ethnic bigotry and little commitment to place. His town was a community where people came to gain employment. Those workers were neither noble peasants nor yeomen working for the common good. They worked to survive and would leave in a minute if improved opportunities were presented elsewhere.

Why then, did Bellamy refer to his community as a New England village and why did so many of the interpreters of his work stress his ties to this almost mythical form of community? While it is impossible to conclude the rationale behind Bellamy's position, there are certain factors that appear plausible. To begin with, Bellamy was a homebody. The residences where he was born, grew up, first married and where he spent almost his entire life were literally a few hundred yards apart. His school and church were also nearby. The Church Street Neighborhood, where he lived was a nativist Yankee enclave of middle class citizens, with English surnames, like Blake, Taylor and Buckland and whose values matched these of the Bellamy family. Beyond the fact that he employed an Irish maid, Bellamy had little contact with Irish or any other immigrants. Located on a hill overlooking the mills, his neighborhood was both protected and separate from the changes occurring below. Only in his personal life was he, in effect, living in an area that had many of the attributes of a pre-industrialization era village.

Nor did Chicopee Falls have characteristics of the Slateresque mill villages common to the Blackstone Valley of Rhode Island and Massachusetts. [These small hamlets typically had an owner \(or partner\) on the premises, tended to employ families rather than individuals and consisted of family houses and tenements in a village environs. They were minimally capitalized and regularly relied on local power sources.](#)<sup>81</sup> There was also a far greater degree of informality between workers and management, and local government and mill owners. There was, in the words of Jonathan Prude, ["...complex patterns of give and take..."](#)<sup>82</sup> If anything, Chicopee Falls had ceased to function as a village as soon as the Chicopee Manufacturing Company Mill began

operating in 1825. Whereas this date was twenty-two years earlier than Bellamy's birth, it could hardly be part of his personal, cognitive experience.

Bellamy was an active outdoorsman who took advantage of the rural character that surrounded Chicopee. In fact, within minutes of walking time he could easily leave the urban character of the town and be within farm lands and woods. These were special places to him. And yet, while he traveled through this quiet countryside, he could not help but note the decline of rural life. As Schlesinger noted, by 1890 in New England, 932 of 1,502 townships had fewer people than the previous decade. He further noted that by the end of the 1880's, there were approximately 1,500 abandoned farms in Massachusetts.<sup>83</sup> Bellamy also couldn't help but observe that the integration of the villages into the landscape, the commitment to the land, the connectedness of family and nature and overall population were in decline in the small rural communities that could be found throughout the lower Connecticut River Valley. For example, the population of Chicopee's neighboring farm community of Granby fell from 1,104 in 1850 to 765 in 1890.<sup>84</sup> The contrast with the "instant" booming mill town that dominates the community like a Hockney painting could not have been more overwhelming. Perhaps of greater importance, he was living and writing in an increasingly urban environment that was a critical influence on the decline of this countryside.

Beyond these reasons, Bellamy was writing in an age where there was a revival of interest in Jeffersonian agrarianism and the almost mythic, small, New England communities of the Federalist Period. Stimulated by the discontent in the Nation following the Civil War, the fear of rising industry, concerns over immigration, the seemingly constant changes in technology and the financial panics of the era, this revival



resulted in the creation and promotion of the myth of the New England Village. It was, as Yi Fu Tuan has noted, a time when the city was viewed as corrupt and rural life as virtuous. This theme, Tuan further noted, was so repeated that it took on the characteristics of folklore.<sup>85</sup> Joseph Wood was more specific: “In the collective American mind, the historic New England village represents a new Eden, a second Zion”. He also noted that writers and social reformers, among others, were “...inventing a geographical past that never existed.”<sup>86</sup> One could argue that Bellamy was among those that were promoting this ideal. As Aaron remarked: “Bellamy was part Jeffersonian”. Further, he notes that Bellamy’s “...Yankee readers...savored his Chicopee concoction of science and mysticism.”<sup>87</sup>

And why did so many learned writers describe his Chicopee as a village? It would appear that there are two reasons. First, an examination of *Equality* and Bellamy’s other writings would show that he was much enamoured with the small village. This point coupled with Bellamy’s own statement defining his life in a village may have led them to believe that Chicopee was a small rural, passive community. Several also may have picked up on the comments of Bellamy’s contemporaries, such as William Dean Howells, who pointed out that his ‘village environment’ was critical to his interpretation of the future and accepted their interpretations as fact. Whatever the reason for their perspectives, Chicopee Falls was hardly a New England style village in any sense of the word in Bellamy’s lifetime.

Shlakman, in her wonderful study of Chicopee, wrote several pages of commentary where she compared industrial communities that slowly evolved to those, like Chicopee, that simply were created out of virtually nothing. The former tend to have

a mixture of several economic classes, a commitment to place, an extensive number of property owners, a sense of society and the placing of industry and tenements on the “other side of the tracks”. About the latter she wrote:

“But if we are dealing with a factory town, especially one in which a major part of the industry is controlled by absentee owners, the situation is different. Such a town has smokestacks and factories, which are far from decorative. It has numerous shabby streets and tenements, which are quick to catch an eye. Its stores and theaters and houses are poor, its streets not too well paved. It offers few “attractions” to the middle class observer. Chicopee is such a community.”<sup>88</sup>

It is this portrait that fits the reality of Chicopee. It is not Bellamy’s mythic village. Nor is it the image that emerges from the aforementioned writers.

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- <sup>3</sup> Sylvia Bowman, Edward Bellamy Abroad: An America Prophet's Influence, (New York, Twayne Publishers, 1962).
- <sup>4</sup> Daniel Golden, "Looking Back at Looking Backward!" The Boston Sunday Globe (March 14, 1999): 26-27.
- <sup>5</sup> Edward Bellamy, Equality, (New York, Appleton, 1897).
- <sup>6</sup> Elizabeth Sadler, "One Book's Influence: Edward Bellamy's Looking Backward," The New England Quarterly 17, no. 12 (December 1944): 530-555.
- <sup>7</sup> Jay Martin, Harvests of Change: American Literature 1863-1914, (Englewood Cliffs, 1967): 72.
- <sup>8</sup> Rick Tilman, "The Utopian Vision of Edward Bellamy and Thorstein Veblen," Journal of Economic Issues 19, no.4 (December 1985): 879-888.
- <sup>9</sup> Rose L. Martin, Fabian Freeway: High Road to Socialism in the U.S.A. 1884-1966, (Chicago, Heritage Foundation, 1968): 335, also see Warren J. Samuels, "A Centenary Reconsideration of Bellamy's Looking Backward," The American Journal of Economics and Sociology 43, no. 2 (April 1984): 130, 146.
- <sup>10</sup> Joseph J. Corn and Brian Horrigan, Yesterday's Tomorrows: Past Visions of the American Future, (New York, Summit Books, 1984): 36.
- <sup>11</sup> Peter Batchelor, "The Origin of the Garden City Concept of Urban Form," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 28, no. 3 (1969): 184-200.
- <sup>12</sup> John Pratt Whitman, "Bellamy Went to Year 2000 for New Deal, Part of Which Is Being Put Into Use Today," Christian Science Monitor (May 4, 1935): 5, also see John L. Thomas, Alternative America: Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Adversary Tradition, (Cambridge, Belknap Press, 1983): 358-361.
- <sup>13</sup> Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer and Gerald Nordland, In the Realm of Ideas, (Carbondale, Southern Illinois Press, 1988): 157-158.

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<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Scott McLemee, “Back to the Future,” New York Times (December 24, 2000): 23, also see Roland Schaer, Gregory Claeys and Lyman Tower Sargent, eds., Utopia, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> See “Bellamy Books in Print,” <http://www.amazon.com> (September 1, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> For a list, see Sylvia Bowman, “The Year 2000: A Critical Biography of Edward Bellamy,” (New York, Bookman Associates, 1958).

<sup>17</sup> Two exceptions are Arthur Morgan, Edward Bellamy, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944) and Arthur Lipow, Authoritarian Socialism in America: Edward Bellamy and the Nationalist Movement, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982): 34-37.

<sup>18</sup> Daniel Bell, “The Background and Development of Marxist Socialism in the United States,” in Socialism and American Life, eds., Donald Egbert and Stow Persons, (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1952)1: 259.

<sup>19</sup> R. Jackson Wilson, “Experience and Utopia: The Making of Edward Bellamy’s Looking Backward,” American Studies 2, no. 1: 45-60.

<sup>20</sup> William Dean Howells, “Edward Bellamy,” Atlantic Monthly 82: 253-256.

<sup>21</sup> Charles A. Madison, Critics and Crusaders: A Century of American Protest, (New York, Ungar, 1947).

<sup>22</sup> Daniel Aaron, Men of Good Hope: A Story of American Progressives, (New York: Oxford, 1951).

<sup>23</sup> Walter Fuller Taylor, The Economic Novel in America, (New York, Octagon Books, 1969).

<sup>24</sup> Joseph Schiffman, “Edward Bellamy and the Social Gospel,” in Intellectual History in America, ed. Cushing Strout (New York, Harper and Row, 1968), 2: 10-27.

<sup>25</sup> Edward K. Spann, Brotherly Tomorrows, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1989): 180.

<sup>26</sup> Rose L. Martin, Fabian Freeway: High Road to Socialism in the U.S.A., 1884-1966, (Chicago, Heritage Foundation, 1968).

<sup>27</sup> John L. Thomas, Alternative America: Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Adversary Tradition, (Cambridge, Belknap Press, 1983): 39.

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<sup>28</sup> Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Census of Massachusetts 1885: Population and Social Statistics, (Boston, Wright and Potter Printing Company, State Printers, 1887), 1, part 1: 26.

<sup>29</sup> Edward Bellamy, “Journal of Edward Bellamy, 1870-1895,” in Unpublished Papers of Edward Bellamy, binder no. 1, as found in the Bellamy Collection, (Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts): 29, also see Edward Bellamy, “Journal of Edward Bellamy” (before 1877), in Unpublished Papers of Edward Bellamy, binder no. 2, as found in the Bellamy Collection, (Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts): 4.

<sup>30</sup> The material for this summary of Bellamy’s life was drawn from Mason Green, Edward Bellamy: Biography of the Author of Looking Backward, (1920), as found in the Bellamy Collection, (Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts) and Arthur Morgan, Edward Bellamy, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944).

<sup>31</sup> Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward 2000-1887, (Boston, Ticknor, 1888; rpt. Penguin, 1986): 55.

<sup>32</sup> Edward Bellamy, Equality, (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1897; rpt. Scholarly Press, n.d.): 290-295.

<sup>33</sup> David A. Hounshell, From the American System to Mass Production 1800-1932, (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1984): 3.

<sup>34</sup> John F. Kasson, Civilizing the Machine, (New York, Grossman, 1976): 190-192.

<sup>35</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1930): 343-349.

<sup>36</sup> Richard W. Wilkie and Jack Tager, eds., Historical Atlas of Massachusetts, (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1990): 13.

<sup>37</sup> Works Progress Administration, Massachusetts: A Guide to Its Places and People, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1937).

<sup>38</sup> Works Progress Administration, Inventory of Town and City Archives of Massachusetts, Hampden County Vol. V, Chicopee, (Boston, Works Progress Administration, 1939): 12-14.

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- <sup>41</sup> George S. White, Memoir of Samuel Slater, (Philadelphia, 1836; rpt. Augustus M. Kelly, 1962): 267.
- <sup>42</sup> As quoted in John F. Kasson, Civilizing the Machine, (New York, Grossman, 1976): 64.
- <sup>43</sup> Collins G. Burnham, "The City of Chicopee," The New England Magazine (May 1898): 376.
- <sup>44</sup> Robert B. Gordan and Patrick M. Malone, The Texture of Industry, (London, Oxford University Press, 1994): 354, also see Arthur Morgan, Edward Bellamy, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1944): 6.
- <sup>45</sup> Robert F. Dalzell, Enterprising Elite: The Boston Associates and the World They Made, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1987): 90.
- <sup>46</sup> Stephen Jendrysik, A Brief History of Chicopee, Massachusetts, (Chicopee, Chicopee Historical Commission, 1989): 2.
- <sup>47</sup> Thaddeus M. Szetala, History of Chicopee Massachusetts, (Chicopee, Szetala and Rich, 1956): 54.
- <sup>48</sup> Arthur Lipow, Authoritarian Socialism in America: Edward Bellamy and the Nationalist Movement, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982): 34.
- <sup>49</sup> Vera Shlakman, Economic History of a Factory Town: A Study of Chicopee, Massachusetts, (Smith College Studies in History, 1934-1935; rpt. Octagon Books, 1969), 20, nos. 1-4: 25.
- <sup>50</sup> Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Abstract of the Census of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1855, table 3 (Boston, William White, Printer to the State, 1857): 110.
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- <sup>52</sup> Mary H. Blewett, Constant Turmoil, (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2000): 70.

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- <sup>53</sup> Edward Bellamy, Equality, a manuscript, typed draft, with corrections [140pp] (Chicopee, 189-), as found in the Bellamy Collection, (Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts): 57.
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- <sup>55</sup> Vera Shlakman, Economic History of a Factory Town: A Study of Chicopee, Massachusetts, (Smith College Studies in History, 1934-1935; rpt. Octagon Books, 1969), 20, nos. 1-4: 87, 152, also see Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States, (New York, Peter Clark, 1949, originally published in 1929), see vol. 1: 69 and vol. 2: 325.
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- <sup>57</sup> United States Government, The Statistics of the Population of the United States, 1870, (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1872): 166.
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- <sup>62</sup> Marion B. Earnshaw, Letter to Arthur Morgan, as found in the Bellamy Collection, (Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Morgan Papers, Box #1, April 30, 1934): 1.
- <sup>63</sup> Charles J. Bellamy as quoted in Mason Green, Edward Bellamy: A Biography of the Author of Looking Backward, as found in the Bellamy Collection, (Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1920): 13.
- <sup>64</sup> Marian Bellamy Earnshaw, The Light of Other Days, typed manuscript as found in the Collection of the Edward Bellamy Memorial Association, (Chicopee, Massachusetts, n.d.): 139.
- <sup>65</sup> Mason A. Green, Edward Bellamy: A Biography of the Author of Looking Backward, as found in the Bellamy Collection, (Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1920): 13.

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- <sup>70</sup> Mason Green, Edward Bellamy: A Biography of the author of Looking Backward, as found in the Bellamy Collection, (Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1920): 99.
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- <sup>72</sup> Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward, (Boston, Ticknor, 1887): 176.
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- <sup>76</sup> Thaddeus M. Szetala, History of Chicopee, Massachusetts, (Chicopee, Szetala and Rich, 1956): 124.
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- <sup>79</sup> [John T. Cumber, Reasonable Use \(New York, Oxford University Press, 2001\): 109.](#)
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- <sup>81</sup> For a description of Slater System towns, see [Gary Kulik, Roger Parks and Theodore Z. Penn, editors, The New England Mill Village, \(Cambridge, MIT, 1982\): 26-30.](#)
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<sup>87</sup> Daniel Aaron, Men of Good Hope: A Story of American Progressives, (New York, Oxford, 1951): 96.

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# Remaking the Historic Townscape: 1940s Reconstruction Plans in the UK

John Pendlebury

Draft paper for:



Centre for Research on European Urban Environments  
School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape  
University of Newcastle  
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 7RU

direct dial +44 (0) 191 222 6810  
j.r.pendlebury@ncl.ac.uk

## **Abstract**

1940s reconstruction planning in the UK has been subject to significant scholarly attention in recent years. As has been documented many towns and cities were caught up in a wider enthusiasm for town planning. In some cases this was due to war time damage but the mood of the time led many towns and cities with no war damage to produce or to commission plans for their future development, often focusing on the re-development of central areas. These ranged from modest internally produced working documents to lavish plans produced by a number of key national consultants and published by such as the Architectural Press. The approach proposed was usually radical, involving a major re-structuring of urban fabric to achieve modern functionality. The desire to reconstruct along pre-war lines found in many continental cities was virtually absent. As has also been well documented, in practice few plans were implemented to any significant degree.

This paper specifically seeks to address the reconstruction planning of historic cities and is based on a survey of eleven such plans. It focuses in particular on the plans produced by two leading planning consultants of the period, Patrick Abercrombie and Thomas Sharp. It discusses how planners sought to reconcile a belief in modern comprehensive planning and the perceived necessity to create 'modern places' with their appreciation of the existing qualities of historic cities. The principal theme of the paper is how historic quality was defined and the effect of this in forming planning objectives and strategies for the cities concerned.

## **Introduction**

Probably in no time in British history can there have been so much enthusiasm for the concept of radically rebuilding, re-planning, familiar towns and cities than in the 1940s, though in practice far less planned change was effected than in other decades such as the 1960s. Stemming from the impetus for comprehensive planning developing but often frustrated during the 1930s, the case for planning was given great impetus by the devastation wrought on a number of towns and cities by the Blitz and there was an apparent willingness from the government to legislate for and to resource comprehensive planning. It was perhaps in these early war years that planning was a truly popular cause, where a book on town planning could be a best seller (Sharp, 1940). The mood of the time led many towns and cities to produce or to commission plans for their future development, often focusing on the re-development of central areas.

Plans were produced internally or commissioned from consultants. In addition to officially sanctioned plans, private bodies developed their own proposals. In the case of London this included such diverse bodies as the MARS research group and the Royal Academy. Urban areas across the country including major commercial centres, small mill towns and cathedral cities undertook plans. Not surprisingly, badly war damaged cities usually commissioned plans but many were produced for settlements untouched by bombing. These ranged from modestly produced working documents to lavish plans produced by a number of key national consultants and published by such as the Architectural Press.

In practice few plans were realised to any great degree, the victim of various circumstances including, crucially, a level of post-war austerity and political retreat from comprehensive planning that made proposals hopelessly ambitious (Hasegawa, 1999). As Tiratsoo (2000) has shown general public support for re-planning was fleeting and subsequently more focused on the demand for better housing. Also, there was significant resistance from established commercial interests. The first generation development plans of the 1950s, following the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, are notable for their focus on pragmatic land use considerations.

## **The Significance of Reconstruction Plans.**

Despite the lack of implementation of most of the reconstruction plans they tell us much about the ideas and ideology of those professionals concerned with town planning in the period, often architect-planners but encompassing other professional groups such as engineers. Collectively the plans are known for their uncompromising vision and self-belief in creating better, more functional places. Though there was often a detailed and sophisticated analysis of the development of a place, older fabric was frequently characterised as redundant and with the exception of key architectural monuments often to be removed wholesale (Larkham, 1997). Radical restructuring of urban form was often proposed and in bomb damaged cities there was little of the tendency to recreate historic street patterns and building forms found in many continental cities (Diefendorf, 1990).

This paper briefly reviews the plans for eleven historic cities. It analyses at a local level how the historic city was conceived, both in terms of how this historicity was conceptualised and in terms of the practical consequences these proposals would have had if implemented. Some of these places, such as Bath had experienced significant war-time damage; others such as Salisbury were unscathed. Previous preservation activity had been developed in some cities during the 1920s and 1930s.

The plans reviewed are for Aberdeen, Bath, Cambridge, Chester, Durham, Edinburgh, Newcastle upon Tyne, Oxford, Salisbury Warwick and York. Table 1 sets out a summary analysis of the plans concerned. A range of factors is considered. These include factual measures such as whether plans included a list of historic buildings and highly interpretative issues, such as an analysis of whether plans were sensitive to relatively minor historic buildings as well as key monuments. Linked to this is whether plans emphasised overall townscape composition or whether a monumental setting for key architectural compositions

was sought. It also considers key planning issues such as the presence of major road proposals in the plan as well as such issues as the intended future function of the town or city and proposals for limiting population growth. The review of the individual plans does not cover each of these factors systematically but rather seeks to convey a sense of the key proposals and issues in each place before returning to generic key issues in the conclusion.

These towns and cities mostly had a clear historic prestige and most commissioned well-known consultants to produce their reconstruction plan. Indeed of these eleven cities, six had plans produced or part-produced by just two consultants, Patrick Abercrombie and Thomas Sharp. This dominance is not unrepresentative, these two consultants were the most commissioned in the period (Larkham & Lilley, 2001).

### **Bath, Edinburgh and Warwick: Plans by Patrick Abercrombie**

Patrick Abercrombie was the most well known planner of his generation. He was a major figure at least from his appointment as Professor in Civic Design at the University of Liverpool in 1915. The reconstruction plans were late in his career, he was 60 in 1939. He was responsible for the most well known plan of all of the period for Greater London (Abercrombie, 1945). Though probably better known in the inter-war period for his work at a strategic level, amongst the wide range of planning documents that he produced was a plan for Stratford upon Avon. This was a very early example for a historic town (Abercrombie & Abercrombie, 1923). Much of Abercrombie's inter-war strategic work was in rural areas experiencing urban pressures and he became one of the leading lights of the inter-war countryside preservation movement, his actions leading directly to the founding of the Council for the Preservation of Rural England (Dix, 1981). He sought the preservation of a planned and ordered countryside, celebrating the works of the eighteenth century such as enclosure and the landscape park.

In terms of the plans considered here he produced the plan for Bath in 1945, in co-authorship with the City Engineer and the Planning Officer for the Joint Area Planning Committee (Abercrombie, Owens, & Mealand, 1945), the plan for Warwick co-authored with Nickson and published in 1949, though prepared a couple of years earlier (Abercrombie & Nickson, 1949) and the plan for Edinburgh, also published in 1949 and co-authored with Plumstead (Abercrombie & Plumstead, 1949).

Of these three cities Bath was the only one to have experienced significant war damage, with at least some damage to 245 buildings of identifiable architectural or historic interest. Buildings of architectural or historic interest identified by the Bath Corporation Act<sup>1</sup> and Abercrombie's plan both focus on Georgian Bath. The plan was at pains to establish its sensitivity to the Georgian heritage of Bath, though much of the rest of the city centre was seen as 'ripe for redevelopment' and requiring 'rejuvenation with a firm hand' (Abercrombie, Owens, & Mealand, 1945: 53). The Georgian stock was compared favourably with three other major repositories of Georgian domestic architecture, London, Edinburgh and Dublin – Abercrombie prepared plans for each of these cities during his career. The buildings in Bath were divided in to four categories, essentially by historic period, early Georgian, the developments of the Woods, later Adam influenced development and 'utility Georgian'. This last phase 'may be said to include all the later building which continued under the Georgian influence, gradually losing its beauty and appropriateness of detail, but maintaining its walling and window openings... is of great importance to the general importance of Bath' (p64). It is interesting that this last category, though less celebrated than the earlier grander buildings, was regarded in the Abercrombie plan as essentially of very good quality and generally worthy of retention. However, this came with the proviso 'unless it must give way to essential major planning improvements' (p64).

The plan of buildings worthy of preservation identified four categories. The first two, 'must be retained at all costs' and 'desirable' but 'should not stand in the way' largely corresponded to the buildings that received protection under the Bath Corporation Act. Two further categories of Georgian buildings, 'not worthy' of preservation and 'not likely to be affected' were mostly additional buildings identified. Specific proposals were made for a range of buildings including the Royal Crescent and the Pultney Bridge. The Royal Crescent was suggested as a new

Civic Centre, clearing away the accompanying mews and eventually introducing an additional new civic building. This partly stemmed from an attitude that the larger Georgian houses were excessively large for contemporary needs. This view was also found in a contemporary report produced by the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (MacGregor, Sisson, Birdwood-Willcocks, & Lees-Milne, 1944), which included alternative schemes for dividing houses in to a larger number of residential units (and remarkably for a report emanating from SPAB advocated facadism in some instances). In the case of the Pultney Bridge the intention was to widen the roadway, remove the shops and relocate the path in an arcade in the space created. As with most reconstruction plans, road proposals were a dominant feature and the importance of achieving desired standards, for example of carriageway width, was reflected in the proposal for Pultney Bridge.

The lavish Edinburgh plan had much in common in its approach with the Bath plan. Again, the plan started with a history of the City though in the case of Edinburgh this was by an independent author and was qualified on this basis. Again, a clear regard for the historic character of the city was accompanied by proposals for major change. Historic buildings were identified across the whole of the City area, including a concentration in Leith, but not surprisingly there was a focus on the Old and New Towns. The retention of most of the New Town was given high priority with some exceptions. This included the already very altered Princes Street. The redevelopment of this street was subject to lengthy discussion, with the piecemeal replacement of buildings favoured, not following a uniform style but following broad parameters. The policy on George Street was unclear and some later parts of the new Town such as Royal Terrace and Regent Street were seen as expendable. The report was also very lukewarm about the retention of the earlier Georgian development of George Square, south of the New Town, which developed in to a major conservation battle in the 1950s (Hague, 1984). The report was sensitive to the *character* of the Old Town. For example, where rebuilding was proposed in the Canongate it was suggested that it should be in the form of closes as 'an enlightened continuance of an existing tradition' (Abercrombie & Plumstead: 61). However, only 60 buildings were identified as worthy of preservation in the Old Town.

Road proposals once again loomed large. Princes Street was proposed to be bypassed by a road running underneath, open to the valley, an arrangement that in places is triple-decker with a car-park inserted below. The need for roads was regarded as an imperative and this option was considered to be less destructive than alternatives such as bypassing Princes Street via Queens Street, an alternative that had apparently been proposed by others, but dismissed by the Abercrombie plan as too destructive of the New Town. Similarly the plan dismissed alternative lines through the Grassmarket and Princes Street Gardens as too destructive of character and amenity.

In the Warwick plan the case for preservation extended more clearly beyond individual buildings and set pieces of classical townscape. It started with a warm appreciation of the Borough's history and its architectural qualities as a whole, not just the major monuments. The core of the town was held to have an architectural unity of scale and simplicity within which detailed architectural variety of period and materials abound and 'the town has many amenities and characteristics which are worthy of respect and which must be conserved if the town is to retain its individuality' (Abercrombie & Nickson, 1949: 56). Traffic issues were prominent. In addition to an outer bypass, an inner road was proposed around the north of the centre. Functionally, the key role of Warwick was seen as being a tourist centre. The plan implementation was regarded as a gradual process, over 25 or more years. Population was to be allowed to grow from 14,200 by 3000.

Ostensibly preservation was the key objective in the Warwick plan and there was sensitivity to both the contribution of relatively humble buildings and the character of areas. Small historic houses in poor condition should where possible be repaired and reused. One photograph illustrated a court which in many plans of this era would be emblematic of outworn building stock but was here used signify an important part of the historic character of Warwick, whereas other photographs emphasised group contribution over individual architectural merit. Change needed to be carefully managed; the frontispiece included long composite

photographic elevations for High Street and Jury Street to aid the assessment of any proposals for change.

The analysis of the historic building stock was underpinned by a comprehensive survey of building condition. The results of this reveal that despite the foregoing rhetoric it was estimated that it would only be realistic to retain 57% of the historic building stock beyond fifteen years. Furthermore, Slater (1984) has shown how the plan's conception of the historic character of Warwick was narrowly conceived, placing little weight on the extramural areas beyond the line of the medieval wall. The denseness of the medieval morphology of the centre was, as has been mentioned, sometimes used to illustrate the qualities of Warwick but elsewhere in the plan it was presented as a problem. Furthermore, the inner road proposals were essentially an engineering solution and look brutal to present-day eyes.

### **Durham, Oxford, Salisbury: Plans by Thomas Sharp**

Thomas Sharp's plans were also a team production (Larkham, 1997; Lilley & Larkham, 2000), but more than most planning documents they also display an individual and distinct 'voice' and each bear his name alone. The plans considered here are for Durham (Sharp, 1945), Oxford (Sharp, 1948) and Salisbury (Sharp, 1949). He established himself as a significant figure in the planning profession through a series of polemical writings during the 1930s. These set out some of Sharp's enduring attitudes and in particular his loathing of the then dominant planning ideology of Garden Cities and of the suburban progeny that had subsequently been spawned. Instead he advocated the rediscovery of an English urbanism that had reached its height in the post-Renaissance English country town. This understanding of how to make towns had been lost, he believed, during the nineteenth century. In Durham (and elsewhere) Sharp regarded the Second World War as a useful pause to enable a more considered approach to planning to be taken. Durham, for example, was on the verge of receiving a new bypass and nearby power station, both of which would have been extremely destructive to the character of the city in Sharp's view.

Sharp's appreciation of Durham was largely based upon its visual qualities. The Cathedral and to some degree the castle were central to this, though there was also a wider appreciation of the "picturesque" and 'medieval' flavour of the city' (Sharp, 1945: 15) especially in terms of the roofscape and of the foil that domestic scaled building gave to the major monuments. Sharp also emphasised the historic importance of the cathedral as part of emphasising the significance of Durham. Alongside a romantic engraving of the city he argued that the setting of Durham Cathedral was of such importance that 'the question of its mutilation becomes a matter of moment not merely to Durham or Britain but to Christendom' (Sharp, 1945: 88-89). Sharp thus prefigured the World Heritage Site status that Durham was later to receive, in order to resist local pressure for developments such as the power station.

Proposals for preservation were naturally focused on the Peninsula containing the Cathedral, Castle and heart of the University and commercial centre, though a map of buildings of historic interest included buildings across the City such as a concentration on the north side of Old Elvet. The setting of the Cathedral and Castle were given extensive discussion. The setting was said to be formed by five elements. Three were the riverbanks, the College to the south of the Cathedral and Palace Green between the Cathedral and Castle. The other two elements, the Bailey, the street that runs the length of the Peninsula and Owengate, the short street that links the Bailey with Palace Green might be considered to be less obvious. The domestic Georgian character of the Bailey was regarded as a valuable foil to the 'massive dignity of the Cathedral' (Sharp, 1945: 53). Ascending from the Bailey, Owengate 'climbs steeply up to Palace Green, with a glimpse of the Cathedral at its head. Then, at the top of the rise, at the head of the curve, the confined view having thus far excited one's feelings of mystery and expectation, the street suddenly opens out into Palace Green, broad, spacious, elevated, with a wide expanse of sky: and there, suddenly, dramatically, the whole fine length of the Cathedral is displayed to the immediate view. It is as exciting a piece of town planning as occurs anywhere in the kingdom' (Sharp, 1945: 54).

Sharp also saw merit in the wider peninsular. For example, the Market Place was held to have a sturdy character worthy of maintaining, although no individual buildings were considered to have any particular distinction. Beyond the peninsula he saw the need for extensive rebuilding, whilst acknowledging that some of the buildings to be cleared had architectural merit. His intention of clearing the upper part of Claypath to improve distant views of the Cathedral runs counter to the sensitivity to the richness of townscape that he displayed with, for example, Owengate. New buildings should not be historicist in style but modern, whilst being sensitive to character. A key part of the proposals was his alternative to the County Council inner relief road. He produced an extensive critique of this elevated proposal in terms of its impact on the character of Durham, saying of his alternative that 'it will *belong*' (Sharp, 1945: 41). Also important was the suggested limitation in population growth of 4,500 from 18,500 to 23,000.

Sharp's sensitive appreciation of Durham was largely based upon its visual qualities. Though 'Oxford Replanned' was described as 'largely a work of preservation' (Sharp, 1948: 16) it was true of this study also. The emphasis was firmly on the appearance of Oxford and the character that derived from the way space was used, rather than the fabric of historic buildings. The visual relationships of Oxford and the progression through space were studied in great depth. This precludes the work of Cullen and Sharp's own later refinement of the concept of 'kinetic townscape', and indeed the term townscape was used. This extended beyond the major set-pieces to include, for example, 'the Backs'. Many of the college buildings in particular already had statutory recognition as scheduled ancient monuments, to which Sharp added other buildings of architectural value. His attitude towards relatively modest buildings was variable; Ship Street and Beaumont Street were regarded as important, whereas he was dismissive of St. John's Street. The differentiated approach was based on Sharp's analysis of the contribution of each of these streets to Oxford as a whole. Ship Street, as well as being picturesque, was a foil between college buildings and Cornmarket Street. Beaumont Street was regarded as important as being unusually formal for Oxford. St. John's Street was part of an area generally proposed for redevelopment and expendable.

The emphasis east of Carfax was firmly on preservation, not only of buildings but also of a pleasant collegiate atmosphere. Thus a key priority was the removal of traffic from High Street, the main route to the east that bisects the main college area. However, to facilitate this drastic interventions were seen as necessary elsewhere. For example, extensive redevelopment was proposed one block west of Carfax/ Cornmarket Street/ St. Aldgate's Street. Most controversial though, was again how to handle traffic. Sharp's plan was to run a road around the south of the centre through the Meadows along the line of Broad Walk, a route he termed 'Merton Mall'. The consideration of a series of competing schemes to relieve inner-Oxford of traffic was made in a series of public inquiries until the 1970s, through which time Sharp stayed personally involved, when they were abandoned in favour of traffic-management (Stansfield, 1981).

As a planned town essentially on a grid, Salisbury did not present the complex picturesque effects which so excited Sharp in Durham and Oxford leading Stansfield (1981: 168) to conclude that the study lacked 'the appreciative warmth of his other studies'. However, though Sharp may have felt the lack of a dramatic core, observing, for example, that the Cathedral Close was unsatisfactorily large, he was not unappreciative of the merits of the wider town, terming it the 'most 'medieval' of all English cities' (Sharp, 1949: 10), due to the survival of many small buildings of earlier periods. Buildings of architectural quality were mapped and it was proposed that nearly all of those in the city centre be retained. However, after some agonising he suggested that many of the historic buildings in the eastern chequers would need to be sacrificed because they 'are outworn at last and are now too old and too primitive to have any further usefulness' (p. 11). Elsewhere in the report Sharp again argued for good new contemporary architecture rather than historicist styles and again presented extensive road proposals. Sharp was less sure of himself with these than usual. His suggested southern relief road was acknowledged to have an unfortunate impact on the historic character of Salisbury and he suggested that it should only proceed if his proposed northern relief road proved inadequate.



## **Plans for York, Chester, Cambridge, Aberdeen, and Newcastle upon Tyne**

The plan for York was commissioned from another leading consultant, S. D. Adshead in 1943, though he was dead by the time the report was completed and subsequently published (Adshead, Minter, & Needham, 1948). It is a much slimmer document than most of those discussed here, being essentially the brochure of an exhibition. The report celebrated the historic legacy of the city and stated that it was vital that this inheritance be preserved, 'maintaining its character as one of the world's most beautiful cities' whilst meeting 'the requirements of progress' (Foreword). This appreciation distinctly stopped with the Victorian period; there was discussion of rebuilding the railway station, one of the greatest of the nineteenth century. The historic city was also regarded as essentially the walled city, only the Bootham area outside the walls was accorded any historic value. It was proposed to locate an inner-ring road on average 250 yards from the line of the wall to solve the inevitable stress upon traffic issues. The space in-between the road and the Wall was proposed for clearance and then to act as an inner "Green Belt" which will greatly enhance the dramatic effect of the Walls and provide new sites for public buildings set in gardens and new open spaces.' (unpaginated). Within the Wall stress was placed upon the importance of narrow streets in defining the character of the city, even where they were held to be of no great architectural importance.

Chester's plan was prepared internally by the City Engineer and Surveyor (Greenwood, 1945), and included an appendix on historic buildings of Chester by a separate named author. The usual preoccupations of preserving character whilst accommodating traffic and modern functionality were evident. Again there was a desire to 'open up' the Walls and other key monuments and generally to de-intensify the City in a way that would have been anathema to Thomas Sharp. Also counter to Sharp's approach was the suggestion that the 'architectural treatment of all new buildings within the Walls should conform in spirit and character with those existing' (p 32). Buildings should be kept, it was argued, because they had architectural value, not merely because they were old. It was acknowledged, though, that the road proposals would destroy buildings of merit. Historic character was essentially seen to be derived from key buildings combined with the form of the principal elements of the City, such as road widths.

The Cambridge and Aberdeen reconstruction plans were both late examples of the genre and prepared after the introduction of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. The influence of statutory planning and the realities of post-war austerity were evident in the rather more pragmatic tone found in these plans compared to many of the plans of five years before. The Cambridge plan was prepared by William Holford and H. Myles Wright (Holford & Wright, 1950). Unlike the Abercrombie and Sharp plans there was no lengthy introduction to the history and the character of the city, the first chapter, perhaps rather ominously was titled 'Roads'. The plan aimed not to change the character of central Cambridge and the purpose of the road proposals was to create a central 'precinct' without through traffic. However, the consequences of this involved, for example, a proposal for driving a road through Christ's Pieces, which was acknowledged as a major sacrifice. Limitations on growth were recommended and mass production industries were regarded as an inappropriate use.

Overall there was less emphasis on 'three-dimensional planning' compared to Sharp especially, but also to the Abercrombie plans. There was also less emphasis on 'character'; the impact of proposals tended to be judged more against the pragmatic criteria of 'disturbance'. Preservation issues were not addressed directly at all, which was acknowledged as a limitation, but the report also stated that it had 'covered the things that will matter most' (p 69). In terms of the general remarks made it was suggested that the new power of listing should be used by the Minister generously especially for Collegiate buildings. However, when referring to the commercial centre the report stated 'The powers for preserving buildings contained in the 1947 Act... could hardly extend protection to the general character of a whole district in the face of strong economic pressure. Nor do we think that they should do so.' (p 62). New buildings should be of an appropriate scale and height. Holford played a key role in the listing of buildings in the post-war period (Delafons, 1997).

'Granite City: A Plan for Aberdeen' was prepared by W. Dobson Chapman and Charles F. Riley (Chapman & Riley, 1952). Again the focus was more on land-use combined with the inevitable road proposals, with three-dimensional and preservation issues not being to the forefront of the plan. The section on preservation was primarily concerned with Old Aberdeen, the area containing the University which is some way removed from the commercial centre focused around Union Street. This section was sensitive to the character of that part of the city. As well as the major historic buildings stress was placed upon the more minor historic buildings and 'a feature of great charm is the attractive way in which so many of these buildings are grouped, or individually sited, exemplifying, in narrow lanes lined with small houses and cottages and the mature gardens surrounded by mellow walls, an authentic old-world atmosphere which surely nothing should be allowed to impair' (p 127). An appendix listed 115 buildings of architectural merit in the city as well as a range of other historic components of the environment, such as statues and monuments. This included nineteen areas 'where buildings present features of special charm' (p 149), seven of which lay in Old Aberdeen, though no policies attached to these lists.

The final plan in this review is the plan prepared in-house for Newcastle upon Tyne (City and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1945). This plan was a much more home-spun affair without the detailed analysis and lavish production found in many of the plans prepared by consultants described above. There was little sense of Newcastle being a major historic city, with important layers of development from the medieval period, the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century expressed in both the morphology and building fabric of the city. Rather emphasis was placed upon Newcastle being a progressive industrial and commercial city. A largely redeveloped centre combined with extensive crude road proposals was seen as key. Preservation attention was directed on to Roman and medieval fragments, for example of the city wall, churches and a handful of later buildings. Improving the setting of these remnants was sometimes proposed. This generally consisted of 'opening up' the monument, i.e. removing its surrounding context.

### **The Modern Historic City**

Not surprisingly the feature that was common to all these plans was a belief in comprehensive planning. In some cases this was directly linked to the damaging effects on historic character from development in the decades preceding 1939, or halted because of the war. The plans were all bold in the scope of their proposals. The notion of 'the balanced approach' is key – cities were valued as historic but they must be made functional in the mid-twentieth century. However, significant substantive and stylistic differences are evident. They varied enormously in scale and sophistication, reflecting in part the resources that were committed to their production, for example, from the enormous tome produced for Edinburgh to what was effectively an exhibition brochure for York. The planning principles they used also vary. Abercrombie was clearly within the mainstream orthodoxy of land-use planning of the day, caught up with the concepts such as conceptualising the city as a series of precincts. Furthermore, though his plans appeared as masterplans he was often at pains to state that these should only be gradually implemented and evolve with time. Three dimensional design and end-point masterplans were more clearly at the heart of Sharp's concerns.

In all the plans roads loomed large. With the exception of Sharp, there was little romanticism about the impact of roads and they were generally acknowledged as being destructive of historic character. However, that cars had to be provided for was a given, so this should be achieved as sensitively as possible. Furthermore, relief roads would allow historic cores to be enjoyed free from the choke of traffic. Thus emphasis was generally placed upon creating new road infrastructure adjacent to, rather than within, the historic core. However, even taking a restricted view of what comprises the historic core, most in practice included significant road building within this area.

Most of the plans incorporated some form of historical description, though this was not always integrated with the rest of the report. The exception was Sharp's plans, which tended to be more concerned with the legacy of historical buildings in creating contemporary form. Most reports included a list or map of historic buildings and the preservation of major buildings was

in all cases given stress. However, beyond these set-pieces major changes were often proposed. In Abercrombie's plan for Warwick and Sharp's plan for Salisbury the value of the heritage of more modest buildings was highlighted, but this sat alongside a rhetoric that identified many of these buildings as 'outworn' and in need of replacement. Some plans had policies for historic buildings, but this rarely extended beyond a stated need for powers of development control.

Ideas of character and an appreciation of the visual qualities of place often enjoyed far higher prominence than fabric based preservation. The character of these historic cities was not completely seen to be a function of their historic buildings. Understandings of character vary between the plans and their authors. Sharp celebrated the intricacy of the medieval city and its contrived picturesque effects. Though Lilley (1999) has argued that in the early 1930s Sharp inclined more to the rationalism of Le Corbusier than to the ideas of Camillo Sitte this had clearly shifted by the time of these plans. He was acutely conscious of the visual benefits of enclosure and usually opposed the 'opening out' of major monuments common to a number of plans, such as those for Chester, York and Newcastle upon Tyne plans. This was a continuum of approach, Sharp included elements of 'opening out' in his Durham and Salisbury plans to capture long views of the cathedrals of those cities and though the York plan proposed extensive demolition around, for example, the city walls, elsewhere stress was placed upon retaining the narrow character of relatively minor historic streets. In terms of the form of new architecture, Sharp had a clearly articulated view that new architecture in historic locations should be contemporary in style. Abercrombie was more agnostic on this issue and the Bath plan, for example, used neo-Georgian sketches to illustrate new buildings, possibly as a means to try and suggest less impact on the historic character of the city. In the case of Chester historicist architecture was hinted at with the suggestion that within the historic core new buildings should 'conform in spirit and character' (Greenwood, 1945: 32). Generally though, stress was placed not upon architectural style but upon issues of urban form, such as the scale of new buildings.

Virtually all the plans discussed the issue of population size and function. In part this was an issue of general planning concern but often, however, the restriction of the growth of these historic towns and cities was regarded as fundamental in retaining their historic character. A preoccupation with a number was either preventing large-scale industrial development (e.g. Cambridge) or trying to restrict or remove existing industries (e.g. Oxford). The plans produced by Sharp and Abercrombie were often positioned in a wider context, as part of a process of defending the proposals from local resistance. Sharp tended to be particularly blunt in this regard and Abercrombie more politic but both were clearly aware of the opposition their plans would generate. One common element of this was to position the heritage of the town or city concerned as a national or world asset in an effort to overcome perceived provincialism. This was evident, for example, when arguing against the development of industry. Running counter to this was the defensive tone frequently evident when justifying the scale of proposed interventions, a recognition, as with Edinburgh, of the powerful conservative interests resistant to the changes proposed (Hague, 1984).

Overall the plans have more in common than they have differences. If the historic city was to survive it needed rational, bold planning and parochial and conservative resistance must be overcome. Preservation was usually not to be confined to the major set-pieces but was more broadly defined in terms of character of place. This was essentially defined visually. The aim was to create a high quality of environment, free of the worst excesses of traffic congestion. Comprehensive planning was the means by which to achieve this goal and to balance the desirability of preservation with the imperative of change.

## Footnotes

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<sup>1</sup> The Bath Corporation Act of 1937 had brought some controls of the facades of 1,251 buildings.

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## **AN IDEA OF CITY FOR 5 CENTURIES.**

### **Continuity in Spanish Colonial Cities**

Jimenez Verdejo, Juan Ramon.

Kobe Design University

Gakuennishi-machi. 8-1-1.Kita-ku. Kobe-shi. 651-2196. Japan.

Telf-fax: (078)796-2624

00d107@kobe-du.ac.jp

The biggest time of creation of cities carried out by a town, a nation or an empire in all History, was the developed one by Spain in America, as of 1492, that full a continent of drawn up cities reticularly<sup>1</sup>. All the spanish process of conolization of the American was supported in a process of ocupation of the territory, in which the cities had a fundamental estrategic paper, like stable point for the defense, the administration, exension of the culture, the operation of the resources and the continuity of penetration. The studies speak of thousands of foundations, from the Patagonia to California, of which they prospered and others perished, they became great cities and others remained in small villages. To present a detailed study of that gigantic process of urbanization, of its temporary development, the characteristics of those cities, their evolution, is dificil by the amount and diversity.

This study is centraded in the formation and evolution of the same group of cities (26) made at the same time in a little and concret period (1749-1776), in the same area (Nuevo Santander of Mexico, in Tamaulipas region) in a same territorial net and made all of by the same one person (D. Jose de Escandon) and with similar planning.

### **An Idea through Centuries**

In a summary historical urban approach of American spanish colonization process is possible to divide in diferernt four big periods<sup>2</sup>:

A)1492-1520: During the first 30 years the european meet with the pre-urbans native cultures. In that time there was a poor geografics knowledwe. Normaly the cities funded was in the cost or near it. All thes new foundations was responding to the desire to make a sure and constant relations with Spain and Santo Domingo. The was a important decrease in the native population.

B)1520-1573: The european made contact with the tall prehispanics culture with a politic and commercial capital, religious and administrative centers in Center America and Andes. In 1520 Hernan Cortes conquered Mexico City and from that year was founded a lot of cities. There was a

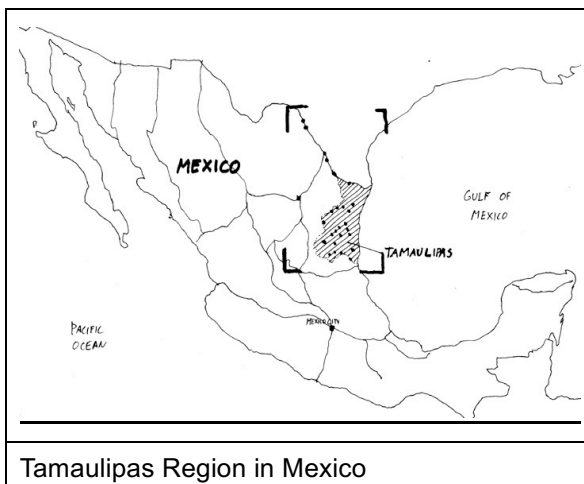
expansionist fever. Many cities were founded very inside. Sometimes the city was founded in uninhabited areas because of geopolitical and strategic reasons. Some port-cities like Veracruz, Cartagena, Santa Marta or Puerto Caballos were very important to consolidate the land and sea routes.

C)1573-1700: The first urban rules of the history (Indias Rules) by the king of Spain D. Felipe II is a summary of foundation experience in America until that time. There was a big change in the way to think about the conquest. The concept of force conquest was changed by colonial conquest. The colonist who founded was not a conqueror, was a civil servant or businessman or missionary, all with special government licence. The interior space was occupied to perfect and consolidate the territory. War in Europe to the overseas control. The danger came from another European countries. The ports and strategic points were secured.

D)1700- 1810: The last Spanish territorial expansion at North and Northwest of Mexico with cities with the same characteristics that during 200 years before. There were political and military reasons to make cities in the border areas with other countries. There was an emigrant politics promoted by the government from 1570.

The 26 cities of D. Jose de Escandon were made 250 years ago (during the last period). But in that time were planning under 250 years of Spanish urban experience in America. Their design is the continuity and evolution of the same idea of city 500 years ago, that we can connect in their process until now and project in the future.

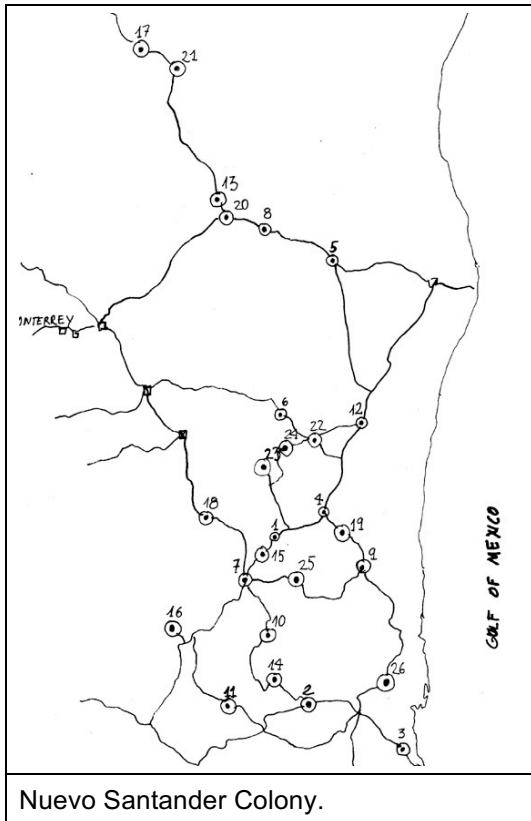
### The Nuevo Santander colonization



The North Mexican region was known from 1540 but in the beginning of XVIII century was not enough cities yet. There was a big geographic distance until Mexico City and sometimes the native resistance made that was an undeveloped area. In 1748 the colonization of this area is started, in the east of Nuevo Leon, from Sierra Gorda to the Gulf of Mexico. This mission was entrusted to D. Jose de Escandon, who made the Nuevo Santander colonization creating the following cities:

- The 25<sup>th</sup> of December of 1748 the city of Llera is founded in honor to Josefa de Llera and Ballas, wife of D. Jose de Escandon.(10).
- One week after, 1 of January of 1749 the ville of Guemes is founded.(15).
- The 6<sup>th</sup> of January of 1749 is founded San Antonio de Padilla.(1).

- The 17<sup>th</sup> of February founded the ville of Cinco Senores de Santander (Now named Jimenez).(4).
- The Ville of Burgos in 20<sup>th</sup> of February of 1749.(6)



- Camargo in 5<sup>th</sup> of March of 1749.(8).
- Reynosa in 14<sup>th</sup> of March of 1749.(5).
- San Fernando in 19<sup>th</sup> of March of 1749.(12).
- Caldas de Altamira (today Altamira), in 2<sup>th</sup> of May of 1749.(3).
- San Juan Bautista de Horcasitas (today Magiscatzin) in 11<sup>th</sup> of May of 1749.(2).
- Villa de Santa Barbara (today Ocampo) in 19<sup>th</sup> of May of 1749. (11).
- Real a los Infantes (today Bustamante), in 26<sup>th</sup> of Mayo of 1749.(16).
- Dolores in 22<sup>th</sup> of Agust of 1750. (17).
- Soto La Marina in 3<sup>th</sup> of September of 1750. (9).
- Santa Maria de Aguayo ( today Victoria), in 6<sup>th</sup> of October of 1750. (7).
- Revilla (today Nuevo Guerrero) in 10<sup>th</sup> of October of 1750. (13).
- Villa de Escandon (today Xicotencatl), in 15<sup>th</sup> of

March of 1751. (14).

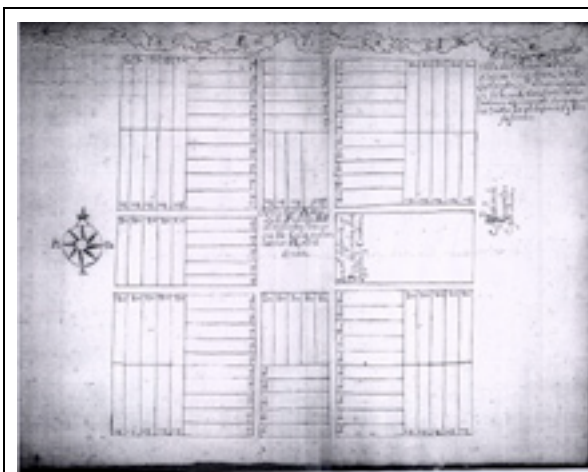
- Hoyos (today Hidalgo) in 19<sup>th</sup> of May of 1752. (18).
- Nuestra Senora del Rosario de Santillana (today Abasolo) in 16<sup>th</sup> December of 1752. (19).
- Mier in 6<sup>th</sup> of March of 1753. (20).
- Laredo in 15<sup>th</sup> of May of 1755. (21).
- Nuestra Senora de Montserrat de Cruillas (today Cruillas) in 9<sup>th</sup> of May of 1766. (22).
- San Carlos in 6<sup>th</sup> of Junio of 1766. (23).
- Real de San Nicolas (San Nicolas) in 10<sup>th</sup> of April of 1768. (24).
- Purissima Concepcion de Croix (today Casas), in 3<sup>th</sup> of June of 1768. (25).
- In 10<sup>th</sup> of September of 1770 D. Jose de Escandon died. (70 year old).
- Divina Pastora de las Presas del Rey (today Aldama) is founded by his son in 15<sup>th</sup> of 1790. (26).

### The Escandon model

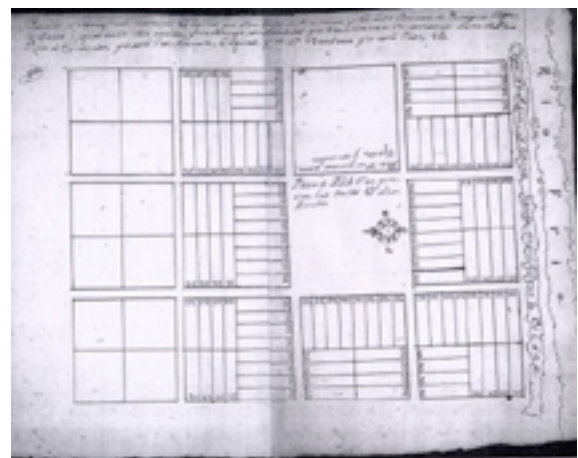
The design of D. Jose de Escandon was based in the same model with square Plazas with dimensions that move between 124 varas and 224 varas<sup>3</sup>. The form and distribution of the block is

depend of the dimension of the Plaza. His design had same diference with the Indias Rule. But not all coqueros had their own model, for example in 1774 D. Antonio Torres de Miranda made 43 villages with very diferents design , don't used any previous model .

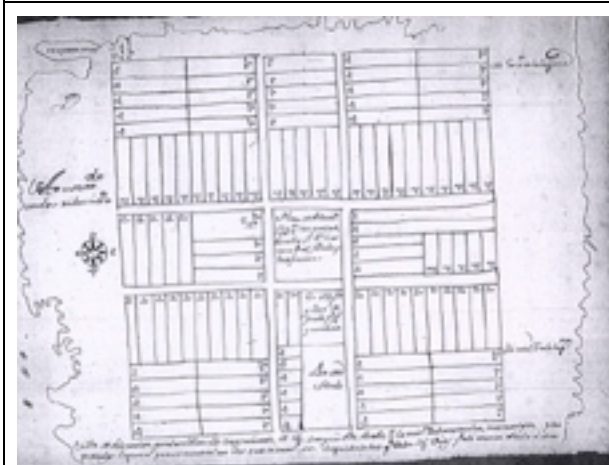
The reticular model of spanish colonial cities had a particularity characteristics. When the spanish arrived to America had to invented the city in a new world. The european origin of this model has been justificaded in many studies but its multidinary use in america is rare. The conquiro's fevor to use it is also insolit. It is not a frecuently used model before in europe. And the spanish goberment didn't make any clear instruccions or plan before to 1573. The Indias Rules of 1573 are developed in each new place according of conquero's critery, and the caracteristic of the place and culture. The trace and ordenation was made with big attention but any Plaza made from 1574 has the Indias Rules' canones. This is the big diversity of american urbanism, that can develop the same idea with diferents forms in diferents places with diferents people.



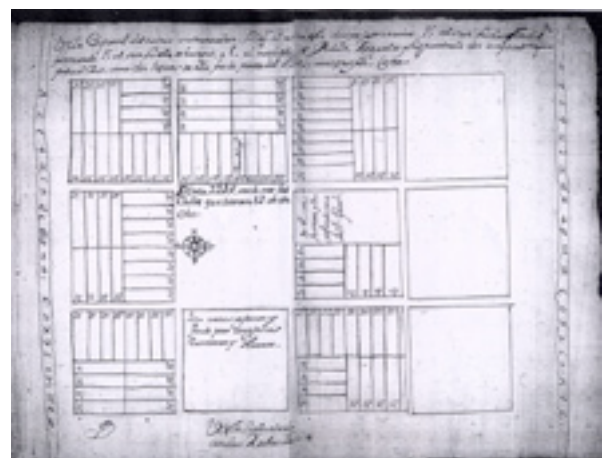
1.-Padilla.



2.-Horcasillas.

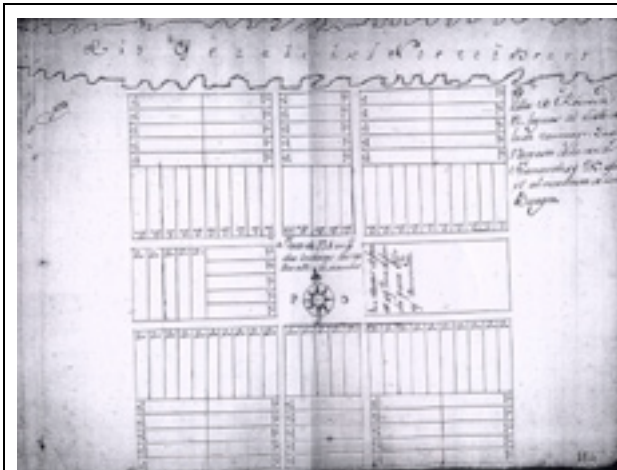


3.-Altamira.

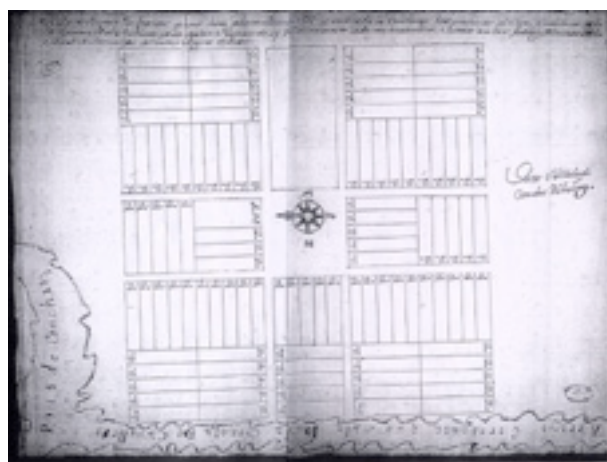


4.-Santander.

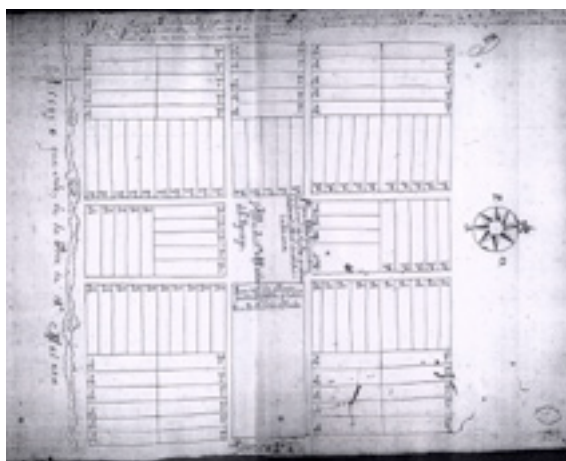




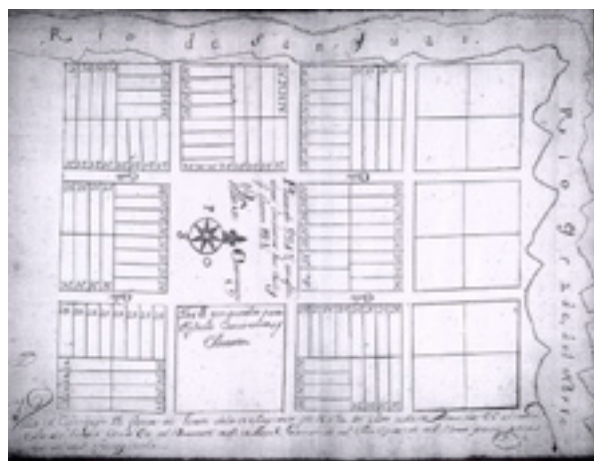
5.-Reinosa.



6.-Burgos.



7.-Aguayo.



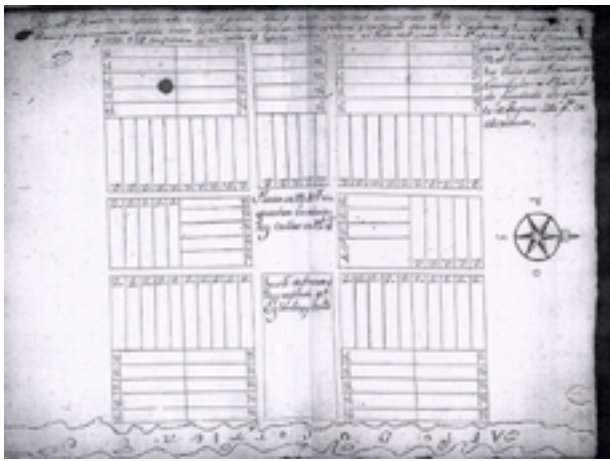
8.-Camargo.



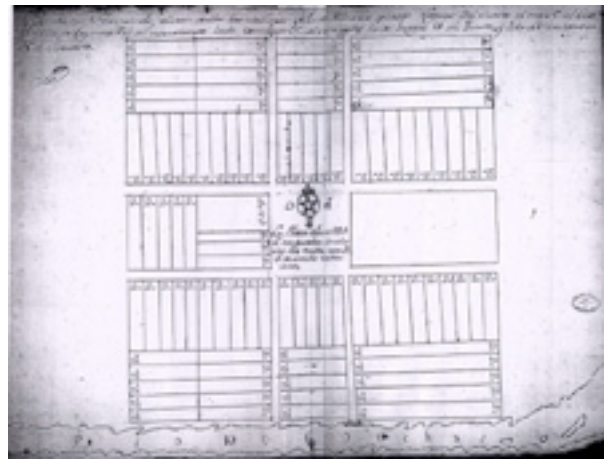
9.-Soto la Marina.



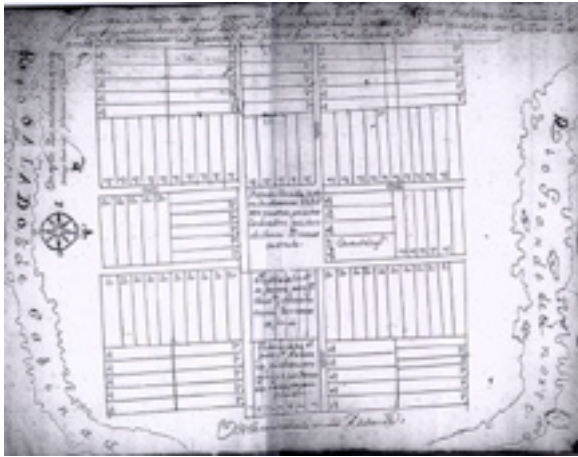
10.-Llera.



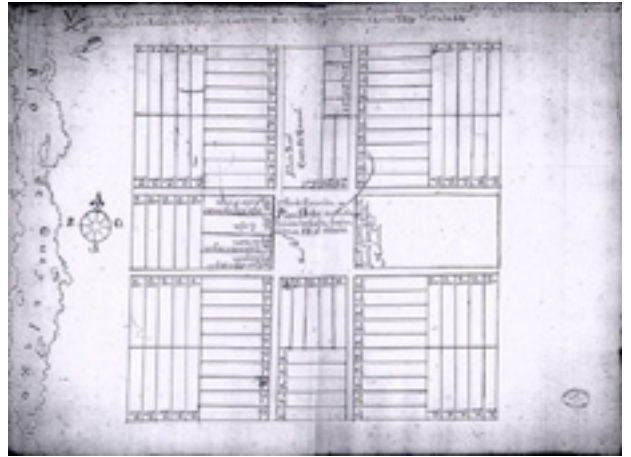
11.-Santa Barbara.



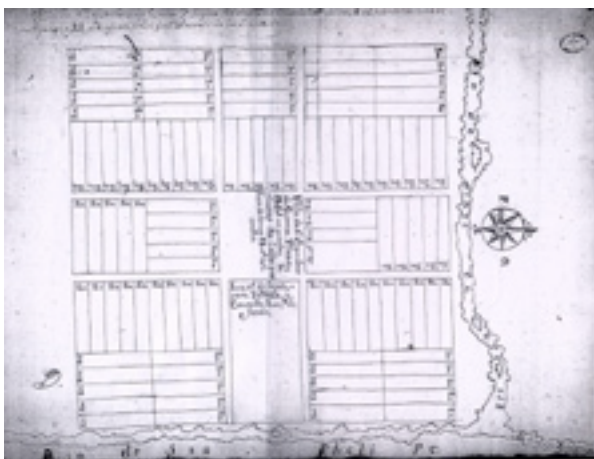
12.-San Fernando.



13.-Revilla.



14.-Escandon.



15.-Guemes.

Illustrations:

AGI.(Archivo General de Indias). Sevilla. Mapas y Planos de Mexico.

N.179,180,182,183,184,185,186,187,188,189,190,191,192,193,194.

(1) Miguel Messmacher (1987) De Teotihuacan a Brasilia.El urbanismo en Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador... Instituto de Estudios Hispanos Americanos. Madrid. (2) Francisco de Solano.(1990)Ciudades Hispanoamericanas y pueblos indios. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas,, pp.25-32.(3) 1 vara = 0.836 metre. Collins.1998 barcelona,,pp.326.

## The Britains of the South at British Town Planning Conferences, 1900-1914

Julia Gatley  
PhD Candidate  
Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning  
University of Melbourne  
VIC 3010, Australia  
j.gatley@pgrad.unimelb.edu.au

### Abstract

This paper is concerned with the trafficking of town planning ideas between Britain and two of its 'white dominions', Australia and New Zealand, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. To limit its scope, it focuses on Australian and New Zealand representation at housing and town planning conferences held in Britain in the pre-World War I period. The paper suggests that in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, most British planning advocates had little interest in Australian and New Zealand cities. They tended to think of the two dominions in terms of empty space, with little or no congestion, squalor or 'slums'. However, from 1912 when he worked for the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (GCTPA) in London, New Zealand journalist and planning advocate Charles Reade exposed British planners to the idea that 'slums' did exist in Australian and New Zealand cities, triggering immediate concern which culminated in the GCTPA's Australasian Town Planning Tour of 1914. Concurrently, the 1911-1912 competition for the design of Canberra focused international attention upon Australia.

### Introduction

By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the populations of Australia's two biggest cities, Sydney and Melbourne, numbered about half a million. The two differed from Old World cities of comparable size in that they had grown rapidly in the 1880s and much of the building stock dated from this period. The populations of the next tier of Australian cities – Adelaide, Brisbane and Perth – were closer to 100,000, and of New Zealand's main cities – Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin – less than 100,000. Adelaide, Wellington and several other cities had been systematically settled along Wakefieldian lines and the centres of these had been designed before settlement began. Adelaide remains Australia's textbook grid. Settlers, who were predominantly of English, Scottish and Irish descent, adopted the detached cottage as their housing model from the outset and the detached suburban house became the desired norm.

As a result of ongoing immigration to both Australia and New Zealand, migration between the two, overseas travel and the availability of imported books and periodicals, individuals in both were aware of British, European and American developments in town or city planning, including the garden city and city beautiful movements. That expatriate British architect John Sulman, who was resident in Sydney from the 1880s, used the term 'town planning' in its modern sense as early as 1890 has been noted by Australian planning historians (Sandercock 1975 p. 16; and Freestone 1996 p. 47). Other events that can be interpreted as early planning initiatives or advocacy include the slum clearance programme conducted by the Sydney City Council from about 1880; series of newspaper articles on the 'dangers' of 'slums' and the need for 'civic improvement' by various individuals including Sulman and Sydney unionist and politician J D Fitzgerald;<sup>1</sup> the 1908-1909 Royal Commission for the Improvement of the City of Sydney and its Suburbs; and the discussions, coordinated by the federal government, that led to the international competition for the design of Canberra, advertised in 1911. The competition did much to popularise the idea of town planning in Australia.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1907 Sulman published a series of articles in the Sydney newspaper the *Daily Telegraph* under the general title, 'The Improvement of Sydney'. The articles were republished in pamphlet form in 1908, and were reprinted in Sulman 1921 pp. 217-29. See also John Fitzgerald (1907) 'Sydney: The Cinderella of Cities', *Lone Hand* 1, 1 p. 58; John Fitzgerald (1907) 'Parks and Open Spaces', *Lone Hand* 1, 2 p. 196; and John Fitzgerald (1907) 'Sydney Slums: Picturesque and Pestilential', *Lone Hand* 1, 5 pp. 567-68. The Fitzgerald references are from Petrow 1993 p. 101.

Initiatives were underway in New Zealand at the same time, notably the propaganda activities of journalist Charles Reade whose denigration of British 'slums', *The Revelation of Britain: A Book for Colonials*, was published in Auckland in 1909. Reade followed this book with newspaper articles and a nationwide lecture tour (1911) to alert New Zealanders to the 'evils' of 'slums' and the benefits he believed would result from the introduction of modern town planning and the construction of garden cities and/or suburbs. The first legislative initiatives were also underway, with Auckland businessman and Liberal MP Arthur Myers preparing a draft town planning bill in early 1911. The draft was applicable to Auckland alone. Myers dropped the bill a short time later when he learnt that his colleague, the Hon. George Fowlds, the Minister of Education, was preparing a bill that would be applicable to the whole dominion. Fowlds introduced his bill to parliament in 1911. It was debated at length but the Liberals were voted out in 1912 and the bill was not enacted by the incoming Reform Government.

Clearly town planning initiatives were underway in both Australia and New Zealand by 1911. These initiatives form the background to this paper, which is concerned with the trafficking of town planning ideas between Britain and its 'farthest flung' 'white dominions' in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. To limit its scope, it focuses on the appearance, both literally and figuratively, of Australia and New Zealand at housing and town planning conferences held in Britain in the pre-World War I period. There was a raft of such conferences. They were hosted by various organisations including the Garden City Association (GCA; from 1909 the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, GCTPA), the National Housing Reform Council (NHRC; from 1909 the National Housing and Town Planning Council, NHTPC), the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and others. The conferences are a rich source of information because they demonstrate the extent to which planning advocates from different countries and different backgrounds were known to each other and exposed to each other's ideas. Further, they played a significant role in the formation of a collective identity amongst the architects, engineers, surveyors, lawyers, politicians, medics, housing reformers and philanthropists – women as well as men – who participated in the nascent town planning movement. This paper asks, to what extent were Australia and New Zealand represented at the conferences held in Britain? And to what extent did British planning advocates discuss and promote town planning in terms of its 'imperial aspect'?<sup>2</sup>

The paper is written in light of Anthony King's work on the 'exporting of planning' from the metropolitan centres to the periphery (King 1980), and Stephen Ward's subsequent work on the 'importing of planning' by Britain's 'white dominions' (Ward 1998 pp. 937-38). It supports Ward's suggestion that in this early period, Britain's 'white dominions' actively imported planning ideas from the metropole. I would note, however, that rather than mimicking British planning practices, Australian and New Zealand planning advocates also borrowed from American practices.

### **Why Might British Planning Advocates Have Thought Imperially?**

Before considering the British conferences, it is reasonable to ask *why* British planning advocates might have given attention to planning's imperial aspect. According to dependency theory, imperial systems were established for, and continued to operate essentially for, the benefit of the metropole (Christopher 1988 p. 3). This implies that for British planning advocates to have given thought to planning's imperial aspect, there must have been some metropolitan benefit. Might there have been things the British could have learnt from the experiences of the dominions? Or might the British have been interested in 'improving' the dominions in order to produce fitter, healthier and more efficient imperial citizens?

The British sense of superiority over white colonials was pervasive. Julia Bush has written that: 'Neither the rhetoric nor indeed the "practical" realities of collaboration between Great and Greater Britain could diminish the latent inequalities of power and esteem underlying this imperial partnership' (Bush 2000 p. 83). Indicative of this inequality was the matriarchal metaphor of Britain the 'mother country' and the white dominions its daughters. Bush identifies British ignorance about the diversity of the Empire as one aspect of this maternal

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<sup>2</sup> The term 'imperial aspect' was in common usage in the years leading up to World War I. Robert Freestone used it for the title of his 1998 paper on the GCTPA's Australasian Town Planning Tour.

superiority (Bush 2000 p. 84). As a rule, British imperialists were devoted to educating the colonials as opposed to learning *about* them, let alone learning *from* them.

However, evidence of metropolitan interest in Australian and New Zealand cities can be found in references to them by such figures as Frederick Law Olmsted (Ranney 1990 p. 432) and Ebenezer Howard (Howard 1946 [1902] p. 140), and visits to them by W H Lever in 1892-1893 and Sidney and Beatrice Webb in 1898. It was Australia's urban parks that attracted the attention of Olmsted and Howard, and the advanced social legislation enacted and implemented in both places that attracted Lever and the Webbs. William Pember Reeves' 1902 book, *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand*, provided a survey of the legislation enacted up to that time. In the preface, Reeves, who was New Zealand's Agent-General in London, described metropolitan interest in Australia and New Zealand thus:

What has held me to a troublesome task has been the stream of inquiries about colonial questions which has come to me without ceasing for the last half-dozen years. Ninety Englishmen out of every hundred may be quite unconcerned about colonial social experiments, and frankly, I think they are. But there is an increasing number of students in England, on the Continent, and in America who are sincerely interested in them (Reeves 1902 Vol. 1 p. vi).

The above references and visits show that there was some two-way traffic between the metropole and the Antipodes. To what extent were other planning advocates aware of the design of Australian cities? Is there any evidence that they were aware of the design of New Zealand cities? In advocating garden cities (new towns), did British planning advocates look to the design, growth and development of the Wakefield settlements and other 19<sup>th</sup> century Australian and New Zealand 'new towns' for precedent?

### **Efficiency: A Question of Imperial Significance?**

I have trawled through proceedings from housing and town planning conferences held in Britain in the pre-World War I period looking for Australian and New Zealand delegates, references to Australian and New Zealand cities and expressions of imperial sentiment.<sup>3</sup> The most general imperial references are contained within comments about physical and/or moral deterioration and the need for 'racial improvement' and increased efficiency. Consider, for example, the words of the GCA's chairman, London lawyer and Liberal Ralph Neville, at its 1901 conference:

The question really is a national question, nay it is more than that, it is an Imperial question ... and it is a question of paramount importance to the Empire, because ... the ultimate destiny of our Empire depends upon the character and the capacity of the citizens of this country.... I want to remind you of what you all know, ... that physical degeneration is proceeding, and proceeding in some places at a very rapid rate; and that nothing can prevent the ultimate decadence and destruction of the race if we do not see that the mass of the people lead lives which are consistent with physical development ... because physical development is at the bottom of all things. You cannot have physical development; you cannot have intellectual capacity unless you have sound conditions of hygiene as the basis of the life of your countrymen (Neville 1901 p. 9).

Pleas for increased efficiency were made regularly at British conferences. But Neville's description of the standard of domestic and urban environments as an 'Imperial question' is rare. In most instances, it was the national situation, rather than the imperial one, that was cited. Typical of such comments is Howard's claim that: 'The present physical condition of the people in our great towns is a serious danger, not only to our national life, but to our capacity to compete successfully with other countries.... Healthy homes in healthy areas

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<sup>3</sup> I have also searched the proceedings from two American series of conferences, namely the National Conferences on City Planning which were convened annually from 1909 and the Housing Problems in America conferences which were convened annually from 1911. I have found no mention of any Australian or New Zealand delegates, Australian or New Zealand cities, or planning's imperial aspect in proceedings from these conferences up to and including 1920.



must be provided if we are to maintain our position among the nations' (Howard 1901 p. 54). Lever, too, claimed that:

The Cottage Home is the unit of the nation, and, therefore, the more we can raise the comfort and happiness of home life, the more we shall raise the standard of efficiency for the whole nation.... But still to-day, as of old, that nation will be declared to be the fittest to survive and enjoy the longest life and the utmost possible happiness and comfort, whose individual citizens possess the greatest measure of health and physical fitness (Lever 1907 pp. 81-82).

The reason for this emphasis on national as opposed to imperial efficiency was that town planning was a response to 'slums', and British planning advocates consistently thought of 'slums' and the associated disorder, immorality, criminality, drunkenness, promiscuity and disease as Old World problems.

### **'Lands of Sunshine and Success'**

In stark contrast, Australia and New Zealand were portrayed as 'lands of sunshine and success' (Harmsworth 1913 p. 132). This idealised conception of the Antipodes was consistent with, and a repercussion of, their own 19<sup>th</sup> century booster publications, designed to attract new immigrants and business to their shores.

Through such literature, New Zealand came to be known as 'the better Britain of the South', a 'land of plenty', a 'land of milk and honey', an 'earthly paradise', a 'labourer's paradise', a 'workingman's paradise' and, during the Liberal era (1891-1912), 'God's Own Country' (Fairburn 1989 p. 24). It represented a rural ideal, the antithesis of the big cities of 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain, Europe and America and the associated social problems.

The Australian colonies had created similar myths early on but in the mid-to-late 19<sup>th</sup> century a series of droughts, the 'discovery' of the extent to which the interior of the continent was desert and the economic crisis of the 1890s undermined them and meant that a different myth was required (Fairburn 1989 p. 23). The result was the literary phenomenon that continues to be known as the 'Australian legend', a romantic interpretation and idealisation of the Bush and the outback. Again it was anti-urban, but this time it emphasised Australia's vast open spaces and celebrated egalitarianism and 'mateship' (Carroll 1992 [1982]).

Numbers of Australians and New Zealanders attending the British conferences were very small in the early 1900s, a mere handful until 1910 when 12 Australians and 5 New Zealanders were amongst the 1,200 delegates at the RIBA's International Town Planning Conference. However, of the small numbers, the regular appearance of agents-general, high commissioners and former premiers and prime ministers is notable. Their comments were often consistent with the booster propaganda and served to reinforce it.

Take, for example, comments made by the New Zealand High Commissioner, William Pember Reeves, and the South Australian Agent-General, J G Jenkins, at the International Housing Congress of 1907. Both insisted that the housing crisis of the Old Countries did not extend to their countries. About New Zealand, Reeves claimed: 'There is no great city; no terrible pressure of urban population; no slums, nor any large element of the extremely poor' (Reeves 1907 p. 73). And Jenkins: 'The housing question in Australia has not become of such importance as in older countries. In a new country, land being comparatively cheap, enables greater ground space to be given to all classes of houses, and, on the whole, the houses contain more good-sized rooms than those in older countries' (Jenkins 1907 p. 92).

Other references to Australian and New Zealand cities suggest a simple lack of interest amongst British planning advocates. At the RIBA conference of 1910, for example, the only contribution by a New Zealand delegate was a question from architect John Mitchell to Prof. Percy Gardner: were flat sites always preferable for the laying out of new cities, in order that geometric forms could be used in the design? Mitchell stated that he was not convinced by this argument as Auckland and Wellington were both very hilly and in his opinion Auckland

was 'one of the loveliest spots in the world' (Mitchell 1911 p. 180). He was told that there was no time for his point to be discussed and the session was drawn to a close.

Sulman contributed a paper to the RIBA conference, the only Australian to do so, but as with the discussion of Mitchell's question, time did not permit Sulman's paper to be read. The paper discussed the international competition for the design of Canberra (Sulman 1911). It was to have followed W H McLean's paper on the planning of the Sudanese towns of Khartoum and Omdurman, with the two papers forming a 'colonial session'. But the whole of the session, chaired by Lord Kitchener, was devoted to McLean's paper, and it was Lord Kitchener's comments that dominated newspaper reports of the day's proceedings ('The Town Planning Conference' 1910 p. 5). Peter Harrison claims that Sulman did not make it to the conference (Harrison 1995 p. 8), but even if this was the case one would have thought that the interest of architects in an international competition for the design of a new city would have been such that the paper warranted being read by someone else. Instead it was completely overshadowed.<sup>4</sup>

### **New World, New Towns**

While the Canberra competition received little attention at the RIBA or subsequent British town planning conferences, and is slightly tangential to a paper primarily concerned with extant cities, it warrants inclusion here because of its significance within 20<sup>th</sup> century Australian and, indeed, Western, planning history. The competition focused international attention upon Australia. But the conditions soon attracted criticism in both Britain and Australia.<sup>5</sup> The RIBA and various Australian institutes of architects instructed their members to boycott it. That the Australian government proceeded as per its original conditions was interpreted in the British journal, the *Town Planning Review*, as a direct affront to British superiority:

Its inauguration was most antagonistic to Imperialistic ideals. To ignore the advice of a Royal Society like the Institute of British Architects, which numbers amongst its members not only the more eminent of the Australian architects, but also the best brains of the mother country, was hardly what one would have expected (Editorial 1912 p. 165).

As a result of the boycott, a comparatively small number of British architects submitted entries and the *Journal of the RIBA* gave the competition little coverage. The placed entries were published in a variety of other journals, along with assessments of their attributes (see Reps 1997 pp. 195-218). John Reps points out that American journals tended to praise the winning entry, submitted by Chicago architect and landscape architect Walter Burley Griffin, while British and European journals were more critical. He interprets this as a repercussion of the fact that the competition had been won by an American (Reps 1997 p. 195).

Some individuals sought out additional information on the entries. For example, Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India, requested copies of the Griffin drawings in 1912 when plans for New Delhi were being developed. The Australian Government sent not only the Griffin drawings but seven other plans. Robert Irving has discussed their reception in India, noting that the drawings must have arrived in Delhi when the site for New Delhi was being debated and preliminary designs were being developed. There are similarities between the radial planning of Canberra and New Delhi, but Irving is not drawn on the extent to which Lutyens

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<sup>4</sup> In 1909 Sulman had written a series of articles criticising the 'chessboard' nature of many Australian cities and recommending that radial planning be employed in the design of Canberra. These articles had been reprinted in pamphlet form and were reprinted again that year in the *Journal of the RIBA* (The Federal Capital 1909 pp. 679-87). As a result, some of the delegates would have been aware of Sulman's views on the form the proposed city should take. In addition, some would have been aware that the competition was pending as articles about it had been published in the British journal, the *Builder*, 7 May 1910, and the American journal, *Engineering Record*, 21 May 1910 (Reps 1997, pp. 58-60).

<sup>5</sup> The three concerns were the remuneration for placed entries which was considered to be inadequate; the judging of the entries by an unnamed jury; and the fact that responsibility for the final decision lay with the Minister of Home Affairs (Federal Capital, Australia 1911 p. 159).

might have been influenced by the planning of Canberra, citing a variety of other influences and precedents that underlay the design of New Delhi: Palladio, Domenico Fontana, Wren, Evelyn, Gabriel, Le Nôtre, L'Enfant, Haussman, Burnham, Howard, and Parker and Unwin (Irving 1981 p. 87).

To people living in congested Old World cities, the Australian proposal to design and build a federal capital on a new site must have emphasised the existence of wide open spaces in the New World. To some, the open spaces seemed to invite the construction of new towns and cities and, more specifically, of new garden cities, along the lines of Letchworth. At the Second National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution, held in London in June 1912, Maud Pauncefote of the British Women's Emigration Association suggested that the solution to Britain's overcrowding lay in the mass transportation of citizens to new towns and cities in the colonies and dominions:

... (had it not) occurred to members of the Conference that seven millions of people in one town was too large a number to deal with? That was to her mind the root of the whole thing. It was morally impossible to house decently and attend to such an enormous mass of human beings. For many years the population was larger than that of the whole of Canada, and even now Canada had only nine millions of people all over it. People spoke of Leicester, Leeds, and London as if they were the only towns belonging to the British people. Two towns a week were born in Canada alone, and not springing up by accident, because they had a regular trained profession called 'site finders,' who, as the railroads crossed the continent, went forth and sought out the most suitable places. Why not help Britons to go where wealth and happiness awaited them, instead of herding in insanitary conditions whole families in one room? (Pauncefote 1912 p. 387).

Her comments are consistent with Edward Said's argument that colonisers thought of their colonies as resources available for their own use, enjoyment and/or profit (Said 1993 p. 75). However, the idea that Britain's housing problems could be solved by sending large numbers of people to the colonies and dominions does not seem to have been widely held by British planning advocates and Pauncefote was challenged by Alderman G K Naylor of the London City Council: 'the mere fact of carrying people over to the Colonies did not help in dealing with the evils which existed here' (Naylor 1912 p. 388).

### **'Town Planning in Australasia'**

In contrast to ongoing nonchalance about Australian and New Zealand cities, there was sudden interest, and indeed concern, amongst British planning advocates from 1912. The reason for this about-face was that New Zealand journalist and planning advocate Charles Reade had begun a campaign to convince British planning advocates that congestion and Old World 'evils' *did* exist in Australian and New Zealand cities. He claimed that the two dominions were in need of British help to introduce modern town planning legislation and prevent the urban conditions from worsening.

Within conference proceedings, this change becomes apparent at the Second National Conference on the Prevention of Destitution. The conference included a Housing Section, which in turn included a session on planning's imperial aspect, comprising two papers: (i) 'Town Planning and Housing from the Imperial Standpoint' by co-partnership advocate Henry Vivian; and (ii) 'Town Planning in Australasia' by Reade.

Vivian made general claims about the importance of 'thinking Imperially' and then spoke specifically about Canada, where he had travelled and lectured in 1910. This is what he had to say generally:

It is the purpose of this paper to point out briefly another direction in which a large outlook, or 'thinking Imperially,' is quite as desirable in the interests of the Empire as those already referred to. After all is said and done, our efficiency for defence and in trade and manufacture turns mainly on the fitness of the individual unit. To increase



the fit and lessen the unfit is to add to the usefulness of the Empire (Vivian 1912 pp. 267-68).

Vivian was a notable proponent of planning's imperial aspect. But it is Reade's paper that is of particular interest to me in this paper. Reade was working voluntarily for the GCTPA by this time, and represented the Association at the Prevention of Destitution conference. In his paper, he discussed Australasian 'slum conditions', using Sydney as his example:

Some years ago the busy port was badly stung by an epidemic of bubonic plague, which became endemic for a time owing to the congested and insanitary nature of the 'wharves' or docks and the buildings in their vicinity. The whole community awoke to the peril of the situation, accentuated as it was by the existence of slum areas, Chinese opium dens and other horrors sheltered in parts of the city by a mean and tangled disorder of lanes, alleyways, and courts (Reade 1912b p. 278).

He referred to the 1908-1909 Royal Commission for the Improvement of Sydney and its Suburbs, and praised the Sydney City Council's slum clearance initiatives:

A typical instance of what is being done ... (is) the case of Wentworth Avenue – a new street 100 feet wide, giving direct access from a very busy thoroughfare to the Central Station. This splendid avenue runs clean through an area of some eight acres – which was originally a congerie of disreputable houses, Chinese opium dens, slums, etc (Reade 1912b p. 278).

He then moved on to the problem of haphazard suburban development, this time using Auckland as his example. He described it as: 'a conspicuous example of what rapid development, land speculation, and municipal failure to control the growth is producing in the newer suburban districts of Australasian cities' (Reade 1912b p. 279). It was Reade's opinion that all Australian and New Zealand cities and towns were in need of modern town planning and he campaigned for a British planning 'emissary' to be sent to the two dominions to conduct a lecture tour.

During his own 1911 lecture tour of New Zealand, Reade had found that 'exposés' of local congestion, squalor and 'slums' were an effective way of triggering public/middle class concern and thus support for modern town planning (Schrader 1999 pp. 398-99). His method was equally effective in Britain, with GCTPA members responding immediately to his calls for help. In 1912 the Association established a Colonial Department to concentrate on the exporting of planning ideas to Britain's colonies and dominions (Freestone 1998 p. 161); in 1913 Ewart Culpin undertook a three month, 30,000 mile lecture tour of the US and Canada; and in 1914 Reade and William Davidge undertook a similar tour of New Zealand and Australia. Dennis Hardy has drawn attention to the international role that the GCTPA assumed in the early 1900s (Hardy 1991 p. 94), but it seems to me that until 1912 this was focused on those countries at the forefront of planning practice, notably Germany and the US, with little specific attention to Britain's colonies and/or dominions.

I am not suggesting that the Association's sudden interest in and concern about Australian and New Zealand cities were a direct result of Reade's 1912 conference paper, but of his activities and presence in London more generally. He made good use of his skills as a journalist while there, contributing articles to the *Garden Cities and Town Planning* magazine and to the *Town Planning Review* (C C R 1912; Reade 1912a, 1912b and 1912c; *Town Planning in the Colonies* 1912). His conference paper was in fact an extended version of an April 1912 article published under the same title in the *Town Planning Review* (Reade 1912a). And one can imagine that he would have made the most of opportunities to 'bend the ears' of local GCTPA members.

Planning's imperial aspect was confirmed in May 1914 when the Victoria League held its Imperial Health Conference. One third of this London conference was devoted to housing and town planning issues. That a health conference was concerned with housing and town planning is significant because it demonstrates the belief that an improved environment could positively modify physical fitness and health.

Henry Vivian had been on the League's Industrial Committee since at least 1912 (*Victoria League* 1912 p. 3), and is likely to have influenced the extent to which the health conference embraced town planning. It was he who articulated the Victoria League's aim of convening the conference in order to educate colonials:

It is the wish of the Victoria League that the information collected at this Conference shall be made available for those concerned in the work throughout the Empire, and encourage them to go forward in the great work of making cities and towns of the Empire more healthy, more efficient, and more beautiful. (Loud applause) (Vivian 1914 p. 28).

The Imperial Health Conference differed from other housing and town planning conferences of the period in that the other two thirds of it were devoted to child health. Thus the conference also demonstrates the belief that an improved environment would have a particular impact upon the fitness and health of children, the citizens of tomorrow. The Victoria League was concerned not only with the standard of the *national* physique, but also with the standard of the *imperial* physique. Of the 1,300 delegates at this conference, at least 50 were Australians and New Zealanders, a considerably higher number than at any of the earlier conferences. Their presence is indicative of the strength of imperial sentiment in the dominions shortly before the outbreak of war.

### Conclusions

Australia, New Zealand and planning's imperial aspect received little attention at housing and town planning conferences held in Britain in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The design, growth and development of the Wakefield settlements were barely mentioned. Nor was the advanced social legislation already operating in Australia and New Zealand. Not even Sulman's paper on the proposal to hold an international competition for the design of Canberra warranted being read at the RIBA's 1910 conference. The reason the two dominions attracted so little attention was that town planning was a response to 'slums', and 'slums' were thought to be an Old World problem.

From 1912 Charles Reade played a significant role in exposing British planning advocates to the idea that 'slums' might have existed in Australian and New Zealand cities. His rhetoric stimulated British concern, and British advocates responded by determining to share their expertise with their colonial counterparts. Efficiency was the key concept. As long as there were 'slums', the physical fitness, health and morality of the imperial citizens would continue to deteriorate. Conversely, with improved housing conditions and more extensive town planning would come improved fitness, health and morality and, in turn, increased industrial efficiency, military strength and imperial prosperity.

It must be recalled here that town planning initiatives were underway in both Australia and New Zealand before 1912 when Reade began his British campaign. But New Zealand's first legislative initiatives had failed in parliament and no such initiatives were underway in Australia. Reade campaigned for a British planning 'emissary' to be sent to the two dominions to conduct a lecture tour because imperial sentiment was strong on both sides of the Tasman and a lecturer representing the authority of the 'mother country' would have a much greater impact than he could hope to have on his own, a mere colonial.

The first International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Conference, held in London in July 1914, forms something of a postscript to this paper, not because of any celebration of imperialism that took place there, but because the world was on the brink of war at that time. The second conference in the series was to have been held in Dusseldorf the following year but was cancelled as a result of the war and the series was not resumed until 1920. As well as being the first in this new series of international town planning conferences, the London event was also the last of the many town planning conferences held in Britain in the pre-war period. Henry Aldridge spoke on town planning in Britain; Ewart Culpin spoke on the garden city movement in Britain and elsewhere; Bruno Taut spoke on German town planning; Avvocato Cattaneo on Italian town planning; Dr Protopotoff and M.

Alexander Bloch on Russia; Dr V Dobrzynski on Poland; Sen. Montoliu on Spain; and Augustin Reyand on France (International Tour and Congress 1914 p. 180). Australia and Canada were 'represented' (there was one delegate from each); New Zealand was not. Britain's 'white dominions' may have been gaining a voice at imperial events by 1914, but for now they had little or no voice at international events like this.

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## **The Unplanned 'Ghetto': Immigrant work patterns in 19th century Manchester**

Dr Laura Vaughan  
University College London  
(1-19 Torrington Place)  
Gower Street  
London  
WC1E 6BT  
United Kingdom

[l.vaughan@ucl.ac.uk](mailto:l.vaughan@ucl.ac.uk)  
<http://www.spacesyntaxlaboratory.org/>

### **Abstract**

The research presented here considered the well-documented phenomenon of immigrant clustering in niche trades or occupations and compares immigrant and non-immigrant groups within the same poverty 'ghetto' – the Red Bank area of Manchester. The research used primary census data and contemporary maps to analyse the socio-economic and spatial structure of the 'ghetto'.

The findings suggest that the (primarily Jewish) immigrant group studied here was concentrated in a significantly narrow band of occupations in comparison with non-immigrants in the area and that immigrant from the same occupation group tended to live in household clusters. Analysis of work-home distances using 'space syntax' techniques suggests that the occupants of the 'ghetto' area of the city tend to work very close to home, whilst more long-standing immigrants living in the lower middle-class district adjacent to the area worked in locations which provided them with the potential for economic integration.

Whilst these findings suggest that the immigrants had identifiable differences from their 'ghetto' area neighbours, the research also highlighted findings that suggest that the inhabitants of the district of Red Bank – taken as a group - were different in their occupational structure from the city as a whole. 'Space syntax' analysis of the spatial integration of the area indicated that it was significantly segregated from the central business district, despite it being geographically quite proximate. These findings, coupled with other research undertaken into social class structure, suggest that the non-Jewish inhabitants of the Red Bank district were also distinctive in their social and spatial patterns when compared to the city overall, thus the inhabitants of the 'ghetto' area had unique characteristics which distinguished them from inhabitants of the other areas of the city.

The paper concludes with the suggestion that certain areas of cities are especially prone to settlement by the disadvantaged, due to characteristics that make such areas firstly, tend to be economically unsuccessful due to their spatial segregation and secondly, less attractive to those who have the means to move elsewhere and that such areas are not so much defined by their immigrant constituents, but by their long-standing inhabitants that cannot move elsewhere.

## Introduction

The phenomenon of clustering of minorities, especially that of newly arrived immigrants, is well documented – as can be seen in the following, amongst many others - Jacobs (1961); Ward (1982); Rosenbaum (1995); Peach (2001). In particular, Wirth (1964), who was associated with Park and the Chicago School of Sociology, found that there was an “unmistakable regularity” in the process of formation of immigrant “slums”. The research described here uses ‘space syntax’ theories and techniques to investigate this phenomenon (frequently referred to as ‘ghettoisation’). Space Syntax methods (SSM) allow the fine scale of the built environment to be considered and the spatial logic of its underlying structure to be understood as a physical entity in its own right and thus the analysis can be made of the active role of the environment in informing social change and measures such as topology, geometry and other metric properties of space to be considered alongside social and economic measures.

This paper describes research which was part of a broader investigation of immigrant minority settlement patterns in 19<sup>th</sup> century Manchester and Leeds (for a PhD in Architecture). In addition to the spatialisation of immigrant occupations, the research also looked at:

- The process of development of the minority settlement over time – published in Vaughan and Penn (1999), which found measurable patterns of intensification, then dispersal, in the formation of immigrant settlement through six censuses studied;
- The incidence of poverty amongst immigrant and non-immigrants within the ‘ghetto’ area, which found a relationship between greater poverty (measured by several variables including occupation of head of household and household density) and distance from sources of employment at the perimeter of the settlement area;
- The relationship between economic segregation and spatial segregation, which concluded that the areas of the cities in which immigrants tended to congregate had spatial attributes which made them more prone to poverty, whether the inhabitants were immigrants or not, and that it was the planning of the area itself which contributed to the deprivation of its inhabitants.

It has been suggested by research into immigrant and poverty ‘ghettos’, that the process of dispersal of immigrants after the initial stage of settlement is enabled by successful integration into the host economy – see Carter and Lewis (1983); Waterman and Kosmin (1987). Theorists of the evolution of urban form have proposed that cities have developed as a result of the conglomeration of houses, whose settlement form was a result of the social needs of the settlement’s society [see Krier (1984), for example]. Other urban theorists, [see Whitehand, Morton et al. (1999) for example], have produced theories about how the urban fabric is influenced by a set of small-scale decisions made by individuals. The research described here is based on the theories of Hillier, Penn et al. (1993), who propose a complex set of relations between spatial form and society; Hillier et al have proposed a theory of the movement economy, which suggests that the differences in movement rates brought about by the grid have an effect on land uses, in that land uses which need movement seek out the naturally busy parts of the grid and those which need less movement, seek out naturally quiet parts of the grid, see Hillier and Penn (1996). Recent research by Hillier (2001) suggests that the evolution of city ‘live’ centres (which include markets and shops) is strongly influenced by the change in spatial configuration over time. Whilst research undertaken by this author, Vaughan (1999), suggests that the persistence of ‘ghetto’ areas is due to their having the combination of a desirable proximity to economic activity centres coupled with a lower-than-normal property rental or purchase price and that this combination of factors can lead ultimately to the economic and social integration of these population sectors.

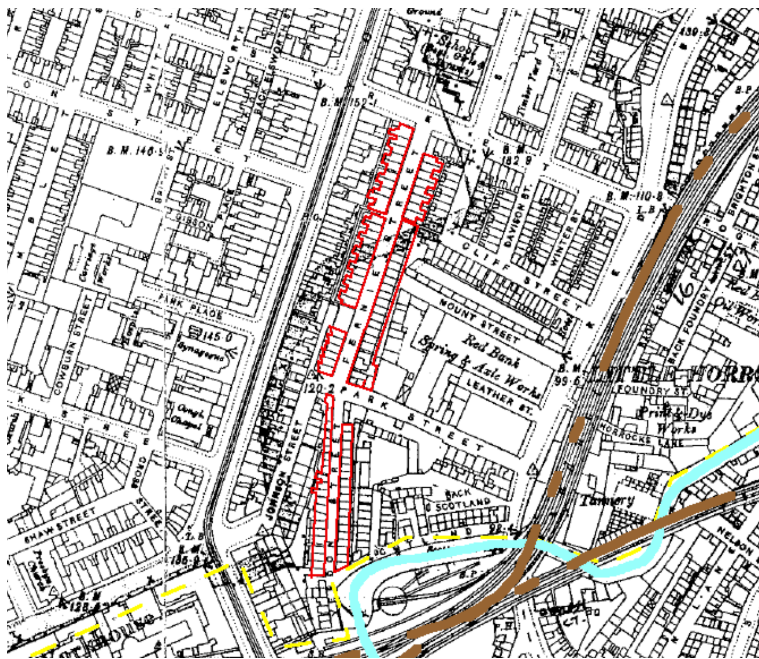
## Background

### *Jewish Settlement in Manchester*

Despite their relatively small size when compared with London, the urban centres of Jewish settlement outside of the capital developed rapidly in the late 19th century in parallel with the urbanisation and industrialisation of the country in general and Manchester is considered to be one of the exemplars of Jewish provincial settlement. The Jews of England differ from the Jews of continental Europe in the fact that since the resettlement of the Jews in the mid-17th century, there have been no legal restrictions on their settlement in England (although restrictions on ownership of land, political activity, membership of guilds and higher education persisted well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century).

Jewish settlement in Manchester started in the 1780s. By the 1850s, the influx of Jewish immigrants had stabilised. The rate of growth of the Jewish settlement in Manchester from 1858 onwards, to the period in question, 1881, brought it to be amongst the three most populated provincial communities - this was due to its development as an industrial and commercial centre, yet was also due to an influx of mass migration from Eastern Europe, especially in the latter part of the period.

The incoming migrants settled in high densities in the Red Bank area of Manchester (amongst several provincial cities) as well as the East End of London, which had by then been established as a Jewish district. The high density of impoverished co-religionists led to the creation of numerous Jewish charities and organisations to both relieve the poor, but also with the ultimate aim of integrating the new immigrants socially and economically into the existing population. Despite this, problems of high-density settlement in areas such as the Red Bank district of Manchester, caused crises of unsanitary conditions and overcrowding.



*Plate 1 – showing section of Red Bank district of Manchester, c. 1881*

Red Bank was on a high sandstone ridge that fell away from the area of middle-class settlement on Cheetham Hill (to the north) down to the railway in the valley of the Irk (see plate 1). Here the houses were arranged in cramped rows along excavated shelves separated and supported by flimsy retaining walls. Two adjoining roads - Verdon Street and Fernie Street (marked in red in plate 1) - attracted the bulk of Jewish settlement. According to Williams (1985a), these streets became the heart of what, in succeeding years, acquired the character of a 'voluntary ghetto' (p. 177). This area of 'classic slum' was, according to Williams: 'Physically invisible: 'self-contained and shielded from view by the lie of the land and



a facade of shops and public buildings, socially barricaded by the railway and industries in the polluted valley of the Irk, and so neglected and ill-lit as to be in a state of “perpetual midnight” (op cit p. 81).

The trade occupations of the Jews changed in the period 1858-1881. Whilst in 1853 the majority of this group were hawkers, peddlers or street sellers, by 1880 they had developed (in parallel to the general population) to an industrial proletariat, with a small but significant number in the middle-class occupations of merchants, manufacturers and professionals – these were from the more established families. During this period of time the process of industrialisation brought in changes to patterns of work, with the development of the multiple store. However, the majority of the working class population continued to live close to work, in order to minimise the expense of travel.

Despite their relative freedom, in comparison with other European Jewish communities, evidence suggests that the Jews started to create niche trades to offset their market limitations, see Pollins (1982). According to Pollins, the move into trades and away from the earlier occupations of hawker and costermonger were part of a communal effort to apprentice children into trades. The choice of occupations promoted by apprenticeships and loans was small and was confined to trades where the capital investment was modest and the necessary equipment was cheap and portable and enabled home working. Another development in labour patterns was the formation of 'sweated' workshops, which was the result of sub-division of labour and changes in work patterns in certain industries.

The development of transport technology had an influence on centres of production that grew from small towns into cities whilst the cities themselves suffered an explosive increase in population. Industrialisation also brought about a change in the housing market. The two main features of this were the severe shortage of municipal housing and the large proportion of the population who rented their accommodation. The outcome of the predominance of renting was the lack of control of workers over their living environment; bringing about a situation which was exploited by landlords, who charged high rents. Higher rent charges forced people to take in lodgers rather than be evicted. This situation brought about in its extreme, the overcrowding and slum conditions which were a typical part of 19th century cities. Some sources suggest that this was the main cause of the formation of distinctive 'ethnic' areas of the city, formed by immigrant groups clustering according to country of origin.

#### ***Spatial causes of 'ghetto' formation***

The 'chain migration' model of migration proposes that international migrants depend on initial forays by a single member of a family or clan in order to obtain information about the potential country of destination and in order to establish work and accommodation. According to this migration model, the destination tends to be very specifically located spatially, often confined to particular streets, and is just as strongly linked to the point of origin - in this way strong cohesiveness and a tendency towards self-help or co-dependence is created among the migrants of this type, who tend to have similar backgrounds, outlooks and even occupations. However, one cannot necessarily read this model in reverse; that if there is a parallel clustering of occupation and country of origin, that the migrants have brought with them specific skills and trades from their country of origin. The reason for this is that there are many instances when occupations are discarded upon arrival at the migration destination, yet clustering by country of origin is still maintained. See for instance: '...Strange as it may appear, the immigrant's future is more or less determined by the sort of trade done at the town where he lands or arrives. He may become a tanner or a dyer in Hull, and have a different ambition from what he would have if he landed at, say Liverpool, Glasgow, or London.' [Smith, J.: 'The Jewish Immigrant', in Englander (1994), p.112].

Maintenance of cultural identity is possibly one way of sustaining the self-help network, which leads to self-help for finding jobs and accommodation. This is reinforced spatially by proximity between work, home, society, place of prayer, clubs and etc. It is possible that the ultimate success of certain immigrant groups may be due to the convergence of all of these factors at the same time. In addition, some sources, such as Eyles (1990), suggest that immigrant self-help creates informal local economies. This can be expressed in the payment in cash or, in some cases, with goods 'in kind'.



The importance of the economy as being the most likely potential for integration is raised by many theorists. Many maintain that the market place is the point of contact between otherwise disassociated groups such as immigrants and their host community. This concept of the market as a place of abstract transactions between extremes, or strangers, is proposed by Wirth (1928), who writes of the Jewish trade relationships, that this type of relationship takes place in a situation where no other contact can take place, since trade is an abstract relationship where emotions drop into the background. Wirth maintains that the more impersonal the trader's attitude, the more efficient and successful are the transactions likely to be (op cit, p. 25). Hence, the evident propensity for immigrants to tend towards such economic activities.

## **Analysis**

### **Methods**

According to 'space syntax' theory, the spatial realisation of societies in cities reflects the richness of the social, economic and cultural milieu that it embodies, see Hillier and Hanson (1984). In order to test this idea, a method of analysis was developed by Hillier and Hanson that creates an objective description of the pattern of space by describing and quantifying spatial patterns of cities and towns. By creating an objective measure of space, this method of analysis is not only applicable for examining its primary properties, but also (by using the results of the spatial analysis to control for the effect of space on social measures), for studying space in relation to measurable social quantities, such as movement rates, economic values, crime statistics and so on.

Space Syntax analysis examines the spatial configuration of cities by defining all external spaces as a continuous network of space. The spatial configuration is represented by the set of the fewest and longest lines of visibility and permeability that link between all spaces in the network - referred to as the 'axial map'. The axial map is analysed by computer as a pattern of accessibility, measuring the relative distance of each part from the system as a whole, and then describing the system according to the distribution of accessibility; ranging from the most accessible, 'integrated', to the least accessible, 'segregated'. The numeric properties of the spatial system are laid out in a table, allowing the mathematical analysis of the relationship between the spatial properties and other measurable properties of space use. The numeric properties are also represented graphically, by colouring up the axial lines in a spectrum of colours from cold to warm, assigning the blues to the least integrated lines, the greens to the next and so on, through yellows and oranges to the most integrated lines, coloured red (or in a black and white map from light grey to dark grey and black.) The Space Syntax Laboratory at University College London has applied this method of analysis on a large number of urban sites. In all of these sites they have found a statistically significant ( $p \leq .05$ ) correlation between movement rates and spatial integration values. These studies have also discovered significant parities between spatial configuration and other social factors.

The main source of data in this research is the census data of 1881 and the business directories of the three years before and after the census year for Manchester. In addition, data on the city's population size and occupational structure were taken from a summary of the 1881 census called: 'Census of England and Wales: ages, condition as to marriage and birthplaces of the people' which lists occupations per industrial category in each urban district of which the population is over 50,000 [see Her Majesty's Government (1883)].

This research studied the occupational distribution in Manchester by classifying the occupations of all Jewish households as well as analysing the distribution of work addresses for Manchester Jews. It should be pointed out that until the 20th century, occupation was listed as 'Rank, Profession or Occupation'. This did not make clear whether the occupation of the individual or the industry to which his employer belonged were requested. It is for this reason that occupation information was sometimes ambiguous and this is also the reason that occupations tended to be summarised by census authorities. Jewish families were identified by an expert team led by Bill Williams (1985a) and provided by the Manchester Jewish Museum. The author acknowledges with gratitude Bill William's provision of this data.

The analysis investigates the occupation distribution of the Jewish population of Manchester. It starts with a spatial analysis of the Manchester area to see if it was physically segregated and whether immigrant density had spatial attributes, then continues with an investigation into the historical belief that the Jews tend to occupy a narrow bank of trades. Lastly, the phenomenon of occupational enclaves is examined through data on household structure and spatial location of business addresses. Throughout the paper Jewish cases are compared with non-Jewish cases and the district of high density Jewish settlement (Red Bank) is compared with the city overall.

### **Analysis of Spatial Segregation**

Plate 2 illustrates the axial map for the area of Manchester, with the main buildings, waterways and railway lines indicated. The distribution of global integration for the map (here focusing on the northern part of the city) is shown by colouring up the main streets according to their global integration values, where red indicates the highest value and blue the lowest. (Although the entire axial map was analysed, only main streets are coloured up here – in order to illustrate the spatial structure of the city).

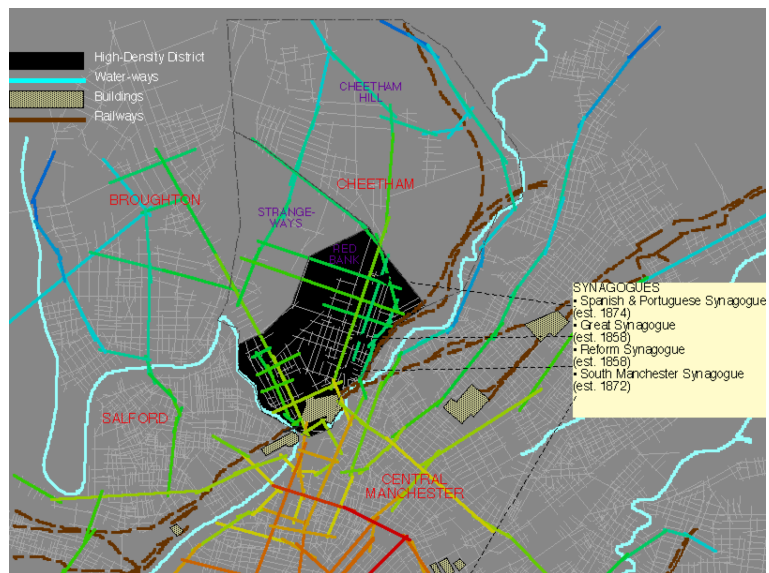


Plate 2 – Axial map of Manchester, c. 1881, focussing on north Manchester

Plate 3 shows a version of global integration, radius 8<sup>1</sup>, which is used when the area of interest is at the edge of the spatial model. The map shows the distribution of integration values and indicates that the spatial core is mainly contained south of the railways and canals. Red Bank, marked in grey, is not located in the geographical or spatial core of the city, and is removed to the north east. The relative spatial isolation of the district is due to its location north of the River Irk which runs through Manchester and its location north of the main railway tracks leading to Victoria Station (which is the building exactly on the southern boundary of Red Bank) and only the main streets in the area link up with the spatial structure of the city overall.

<sup>1</sup> Integration measures the mean depth from each line in a system to all other lines. This is termed integration radius  $n$  (infinity), or global integration. Occasionally this is replaced by radius-radius integration, which is used to maximise the globality of the analysis without inducing 'edge effect', which is the tendency for the edges of spatial systems to be different from interior area because they are close to the edge.

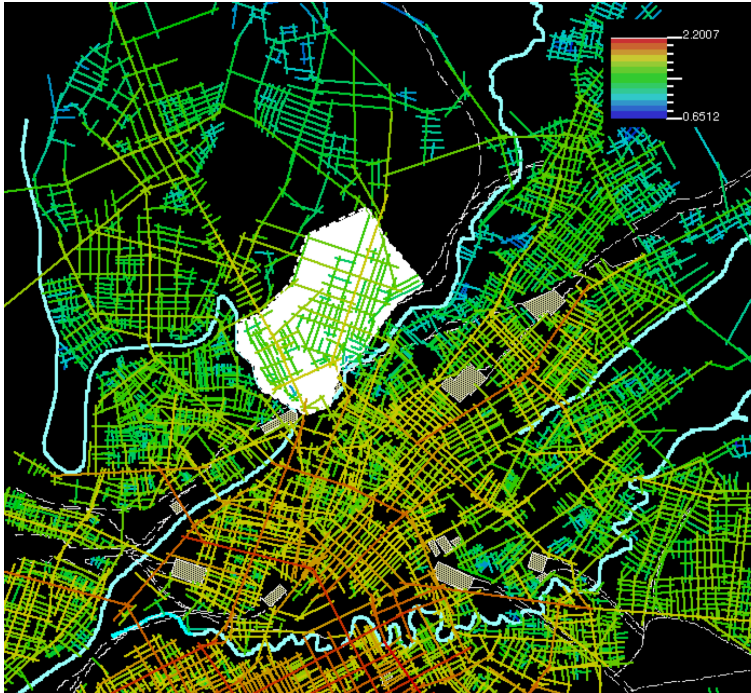


Plate 3 – Radius 8 integration, focusing on northern part of Manchester, c. 1881

Plate 4 shows the distribution of local integration<sup>2</sup> throughout the axial map of Manchester, where streets are coloured up from warm to cold according to how well integrated they are locally. We see that the fingers of routes out of Red-Bank seem to hold many of the key local integrators, but the interstices of the district are locally segregated (indicated by the cold colours).

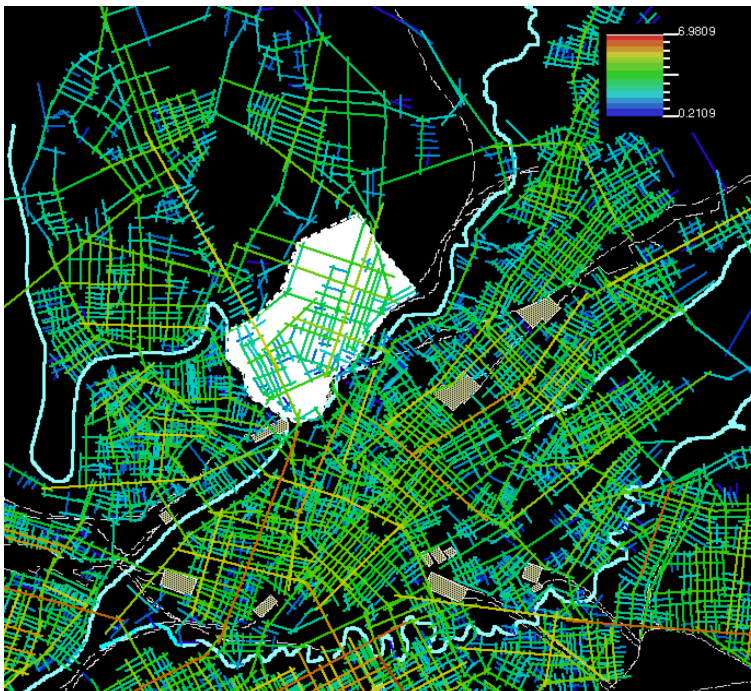


Plate 4 – local integration, focusing on northern part of Manchester

It was found that when comparing the global integration of the Red Bank area with the adjacent districts, that it was significantly segregated from its surroundings (.978 as compared

<sup>2</sup> A version of integration, termed integration radius 3 or local integration, restricts the measurement of routes from any line to only those lines that are up to three lines away from it. This measures the localised importance of a space for access within a particular part of a building or urban network

with 1.273). Furthermore, analysis of step-depth from the most globally integrated line in the city, undertaken to discover the degree of permeability of Red Bank from the spatial core of the city, showed that the district was significantly cut off from the central core of the city and from the commercial district –despite its geographic proximity.

Additional analysis calculated spatial measures for each street in Red Bank, weighted by the proportion of Jewish to non-Jewish households per street. The results of this analysis found that Jewish households tend to be less locally integrated than their neighbours, but more globally integrated than average (if we consider the radius 8 results as indicative of global integration). This suggests Jewish households tend to be closer to the main streets and to the perimeter of the Red Bank district than their non-Jewish counterparts. This was supported by analysis of proximity to the main streets in the area (through step-depth analysis), which found that the streets with a higher Jewish presence tended to be more segregated (and thus less connected to their surroundings), than other streets in the area. These findings mirror those found in studies undertaken by the author of Leeds and London and link up with findings which show that the streets with high density Jewish settlement tend to be those occupied by newer immigrants, with lower economic status, whilst the main streets in the area, which tend to be those which contain the shops and workshops, tend to be settled by the more established immigrant residents of the area at lower densities. This result is explained by the fact that the highest density Jewish streets tend to be back streets containing tenements with crowded houses, living at high density. These tended to be poorer households, who were forced to sub-let to other families or boarders.

#### ***Analysis of ethnic density***

The following section concentrates on the pattern of settlement of Jewish immigrants in Manchester. Analysis of population numbers indicates that the Jewish population of Manchester, which was 7745, comprised 2.3% of the city overall. The population of Red Bank was 9578 and comprised 32.5% of the population of the area. It is evident that the largest numbers of Jewish households were concentrated in the district of Red Bank.

Analysis of the birthplaces of family heads in Red Bank shows that 82% of Jewish heads were born abroad, compared with 14% of non-Jewish Heads. The average length of time in the UK was 9.8 years (based on the age of the eldest child born in Britain). Such a finding is typical of areas of initial settlement for immigrants, where populations tend to be more transient. The relative density of Jews to non-Jews was calculated, with the street normally taken as the unit, except in cases of very long streets, which were treated in sections<sup>3</sup>. Analysis of Jewish density across the city indicates that Red Bank had a much higher density than elsewhere in the city, with a mean density of 40%, compared with 18% outside of the area.

Plate 5 concentrates on the district of Red Bank. Principle synagogues and the Jewish school are coloured yellow. This illustration indicates that streets with highest density are concentrated in the southern and western parts of the district, whilst streets with medium density, coloured light blue and light red tend to be on the main streets or one step off from them.

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<sup>3</sup> The illustration of density follow the methods used by George Arkell, whose map of Jewish East London in Russell C. & Lewis H. S. (1900). *The Jew in London*. London: Fisher Unwin. has become an important tool of research into Jewish settlement in late 19th century London. Arkell was part of Charles Booth's team for preparation of the maps of Social Condition in London – see Booth C. (1889). *Descriptive Map of London Poverty* (set of four coloured reproductions of the original maps by Charles Booth) with introduction by D.A. Reeder. London: London Topographical Society..



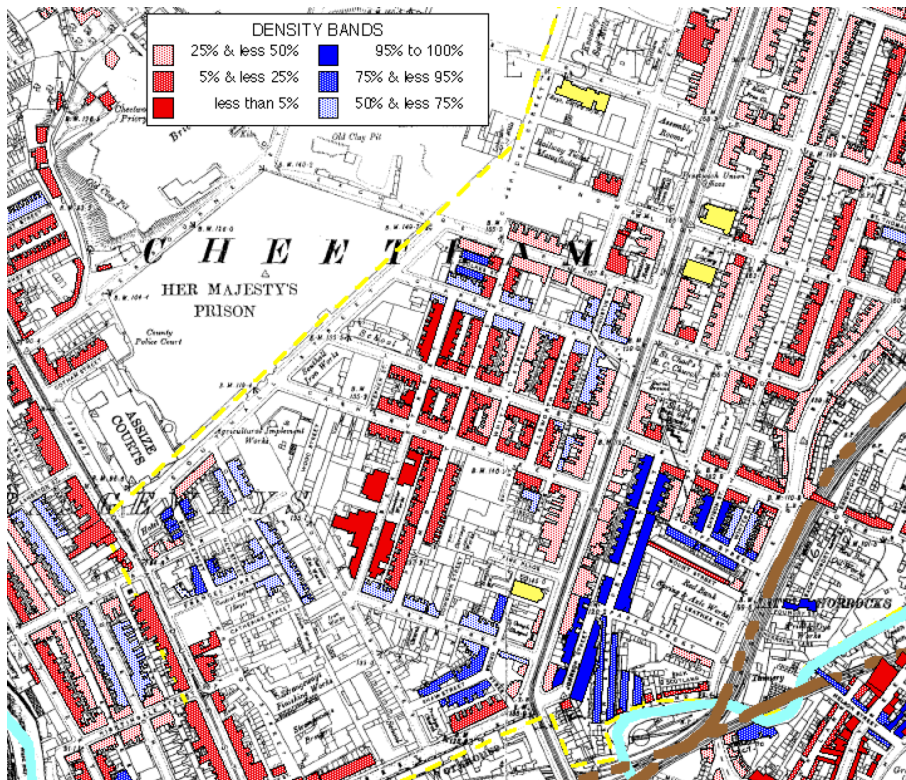
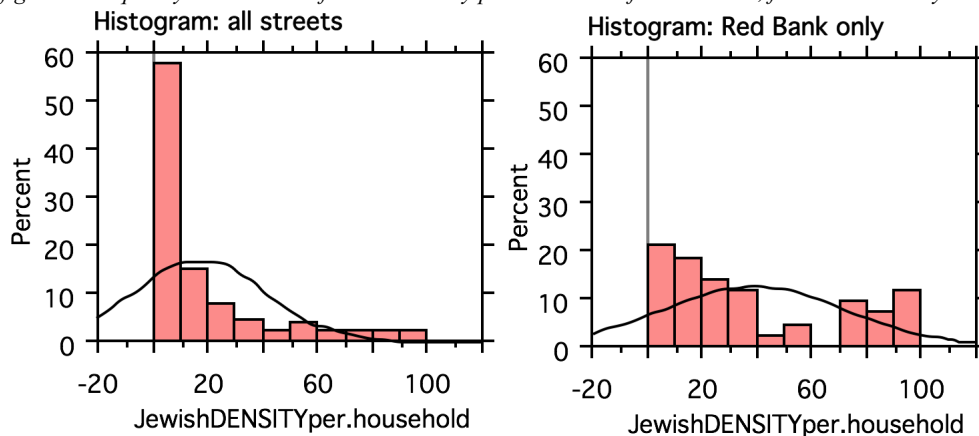


Plate 5 – density within the Red Bank district of Manchester, c. 1881

In order to analyse the relationship between spatial distribution and Jewish density, the frequency distribution of density was calculated for 10 bands between 0=100%. Households where Jews were boarding with non-Jewish families were excluded. In figure a below we see histograms of the distribution - on the left for all streets in Manchester and on the right, for streets in Red Bank only (graphs were created at the same scale). We can see that for Manchester overall there was a predominance of cases where density was under 10%; whereas in Red Bank, the spread of density was much more even and there were more cases in the upper three bands, where density was higher than when considering all streets.

figure a Frequency distribution of Jewish density per household: for all streets, for Red Bank only.



Analysis was undertaken to see if there was a relationship between the various spatial measures and density. Following is a series of bivariate scattergrams which plot the mean spatial values for each density band against the mean household density for Jews per street. The x axis in each scattergram shows mean density per street (not including households with sole lodgers) and the y axis shows the mean spatial values for each density band. Figures b and c below indicate a strong reverse correspondence between density and spatial measures. These suggest that the higher the density of Jewish settlement, the lower the spatial integration of the street in which they live. The results of these scattergrams suggest

that where there were relatively more Jewish households, these tended to be located in more segregated streets.

figure b. Scattergram of Jewish density per household vs. radius n integration

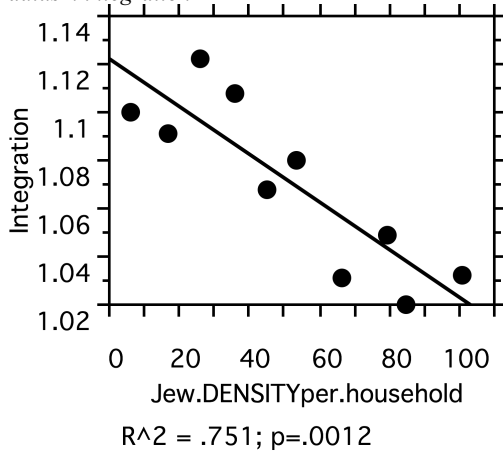
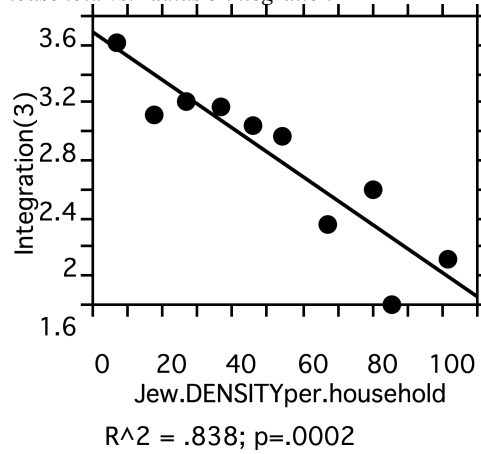


figure c. Scattergram of Jewish density per household vs. radius 3 integration



This supposition is supported by plate 6, which illustrates density, overlaid with global integration. It is evident from this illustration that the high density streets (coloured dark blue) are more segregated than the medium density streets (coloured light red and light blue).



Plate 6 – density within the Red Bank district of Manchester, c. 1881, overlaid with global integration

### Analysis of Occupational Structure

This analysis was undertaken to see if there was proof of the contention that there were typical ‘Jewish’ trades.

#### • Analysis of Jewish households in Manchester overall

Analysis of the top ten occupations cited by Jewish heads of household, or by sole Jewish boarders and lodgers in the 1881 census of Manchester found that both in the census and in the business directories, the Jewish population of Manchester was clustered in a small number of occupations. 25% were in the tailoring industry, 11% were merchants, 7% were glaziers and a further 7% were waterproof makers (a new industry at the time). When considering the distribution of occupations, it is notable however that the distribution differed

from one district to the other and whilst the Red Bank district of Cheetham, which was considered to be the poor, 'ghetto' area, and which contained most of the newest immigrants had 77% of its Jewish inhabitants in the tailoring trade, only 15% of the more prosperous Central Manchester area were in the tailoring trade<sup>4</sup>. Over 60% of Jewish heads of household were concentrated in 5% of all Jewish occupation groups.

Analysis of 134 business address for Jewish residents of Manchester showed that most occupations had businesses in central Manchester; the exceptions for this rule were pawnbrokers, tailors and travellers, who were located in the Red Bank area and its surroundings. Historical analysis has suggested that the tailor workshops grew out of workshops that were dependent on piece-making and out-working by the poorer workers, which may explain this finding.

• ***Comparison between Jewish and non-Jewish households within Red Bank***

If we look only at Red Bank, we find very similar findings to those for Manchester as a whole. Of all the Jewish heads, almost 60% are in the top 10 occupation groups of: cabinet maker, cap maker/manufacturer, commission agent, glazier, jeweller or watchmaker, merchant/shipping merchant, pawnbroker, tailor, commercial traveller and waterproof maker. In contrast, only 8% of the non-Jewish heads of household in the Red Bank area are in the top 10 Jewish occupations.

Analysis of occupations amongst the non-Jewish population shows that they did not concentrate in a small group of occupations, nor did they share the same type of occupations as their Jewish neighbours; 8% of non-Jewish heads were in 'Jewish' occupations as compared with 60% of Jewish heads). Taking account of the considerably higher number of non-Jewish households (around 3 times the number of Jewish households), this finding is significant and suggests that the immigrant Jews of Manchester were concentrated in a different spread of occupations than their immediate neighbours.

In order to arrive at a full picture, Jewish occupation analysis in the Red Bank area was also looked at from the angle of the non-Jewish occupations. Having categorised all non-Jewish occupations it was found that the ten most common non-Jewish occupations in Red Bank<sup>5</sup> were cited by a much smaller proportion of the population, 30%, in comparison with 60% for Jewish heads in top Jewish occupations. Analysis was then undertaken to see what percentage of Jewish heads of household in the Red Bank area worked in the ten most common occupations amongst the non-Jewish population. The analysis found that for the non-Jewish population of Red Bank, the only important 'Jewish' occupation was tailoring, but even this was only at a rate of 2%. In addition, only 1 in 20 Jews worked in the top 10 non-Jewish occupations

Further analysis of the occupations of Manchester as a whole showed that whereas Jewish occupations (within Red Bank) were typical of up to 20% of the population of Manchester as a whole, non-Jewish occupations (within Red Bank) were typical of over 35% of Manchester as a whole. In other words, non-Jewish occupations within Red Bank were more representative of the city overall (although still did not represent the full occupational spread).

Plate 7 shows all home addresses which were associated with a different work address, coloured up by mean depth from home to work, where the warmer the colour the more proximate the work and home addresses. Depth was calculated by taking each home address and calculating the step depth from it to the work address of the business owner in question. Depth is a measure of spatial distance, taking account of street network accessibility. The map (which focuses on the northern part of Manchester) also shows the location of (Jewish) residential streets (black), business addresses (white) and streets with both types of

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<sup>4</sup> The top-ten Jewish occupations in Red Bank were in descending order: tailor, glazier, commercial traveller, cap maker/manufacturer, jeweller or watchmaker, merchant/shipping merchant, waterproof maker, commission agent, cabinet maker, pawnbroker.

<sup>5</sup> The top-ten non-Jewish occupations in Red Bank were in descending order: labourer, joiner, salesman/shopkeeper, boarding/lodging house keeper, publican, housekeeper, tailor, warehouseman, fruiterer/greengrocer, printer/compositor.

addresses (grey).

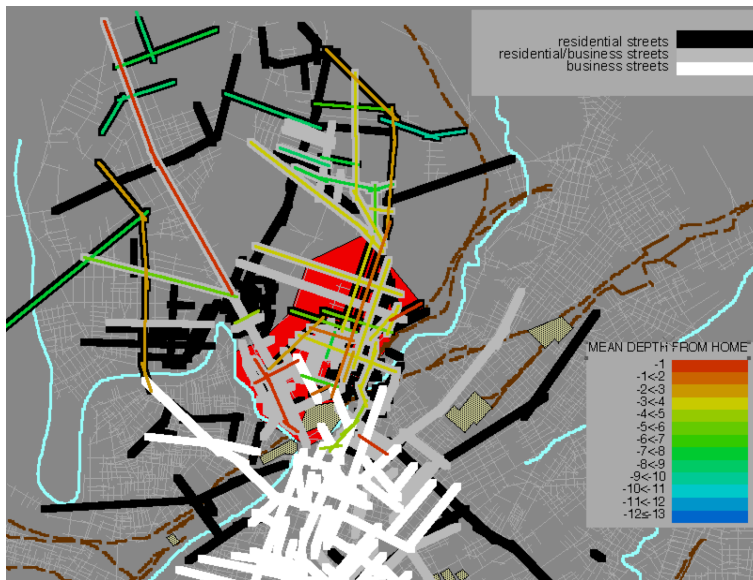


Plate 7 – Mean 'depth' from home to work, Manchester c. 1881 (Red Bank coloured red)

The map shows that many of the streets inhabited by Jewish families in the Red Bank district were relatively close to work and supports historical evidence which indicates that the Jewish families there tended to work in the workshops close to home or were occupied doing piece-work at home. This map is supported by statistical analysis, which shows that axial step depth from home to work for addresses in the area is significantly smaller than average ( $p=.0196$ )

This section has shown that historical contentions regarding the concentration of the Jews of Manchester in a narrow band of occupations can be proven by the census data of 1881. It has also shown that the concentration into a narrow band is not typical of the non-Jewish population of the Red Bank district, who worked in a wider and more representative spread of occupations, despite their physical and economic segregation.

#### **Analysis of Household Structure**

Research into the household structure of the Manchester and Leeds 'ghetto' areas undertaken for this project found that Jews were twice as likely to share with someone from the same country of origin as non-Jews. The following analysis looked at the incidence of identical occupations for second head or lodger as opposed to identical country of origin, in order to see to what degree are migrants likely to lodge with people from the same occupation. The purpose of this analysis was to test the issue of co-dependence in the Red Bank district; and also to see whether this is a specifically Jewish phenomenon or one common to all immigrants.

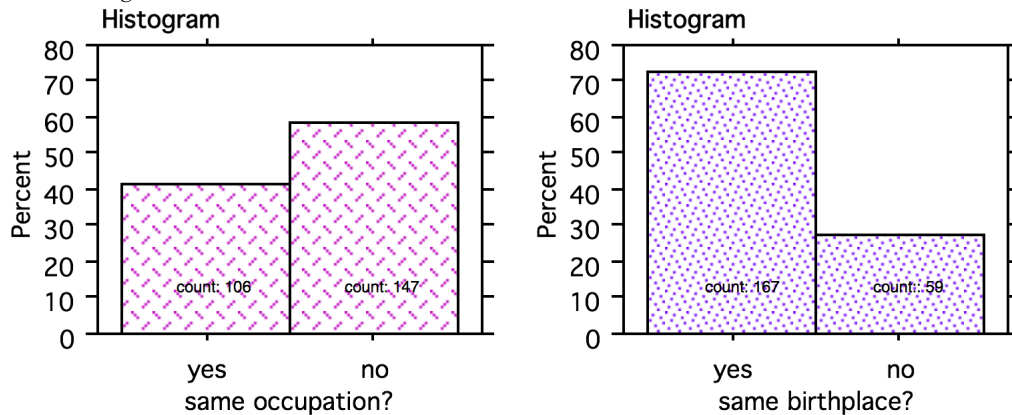
##### **• Analysis of Jewish households in Manchester overall**

Figure *d* below is a set of histograms which show the result of analysis of all Jewish heads in Manchester who lived in shared households, of whether the head of household had the same occupation as boarders, lodgers or second heads of household at the same address (left) and whether the head of household was born in the same country as boarders, lodgers or second heads of household at the same address (right). The method of ascertaining the incidence of sharing occupation was that if there were more than one boarder or head in a household, only one case of matching occupation was sufficient in determining that boarder and head had the same occupation. The birthplace was only compared in cases where the head was born abroad.

We see that of the two questions, whether occupation or birthplace are stronger determinates of co-residence, that birthplace comes out much more strongly, with over 70% of households with co-residents coming from the same country of origin, whilst only 42% of households with co-residents share the same occupation.



Figure d: frequency distribution of Jewish sharing heads who have same occupation or same birthplace as boarder, lodger or second head.



Further analysis of cases where occupation and birthplace both applied, showed that the highest incidence, 39%, was for cases where occupation was not shared, but birthplace was; and the next highest incidence, 34%, was of households where both birthplace and occupations were shared. Considering the small number of occupation types amongst the Jews, this finding suggests that birthplace was a much stronger determinate of co-dependence.

• **Comparison between Jewish and non-Jewish households within Red Bank**

Analysis was also undertaken just of the Red Bank area, which contained the majority of sharing households, in order to see how different the Jewish residents were from their non-Jewish neighbours. The results showed that the proportion of boarders sharing the same trade or occupation as the head of household was twice the rate for Jewish households as for non-Jewish households (37% compared with 18%). In addition, the proportion of boarders coming from the same country of origin as the head or wife (which was calculated only for cases where the head or wife were born abroad) was much greater amongst Jewish households than amongst non-Jewish households (71% compared with 30%). This is an especially interesting finding, considering that non-Jewish households born abroad were predominantly from Ireland, whilst Jewish households came from many different countries.

An additional analysis was done to compare non-Jews within Red Bank with non-Jews in the rest of the city, to see if the sharing of occupations in Red Bank was a phenomenon more related to 'Jewishness' or to location in the area. The results showed that Jewish occupational co-dependence was maintained at a similar rate for Jewish families who had moved outside of the area, whilst the shared birthplace rate for Jews was lower outside of the Red Bank district, suggesting that language or cultural co-dependence is a factor more important in the area of initial settlement, Red Bank. For non-Jews the 'same occupation' rate was higher within Red Bank. Evidently, co-dependence continues to be important outside of Red Bank for Jewish immigrants and less so for non-Jewish immigrants.

**Summary and Conclusions**

The common definitions of a 'ghetto', as an area of initial settlement or an area of extreme poverty or an area populated by a particular ethnic group, all seem to hold for the district of the Red Bank of Manchester. Space syntax analysis of the area showed that as well as these 'ghetto' type measures, the district was spatially segregated from the remaining urban area. Moreover, it showed specific patterns of distribution of the Jewish population, which correlated higher density with greater spatial segregation.

Red Bank was shown to be an area of initial immigration, and there were also indications that the Jewish immigration was replacing a previous wave of immigration from Ireland (whose population was smaller and had been longer in the UK). The pattern of settlement was shown to be one of intensification of certain streets in the area. This is a finding supported by the parallel study into the creation of the Jewish settlement in Leeds over 6 decades. See Vaughan (1999), which showed that a relatively small number of streets was colonised by the

incoming immigrants and then those streets were settled more densely from decade to decade. This finding tends to support the theory of co-dependence, that immigrants from a similar background or country of origin prefer to cluster – either for self-help, or due to availability of sub-letting by countrymen. Both of these theories are also supported by the analysis presented here, which showed a high rate of sharing households where head and boarders were from the same country of origin.

The results relating to occupational structures showed strong evidence to support the theory that at least in the initial wave of immigration, there is a tendency to cluster in a small number of trades. Analysis of the city overall showed that the Jewish population seems to maintain trade specialisation (and spatial clustering) beyond the area of initial settlement, in the suburbs. Many historical and sociological sources suggest that this pattern of settlement is due to the reliance of this minority group on self-support and its desire for maintenance of cultural and social activities beyond the initial stages of migration. See Waterman and Kosmin (1987) and Lipman (1962-67). This is a phenomenon apparent in certain other immigrant groups, but the spatial clustering tends to be more diffuse (e.g. Cypriots in the Green Lanes district of London).

The results of this research highlight distinctive characteristics to the Jewish immigration, but also highlight the phenomenon of certain areas of cities being prone to becoming areas of initial immigration for successive waves of migration as well as being prone to becoming slums. The latter finding was investigated across the two examples of Manchester and Leeds by analysing class defined by occupation and using other economic measures, such as housing density. The results suggested that not only were Red Bank in Manchester and the Leylands district of Leeds prone to waves of immigration, but that there was a significant proportion of inhabitants who suffered poverty levels more severe than their (poor) immigrant neighbours. These findings seem to suggest that there is a relationship between spatial segregation and economic deprivation and this is to be investigated in a research project analysing the Booth maps of Social Condition in 19<sup>th</sup> century London.

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# **A Tale of 2 Cities - The Role of Public Space in Planning Singapore and Hong Kong**

By Limin HEE and Giok-Ling OOI  
National University of Singapore

## **Introduction**

The public housing programme in Singapore has been compared with that in the former city-state and now Special Administrative Region (SAR) of Hong Kong. Comparisons have been drawn between the two public housing programmes largely because of the scale of the programme in the two cities, the role of public housing and that of the state in its planning and provision as well as the social impact and consequences arising from the programmes (Castells et al 1990; La Grange and Lee 1999; Doling 1999).

Much of the work that has been done in comparing the public housing programme in the two cities has tended to focus on the housing policies and the relationship between these with the economic development in the cities. Focus on the kind of provision and living conditions in public housing in the two cities has highlighted major differences in the apartment sizes, provision of living space per household member as well as the overall effectiveness of the housing programmes in meeting basic housing needs.

The following discussion focuses on yet another area in public housing provision that we would argue, is an important dimension in the evaluation of the public housing programmes in both Singapore and Hong Kong. This is the provision of public spaces and their importance in the everyday lives of public housing residents. Considering the high-rise and high-density nature of the public housing programmes in both the cities, we argue that the provision of public space and its social significance constitute an important and often neglected aspect of living in public housing.

## **Comparing the Social Relations of Housing in Two Cities – Singapore and Hong Kong**

In comparing the provision of public housing in the two cities of Singapore and Hong Kong in the following discussion, it is clear that not only the role of the state has been significant but that of the society with the attendant institutions and agencies. While Singapore's public housing programme has been implicit in the nation-building effort following on the gaining of self-rule from the colonial administration since the 1960s, the public housing in Hong Kong has until 1997 been the provision of a colonial state. Such provision has led to the description of the colonial government as minimalist and paternalistic with a very pragmatic outlook on its social responsibility (Hopkins 1971). In Hong Kong, "(t)he policy of the colonial government gradually evolved from an apathetic to a more proactive role, although pragmatism and the overriding concern for economic development still largely dominated' (Lee 1999, p. 131).

The colonial government in Hong Kong pursued policies aimed at economic growth and profits on the assumption that somehow economic prosperity would filter down and ultimately benefit the people, even the poorest. Hence, there was relatively little emphasis on the provision of social services such as adequate and affordable housing until appallingly abysmal living conditions led to serious social rioting in the late 1960s. Not surprisingly, there remains in Hong Kong today, a problem with the shortage of good quality housing at affordable prices. Add to this the problem of high, if not the highest, population density, in the world and it is not difficult to imagine the kind of provision being made for urban amenities such as open and public spaces.

Singapore on the other hand, faced its social upheaval in the form of racial riots and students' demonstration earlier, in the 1950s and early 1960s. With the aim of the political leadership of the newly emerging nation-state focused on transforming the colonial city into a modern city-state, development programmes like public housing, became one of the major social processes of shaping citizenship and the citizenry (Perry et al 1997; Chua 1997). Legislation was introduced like the Land Acquisitions Act of 1966 which allowed public sector agencies – ministries and statutory boards like the Housing and Development Board (HDB), the public housing authority – to acquire land in private ownership for public purposes including public housing (Ooi and Kwok 1997). Hong Kong had never introduced legislation to acquire land for public purposes.

The public housing effort in Hong Kong was reluctantly initiated by the colonial government in part to resettle families living in squatter settlements and also to re-house victims of fires that had destroyed squatter homes like the fire in Shek Kip Mei (Castells et al 1990; Pryor 1973). In Singapore, public housing was part of the process to redevelop the city-state into a modern economy and society. Public housing was developed with the aim of relocating the majority of the population then residing in the city centre to the non-central areas. A gradualist approach in building public housing first in the central area, then the fringe and then finally in a new town beyond the urban fringe was used to socialise the people into living in high-density and high-rise public housing (Ooi 1991).

Hence, public housing served different development agendas in the two cities. Differences in the agendas are reflected in the allocation of space for and within public housing estates. The provision of public space, like that of private living space, was different in the public housing process in Hong Kong and Singapore. These are the differences which distinguish the public housing programme and its planning and design policies in the two cities. They are the differences which will form the focus of the discussion in this paper.

### **The Colonial Legacy of Spatial Planning**

A review of the literature that has been written about the living conditions of urban settlers in the colonial port cities of both Hong Kong and Singapore provides an almost uncannily similar chronicle of congestion, shortage of living space and hence, health problems and crises of major proportions. While the colonialisation of Hong Kong differs considerably from that of Singapore, both of these port cities and subsequently, city-states, were developed as entrepot ports by the British colonial authorities.

Essentially, the two cities shared similar urban living conditions in the past that were to result in the decision to develop public housing on a scale rarely paralleled in other cities in Asia or for that matter, the rest of the world. Yet, Singapore, it has to be qualified, is not only the smaller of the two cities in terms of population and extent or land size, but also far more diversified in its population. While Singapore has a majority ethnic group - the Chinese - there are two other smaller ethnic groups in the population comprising the Malays and Indians. The Chinese however, have lived in urban settlements on a scale and in highly congested conditions similar to those the Chinese were living in Hong Kong. In contrast the Malays in Singapore have been largely rural while the Indians have generally not made up a large proportion of the population in the history of the city.

The story of urban living conditions in colonial Hong Kong and Singapore is basically a story with two main parts. Under the British colonial administration, the cities themselves each had two different faces. One was the part of the city delineated for the Europeans or the white colonial settlers. These were usually located on hilltops and in locations overlooking as well as fronting the sea (King 1976). The other side of the story was the side of the living conditions in

which the Asians and predominantly the Chinese migrant settlers lived. These settlements would be in areas designated by the colonial authorities. In Hong Kong, the settlements were located well away from the residential areas meant for the Europeans. For Singapore, the Chinese migrants were allocated areas to live in that would enable the small police force in the colonial port to manage a population far larger than it could have controlled if there had been a serious need for its intervention. In brief, the Chinese settlements were segregated from those designated for the Indians and others areas that had been settled by the Malays.

In many ways therefore, the colonial authorities in both Hong Kong and Singapore, employed spatial tools to manage the migrant and indigenous people living in the two colonial cities. While careful planning and development were the norms for the European sector of the cities, the attitude adopted towards the non-European areas was generally that of *laissez-faire*. Preference displayed by the colonial authorities appeared to be for the non-European settlers to manage their own affairs as best as they could. Intervention by the colonial authorities appeared to be the step or course taken at the last resort.

### **The Colonial State and Public Space**

Not surprisingly, the provision for public space by the colonial authorities differed not necessarily between the cities of Hong Kong and Singapore but within the cities. Differences were evident when comparing public space provision in the European sections of the cities and those in which a majority of the Chinese migrants lived.

Chronicles of the period depict the colonial cities in almost schizophrenic language and terms. The areas meant for the European and white colonial settlers were described as well-developed areas with wide boulevards, open spaces and parks as well as promenades. Housing was generally low-density and low-rise colonial bungalows, each located on large grounds. Indeed, the colonial cities in Asia can be recognised till today by the provision of cricket fields and wide grounds or spaces that would give the military embattlements the distance with which to prepare a defence against the colonised. These open spaces and streets also provided the physical separation from the non-European quarters or settlements of the cities. It is unclear if such separation was sought by the colonial authorities or by the settlers themselves but it is sufficiently evident that the pattern persisted in spite of the population growth and spilling over into each other's settlements of the Asian settlers particularly in Singapore.

Public space in the non-European sections of the colonial cities of Hong Kong and Singapore was generally not provided as a matter of course the way such space was incorporated in areas meant for colonial residential areas. Indeed, public space might be viewed as a contradiction in terms in the crowded settlements in which most of the Asian migrants to Hong Kong and Singapore lived during the colonial period. The literature describes space as such a premium among the migrant settlers from China that much of it was needed for living. Public space, not surprisingly, comprised highly functional areas like the streets for access and itinerant trade as well as activities like children's play space and public dining areas. Some provision was made for food markets and commercial activities like wholesale trading and distribution. These spaces would generally be highly congested. The severe pressure on living space in the colonial period in both the cities of Hong Kong and Singapore would be manifested not only in houses being built back to back or housing space being divided and sub-divided repeatedly but also the passing of legislation from time to time to require houses being built to provide for public space and access such as, verandah ways. Yet the congestion was such, even these would be appropriated for shop display space or even the extension of living space.

The discussion to be found in the literature on colonial administration and its relations with the migrant settlers like the Chinese in both Hong Kong and Singapore tends to highlight

the perennial struggle to provide for not only public space but also infrastructure for urban sanitation and sewerage. Apart from the overcrowding and severe congestion in the living areas among the Chinese settlers, there was often little regard for public health and hygiene (Kaye; Mitchell 1970).

### **Common and Shared Space - Importance and Use of Public Space**

Documentation of the use of public space however, showed major differences between the spaces that were planned and provided in the European quarters or sections of the cities and the Asian. The large range of open spaces and public parks as well as promenades, planned and provided for the white colonial settlers, saw a level of usage that could best be described as only a fraction of that characterising what little public space could be found in the Chinese settlements or in the case of Singapore, the Asian quarters of the city.

Whereas the streets in the colonial residential areas have often been described as relatively deserted and dull, those where the Chinese were living in their congested quarters, have been used in ways often documented in highly sensory terms. Writers describe the heady smells, sights and sounds of streets teeming with life and people where the Chinese settlers were living. Indeed, the assault on the senses of passers-by has characterised the imageability of the streets and public spaces in colonial cities such as Hong Kong and Singapore rather than conscious design and urban planning (Savage 1992; Hayes 1993).

An early study done on high-density and high-rise housing found that the height of the storeys upon which they live or the floor levels are significant to the psychological and social well-being of residents in Hong Kong (Mitchell 1970). Residents living at higher floor levels or upper stories of multi-storey buildings would find it more difficult to move about and get away from their homes. 'The data also indicates that the number of families sharing a dwelling unit does not increase the levels of emotional illness for those who live on the ground floor, perhaps because these people are able to move out into the street for additional social space' (Mitchell 1970, p. 33).

Research that has been carried out on the impact of high-density public housing would appear to underscore the importance of public space in Hong Kong more than in Singapore because of the sizes of housing units and the provision of living space per capita. Public housing of the 1950s in Hong Kong provided for 24 sq feet per adult resident and about 100 square feet per unit (Prescott 1971; Dwyer 1971). Such provision apparently represented an improvement on inner city tenement living where six to eight families were living in a flat in the tenement block with a size of 800 to 1,000 sq feet without windows. Each family had a cubicle of some 50 to 60 sq feet (Pryor 1973).

Conditions in Singapore during the late colonial period appeared little better since much of the housing in which Asian families were concentrated were in the inner city area where both the Second World War and rent control legislation had combined to create a severe housing shortage. In the inner city areas of Singapore, 'Buildings built originally for one family were made to house seven or more without privacy, light, proper ventilation, sanitation, or any of the elementary amenities of life. ... When living space within these sub-standard buildings became too acute the inhabitants encroached on to the roadways and backlanes, making use of them as their dining, working, storage, shopping and playing areas' (Choe 1975, p. 98). Such documentation of the housing problems faced by Chinese residents in Hong Kong and Singapore during the late British colonial period illustrates the relationship between congested or inadequate private living space and the need for the residents to spill out into the public spaces available.

The colonial legacy of spatial planning in the city and the predominant use of the street as the main public space of the city in both Hong Kong and Singapore had underlined the similarities in the provision of public space in both cities. However, differences in how the planning of public space has evolved, become evident in the more contemporary urban history of the 2 cities, especially in the new town provisions, and these, we argue here, stem from the different construct of public space by the hegemonic forces, and ultimately, how these have been perceived by the denizens of public housing.

## **New Town Planning and Public Housing**

In Hong Kong, much of the housing before the 1952 formation of the Housing Authority was non-interventionalist and laissez-faire. Later, in 1964, density-control was imposed as a form of planning standards, and this aspect had remained an important parameter of the urban forms of new towns. It was not until 1972 that a long-term and strategic Housing Program was launched with the aim of providing new homes for 1.8 million people. A total of nine new towns have to date been developed under this program. Planning control was centralised under the New Territories Department, with each new town developed under a New Town Development Office run by a Project Manager. A basic concept has been to develop new towns as 'balanced' and 'self-contained' communities. (Bristow, 1989, p.111)

The provision of commercial facilities within public housing estates in Hong Kong has become a standard feature of the estate design since 1970s. The typical shopping centre of a public housing estate usually contains a wet market, shops, restaurants, banks and amenities like a post office and clinics. A good example of such a shopping centre is at Wo Che Estate, Shatin. The centre comprises shops, car parks, clinics and cooked food stalls.

The prevalence of the stacked podium-block development containing both commercial and residential functions, was a particularly suitable typology in Hong Kong: "Due to the high densities of development which have to be accepted in Hong Kong, an urban form is being created which, in effect, comprises cities within a city...[This] may call for a new approach to land use planning and development so as to allow for a greater degree of vertical integration of urban functions which, it should be noted, already exists in a haphazard form in many districts. Among other things, this pattern of development helps to spread the traffic load, encourages the economic use of utility services, stimulates the growth of commercial and industrial enterprises, and enlivens the quality of urban living."(Planning Branch, Crown Lands and Survey Office, 1969)

The forms of early public housing in Hong Kong, which were mainly urgent resettlement cases, ensured that space had to be found in shared or public areas for activities like cooking or bathing that were not provided for in the private housing area. Although most of the people in Hong Kong currently live in largely improved self-contained flats that are either studio apartments of 250 sq feet or 2 to 3-room apartments of about 800 sq feet, the congestion of old has eased only relatively, doubtless because of decreasing family sizes from 3.4 in 1991 to 3.3 in 1996 (Lee 1999). " All units are now self-contained and a minimum space allocation of 4.6 sq m per adult is the target for future construction". (Yeung, and Drakakis-Smith, 1982, p. 223). In the 1960s, the allocation was only 3.3 sq m per person. Currently, just over 50% of the population of Hong Kong live in public housing. Since the 1960s, public housing in Singapore has seen the housing norm of a 2 to 3-room apartment of about 700 to 900 sq feet shift to apartments with 3 bedrooms and 2 living rooms of about 1000 to 1200 sq feet. Singapore's housing standards are much more generous: in 1950s, the allocation was 10.7 sq. m per person (SIT flats) while this figure has risen to between 15-20 sq m per person depending on flat type. (Yeung and Drakakis-



Smith p. 225). Today, 86% of the largely middle-class population live in public housing, and of these, 90% own their flats.

In Singapore, the public housing program had developed more comprehensively, with a mass-housing program already in place since self-rule, from 1960, with the setting up of the Housing and Development Board (HDB). A new town building program was already being implemented by 1960, and a structural model for new town planning developed for all future new towns by the 70s. As such, all new towns were modelled on a template, largely premised on a comprehensive system of transport infrastructure and planning of housing based on neighbourhood principles. The arrangement of housing clusters was further broken down to the use of precincts as a basic planning unit in the late 70s. By then, the basic problem of housing shortages was already deemed to be resolved, and the public housing of the 80s and 90s catered mainly to the middle-class population, as a form of economic and political stakeholding for the population (Chua 1997). The concern with creating basic housing provision has now turned to meeting of qualitative aspirations of better community interactions as well as moving away from the previously standardised and monotonous spaces of the earlier generation of public housing.

The improvements in the provision of private living space have also been paralleled by the changes seen in the provision for public spaces (Wong and Yeh 1985; Ooi and Hee 2001). However, it is worthwhile to note that while the Housing Authority in Hong Kong and the HDB in Singapore conduct periodic household surveys on housing satisfaction as well as aspects of neighbourliness in public housing estates, "...there is a notable lack of independent studies on the social effects of living in the flats and tenements built by government in Singapore and Hong Kong and this makes it difficult to provide a rounded evaluation of their housing programmes." (Yeung and Drakakis-Smith, 1982, p. 229)

The planned socialising of communities to form informal or semi-formal social networks at the level of the precinct or neighbourhood has been prevalent in the context of planning of public housing in both Singapore and Hong Kong. However, while "their relative success can again be linked back to another long-standing tradition - that of mutual assistance in rural Chinese society, a previous fact of life of the communities from which so many of Hong Kong's (and Singapore's) present flat dwellers came. It is interesting to speculate, therefore, if such traditions will outlast the current generation of new-town immigrant." (Bristow, 1989, p. 234) Already, it has been observed from social studies that the first generation of flat dwellers in Singapore's public housing, who had been resettled from villages and squatter clusters, had tended to socialise more than that of the subsequent generations of flat dwellers. If the spatial planning of housing did not provide opportunities for social interaction, it may be that such communities can no longer be formed.

Wider social and political conditions have contributed towards the processes that have shaped both the provision of private living and public spaces particularly in public housing estates of Hong Kong and Singapore. While both cities have adopted high-rise and high-density housing for its public housing programmes, the political and social factors that have led to the policy decisions on housing have been different particularly with the gaining of self-rule from the British colonial government in Singapore. Nevertheless, the provision for private living and public spaces in Singapore and Hong Kong reflect planning and design decisions at work that were similar in many ways but which also diverged considerably and fundamentally. In the following section, the similarities as well as divergences will be discussed.

## **The Social and Political Relationship Between Private Living and Public Spaces**

The discussion of improvements that were eventually introduced in public housing in Hong Kong emphasised the role of social discontent particularly among the young people. Apart from the extreme congestion faced in their homes, these young people living in Hong Kong in the late 1950s and 1960s also saw little provision for public recreation. There were reportedly two public swimming pools, two large parks and a few youth centres run by religious organisations like the YMCA for a population numbering 3 million people (Lee 1999, p. 115). Not surprisingly, following on the social riots of the late 1960s, the colonial government introduced plans for a more comprehensive public housing programme and the building of six new towns (Fong 1986; Bristow 1989). Much of the improvement appears to have been driven by the goal of providing more space not only for private living but also public activities.

The aim of the effort to provide better quality and more self-contained public housing in Hong Kong has been essentially to provide private space within the apartment for activities that had long been conducted in shared and common spaces like cooking and bathing. Whereas such self-contained public housing had been the norm in Singapore since the 60s, with the relocation of a majority of the population from poor housing conditions in tenement slums and squatter settlements to public housing, "the development of housing design in Hong Kong's new towns had largely been a response to the need to develop public housing as a whole rather than in association with any particular site." (Bristow, 1989, p. 256.) (As evident in the development of the housing types, Mark I-VII, and others). "Only with the disposition of the individual housing blocks on the site, and the surrounding landscaping and estate facilities, has local individuality come through as a major feature in the evolution of public housing estates. In other words, the programme has to be seen as a whole, rather than only that part associated directly with the new town development." (Bristow, 1989, p. 256)

In the public housing estates of Hong Kong, 'Space and green plots between buildings are rare and parks or 'commons' are extremely uncommon' (Lee 1999, p. 48), there has been early provision for space in between high-rise blocks in the public housing estates of Singapore, although these provisions were for the pragmatic reasons of bringing light and air into buildings, and often seemed like left-over spaces from the requisite building spacing. In the research on public housing the observation has been made that, 'The present day Hong Kong solution to the craze for something green and communal, a place to sit, stroll or jog, would be found usually on a podium floor of the high-rise. It is usually the floor above the carpark and could only be found in new estates. A 'concrete jungle', though a slightly clichéd term, is nonetheless an appropriate description of the urban scene in Hong Kong' (Lee 1999, p. 48). In the case of Singapore, a range of provisions for open space has been built into the 'Structural Model for New Town Planning' such that there is a hierarchy of spaces from the town centre, town garden, neighbourhood centre and neighbourhood gardens, precinct open spaces and multi-purpose buildings and at the level of the block, the void deck and access corridors. New town planning in Singapore is an exercise not least to ensure that such spatial amenities are evenly distributed about the new town.

While new town designs had become increasingly integrated in Singapore due to the constant improvements made to the structural model of planning with regards to the relationship of parts to the whole, the new town planning exercise in Hong Kong had been described as "essentially derivative rather than innovative...the public and private housing designs themselves derive from standardised models developed elsewhere in Hong Kong. ..standardisation is dominant over individualism at the estate level, while paradoxically perhaps, at the new town level the feeling is one of a discordant mosaic of independently conceived and unrelated three-dimensional modules scattered in a townscape in which they are only partially constrained by the special characteristics of the sites, and in which interrelationships between developments in terms of activities and design linkages are minimised." (Bristow, 1989 p. 256). In other words, although individual estates function adequately, the estates are so detached from

each other in linkage terms and in relation to the new town, that the result is a failure to integrate at the town scale.

Planning practices in the provision of public housing in Singapore have been more focused on the building of a sense of belonging and place among public housing residents since the 1980s. This has been attempted largely through the process of incorporating a wider range of public spaces and estate facilities in the planning of public housing estates particularly in the new towns. Another dimension has been the scaling of the provision of public spaces to population catchment areas of some 800 to 1000 households to form precincts. More recently, the plans for the new towns 'of the 21<sup>st</sup> century' will have 'estates' further fine-tuned to a supposed optimum level for the formation of communities.

In the case of Hong Kong, new towns had been planned with the basic premise of being 'self-contained' and 'balanced'. However, a critique of such premises have been offered: "...both 'balanced community' and 'self-containment' are not feasible town planning concepts in the case of Hong Kong, which is characterised by a high level of interdependency and interpenetration between the constituent components of the society... 'Balanced community' even if achieved, may only mean 'balance' in a demographic sense, while socially individuals belonging to the same socio-economic stratum would interact exclusively with each other, and inter-strata relationships would be minimised or even avoided. Similarly, 'self-containment', if realised, would be tantamount to segregation between the new towns and other part of Hong Kong. It is also doubtful whether self-containment would necessarily generate community identification; however, even if it can be generated, it is still arguable whether a high degree of localism or 'parochialism' would really benefit both the new towns and Hong Kong as a whole." (Y.K Chan, 1977, p. 16). Eventually, the policy of self-containment as a planning aim of the new towns had been abandoned. (Bristow, 1989, p. 297). This basis of self-containment can also be found at the level of the neighbourhoods or estates, in which most amenities necessary for daily life have been catered for within the estate, such that it may be quite unnecessary to travel outside of the estate, except for work.

### **The Role of Public Space in Housing**

The arguments put forward in this paper is based on the premise that although the design of public spaces in no way guarantees any social interaction or the formation of new communities in space, the opportunities and propinquity created through well-designed spaces may in the long term see meaningful socialisation of residents into their home communities. Sociologists tend to be more concerned with less quantifiable aspects of socialisation into the new housing developments rather than with satisfaction of housing provisions and facilities assessment - the feeling being that despite the better housing conditions, residents are undergoing drastic changes to the social structure and support in adjusting to new town living. Perhaps it is telling that such an observation was made: "There is a high degree of satisfaction among the residents of both Tsuen Wan and Tuen Mun, irrespective of housing type, regarding the various aspects of life in the new towns with two notable exceptions. Getting to work and social interaction have a generally lower grading." (W.T. Leung, 1980)

In many ways, the public housing process has had an impact on the provision of public spaces in the two cities of Hong Kong and Singapore. Allocation remains a process of social contestation and change in Hong Kong compared to Singapore basically because private living space and adequate housing provision remains an issue in the former whereas it has basically been solved in the latter city. While there has been some convergence in the realisation by urban planners and designers that there is public demand for public spaces in both cities, the process of providing for these spaces remains different. In Hong Kong, the pressing constraints of meeting

the required density in the public-housing led planning of new towns has been such that: "planners are basically solving a jigsaw puzzle of locating differing housing types and sizes within a fixed space, in order to meet target populations at the site densities within the current planning standards and guidelines set centrally. Only then is the complementary network of services and facilities designed in to meet the resident's requirements and to fill in the spaces between the housing blocks." (Bristow, 1989, p. 259) However, more recently, new advances in building technologies have enabled higher and more sophisticated block design, and so doing freeing up more space on the ground for more imaginative layouts, as is the case of the Tung Chung New Town.

The public spaces for the residents of neighbourhoods or estates in Hong Kong, compared to the smaller precinct spaces of Singapore, may be deemed larger than the size of a perceivable community. However, such an arrangement in Hong Kong provides a larger variety of spaces within the home community, as well as more varied scales of activities through the commercial and other amenities available. The precincts in Singapore, although more intimate in scale, are limited in the variety of possible uses, and are often very specifically tailored for the uses standardised as precinct provisions. The strong hierarchical arrangement of spaces within the new towns of Singapore culminates with the precinct, which has been observed to become increasingly enclosed and cut-off from the other spaces of the new town (Hee, 2001). The small size of the precinct also does not allow any spatial 'sub-cultures' to thrive, as had been observed through activity-mapping exercises carried out in Hong Kong and Singapore. In Hong Kong, the wider variety of spaces allow more choices, and groups of similar interests, such as old ladies chatting, and old men gambling in more in congruous spaces within the estate, have been observed. In Singapore's precincts, the good-surveillance of the space, ironically one of the basis for designing such spaces, are not conducive to the formation of such 'sub-cultures' in these spaces, which are instead defined for specific uses through the placement of play equipment, landscaping and fixed seating.

It is the hypothesis of this paper that the public precinct space in Singapore can be perceived as the spatial construct of the government, which monopolises the provision of public housing, to socialise its denizens into the idealised harmonious, multi-cultural communities through such provisions. Instead, privacy is sought by most residents within the comforts of the home, which have been generously provided for in terms of floor area. In the case of Hong Kong, the opposite seems to have occurred. Housing has been devolved to a few different organisations, instead of a central body, although the Housing Authority develops most of the public housing today. Public spaces are generally inserted within the spaces left over after fulfilling the density requirements of housing plots. The cramped situation of housing with the result of constant scrutiny by others living in the same flat or by neighbours, is relieved through the open spaces provided in the estates, which offer some semblance of privacy through its variety and choice. Like-minded individuals can seek out others for shared pastimes, or engage in the variety of activities offered by the shopping centres, restaurants and eating-houses in the estate. As such, the level of activity within the public space in the estate is at a much higher level than in the precincts of Singapore. The agenda of the hegemonic forces in Hong Kong in providing these spaces arose more out of pragmatic and economic consideration rather than through political will (especially from a colonial government aware of its lease of Hong Kong up to 1997). The feeling of being 'in control' by individuals is higher in these spaces than within the confines of the home.

The monopoly of the HDB in providing for public housing enables a strong political will to be exercised in the planning of housing communities. The precinct space, being the visual focal point of the enclosing blocks, becomes the site of surveillance of public behaviour. Here, 'control' is exercised by the individual through remaining within the comfort of the generously provided home and not partaking in the community-life prescribed by the state through the

precinct public spaces. The result is a general lack of usage and engagement with the public space outside of the home. The distribution of the public housing population within the precinct clusters, demographically corrected and sized as ideal communities, and served with a prescribe space for community interaction has not worked out according to the blueprint. Such spaces have relatively low usage, and being increasingly isolated from other spaces of the new towns, do not seem to be improving in levels of usage.

## **Conclusion**

Although the planning histories of Hong Kong and Singapore have many common threads, the examination of the provision of public space in the mediating realm of the public and private, i.e. within the housing environment, have yielded important differences as to how public space has been perceived by the providers of such, and by the users of these spaces. It is hoped that understanding the differences through such a comparison will highlight important lessons for planners with regard to the provision of public space. In this case, the loss of control of the individual, in terms of spatial choices, and how time can be spent in such spaces, seem to be an important component which determines how successful the provision of public spaces have been.

*Note: This paper constitutes part of the on-going comparative study of the design, use and social significance of public space in public housing in Singapore and Hong Kong, involving collaborators from the National University of Singapore, Institute of Policy Studies, Singapore, and the Department of Architecture, Chinese University of Hong Kong.*

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# **Farmlands in the City: Restoring an ecologically sound environment in Asian cities with urban farmlands**

**Makoto Yokohari\*, Takashi Watanabe\*\*, and Marco Amati\*\***

\*Institute of Policy and Planning Sciences, University of Tsukuba

\*\* Graduate School of Policy and Planning Sciences, University of Tsukuba

1-1-1, Tennodai, Tsukuba, Ibaraki, 305-8573, JAPAN

myoko@sk.tsukuba.ac.jp

## **Abstract**

Most Asian cities have a history of applying modern urban planning concepts which originated in Europe and North America. Some cities such as Seoul in Korea did succeed in applying the concepts, but in many cases in Asia the results were generally perceived to be chaotic landscapes. Urban landscapes with segmented farmlands, which were seen to result from the incomplete application of these concepts, have been regarded as a symbol of disordered Asian urban areas.

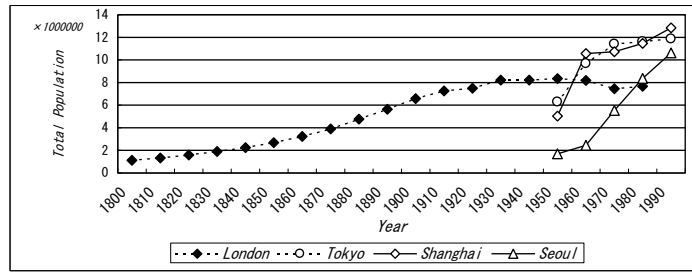
However, recent studies on farmlands in the city have revealed their functions in maintaining the ecological integrity of the area. Such ecological functions include microclimate control, scenic conservation. The microclimate control function is the effect of farmlands, mostly rice paddies, in reducing the heat of surrounding residential areas during hot days in mid-summer. Farmlands also improve the landscape of densely inhabited urban areas by providing feelings of openness.

The body of work on the ecological functions of farmland suggests that urban planning in Asian cities should not exclude farmlands from the city, but should include them by applying a concept which pays full attention to their ecological functions.

## **1. Preface**

As referred in many precedent publications the growth of major Asian cities during the 20<sup>th</sup> century was enormous both in speed and scale. Figure 1 illustrates the population growth of London and major Asian cities. The population of London gradually increased during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and reached 8 million people at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while Tokyo, Shanghai and Seoul grew to 8 million people within the 25 years since the end of World War II. Today 15 out of 28 of cities in the world of more than 8 million people are to be found in Asia (Chen and Heligman, 1999).

Such rapid growth inevitably resulted in many social and environmental problems including overpopulation and environmental degradation in urban cores and the depopulation and degradation of rural areas. Hayashi, *et.al.* (1993) report on the immense urbanization in Bangkok, initiated in early



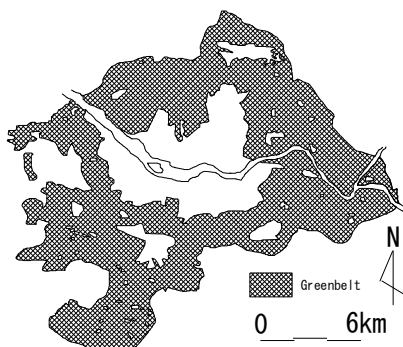
**Figure 1** Population growth in London and major Asian cities

1970s, that resulted in insufficient urban infrastructures including disordered transportation systems and poor sewage and drainage systems, causing serious air and water pollution problems. Today, the traffic congestion in the Bangkok Metropolis is regarded as one of the worst in the world (Kidokoro, *et.al*, 1993).

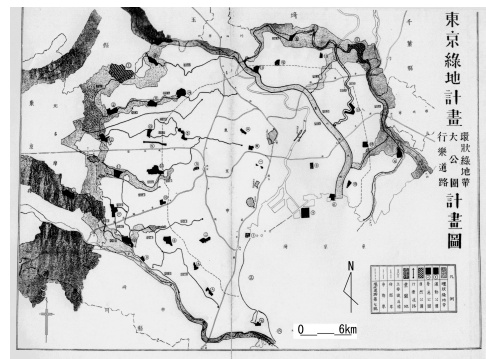
Among the problems caused by rapid growth, one of the most frequently observed serious problems in Asian cities is the disordered suburban land use. Micro-scaled juxtaposition of urban and rural land uses, as the result of uncontrolled urban developments scattering into surrounding rural areas, has been regarded as a cause of insufficient urban infrastructures and degraded agricultural environment of the area (Ishida, 1992).

Of course such disordered land use has been one of the most frequently and substantially tackled problems in Asian cities. Successive implementations of modern urban planning concepts which originated in Europe and North America, i.e. the designation of green belts and zoning plans, have been to control the disordered growth of the cities (Yokohari, *et.al*, 2000). Seoul, Korea, can be nominated as one of the successful cities in Asia which, so far, kept the urban growth under control by the installation of a greenbelt surrounding the city (Figure 2).

Plans were also drawn up for Tokyo, Japan, to implement a greenbelt on the administrative boundary of the city. The first plan was officially announced in 1939 as a part of the comprehensive parks and open space plan of the Greater Tokyo Region (Figure 3). Succeeding this plan two plans, one during the Second World War (1943) and the other after the war (1948), were announced. However, as present Tokyo clearly shows these plans have been poorly implemented. Today, only several parks in the suburbs of Tokyo can be found as remnants of these plans.



**Figure 2** Greenbelt of Seoul, Korea  
Massive circular green of 1567km<sup>2</sup>, 29% of the whole region, located on a 15km radius



**Figure 3** Greenbelt of Tokyo in the Parks and Open Space Plan 1939  
A green corridor, mostly consists of farmland and woodland, located on a 15km radius



Another western measure frequently applied to Asian cities is zoning. In Japan the zoning system was first introduced by the City Planning and Zoning Act enacted in 1968. Traditional European cities, where urban areas are sharply separated from surrounding rural areas by a clear boundary line, was the target image of the act. Two types of areas were promoted in the planning district; urbanization-promotion areas and urbanization-control areas. Urbanization-promotion areas are zones that include existing urban areas, and areas that should be urbanized within approximately ten years time. Urbanization-control areas are areas that include rural areas without urban developments, except for public facilities including hospitals and schools. However, even more than 30 years have past since the installation of the act, a landscape with a small farmland surrounded by micro-housing developments can easily be found in the suburbs of major Japanese cities (Figure 4). Similar trials and realities can not only be found in Japan but in most cities throughout Asia.



**Figure 4** Typical landscape with a small patch of farmland surrounded by micro-housing developments found in the suburbs of major Japanese cities

However, is the landscape with micro-scaled mixture of farmlands and urban fabrics only a symbol of the absence of an adequate control on urban growth? It may be true that such a landscape represents insufficient implementation of the modern urban planning methods originating in Europe and North America. But, as reported by Yokohari, *et.al.* (2000) a mixed landscape with farmlands in the urban area can be regarded as a historic and vernacular landscape of Asian cities. Therefore, what is now needed for the successful control of urban growth in Asian cities is not to keep applying “western” planning concepts to Asian cities and to judge the results from a western perspective, but to develop a new planning concept rooted in the Asian context which may regard farmlands as an indispensable element of Asian urban fabrics (Marcotullio, 2001).

This paper aims to discuss the ecological roles of farmlands in the urban area from three perspectives: microclimate control; scenic quality conservation and local and recycling and re-use of materials, and thus to suggest that urban planning in Asian cities should not exclude farmlands from the city but should include them by applying a concept which pays full attention to their ecological functions.

## **2. Ecological functions of farmlands**

Ecological functions of green open space have long been discussed, especially for urban parks and forests. It was late 1980s when the functions of farmlands have started to be discussed in Japan.

Then during the 1990s became an issue of public concern both internationally and domestically (Soule and Piper, 1992, Bryant and Johnston, 1992).

Among various international discussions on ecological functions of farmlands which took place during 1990s, discussion by the Committee on Agriculture and the Environment at OECD can be highlighted as one of the prominent works. The Committee was established in 1993 as a joint committee of the Agriculture Committee and the Environmental Policies Committee, by having the development of environmental indicators for agriculture as its mission (OECD, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2001). It was the OECD's idea to have the indicators to assess agri-environmental policies in OECD nations to promote environmentally sound agriculture and to stimulate international agricultural trades. Table 1 is the list of the indicators by the OECD. Most of these indicators can be understood to represent ecological functions of agriculture. Among the 12 indicators on the list, those for the conservation of "landscape" and "species and ecosystem diversity" currently receive a high degree of attention, reflecting concerns of EU nations.

**Table 1** Environmental indicators of agriculture by OECD (OECD, 2001)

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Landscape
Species and ecosystem diversity
Soil quality
Water quality
Air quality
Water use
Land conservation
Greenhouse gases
Rural viability
Food security
Cultural heritage
Animal welfare

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**Table 2** Ecological functions of agriculture (Kato, *et.al*, 1997)

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Landslide prevention
Soil erosion prevention
Water retention
Water purification
Air pollution control
O <sub>2</sub> /CO <sub>2</sub> balance control
Landscape conservation
Microclimate control
Recreational use
Amenity conservation
Wildlife protection
Ecosystem conservation

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Japanese agricultural policies also made a major shift from economy to ecology during 1990s. Japan's previous Basic Law for Agriculture, enacted in 1961, had agricultural production as its exclusive target, while the revised basic law, the Basic Law on Food, Agriculture, and Rural Areas enacted in 1999, sets five major policies including those on the revitalization of rural areas by promoting ecological agriculture (<http://www.maff.go.jp/eindex.html>). Table 2 is the list of ecological functions referred in the report submitted as one of basic references of the law (Yokohari, *et.al*, 1994, Kato, *et.al.*, 1997). Functions on the conservation of land, such as "landslide prevention" and "soil erosion prevention" are receiving high attention, reflecting the degradable farmlands on steep mountain slopes commonly found in Japan.

Another Japanese policy referring to the ecological functions of farmlands is the Productive Green Open Space Act, revised in 1994. This act aims to conserve farmlands in urban areas as the compensation of urban parks and green open space, which are far less than the target volume in most of

Japanese cities. Functions also expected of urban parks, include recreational use, landscape conservation and microclimate control, form the target functions of this act. In this paper the ecological functions of microclimate control and landscape conservation are selected as the functions to be studied.

### 3. Microclimate control

Among the many ecological functions of vegetated open spaces, the effects on the micro-climate of urban areas are indispensable and have been well-documented (e.g. Geiger 1965, Oke 1987). Urban areas in summer tend to have drier and hotter air, lower wind speeds, and hotter surfaces relative to vegetated open spaces.

When observing farmlands in the suburbs of Asian cities they are often rice paddies of various sizes. These paddy fields are expected to provide a comfortable living environment for surrounding urban areas by controlling their microclimate. However, the potential of paddy fields to control microclimate may not be equal to all fields but be determined by their distribution patterns. Describing the ideal distribution pattern to control the microclimate of surrounding urban areas may provide one of answers to the question; How should we control, conserve and plan mixed land-use in the suburbs of Asian cities?

By focusing exclusively on air temperature, the objectives of this study were: (a) to measure the effects of paddy fields on air temperature during hot weather, (b) to determine if the coverage ratio of paddy fields influenced the microclimatic effect, and (c) to investigate if the level of segmentation of paddy fields affected the air temperature (i.e. does one large green open space have the same effect as several smaller green open spaces with the same total area?) (Yokohari, *et.al*, 1997).

#### (1) Methods to measure air temperature

An area in Kasukabe City, Japan, a city of 250,000 residents, located on an alluvial plain 30 km from the centre of Tokyo, Japan, was chosen as a study area, and air temperatures in and around paddy fields in the area was measured. Land use in this area was traditionally dominated by paddy fields, but since the mid-1960's urban development has expanded into agricultural areas. Today the north part of the city is dominated by urban land-uses with only small fragmented patches of paddy fields remaining, while the southern part is still dominated by large patches of paddy fields. An area of 6 km (North to South) by 3 km (East to West) was chosen so as to provide a range of urban/rural mix from very

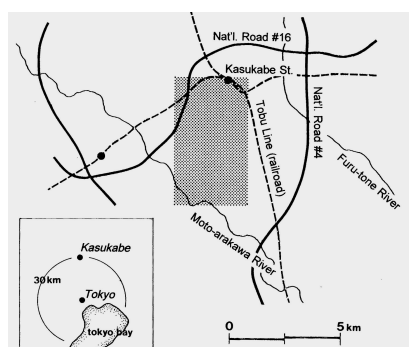


Figure 5 The study area in Kasukabe city, Saitama, Japan

segmented paddy fields in an urban matrix, to contiguous paddy fields (Figure 5).

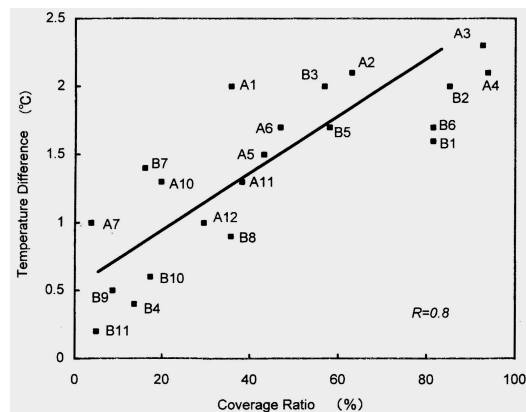
Data were collected during a period of hot, sunny, summer weather when daytime temperature differences between urban and rural areas would be expected to be maximized. An aspirated mercury-in-glass thermometer was used to measure air temperatures at a series of 24 predetermined locations.

## (2) Effect of Paddy Field Coverage on Air Temperature

To determine the effects of paddy field patterns on measured air temperatures the study area was divided using the Japanese National Standard Grid Cell System into cells of approximately 50m by 50m. This resulted in 119 cells north to south, and 54 cells east to west, a total of 6426 cells. Land use in each cell was identified through use of topographical maps (1:25,000) and aerial photographs. Each cell was mapped as a single land-use type.

In order to determine the mixture of land use types that were effecting each sampling location in this study, a 'zone of influence' was determined. An area of 81 cells (9 by 9 cells; 450m by 450m) around each observation point was taken as a unit for calculating the coverage ratio of paddy fields of each observation point. It was possible to identify a zone of influence as an approximate square as the wind speeds during the observation period were very light.

Coverage ratio was identified as the percentage of paddy field cells within the zone of influence. This value was plotted against the temperature difference between each point and the reference temperature at Kasukabe Station. Figure 6 illustrates the strong relationship ( $r=0.8$ ) between the coverage ratio of paddy fields and the air temperature difference. It is clear that the higher the coverage ratio, the larger the temperature difference.



**Figure 6** The relationship between Coverage Ratio of paddy fields and difference in temperature between each station and the reference point

## (3) Effect of Paddy Field Segmentation on Air Temperature

Although coverage ratio explains much of the variation in air temperature differences, the segmentation level of paddy fields was investigated to determine if the relative sizes and patterns of urban and paddy field lands had an influence on the temperature amelioration.

Segmentation was determined based on the length of the boundary between paddy fields and urban areas. The more total length, the more segmented the landscape. The total boundary length (TBL) between paddy fields and urban lands can be determined through the use of grid cell analysis. By considering the area of the zone of influence (81 cells), the segmentation level of paddy fields in each

observation point was calculated as follows.

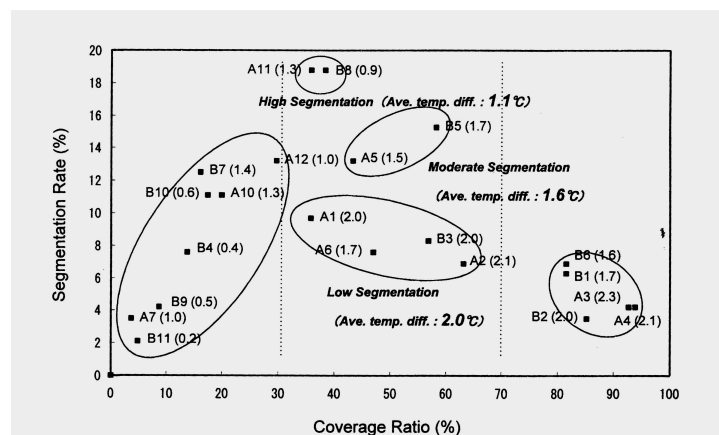
$$\text{Segmentation Level} = (x/144) \times 100$$

where  $x$  = TBL in each unit, and

144 = Maximum TBL in 9 by 9 cells unit

The coverage ratio has been plotted against the segmentation level of observation points in the study area (see Figure 7). Each point is noted by number and temperature difference. The cluster of observation points in areas of high coverage ratio (>70%) had a uniformly high temperature difference, varying only from 1.6C to 2.3C. The cluster of observation points in areas of low coverage ratio (<30%) had uniformly low temperature differences, ranging only from 0.2C to 1.4C. The three remaining clusters of observation points were all located between 30% and 70% coverage ratio and they varied in terms of segmentation level. They can be identified as: High, Moderate, and Low Segmentation Levels. Points in the High Segmentation Level group are highly urbanized, those in the Low Segmentation Level group are very rural in character, and the Moderate are in between.

The average temperature differences of each group were: 2.0C for Low, 1.6C for Moderate, and 1.1C for High Segmentation Levels. It is clear that when the coverage ratio of paddy fields was intermediate (between 30% and 70%), the segmentation level of paddy fields strongly influenced the air temperature. Above 70% and below 30% the segmentation level was not identified as a factor in affecting air temperature.



**Figure7** Scatter diagram of coverage ratio of paddy fields versus segmentation rate

Data with similar characteristics have been circled.

#### (4) Single Large or Series of Smalls?

The data analysis suggested the answers to the original questions:

- Paddy fields in the suburb have a measurable effect on maximum mid-summer air temperature relative to surrounding urban areas.
- There was a strong relationship between coverage ratio of paddy fields and temperature differences, with areas of high coverage ratio having the largest effect on air temperatures.
- In areas of medium coverage ratio, the segmentation level of paddy fields also influenced the effect on air temperature. In these areas, the higher the segmentation level the less the effect on air temperature and the lower the segmentation the more effect on air temperature. For optimum effect

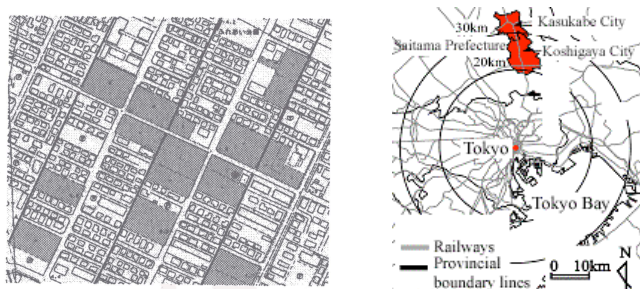
these results would suggest that the coverage ratio should exceed 30%, and in areas up to 70% coverage the segmentation rate should be kept low.

These results indicated that urban areas should be separated from paddy fields to maintain a maximum cooling effect on air temperatures. However, when considering the effect on people, it would be desirable to maintain as much contact between urban areas and paddy fields in order to mix the cooler paddy field air with the warmer urban air. For urban areas to benefit from the cooling effect of paddy fields, the two areas must be mixed. The longer the boundary line between urban areas and paddy fields, the more the urban areas can benefit from the effect. This means that there is no clear answer to the question 'what is an appropriate mix of urban and rural lands?' to maximize the microclimatic effect of paddy fields. To maximize the cooling effect on the air requires large, unsegmented patches of paddy fields, while providing maximum benefit to people living in urban areas requires contact with paddy fields, thus smaller, more segmented fields.

#### 4. Landscape conservation

A landscape with small detached houses along narrow streets, once banteringly referred to as rabbit huts by the American mass media, and a series of small farmlands surrounded by the houses is a typical landscape commonly found in the suburbs of major cities in Japan and Asia (Figure 4). Farmlands remaining in such neighborhoods have been regarded as a symbol of the absence of adequate planning. It is indeed true that such farmlands may have been converted into urban land use if the zoning regulations have been efficiently applied according to modern planning concepts.

However, in an extremely dense neighborhood as shown in Figure 4, farmlands are in many cases the "green oasis" of the area. In a neighborhood where urban parks and open space are scarce, farmlands are the only open space where residents can enjoy open sky. For the conservation of landscapes in the suburbs of Asian cities, farmlands are expected to provide not only open space with greenery but also to convey feelings of extent to local residents. The following study investigated the aesthetic meaning of farmland in the suburbs as a way of providing this feeling of extent (Watanabe, *et.al*, 2001).



**Figure 8** The study area in Koshigaya city, Saitama, Japan

##### (1) Methods

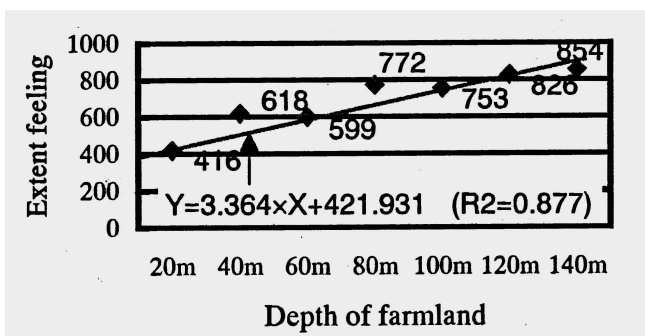
An area in Koshigaya city, located on an alluvial plain 20 km from the centre of Tokyo, Japan, was chosen as the study area. As illustrated in the Figure 8, a checkerboard pattern of small and segmented farmlands, mostly rice paddies, surrounded by detached houses is found in the area.

The first phase of the study was to physically analyze landscapes of the study area. A series of viewpoints were designated along streets in the study area, and a scene with a farmland patch or a residential neighborhood was taken by a camera at each viewpoint. The camera with 28mm lens was set at a height of 160cm above the ground. Then the diagonal distance from each viewpoint toward the end of a farmland patch or toward the nearest wall/house in a residential neighborhood was measured on a map.

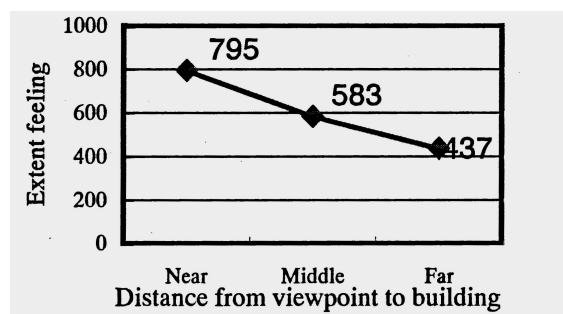
The second phase was to identify human perceptions on the landscapes physically analyzed at the first phase. The scenes with residential neighborhood and farmland patches were projected on a screen by a computer projector, and subjects were asked to answer a questionnaire on the extent feeling they felt from each farmland patch in the scenes using a 3-point scale. In total 7 scenes of farmland patches and 9 scenes of residential neighborhoods were shown to 67 subjects, and the average score for each farmland patch scene was calculated.

## (2) Extent feeling provided by farmland patches

Figure 9 illustrates the strong relationship ( $R^2=0.877$ ) between the scenic depth of farmland patches, the distance from each viewpoint toward the end of the farmland patch, and extent feeling the farmland patch provides. It is clear that the deeper the scenic depth of a farmland patch, the more extent feeling.



**Figure 9** The relationship between the scenic depth of farmland and the extent feeling provided by farmland

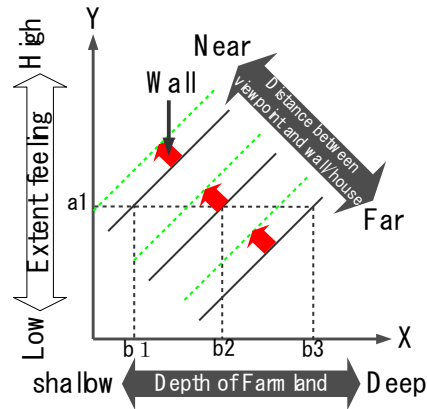


**Figure 10** The relationship between the distance from the viewpoint to wall/house in residential neighborhood and the extent feeling provided by farmland

Figure 10 illustrates how the extent feeling of a farmland patch scene is affected by a residential neighborhood scene projected immediately before the farmland patch scene was projected. Although the same farmland patch scene was projected, it was obvious that the shorter the distance from a viewpoint toward the nearest wall/house in a residential neighborhood scene, the stronger the extent feeling of the farmland patch scene presented immediately after the neighborhood scene. This means that the extent feeling provided by a farmland patch is not absolutely determined only by its scenic depth but relatively determined by its scenic depth and the “closeness” of a residential neighborhood scene projected immediately before the farmland patch scene.

Figure 11 is a conceptual diagram which illustrates how the relationship between the scenic depth of a farmland patch and its extent feeling is affected by the openness of the residential neighborhood scene projected immediately before the farmland patch scene. The regression line in the

Figure 11, which represents the relationship between the scenic depth of farmland patches and the extent feeling of them, moves up when the scene of residential neighborhood is narrower, and moves down when it is wider. This result suggests that even a small fragmented farmland patch may provide substantial extent feeling if the patch is surrounded by very crowded and residential neighborhoods along narrow streets.



**Figure 11** A Conceptual diagram illustrating how the relationship between the scenic depth of a farmland patch and its extent feeling is affected by the openness of the residential neighborhood scene projected immediately before the farmland patch scene

## 5. Conclusion

The concept of clearly separating urban fabrics from the surrounding rural areas, which is one of the fundamental concepts of modern urban planning theory, is rooted in medieval European cities where the densely populated urban area was clearly separated from surrounding rural areas by a moat (Spirn, 198\*). Greenbelts, installed around many cities in the world during the 20<sup>th</sup> century to restrict disordered urban expansion, can be understood as “green moats” in the modern world for the clear separation of urban areas from the surrounding rurals. The concept of zoning, which aims to realize a mosaic of homogeneous zones, has dialectical materialism as one of its theoretical bases.

However, when we investigate the history of Asian cities what we commonly find is not a clear separation of urban and rural land uses, but a mixture of farmlands and urban fabrics even in the central core of the cities (Yokohari, *et.al.*, 2000). McGee (1991) reports that a zone called “*desakota*”, where urban and rural land uses are intentionally mixed, can be found not only in the history but in contemporary major cities in Indonesia. The modern urban planning theory may describe such mixture as chaotic, but as Ashihara (1986) describes a “hidden” order may be found behind the chaotic appearance of Asian cities. The mixture of urban and rural land uses should not be interpreted as a chaotic situation which reflects the absence of sufficient controls, but as a condition rooted in the Asian way of understanding and planning space.

Asian cities repeatedly applied urban planning measures originating in Europe and North America during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and were in many cases judged to be incomplete and poorly executed attempts. It is true that not all of mixed land use in Asian cities should be positively understood but there are indeed chaotic realities which need a certain measure of control. However, it may also be true



that the modern urban planning concept, which we tend to regard as an universal concept, is in fact one of local concepts rooted in European context and may not necessarily be suitable in an Asian context.

Respecting ecological functions of farmlands in urban areas and including them as an essential element for realizing “mixed land use without disorder” (Takeuchi and Matsuki, 1987) may be regarded as one of the key perspectives for the successful future of Asian cities.

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# A Comparison Between the Meanings of Sprawl between 1950 and the Present in the Japanese Literature

Marco Amati<sup>\*\*</sup>, Takashi Watanabe<sup>\*\*</sup>, Makoto Yokohari<sup>\*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup>Institute of Policy and Planning Sciences,

<sup>\*\*</sup>Graduate School of Policy and Planning Sciences,

<sup>\*</sup>University of Tsukuba,

School of Planning and Policy Sciences,

Tennodai 1-1-1 Tsukuba

305-8573 Japan

<sup>\*\*</sup>mamati@sk.tsukuba.ac.jp

## Summary

The aim of this paper is to analyse the meaning of the term 'sprawl' in Japan between 1952 and 2001 showing how the term 'sprawl' was adopted in Japanese, the diversity of its definitions over time, and the present meaning of the term and future research areas. The results show that sprawl is term that has been in use in Japan since the early 1960s. The meaning has varied in terms of scale, according to the planning policies in Japan since the 1950s and in the subject studied. Future research will look further into the reasons for the variability in the definition.

## Introduction

'Sprawl' (pronounced *supurouru* in Japanese) is mainly a post-war phenomenon in Japan. Though research has pointed out areas of sprawl-like development that occurred prior to the war (Tanaka, 1980, Masui and Tani, 1990), its post-war dispersal and dominance as a problem, lead to it becoming one of the major themes of Japanese planning from the 1960s onwards. Today, the issue of sprawl is still relevant, as much because of the destruction of farmlands and valuable habitats (Tsunekawa, 2001, pp. 49) but also because of the legacy of poor housing and the burden that it has left the Japanese tax-payer (Kurokawa et al. 1995). Ishida (1991, 1996), commenting on the future challenges of Japanese planning points out the need to call a moratorium on the growth of such poor quality housing generally agreed to be a major component of sprawl.

Japanese sprawl has long been known to be different from that of the US or the UK. Hebbert,

(1986) describing the main features of this growth, points out the residents' long-commuting times and the "disbenefits" [sic] of incompatible land uses. He shows how the farmers are chiefly responsible for propagating sprawl.

Japan's geography and rural land use planning have influenced its urban growth (Hebbert, 1989) as well as its history since the Middle Ages, leading to present-day differences between Japan and the UK (Hebbert, 1991).

Putting the Japanese landscape in the Asian context, Hebbert (1994) uses the far-Eastern phenomenon of *Desakota* to imply that 'Western' planning ideas are flawed when applied to East Asia. Nonetheless, he shows how such growth, in the form of Japanese sprawl, enriches farmers and landowners to the detriment of the residential environment.

More recently, research has focused on specific aspects of sprawl e.g. the history and impact of land readjustment (Sorensen, 2000) and a case study of

urban sprawl in Saitama (Sorensen, 2001a).

Sorensen (2001b), comments on the importance of assessing the nature of sprawl when comparing planning in different countries. Sprawl is a pejorative word, whose use depends on judging whether a development can be considered “harmful”. Furthermore, sprawl refers to development which is invariably “unplanned”, implying a role for planning to play in “solving” the problem. These considerations partly define the role that the planning system sees for itself. Though the effect, causes and physical nature of sprawl have been analysed and discussed in English language textbooks and journals, what is lacking is a historical view of its definition in relation to planning. In addition, discussion is lacking on the applicability of such words i.e., if jargon has to be used, at least the bias should be minimised by using a term with a neutral meaning.

The complex reality of urban growth as opposed to the simplistic, negative implication that sprawl carries, indicates its tendency to be used blithely or without any meaning in English. This is true to a certain extent in the US, for example. Gordon and Richardson (1997), comment that sprawl has no meaning and question the wisdom of using it. More than this, in the UK, the elimination of ‘sprawl’ after 45 years of Town and Country planning (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002, Hall 1991) means that the term has a purely rhetorical meaning – used as a banner to justify green belts or to rally opinion to oppose urban growth (CPRE, 2001).

It is to be expected that the definition of sprawl will be influenced by the approach taken by a planning establishment as well as the reality of what is being defined. To what extent this is true, is the broader aim of this research. This paper will discuss the following questions:

- At what stage did the term sprawl enter the Japanese language?
- What are the ways that sprawl has been defined in the planning literature?
- How does the meaning of the term sprawl relate to the development of planning in Japan?
- What is the usefulness of studying this term in

relation to the history of planning?

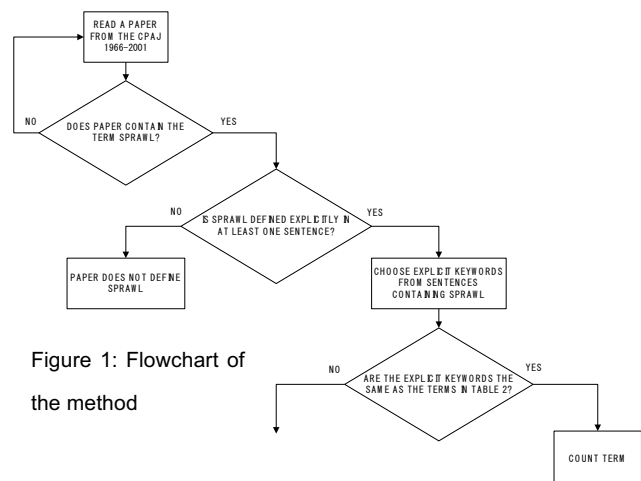


Figure 1: Flowchart of the method

### Method

To analyse the word sprawl, only the papers from the City Planning Association of Japan’s (CPAJ) journal (published 1952 onwards) and the conference proceedings (published 1966 onwards) were read. The papers that referred to sprawl in Japan were identified. To maintain consistency for the analysis, papers containing sprawl from the journal 1952-1966 are described below. Papers from the conference proceedings 1966-2002 were divided according to the schema in Figure 1.

### When is the word defined?

The keywords that were used in the text that defined the term explicitly were recorded and noted. Sprawl was taken as the word itself, and in combination with a suffix such as *Supurouruka* (‘Sprawlisation’), *Supurouruteki* (Sprawl-like) etc. The following uses examples from English and Japanese sentences, to illustrate the two ways in which the ‘explicit’ definition of sprawl in Japanese was identified – the keywords that would have been selected are in boxes:

- The first kind of definition is as a sub-clause. Here the subject-verb relationship does not reflect the author’s intention to define the term, but the definition is imbedded in the sentence.

- e.g. ‘Urban sprawl – the scattering of new development on isolated tracts, separated from other areas by vacant

land – is frequently cited as one negative consequence of the development process’ Ottensmann, (1977)

- その市街地は、地価の上昇につれて駅を中心から段々外延的に発展し、周辺農業地域を蚕食し、スプロール化する傾向を持っており、市街地は鉄道沿線に串刺し団子状に拡大してきている。Che et al. (1996).

- The other kind of sentence is that in which sprawl is explicitly defined by the subject and the verb.

- E.g. “Sprawl” has been widely criticized as leading to unnecessarily high costs of social services and of private transportation, as well as for the frequent lack of publicly available open areas’ Clawson, (1962).

- このようなスプロール地区は全体としては住居系の地区ではあるが、交通至便な場所の位置するため、商業・業務系の施設が点在し、住商が混在した市街地を形成していることも多い。Odani et al. (1992).

Sprawl sentences that did not fit the above criteria were assumed to not be defining the term. To select definitions, keywords from the index of Kenchikuchishiki (1997), a standard Japanese planning textbook, were chosen (Table 2).

Using the keywords, the consensus among authors was calculated to divide the papers into groups according to different time periods. ‘Consensus’ is a concept that relates to the meaning of a term and the number of authors that define it in a particular way. For example, an author might define sprawl as being ‘mixed’, ‘outlying’ and

Table 2: Classification used for the keywords

	Japanese	Reading	English Translation (Green, 2002)
Principally planning measures	調整区域	Chouseku ki	Urban Control Area
	整理地区	Seichiku	Land Readjustment
	区画整理	Kukakusei	Land Readjustment
	開発許可	Kahatsukyoka	Development permission
	既存宅地	Kizentakuchi	“Existing houses” see Sorensen (2001a)
	市街化区域	Shigakaku ki	Urban Promotion Area
	線引き	Sen-biki	UCA and UDA system see Hebbert (1994)
	宅地化	Takuchika	Conversion to residential
	地率	Chiritsu	Rate of land-cover/land-use
	里山	Satoyama	Satoyama – mixed areas of coppice and paddy
Principally physical measures	景観	Kekan	Scenery
	基盤整備	Kibanseibi	Basic infrastructure
	未整備	Miseibi	Area with inadequate preparation
	道路網	Douroami	Road network
	道路率	Douroaritsu	Rate of road cover
	団地	Danchi	Multi-unit apartment
	幹線道路	Kansendouro	Trunk road
	幅員	Fukun	Width
	公園	Kouen	Parks
	道路整備	Douroseibi	Road infrastructure
施設立地	Shisetsurichi	Facility location	
道路密度	Douromisudo	Road density	
位置指定道路	Ichishiteidou	Location designated for road	

‘infrastructure deficient’. Another might define it as being whereas another might use the terms ‘

Following this, the papers were divided into five yearly intervals and the diversity of the definitions in relation to planning was calculated using the Shannon diversity index.

$$H = - \sum_{i=1}^n p_i \ln p_i$$

where:  $H$  is the diversity index

$p_i$  is the proportion of a keyword in the set

### Sprawl in Japan 1950-1966

The first appearance of sprawl in the CPAJ journal is in a translated summary of the ‘Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board of British Columbia: Economic Aspects of Urban Sprawl, May 1956’ (Higasa, 1960). This describes the phenomenon of sprawl in a North American context. The problems of Japanese urban growth had already come to light prior to this, with the terms ‘ribbon development’, ‘natural’ or ‘let-alone’ expansion patterns being liberally employed (Research Committee on Large City Problem, 1954). Yasoshima et al. (1957) mapped the population concentration along the Odawara railway line in South-West Tokyo, showing a distinct pattern that was subsequently to be associated with sprawl. Sprawl was first employed to describe Japanese patterns of growth in an

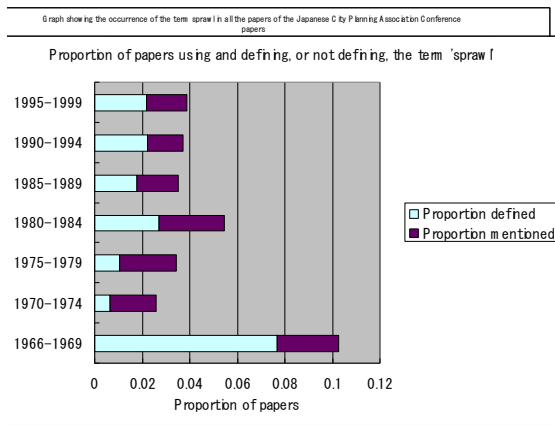


Figure 2: Graph showing the number of papers just mentioning and defining sprawl. The graph shows how more than 25% of new development in 1950-54 that took place in this ward was situated in the green belt – with 95% of this being housing.

### Sprawl in Japan 1966-2001

Figure 2 shows the breakdown of papers that define sprawl and those that simply mention the term without a definition. It seems that sprawl was defined in 1966-1969 in a relatively higher number of papers than during other years. It was also mentioned in a higher number of papers from 1966-69 during this period (Fig. 3). Two papers from this period typify the definitions used at the time. One is by Ishida, (1966), already an influential figure, who describes that the main indicators to be used when considering sprawl are the ratios of built-up and open area. The other study considers the problem of traffic in the Tokyo area (Aoyama, 1969). Both are characteristic in their use of a large, city-level scale, while at the same time displaying very different approaches. One reflects Ishida's inclination as a land-use planner and the other, Aoyama's as a transportation planner. Ishida had

Table 3: Results for the different keywords

English Translation (Green, 2002)	Number of keywords
Urban Control Area	10
Land Readjustment	7
Land Readjustment	5
Development permission	5
"Existing houses" (see Sorensen 2004)	5
Urban Promotion Area	5
UCA and UPA system (see Hebbert 1994)	3
Conversion to residential	3
Rate of land-cover/land-use	3
Satoyama - in land areas of cropland and paddy scenery	2
Scenery	1
Best practices	1
Area with inadequate preparation	3
Road cover	3
Rate of road cover	3
Width of road	2
Trunk road	2
Ward	1
Parks	1
Infrastructure of the cities (Table 3)	1
Facility location	1
Road cover	1
Location designated for road	1

appears in only 129 papers out of a total 3096 (4%), it appears in almost every edition of the CPAJ conference proceedings from 1966 (Fig. 3).

Diversity is used as a measure of the 'extent' to

which sprawl was defined. When a word is first adopted into a language will it have a variety of meanings, and over time a consensus be reached on the way it is defined, or will a different pattern be shown? The analysis of the keywords from 1966 to 1999 shows the increasing diversity of the keywords

Figure 4: Definition of 'sprawl' in Japan (Banjo and Shigemura, 1986)

型	Type of area	スプロール地区	Sprawl Area
		街村的地割	Village and urban patch form
		農地地割	Farm land patch form
構造	Type of structure	過密居住的な島状開発の混入	Isolated pockets of high density development
		大規模な人口流動と流入傾向	Tendency for a large influx of population

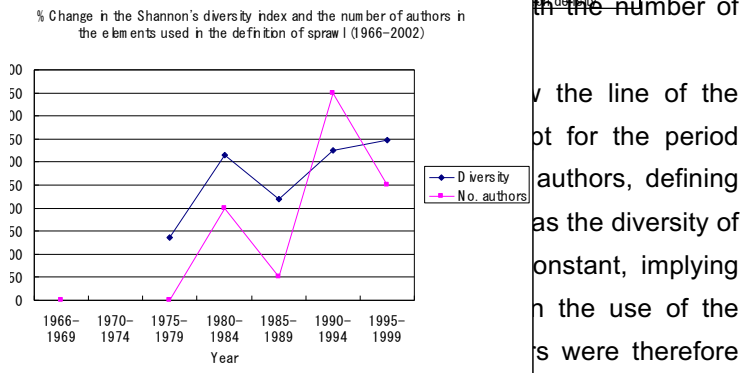


Figure 3: Graph comparing the diversity of keywords used to

define sprawl with the number of authors per five years

separated from 1975 up to 1990, from 1990 up to 1995 and from 1995 to 2002.

During the 1975-1990 period, a large number of papers addressed the influences “Kizon-takuchi” and the Japanese system of zoning – “Sen-biki” (Hatano et al. 1984).

Tashiro, (1975) for example, divides the kind of sprawl by the type of farmland on which it is built. The farmland varies according to the land-form, and determines the road patterns. This has a very strong impact on the ease of building and the form of urbanisation that takes place. He also comments on the propensity for sprawl areas to develop in the outskirts of land readjustment areas.

Tanaka (1980) also shows how sprawl is influenced by the landform and infrastructure in a

study on Sendai’s urban fringe. He notes how sprawl areas develop between municipal housing and the existing urban areas.

Ohmura et al. (1982) use density as the main factor in determining the quality of the residential environment, setting the density at which development can be considered sprawl to be 132 people/ha. Banjo and Shigemura, 1986, characterise the different kinds of sprawl development (Table 4) and also use density as an indicator of the quality of the residential environment.

During the 1990-1995 period there appears to have been a consensus on the link between sprawl and land readjustment (Obase, 1990, Yoshinori, 1990, Kanki et al, 1990)

Kanki et al (1990) study the effect of sprawl on the Satoyama landscape. The authors divide the kind of sprawl that appears into that occurring in the green areas on the outskirts of land re-adjustment areas, and sprawl that appears in other places. The authors then further divide this by housing type, provenance of new residents, and effect on the surrounding landscape. This paper notes the importance of slopes, and tablelands in determining the kind of development that will take place.

Urayama et al. (1991) show the ineffectiveness of comprehensive land-use planning in Japan. Several authors also describe sprawl in terms of a lack of basic facilities overwhelmingly this appears to be with the road system (Obase, 1990, Yoshinori, 1990, Mitani and Yamanaka, 1992).

Studies on the road infrastructure continue during the late 1990s (Obase, 1996, Mitani, 1996). Morio et al. (1995), comment on a wide range of policies and measures that have caused sprawl in the past including the urbanisation that takes place in urbanisation control areas, the difficulties of enforcing the development permission system and the “Kizon takuchi” that are built in the path of planned infrastructure.

### Discussion and Conclusions

As far as possible a scientific method was attempted in analysing the meaning of a word. By only focusing on one word, and one journal much

of the true story will be lost. At the same time, the possibility for bias is high when choosing keywords for analysis. Future research will focus on eliminating that bias. In conclusion the study has shown the following:

Sprawl appeared to enter the Japanese language in the early 1960s, from which time it was used to describe a variety of urban problems. The word indicated, large scale growth in the urban areas, and then was used to characterise progressively smaller areas in scale.

Similarly, the word, appears to change definition depending on the policy at the time. At first, the urban promotion and urban control areas are said to exert an influence and then the land re-adjustment followed finally by "Kizontakuchi".

The reasons for the variability in the discussion of sprawl is related to a variety of factors. The first of these relates to the author's background as well as the site for investigation. As well as this, there is a tendency to respond pragmatically to the availability of data, explaining the simplicity and broad-brush approaches of the first studies. This might also explain the decreasing scale of the studies, reflecting the increasing availability of precise data.

Other differences relate to the development of sprawl as an urbanisation process. As time proceeds, sprawl is referred to increasingly in the past and in different ways as growth slows and the perceived problems change.

Finally, the larger trends of concern for the environment and safety for example, come to the fore towards the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. This reflects a gradual shift towards greener issues in planning, which is shown in other countries such as the UK.

As far as sprawl is used as a basket term for a host of urban problems and defined as such in a scientific study, there should be no difficulty in its use. The wisdom of using a word that clearly carries a negative implication has to be questioned however.

As is the case for other countries there is no satisfactory long-hand definition of sprawl in Japan, though it can be said to have been defined in two

main ways:

- From a land-use planning, process orientated approach
- From physical infrastructure approach.

There is more work to be done in establishing the reasons for this difference, for example, by taking into account the author's background.

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# URBAN DESIGN GUIDELINES: KEY TO IMPROVED TOWNSCAPE AND CITY ATTRACTIVENESS



By Marek Kozlowski  
School of Geography, Planning and Architecture  
UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND BRISBANE-ST LUCIA 4072 QUEENSLAND,  
AUSTRALIA

## ABSTRACT

Urban design fills the gap between architecture and town planning while Urban Design Guidelines assist in integrating the design of buildings with design of streets and places facilitate achievement of ecological and economic sustainability and contribute towards attaining a high townscape quality.

This paper presents an approach to the preparation of Urban Design Guidelines which, it is argued, may be more widely applied, as it was originally prepared for the inner city of Riyadh and Abu Dhabi Industrial City. It is also argued that even the best guidelines to succeed must be supported by a well defined implementation strategy.

The major components of the guidelines used in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and UAR (United Arab Emirates) include:

- ◆ *Data Collection addressing the existing state of built, natural, social and cultural environments, land tenure, institutional framework and existing plans;*
- ◆ *Analysis, visual, functional and historical, expected to determine the existing image, architectural character, level of privacy and accessibility, type and intensity of existing activities and, finally, how does the place work;*
- ◆ *Synthesis including definition of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, and constraints as well as listing negative and positive environmental features;*
- ◆ *The Guidelines, which on the basis of Design Principles and Desired Environmental Outcomes, formulate Objectives, Performance Criteria and Acceptable Design Solutions for major the Urban Space Elements; and*
- ◆ *Implementation Strategy emphasizing the co-operation and involvement of major stakeholders based on Action Plans. At the same time, supplemented by the recently developed Place Management process (successfully applied in NSW, Australia), which represents a coordinated, holistic approach to urban development involving the community, service agencies, development industry and the council staff.*

In a few paragraphs the implications of the proposed approach for historical city precincts are briefly discussed and, finally, potential contribution of a successfully implemented Urban Design Guidelines towards increasing attractiveness of the city is discussed. A matrix showing the assessment of its perception by such main 'users' as residents, visitors or entrepreneurs, would allow the urban designer to 'tailor' relevant Urban Design Guidelines in such a way that would ensure or, at least, greatly facilitate the desired increase of this attractiveness.

## 1. PURPOSE

Urban design plays an important role in filling the methodological gap between architecture and town planning which today survived in many countries following the split between the two disciplines in the early 60's. It has also been closely associated with all land use physical planning and its levels of intervention range from city regional, city district to individual spaces (Frey 1997). Moughtin believes, in turn, that the main goals of urban design are to "...*design, and built urban developments which are both structurally and functionally sound while at the same time giving pleasure to those who see the development...*"(Moughtin, 1997:2). Generally, however, urban design concentrates on how built form looks and how it works.

Australian Local Government Association (1997) includes in urban design such matters as:

- ◆ *Designing housing styles that reflect local culture, climate and character*
- ◆ *Recognising that road and streets perform many more functions than simply carrying traffic*
- ◆ *Seeking opportunities to include artistic and cultural expression*
- ◆ *Ensuring that private development is closely integrated with the public realm*
- ◆ *Designing major pieces of infrastructure to ensure that they provide a positive or rather a negative impact on the built environment.*

Setting urban design in the land use planning context, Zuziak (1998) argues that there are two methods of preparing a land use plan. First, which derives from the tradition of architectural and urban design, places emphasis on three dimensional, spatial arrangements and, thereby, an urban design framework would fall under this category. In the second method where a two dimensional approach dominates, land is divided into zones and a set of regulations, aimed at development control and use of land, is determined for each zone.

An urban design framework deals with the physical form and structure of a city or part of the city and Frey (1997) demonstrates that this framework can be applied both at the city scale and at the district level. According to Australian Local Government Association (1997) the framework is a powerful design tool that provides a physical interpretation of the vision and strategies as it sets an overall design concept in their broad scale and long term framework. Urban design must go, therefore, beyond overall built forms and associated landscaping into considering administrative actions and a variety of economic or social initiatives including local tourism strategy.

Urban Design Guidelines are commonly prepared for part of any area covered by an urban design framework or a local land use plan. They target specific areas and precincts and focus on detailed design and environmental improvements. Furthermore, Urban Design Guidelines assist in integrating the design of individual buildings with design of streets, outdoor spaces, facilitate achievement of ecological and economic sustainability and greatly contribute towards attaining higher townscape quality through improving the visual attractiveness of the built environment.

To offer guidance to potential developers, end users and the community, Urban Design Guidelines should provide comprehensive solutions and recommendations with regard to building design and maintenance, arrangement of sites, proposed treatment of all major or minor roads, retention and management of green open spaces, improving accessibility, legibility, adaptability, versatility and connectivity within the urban environment. It should be added that Urban Design Guidelines can be prepared both for an existing urban area and for areas about to be developed.

In a number of Western European countries design guidelines are incorporated within the regulate not only land uses but also built form legally binding local plans. German Bebauungsplane, for instance, may be called 'urban design frameworks' as they of streets, squares and districts. They set also strict guidelines with respect to the types of roof cladding, facade render, surface treatment etc. Needbam and Van den Ven (1995) claims that in most of Dutch cities the local plan, which is legally binding, is the key instrument that regulates development but also determines the quality and form of the urban environment. In the USA, in turn, physical planning of cities could be mainly characterised by loose development controls, policies encouraging growth of suburbia and zoning (Hall 1996). Inner city redevelopment in the last 30 years can be mainly characterised by large or medium scale "downtown projects", where developers have joined forces with the local authorities. (Frieden and Sagalyn 1989). However, it was in the USA that in the last 20 years a group of private sector development practitioners, community activists and multidisciplinary professionals gathered under the banner of The Congress for New Urbanism (McMahon 2002) to launch their "Charter of New Urbanism' (Congress for New Urbanism 1999) in which they were advocating a re-birth character of urban areas through re-introducing principles of neighbourhood design. One of them was to enhance the quality and comfort of public realm.

In Eastern Europe lack of co-ordination and proper urban management led to the growing lack of urban quality. In Poland, for instance, though urban guidelines (wytyczne urbanistyczne) were prepared together with local development plans implementation phase was not satisfactorily specified.

The local authorities have not yet succeeded in taking advantage from involving the private sector and property owners in urban improvement schemes (Lorenz 1997).

In Queensland, Australia, unlike Germany or Holland for the past decades planning has largely abolished the responsibility for addressing the physical form of the city and spatial arrangements of its elements. For a long time the emphasis was placed on zoning and development control but recently, under the new Integrated Planning Act of 1997, there is more concern for the environmental quality of the urban areas. Yet, guidelines, prepared as part of the Local Area Plans, are often too general and although they determine the intent of local authorities for a particular area they target potential future developers instead of promoting immediate change with the involvement of property owners and local entrepreneurs (Brisbane City Council, Gold Coast City Council 2000). However, improvement schemes carried in the last years out by Brisbane City Council's Inner City Renewal Task Force have stimulated local economy, enhanced the urban environment and encouraged the private sector to invest in the derelict areas of the city.

This paper will attempt to present an outline approach to the preparation of Urban Design Guidelines originated and developed while planning for King Fahad Road in Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) and Abu Dhabi Industrial Park (United Arab Emirates). The approach represents a method of identifying design solutions on assumption that it would be followed up by a comprehensive implementation strategy involving all major stakeholders. It seems that this method could be applied in other urban areas and, particularly, in historic urban precincts. The method covers major elements of urban design from public spaces to buildings and street furniture and, therefore, it can make substantial contribution towards improving visual attractiveness of the urban environment.

Urban Design Guidelines may have a significant impact on the level of attractiveness of our cities and could not only contribute towards improvement of the quality of life of their residents but play an important role in stimulating tourism and a whole range of business activities. This is vital since, as indicated by Frey (1997), today most people live in cities and towns. In Western Europe alone 71% live in urban areas, and the number of urban population in the developing countries is rapidly growing. Therefore it is essential to promote efficient urban design methods as an eminent tool that can in a short period of time provide major input towards programs and/or strategies aiming at improving the environmental qualities and attractiveness of our cities. It should, finally, be added that Urban Design Guidelines followed by a swift implementation, could be a useful tool for quick and radical city improvements in the developing countries where local planning and urban design are often in initial stages of their evolution.

## **2. PREPARING URBAN DESIGN GUIDELINES: THE METHOD**

The method of preparing Urban Design Guidelines as initiated and proposed in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates, was supposed to be followed by an immediate development of a comprehensive implementation strategy targeted at 'fast' delivery of its final product, which in this case was an improved, attractive urban environment. So far, this stage has not been finalised and, therefore, a more comprehensive assessment of the approach is not possible. It was thought, however, that the method and its principle contribute towards professional discussion. The major components of the method have been briefly outlined as follows.

### **Data Collection**

It is assumed that, in developed countries, the general data collection and townscape analysis would be normally available from previously completed Local Plans/Urban Design Frameworks for districts including the area for which the Urban Design Guidelines were to be prepared, and that most of those data and analysis could be used though some updating would often be required. The data and their analysis would give the designer a clear picture and information on the environment, residents/property owners, economic activities, legal aspects, visual image, accessibility and connectivity to other parts of the city, architectural character, public safety and security. The process could be shortly described as the 'reporting on the existing state' which should, primarily, address:

- ◆ *Built Environment.* Data should, primarily, include: all land uses, buildings (height; bulk, facade treatment, age and condition); distribution and type of public places; 'fifth elevation' (pavement treatment, in particular); and street furniture. It is also essential to identify the hierarchy of existing roads including the distribution of major intersections. Information on traffic volumes (especially along arterial routes) would be particularly useful. Type of economic activities, including all forms of economic blight, should be also listed.



- ◆ *Existing Natural Environment.* Topography and prominent natural features, micro-climatic conditions, vegetation (with emphasis on its type and condition) and hydrological conditions should be covered.

- ◆ *Social and Cultural Environment.* Information should characterise the social structure and cultural identity of the local population and its common behavioural patterns, interests and habits. This is of paramount value as the local residents, which include most of existing and potential stakeholders, are the ultimate recipients of the outcomes of the implemented Urban Design Guidelines. However, visitors of all kind (business, tourist, work) must also be covered as their role would be essential.

- ◆ *Land Tenure.* The ownership of land should be identified in the area and major landowners should be listed. This is important as it would provide an essential input into the formulation of implementation strategies and into assessment of forms of involvement and contributions in these strategies can be expected from particular property owners and local entrepreneurs.

- ◆ *Institutional Framework.* It is essential to identify which departments within the local authority would be involved in the preparation and implementation of the guidelines, persons who would be responsible for overall management of the area and where political decisions would be made.

- ◆ *Existing Physical Plans.* All relevant plans, policies for the area (both at local and municipal levels) should be investigated, their legal status defined and, in particular, document experience from their plan implementation.

## Analysis

The data, after being analysed, could be effectively used to identify major shortcomings and opportunities as well as to list negative and positive environmental features. This, in turn, would allow the designer to proceed to the identification of design possibilities for improving the quality and attractiveness of the area in a way satisfactory to the community. This component should include, in particular:

- ◆ *Visual Analysis.* It should rely, primarily, on systematic field trips (walking and driving) to locate important landmarks and to determine an overall 'image' of the area followed by the definition of its 'architectural character' (including relationships between building form and open space) greatly influenced by such details as prevailing building materials, colour and texture of facades, pavement treatment, rooflines, façade ornaments, decorations, or typical openings (Moughtin, 1999). Visual analysis may also help to indicate whether an overall level of safety and privacy is satisfactory and conflict points and places for priority improvement.

- ◆ *Functional Analysis.* This type of analysis, developed originally by Lynch (1960) will determine the type and intensity of activities and how does the place work at different times. Therefore, relevant site surveys must be conducted not only in the mornings, afternoons and evenings but also on weekdays and weekends. Conducting interviews with people living in the area and with visitors to get their perception and opinions is also highly recommended and the use of video cameras would be helpful to better record the major features and events in the area.

- ◆ *Historical Analysis (for historic precincts only).* Moughtin (1999) indicates that in case of historic towns or precincts an additional historical analysis is essential since the urban designer should trace back the layers of history with respect to development. The study should involve the examination of the fundamental reasons for settlement formation, the dominant axes of development including vistas of significant importance, listing of all important heritage buildings or structures, focal points of activity and movement patterns of ancient origin.

## Synthesis

The range of most desired 'Design Directions', outlining achievable future visions and image of the area ('where do we go from here?') should be formulated at this stage from the synthesis of the knowledge gathered in Data Collection and Analysis. This should be based in particular on:

- ◆ *Definition of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats,* carried out, preferably, in a matrix form (based on a commonly known 'SWOT' approach) to provide a synthetic basis for the preparation of Urban Design Guidelines. Strengths would provide a good guidance on what should remain or even be further enhanced (as buildings of high architectural quality, well landscaped areas, outstanding vistas, prominent boulevards, excellent pavements), weaknesses and threats would reveal requirements for radical improvements (such as dilapidated buildings, downgraded vacant areas, industrial wastelands, ugly streetscapes, or low quality sites) while opportunities would highlight the most promising avenues for new development and/or improvements.

- ◆ *Definition of constraints,* an important supplement to the SWOT Analysis as the constraints should indicate to the urban designer the key limits to future design proposals and, as a consequence, elements to be retained, removed or changed. Constraints should list, for instance, already approved projects, binding restrictions on height and bulk of buildings, natural features, views and vistas that

have to remain intact or buildings of historic value where any change is only possible by the way of limited conservation methods.

## The Guidelines

◆ *Design Principles (DPs)*. They should focus on providing basic 'principles' to be followed by the design to ensure that the expected 'image' be achieved within such main themes as functioning, comfort, aesthetic quality, protection of the natural environment and historic heritage. Thus, they would serve also as design directives indicating what route to be taken by the urban designer while addressing particular design problems (for instance, restricting scope of design in historic precincts to ensure the preservation of their traditional character).

◆ *Desired Environmental Outcomes (DEOs)*. DEOs are, at present, one of the key elements of planning schemes prepared under the recent 'Integrated Planning Act' (State of Queensland, 1997). They reflect a major methodological shift towards performance based planning, that is "...*prescriptive as to the outcomes but not to the means of their achievement...*" (England, 2001:151). As such, DEOs may be adapted to play an important role in the Urban Design Guidelines by accepting the achieving of sustainable development, both ecological and economic sustainability, as their fundamental objective and indicating how it can be successfully addressed through urban design.

◆ *Urban Space Elements*. They must be identified and subdivided into major groups in each particular case but, generally, they would comprise the following main categories:

- Buildings and Structures, including commercial, residential, institutional and industrial buildings, which usually may be further characterized by form, texture and fabric, function and quality standard.
- Public and Private Open Spaces, including private/public courtyards or plazas, backyards and front-yards, open car parking areas, and recreational green open space.
- Movement Corridors, including pedestrian walkways and vehicular routes.
- Special Provision, including walls, gates, fences, street lighting (bollard type, wall mounted), benches, bus shelters, parking meters, rubbish bins etc.
- Vacant Lots.

Complexity of some elements may require additional, specialised studies (landscape, heritage, traffic).

◆ *Design Guidelines*. This is the final, design oriented part which should include elaborated directives characterising by text and drawings (where necessary) the kind of outcome that is expected. It is recommended that can best be achieved through:

- 'Objectives', specifically related to each main element and indicating, in urban design terms, what particular aims the element is supposed to achieve.
- 'Performance Criteria' (PC) follows the objectives to jointly become main tools for monitoring, assessing and measuring a progress towards satisfying DPs and achieving DEOs during the formulation and, later, implementation of particular Urban Design Guidelines. The evidence the PCs provide on this matter should be as tangible as possible and, therefore, should be 'measurable' quantitatively and, at the very least, qualitatively.
- Acceptable Design Solutions (AS), which are, finally, to provide a concrete design framework indicating (in writing and supported by drawings where necessary), the type of solutions classified as 'acceptable', that is not violating any identified, ultimate constraints and satisfying, previously set DPs, DEOs, objectives and PCs. Presenting example of 'acceptable solutions' if form of sketches or photographs is highly recommended.

**Note:** An example of Urban Design Guidelines following the proposed approach and based on personal experience from two projects for South King Fahad Road in Riyadh (Kingdom of Saudi Arabia) and Abu Dhabi Industrial City (United Arab Emirates) is presented in the *Appendix*.

## Implementation Strategy

Developing the implementation strategy must be considered as an integral, important stage of the preparation of Urban Design Guidelines as it leads to a rapid delivery of their real-life outcome. Unfortunately, the role of urban designer at this stage is often limited (or evens none) and, predictably, results are insufficient and far away from what have been initially intended and proposed.

It is therefore essential to develop and adapt a comprehensive implementation strategy as part of the Guidelines but in co-operation and involvement of all major stakeholders and decision makers. In fact if such co-operation begins earlier, that is, at the analytical and design phases the final results could only benefit substantially. The idea that to enhance and enrich a specific urban environment should be a common initiative not only of the local authorities but also of the interested local property owners, the private business sector and the community at large, is slowly paving its way around the world and, in most known cases, with spectacular success.

More conventionally, Action Plans have been so far considered as one of the most effective tools for reliably delivering the final outcomes, as proposed in the Urban Design Guidelines. In a standard



Action Plan tasks, timing and responsibilities are designated. According to Zuziak (1998) an Action Plan could be a very useful instrument for implementation of strategies already set in the upper level, local area plans as they would strengthen the role of these plans. He further argues that Action Plans have not yet fully been appreciated as an effective tool for implementing spatial policy in urban areas.

It can be argued, however, that Action Plans alone would not be sufficient to carry out a successful implementation and that they should get backing from a separate organisation, which would bring city business leaders, local entrepreneurs, property owners, residents and the representatives of local authorities to work together on the physical and also economic improvement of their city. An interesting concept of 'place management' has been recently developed along these lines and successfully applied in Maryland Minmi (NSW, Australia) and presented in some detail by Crofts (1998) as an example of strong shift towards an outcome orientated development planning.

The Council appointed one person, the place manager, responsible to a management committee including the general manager and selected directors of the Council and expected to work with planners, engineers, and other Council staff as well as the community, service agency and development industry. All "...to ensure a coordinated holistic approach to urban development, management and implementation..." (Crofts, 1998:51). Further the Community Planning Advisory Panel was established ensuring stakeholder involvement (including various agency and development industry representatives) in the planning and implementation process. An evaluation of the project by the University of Newcastle confirmed its success in improved environmental management (water sensitive design), cost savings (co-location of community facilities), higher quality recreation and more innovative development (Stinson and Irvine, 1997). The model of place management seems worth considering for its adaptation to implementation process of Urban Design Guidelines.

In that case it is imperative to even more integrate the design process with the management of implementation strategy focussing on new development, urban revitalisation, streetscaping, public space improvements, and landscaping. The Community Planning Advisory Panel should be retained while the place manager should have in charge three additional sections:

- 'Urban Design Team' with architects, urban designers, landscape architects, civil engineers and traffic engineers responsible for the entire design process;
- 'Management Section' responsible for financing of the implementation (financial contributions may be assigned for each stakeholder group and a possibility of tax incentives offered to the local entrepreneurs and property owners). A feasibility analysis of options should be undertaken.
- 'Promotional Section' for developing public awareness among major stakeholders, liaison with landowners, potential developers, local entrepreneurs and the residents. Education of all stakeholders about the opportunities that will emerge from the implementation would be one of the key preliminary steps.

### **3. IMPLICATIONS FOR HISTORICAL PRECINCTS**

The method of preparing Urban Design Guidelines followed by expeditious implementation can be seen as hopeful way towards quick and effective environmental improvements in downgraded historical precincts where radical change linked to retention of the traditional urban character is generally in the interest of all major stakeholders. The tendency to retain the link with the past has been visible especially in the cities of Europe and North America. According to Powell (2000) the trend to recreate the dense mix of the past by repairing and infilling, has been on the top priority list of municipal agendas of architecture and planning professions.

Urban Design Guidelines may prove to be a useful tool for repairing downgraded inner-city areas, however educating all stakeholders about the need for enhancement and retention of the traditional urban fabric and likely benefits that this will occur as a result, is one of the fundamental steps in attaining support and co-operation for necessary action

However, successful implementations of plans where strict guidelines were imposed have been known in the past. An example would be the master plan for urban renewal of Old Town in Bruges, followed by a comprehensive implementation strategy involving Municipal Authorities, the private sector and residents (Beenaert 1992). Subsidies for renovations covering 50% of the total renovation value were introduced. As a result within a decade the entire historic centre of Bruges was renovated.

## 4. TOWARDS TOWNSCAPE QUALITY AND CITY ATTRACTIVENESS

The preparation of Urban Design Guidelines followed by a comprehensive implementation strategy backed by a range of Action Plans and carried out by the 'place management process' (where tasks, responsibilities, timing and financial contributions with regard to all major stakeholders would be specified), can be seen as a quick and efficient way towards achieving a quality townscape characterized by an orderly and well functioning development, aesthetic streetscapes and pedestrian friendly environment, all embedded in high amenity landscape. Such townscape would have profound impact not only on the way of life of residents and visitors alike, but would also increase an overall, market competitiveness of a particular city area concerned and boost its potential contribution for making the development economically and ecologically sustainable.

Such a line of thinking seems to be shared by other authors. Bonavera (1999), for instance discussing competitiveness of cities, identified several criteria to be assessed in order to determine position of a particular city in the global urban hierarchy. They are:

- ◆ *An environment connected to quality of life – comprises housing and settlement conditions, physical image of the built environment*

- ◆ *A social environment related to positive demographic change (presence of extended families, younger population, limited number of older people and single member households) as well as quality of human resources*

- ◆ *A cultural and scientific environment related to cultural provision, local identification of university structures, attractiveness of universities*

- ◆ *A labour market environment related to manual worker structure, professional profiles of intermediate industry, professional profiles of higher services activities, management of industry*

- ◆ *An economic environment comprising the integration of small and medium sized industrial firms, characterisation in large traditional and intermediate industry, integration between industrial firms, innovative and complimentary services, specializations in functions of public administration*

In turn, Frey (1997, 32-33) while discussing criteria for a more sustainable city form and structure, indicated that a 'good city' should satisfy main human needs and, thereby, deliver:

- ◆ *Provision for all physical needs, a place to live and work; a reasonable income; education and training; transport (mobility) and communication; and access to services and facilities.*

- ◆ *Safety, security and protection, a visually ordered and controlled environment; a place free of pollution and noise; and a place free of accidents and crime.*

- ◆ *A conducive social environment, a place where people have their roots and children their friends; and a sense of community and belonging to a place or territory.*

- ◆ *A good image, reputation and prestige, a place that provides a sense of confidence and strength; a place that gives a status and dignity; and opportunity for individuals to shape their personal space.*

- ◆ *A chance to be creative, that is, opportunity for communities to shape their own districts and neighbourhoods.*

- ◆ *An aesthetically pleasing environment, that is, a place that is well designed; a place that is physically imaginable; and a city that is place of culture and work of art.*

It seems now possible to build upon Bonavera's and Frey's criteria and to move towards formulating a list (or index) of features that may determine attractiveness of a given city area. According to The Illustrated Encyclopaedic Dictionary (1986 : 47), to attract means "...Draw to itself or oneself; excite pleasurable emotions of; draw forth and fix on oneself (emotions etc)..." and, therefore, 'attractiveness' can be understood as drawing attentions on or by something that creates a positive response. In case of cities it is important to look at their attractiveness as perceived by their major 'users', that is, residents and visitors of various kind. But these two main groups would be hardly homogenous and their structure would vary not only between cities but also from one city area to another. Based partially on classification by Ashworth (1990) who structured place-images held by individuals and grouped them under the headings residential, entrepreneurial and tourist, the groups in a particular city area may, for instance, include permanent residents, commuter-employees (daily visitors), tourist-visitors (short or long term) and external entrepreneurs (coming consistently, but irregularly). Certainly, the perception within each of these groups on what is and what is not attractive would differ and the overall assessment of attractiveness of a given city area would, therefore, in each case greatly depend on the composition of its user groups. This means that only the assessment of this kind could indicate which combination of factors would be essential in making a particular area truly attractive for its users.

If then the assessment is followed by a definition of the role urban design may play in ensuring that these desired factors would dominate the future development, important information would be provided to an urban designer who would then be able to accordingly 'tailor' relevant Urban Design

Guidelines. Thus, the assessment may permit the preparation of the 'tailor made' guidelines, specific to any given city area being the subject of the urban design project and, as a consequence, it should become a key component in the preparation of Urban Design Guidelines (in particular, those dealing with historic areas). Its hypothetical, simple example in a matrix form is presented in Table 1 to illustrate the proposal.

TABLE 1: Role of Urban Design Guidelines in Shaping City Attractiveness

Factors Determining Attractiveness	Degree of Perception of Attractiveness				Role of Urban Design Guidelines
	Res.	Vis.	Ent.	Emp.	
<b>Environment</b>					Direct strong impact as they help to shape change or retain the urban environment. Effective implementation may ensure that improvements to the environment be radical in a short period of time
Level of building design	High	High	Medium	Low	
Quality and degree of visual appearances of public spaces	High	High	Medium	Medium	
Quality of landscape design (hard and softscape)	High	High	Medium	Low	
Level of visual connectivity - public spaces, neighbourhoods, districts	High	High	Low	Low	
Building typology and its level of compatibility with surroundings	High	High	Low	Low	
Degree of noise and pollution levels	High	Medium	Low	Medium	
Degree of accessibility to services and facilities	High	Medium	Medium	High	
Quality of transport mobility	High	Medium	Medium	High	
Type of public image and perception	High	High	High	Low	
Level and quality of infrastructure	High	Low	Medium	Medium	
<b>Social and Cultural</b>					Indirect medium impact, but environmental improvements can facilitate positive social changes and in result pave way for the provision of cultural facilities
Demographic Structure	Low	Low	Medium	Low	
Quality of human resources	Low	Low	High	High	
Poverty rate level	High	Low	Low	Low	
Degree of social mix	Medium	Low	Low	Low	
Accident and crime rate	High	High	Low	High	
Sense of belonging	High	Low	Low	Low	
Provision and quality of cultural facilities	High	Medium	Medium	Medium	
Quality of educational establishments	High	Low	Medium	Medium	
Housing conditions	High	Low	Low	Low	
<b>Economic</b>					Indirect medium impact however physical improvements would sharpen the image of the city and thereby stimulate development of economic activities and their performance particularly in the tourist sector
Labour structure	Low	Low	High	High	
Profiles of industry and services	low	Low	High	Medium	
Quality of management	Low	Low	High	High	
Level and quality of commercial services	High	High	High	Medium	
Number of multinational companies, international banks and hotels	Low	Low	High	Low	
Level of viability	Medium	Medium	High	High	
Level of innovative services	Low	Low	High	Medium	
<b>Political</b>					Indirect minor impact but physical improvements not only significantly change the city image but also the perception of leadership performance
Level of community participation in decision making	High	Low	Medium	Medium	
Co-operation between public and private sectors	Low	Low	High	Low	
Degree of enforcement of law and order	High	Medium	Medium	Medium	
Level of autocracy, type of ordinances and regulations	Medium	Low	High	High	

Note:

Res.: Residence, Vis.: Visitors, Ent.: Entrepreneurs, Emp.: Employees

The results, simulating a real-life situation and based on series of exploratory interviews, recently carried out in the Gold Coast, Australia, Krakow, Poland and Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, indicate that the highest perception of attractiveness is among local residents and, a bit surprisingly, among entrepreneurs. Yet, after reflection, it is quite understandable for them to wish that the overall image of their city be as good as possible. Visitors seem to be less interested, but a more

detail analysis of their perception provide an explanation as they have very high interest in the overall environmental quality while, naturally, they attach much lower importance to social, economic and political aspects. Looking at the factors determining attractiveness the public image, visual appearance of public spaces, quality of landscape design, accessibility to facilities, accident and crime rate and quality of commercial services were seen by all groups as those upon which the attractiveness really depends. On the other hand demographic structure, sense of belonging, housing conditions and level of co-operation between public and private sectors were often considered as almost irrelevant.

As far as very general assessment of the role of Urban Design Guidelines, or rather their implementation, is concerned it may be argued that they would have a strong and direct impact on the environmental factors and lower indirect impact on other factors. However, influence of a 'good city image', can stimulate economic activities and may become a magnet drawing visitors from around the world (the case of Curitiba in Brazil is a good example).

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## **The Ford Foundation and the establishment of the Centre for Environmental Studies during the 1960s.**

*Dr. Mark Clapson, Department of History, University of Luton, 75 Castle Street, Luton, LU1 3AJ: email: mark.clapson@luton.ac.uk*

### **Abstract**

At a time when sociologists, politicians and others were concerned at the problems of 'the city', notably the British and American city, there was a strong perception, however, that town planners were not sufficiently engaged with urban problems and with the social and environmental research required to help tackle them. It was this lacunae that in large part led to the formation of the Centre for Environmental Studies during the mid 1960s.

### **Introduction**

The Centre for Environmental Studies (CES) was an important base for urban and environmental research in Britain. It was established in 1966 by the efforts of Richard Crossman, the Labour Minister for Housing and Local Government, and Richard Llewelyn-Davies, a Labour Peer, leading architect, and town planner. Its offices were located in London. The CES was made possible by a successful application to the Ford Foundation. The Ford grant was awarded under the International Affairs programme of the Urban and Metropolitan Development (UMD) wing of the Foundation, and included a condition that matching funds of at least \$60,000 would be supplied by the British government. The programme managers of the grant in New York were William C. Pendleton and Louis Winnick. In 1972, the funding was subsequently renewed for a further five years.

The term 'environmental research' encompasses a considerable range of subjects, but urban research soon became the unifying core of the Centre's work. Also, whilst most studies were focused within Britain, especially in the first five years, there was a strong internationalist emphasis, reflected in the fact that the CES provided a forum for some of the most respected urban sociologists, geographers and town planners from overseas. The Centre also attracted many minor academics concerned with single issues, and collectively, they produced a huge body of research. This took the form of conference papers, working papers, and works that were published as books or articles. Despite this voluminous output, the relationship between the CES and the Ford Foundation has been neglected. Richard Magat's The Ford Foundation at Work, for example, says next to nothing about Britain within the Foundation's European involvements. Magat ignores the CES in his discussion of the FF's International Affairs Programme. (Magat R., 1979)

### **The Ford Foundation and Urban Research**

The Ford Foundation's relationship with the CES originally stemmed from the Foundation's involvement in American and British urban research during the 1950s. This involvement later made it receptive to the rationale of the CES.

Since the 1920s, a number of American foundations had shown a serious concern with urban problems, and with the lessons that American cities might learn from Europe. (Saunier P. Y., 2001, pp. 219-46.) The Ford Foundation entered the field during the 1950s, when it began to sponsor academics working in urban research – including sociologists at Columbia University and others at universities across the USA and in Europe. The use of research to solve urban problems was the aim of the Foundation's Urban and Regional Programme, established in 1955. The programme had several important and inter-related aims; among them, the development of local institutions for planning the more orderly expansion of metropolitan areas; the support of research on urban problems; and the comparison of work done in the US with similar research in other countries. In 1960, the programme published a review of its work entitled Metropolis. In only five years, the programme had made grants totalling \$9 million to universities, civic institutions and other associations concerned with urban growth and its social consequences. (Ford Foundation, 1960, passim.)

During these five years, the Foundation was especially concerned with the impact of suburbanisation on inner cities, and with the tensions, resulting from racial and income divisions that threatened to undermine the cohesion of American city life. During the presidency of McGeorge Bundy, the Foundation grew increasingly concerned about social inequality and other civil rights issues. (Cantor N. and Cantor M, 1998, p. 477) Many commentators feared that American cities were crumbling, and had to be regenerated in order to be saved. The 'grey areas' programme was an attempt to regenerate decaying areas of cities that lay between prosperous and expanding suburbs and the central core. Many mixed or black communities, beset with problems of declining schools and other services, and inadequate accommodation, lived in these grey areas. (Magat, 1979, pp. 120-22)

The International staff of Urban and Metropolitan Development (UMD) believed that Britain's experience, and the experience of other countries, could be relevant to the US. In 1954, the FF funded the Institute of Community Studies (ICS), based in East London. The ICS had subsequently been extremely critical of the paltry level of social research in town planning. Its chief protagonists, Peter Willmott and Michael Young, took pleasure in presenting planners as advocates of dispersal and grey-faced destroyers of existing urban communities. (Willmott P. and Young M., 1957)

The affinity between urbanisation and social research was a major justification for the CES. The CES was the most important of the Foundation's overseas investments during the mid-



1960s, but it was not alone. The International Affairs Division of UMD granted substantial grants to two other urban research and training institutions -- the Centre of Ekistics in Athens, led by the Greek architect and planner, Constantine Doxiadis; and the Japan Centre for Area Development Research in Tokyo. As with the CES, grants ran for five years, and were up for a later evaluation. 'Without doubt', stated a UMD report in 1974, 'the Centre for Environmental Studies has been the best of the three'. (Ford Foundation, New York, grant number 6700083 (hereafter FF/NY/6700083): Memo and report to McGeorge Bundy from Mitchell Svidof and Marshall A. Robinson, 'Urban and Metropolitan Development', 22 August 1972) By then, the CES had become well established thanks to other grants, and had become the base for a wide range of research, with a particular strength in urban and regional planning. This was in no small part due to the interests of the Centre's founders, Crossman and Llewelyn-Davies, who occupied important positions during the urban debates of the 1960s.

As Crossman later wrote in his diary, 'What Richard and I were planning was an institute which would do the kind of long-term thinking, planning and research for physical planning' that was occurring in the natural science institutes, and in the new Social Science Research Council, a government-funded body that was intended to draw social sciences and the social services closer together. (Crossman, 1975, p. 233) With his usual lack of humility, however, Crossman saw himself as the main instigator of the CES. In his diary, he described it as 'the million pound show I got out of the Treasury and Ford.' (Crossman, 1975, p. 527) But Llewelyn-Davies was equally important. He was well connected -- a link between politics and planning -- and had significant international contacts. He and his wife Patricia were Labour activists. He was Professor of Architecture at University College London between 1960 and 1969. He was appointed a Life Peer in 1963, and Patricia was similarly elevated in 1967. Llewelyn-Davies was also Head of a town planning consultancy, Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier-Walker, and Bor. (Morgan, 1982, p. 1061)

Equally important, perhaps, Llewelyn Davies was known to Ford Foundation staff. This was partly because he ran a New York planning practice, which, in turn, was connected to a wider international network of liberal reformers and urban professionals, most of whom lived in London and New York, and included Louis Winnick of the Ford Foundation.

Winnick has since recalled that Llewelyn-Davies, in company with Crossman and the Labour Minister Roy Jenkins, visited the Foundation in the 1960s. All three seemed to have shared the view that there were common interests between London and New York. Winnick and other officials in the UMD and National Affairs programme believed that London, with its centralised slum clearance and re-housing programmes, was a city from which New York and other American cities could learn. (Winnick, 2001) Its potential lessons were given added emphasis by mass immigration, and ethnic concentrations in certain areas. The mid-1960s

was a testing time for the Ministry of Housing and Local Government. Metropolitan issues were high on the political agenda, and information was required to address them. Unfortunately, the information was lacking. Two examples will make this clear.

In 1965, the capital underwent a profound change in governance, as the London County Council, founded in 1889, was replaced by the Greater London Council. In 1965, moreover, the Committee of Enquiry on Housing in Greater London issued its report. Chaired by Sir Milner Holland, the Committee's report highlighted the problems of twentieth century London, its growing population, and poor housing. It also complained of an astonishing lack of data about the relationship of housing to occupational, income and ethnic groups. Urban policy was handicapped by a lack of quantitative and qualitative intelligence. (Milner Holland, 1965, p. 3)

Outside London, the first generation of new towns, instigated by the New Towns Act of 1946, was maturing. The new towns programme was the largest in Europe, and London had been its chief beneficiary. The year 1965 saw the passage of another New Towns Act to encourage the dispersal of people from the older and overcrowded centres to new communities in the countryside. The first phase of new towns was viewed as a largely successful, if flawed experiment. But something had been missing. Crossman, Llewelyn-Davies and others shared the view that British town planning lacked systematic and policy-directed research into the social and economic consequences of planning the physical environment.

This was a long-term failure. During the Conservative Governments of the 1950s and early 1960s, many micro-sociologies were written on the social consequences of town planning, of which Willmott and Young's Family and Kinship was the most famous. Other studies were written, notably by the planner-sociologist J. B. Cullingworth, on 'town expansion' schemes. 'Expanded towns' were small provincial towns, such as Bletchley or Swindon, whose local authorities were provided with funding in order to build new suburban housing estates to house overspill population from London. Cullingworth wanted to know whether relocation to new housing estates, as Willmott and Young claimed, damaged people's morale and collective capacity for neighbouring and community interaction. Cullingworth was an optimist, who believed that most dispersed people benefited from that dispersal, in receiving improved housing and a healthier environment. Many other sociologists came to similar conclusions. (Clapson, 1998, pp. 78-80)

Unfortunately, much of this research took place in a vacuum, within a space divorced from housing and town planning policy. British sociological journals of the 1950s contained many articles on urbanisation and social problems that went unread by town planners. Moreover, the Development Corporations that built and managed most new and expanded towns did not commission detailed and systematic qualitative research on the needs and experiences of

their residents. More generally, the Conservative Ministry of Housing and Local Government had shown little interest in social research and planning the physical environment. This issue surfaced in 1964, under Crossman's Ministry, and it proved fundamental to his appeal to the Ford Foundation.

### **Crossman, Llewelyn-Davies, and the Establishment of the CES**

The draft application to the Ford Foundation was prepared by Crossman. He played to the lessons that the US could learn from British experience. He also noted the pragmatic character of British town planning, and what he took to be the insularity of British town planners. Significantly, Crossman highlighted the failure of town planners to incorporate the work of social scientists and economic geographers. (FF/NY/6700083: Memorandum by the Minister of Housing and Local Government; Centre for Environmental Studies (Undated), p.1.) These points were drawn out by F. Champion Ward of the International Affairs Division of the Foundation. Writing to Bundy, Ward stressed that 'Britain's lengthy pragmatic experience has emphasised physical planning, drawing on architects, engineers and surveyors':

Now there is a growing awareness of the need to bring in the sociologists, economists, and economic geographers. Similarly, there is an awareness of the need to invest heavily in multidisciplinary research in order to examine UK experience and its new problems as a basis for more intelligent future action. (FF/NY/6700083: Memo F. Champion Ward via Joseph Daniel to McGeorge Bundy, Grant Request, International Affairs, 14 July 1966.)

In New York, Llewelyn-Davies and Crossman courted Stanley Gordon of the Foundation. (Crossman, 1975, p. 228) Their informal meetings with Gordon, however, masked Crossman's negative impression of those who ran Ford's overseas projects. 'Gordon', wrote Crossman in May 1965, 'is a cagey little man, like all the professional American foundation men who go round deciding whether to give you money. They have the greatest pleasure in keeping you on tenterhooks and you have to guess how they react.' (Crossman, 1975, p. 233)

Another step in the effort to persuade the Ford Foundation to support the Centre came in the form of a conference at Churchill College, Cambridge, in 1965. The conference was chaired by Crossman, and included representatives of the Ford Foundation, and a variety of professionals from architecture, town planning, economics, geography, sociology, the main political parties, and the civil service. There were also delegates from the Netherlands and Japan. The conference 'achieved unanimity of views about the functions, status and structure of the agency needed'. Not surprisingly, the grant application went in soon afterwards. (FF/NY/6700083: Centre for Environmental Studies: Memorandum by the Minister of Housing and Local Government, p. 3.)

The application requested \$750,000 (£500,000 in 2001 dollars) partial support for five years. The 'mission' of the CES was 'to serve as an intellectual stimulus for more effective attacks on urban regional problems, particularly through the marshalling of experience and through the financing of systematic research.' Its programme was highly ambitious:

The Centre is concerned mainly with bringing together progressive thinkers, practitioners and experts from universities, research centres, government bodies, private planning and contracting concerns and similar bodies abroad to consider together the most practicable approaches toward the solution of various urbanisation problems... [Research] will emphasise medium-range problems, with a view toward the next fifteen years. (FF/NY/6700083: Memo, F. Champion Ward via Joseph Daniel to McGeorge Bundy, Grant Request, International Affairs, 14 July 1966.)

The International Affairs staff of Urban and Metropolitan Development approved the grant, on the grounds that:

Foundation participation in the initiation and financing of the London Centre would represent a substantial contribution toward improving the quality of British efforts to solve serious urban problems, and toward linking Britain with the urban experience and research of other countries.

They emphasised that 'foreign experts have been helpful in confronting urban problems in the United States and US experience has been profitably studied abroad.' There was a genuine desire to assist British town planners and politicians confront current problems of urban growth, the new towns, and the slum clearance programme. (FF/NY/6700083: Memo, F. Champion Ward via Joseph Daniel to McGeorge Bundy, Grant Request, International Affairs, 14 July 1966.)

Once established, the CES was headed by Llewelyn-Davies, whom Crossman more or less ordered into place. The Centre included some of the leading academic and public professionals of the day, including Peter Willmott of the Institute of Community Studies, J. B. (Barry) Cullingworth, Sir William Fiske (Head of the Greater London Council), Earl Jellicoe (formerly Minister of State and Minister for Defence for the Royal Navy), Richard Titmuss, Professor of Social Administration at the London School of Economics, and David Donnison, also a Professor of Social Administration at the LSE. The first International Director of the CES was Martin M. Meyerson, previously Director of Environmental Research at the University of California at Berkeley.

With the Board in place, the next priority was the appointment of a director. Yet town planners did not seem to fit the bill. With an official of the FF, Llewelyn Davies 'discussed at length the kinds of candidates we ought to seek':

We thoroughly agreed that the membership of the Town Planning Institute was not a likely source. Indeed, it was the disability of the town planners to define relevant policy problems and to recognise the research contributions which could come from the social sciences which led to the establishment of the Centre. (FF/NY/6700083: Memo, F. Champion Ward via Joseph Daniel to McGeorge Bundy, Grant Request, International Affairs, 14 July 1966.)

Following a debacle of a selection process, Henry Chilver, an engineer, was named as Director. After two years, Chilver was replaced by David Donnison, who had a leading reputation in the related fields of housing and urbanisation. It would largely be Donnison's responsibility to apply for an extension to the Ford grant, whose five years finished in 1972. By that year, the CES had completed important research, attracted a number of significant academics and officials from Britain and overseas, established 'the London Seminar', a regular forum for the discussion of issues affecting the capital, and hosted a number of successful conferences. Under Donnison's aegis, the CES began to take a clearer direction. As UMD officials acknowledged in a memo to Bundy in August 1972,

Launched somewhat haltingly in 1966 with a part-time director and an uncertain mission, CES is now well established financially and widely recognised as a major locus for research on the problems facing urban and regional planners. (FF/NY/6700083: Memo, Svidoff and Robinson to Bundy, 22 August 1972.)

In conclusion, it must be emphasised that an evaluation of the CES and its legacy is overdue. Its wide range of unpublished papers, for example, lay un-indexed and gathering dust in the 'Llewelyn-Davies' room at the Bartlett School of Architecture. These papers, along with published work, and the subsequent careers of CES academics, require a fuller appraisal.

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**“Forgotten Ekistics: Constantinos Doxiadis and the Master Plan for  
Rio de Janeiro, 1964-1965”**

**Mark Edward Kehren**  
**University of Maryland at College Park**  
**Department of History**  
[mkehren@umd.edu](mailto:mkehren@umd.edu)

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## Abstract

The inauguration of the newly constructed capital city of Brasília in 1960 impacted the nation of Brazil and its former capital city of Rio de Janeiro in many facets. Having served as the capital of Brazil for almost 200 years, Rio de Janeiro ceased to serve as the political and administrative capital of Brazil. Yet, many Brazilians and cariocas (residents of the city of Rio de Janeiro) believed that it still would predominate as the center of Brazilian artistic and popular culture. Rather than merging the former federal district with another state in the republic, the city-state of Guanabara (the city of Rio de Janeiro) was created.

The core programs of the first elected governor of the city-state of Guanabara, Carlos Lacerda, were heavily based around urban planning and development. Furthermore, he aimed to transform the city's planning culture by making its architects, engineers, and planners work on the basis of accountability and a meritocracy. This, along with his populist and somewhat conservative politics, made him a controversial figure within the planning community of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil.

During Lacerda's tenure in office (1960-65), the city of Rio de Janeiro (State of Guanabara) experienced drastic changes. Among the various renewal projects were two large urban tunnels, a new urban park, overpasses, expressways, housing complexes, and a new water supply system. Much of this was accomplished with transnational funding sources such as the USAID and the Alliance for Progress. Yet, the city still did not have a plan to manage the population growth and its lack of resources. Thus, in 1963, Carlos Lacerda invited the famous Greek architect and planner, Constantinos Doxiadis (1913-1975) to Rio de Janeiro. Subsequently, the state of Guanabara and Doxiadis Associates produced a master plan in 1965 entitled "Guanabara: A Plan for Urban Development." Based upon his philosophy and science of Ekistics, Doxiadis and his staff produced a growth management plan that planned to control and gauge the city's growth until the year 2000.

This paper will focus upon the debates and politics surrounding the Doxiadis plan for Guanabara. Based upon archival and primary research, I will focus on the numerous debates and controversies that surrounded the planning community and the hiring of the Greek firm. Furthermore, I will discuss how the Doxiadis Plan differed in philosophy and style to the earlier plans for Rio de Janeiro. For many years, international planners such as Agache, Le Corbusier, and Piacentini had produced plans for the city, yet the intentions of the plans were to embellish and beautify the city. The Doxiadis Plan aimed at making the city more "livable" and was highly technocratic. Nevertheless, many scholars, researchers, and even cariocas are unaware of Doxiadis' work in Rio de Janeiro. Although the plan was abandoned and never fully implemented after Lacerda's administration, many of the suggestions and ideas within the plan have been the root of the projects and plans that were constructed within the city from the 1980s to the present. Thus, I will also discuss Doxiadis' legacy within the present planning movement in Rio de Janeiro.



## Opening Remarks

While many famous foreign planners and urbanists such as Le Corbusier, Donat Alfred Agache, and Marcelo Piacentini visited Rio de Janeiro throughout the twentieth century, it has been the work of Constantinos Doxiadis that has ultimately been translated into concrete plans for the city of Rio de Janeiro. Yet, few people outside of a small group of planners and scholars seem to recall Doxiadis' master plan for the city of Rio de Janeiro. Nonetheless, this is interesting on a variety of levels. Although many Cariocas are unaware of Doxiadis, his plan has greatly influenced the transformations of city space and infrastructure in Rio de Janeiro since the late 1960s. Whereas many other planners designed grandiose plans to embellish and beautify the city, Doxiadis' work represented a more technocratic and practical approach to city planning in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the hiring of the Greek firm by governor Carlos Lacerda in 1964 created a great deal of debate and protest from many of the city's architects, engineers, and planners. Although on the surface these debates were initially about planning, they also represented the numerous forms of sociopolitical tensions that existed in Brazil in 1964.<sup>2</sup>

This paper will deal with a number of questions surrounding the Doxiadis plan for Rio de Janeiro. My approach here will be to comment upon the numerous plans and proposals that Doxiadis Associates established for Rio de Janeiro, as well as an analysis of the numerous debates and protests that occurred during the years that the firm worked in Rio de Janeiro, 1964-65. Finally, I will suggest that although the actual plan created by Doxiadis and his firm has either been neglected or forgotten, its influence on recently implemented plans in Rio de Janeiro is remarkably evident.

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<sup>1</sup> There is a good secondary literature on the presence of foreign planners and their influence on Rio city planning. See David Underwood. "Alfred Agache, French Sociology, and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (June 1991): 130-166, Marcos Tognon, "Arquitetura fascista e o Estado Novo: Marcello Piacentini e a tradição monumental no Rio de Janeiro." In *Cidade, Povo e Nação*, Luiz César de Queiroz Ribeiro and Robert Pechman, eds., 157-164. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1996), Margareth da Silva Pereira, "Pensando a metrópole moderna: os planos de Agache e Le Corbusier para o Rio de Janeiro." In *Cidade, Povo e Nação*, edited by Luiz César de Queiroz Ribeiro and Robert Pechman, (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1996) 363-375.

<sup>2</sup> Doxiadis' firm was hired in January 1964 amidst the chaotic political tensions in Brazil. In April 1964, the military seized control of Brazil. Ultimately, the military régime would last for a total of 21 years: 1964-1985.

### **Historical Background: 1945-1960<sup>3</sup>**

In order to understand the significance of the Doxiadis plan, it is vital to put it into its proper historical context. Thus, before delving into the actual plans and debates, it is important to understand the historical evolution of planning in Rio de Janeiro leading up to the time of Doxiadis' arrival in 1964.

Although geographers, planners, architects, and sociologists have produced the majority of work on planning and theory in Brazil, there is a considerable amount of historiography on planning in Rio de Janeiro. However, this literature is overwhelmingly concentrated within the years of Brazil's First Republic (1889-1930), and mainly written within the paradigms of social history.<sup>4</sup>

The last fifteen years of Rio's existence as the capital of the Brazilian Republic is a period in which the city experienced enormous growth rates in population. Although the city continued to expand and develop spatially, an explosion in the favelas (hillside shantytowns) and the urban poor also accompanied these high levels of growth. In this section, I will provide an overview of the forms of urban development during Rio's last fifteen years as the Federal Capital, and the major issues that are associated with planning in this stage of the city's history.

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<sup>3</sup> Rio de Janeiro city, capital of Brazil since Independence from Portugal in 1822, remained the capital of Brazil (as a Federal District) until 1960. With the inauguration of Brasília in 1960, the city of Rio de Janeiro (ex Federal District) was transformed into the city state of Guanabara until 1975. In 1975, the city-state of Guanabara (Rio de Janeiro city) fused with the State of Rio de Janeiro (capital Niterói) to become the state of Rio de Janeiro. The city of Rio de Janeiro became the new state capital of this newly fused state

<sup>4</sup>The historiography of urban planning and reforms in Rio de Janeiro during the Primeira República (1889-1930), particularly during Pereira Passos's administration (1902-1906) is extensive. For various examples see: José Murilho de Carvalho, *Os Bestializados: O Rio De Janeiro E A República Que Não Foi*. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987), Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture And Society In Turn-Of-The-Century Rio De Janeiro*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), Oswaldo Porto Rocha and Lia de Aquino Carvalho *A Era Das Demolições: Cidade Do Rio De Janeiro 1870-1920/Contribuição Ao Estudo Das Habitações Populares: Rio De Janeiro 1886-1906*. (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1995), Giovanna Rosso Del Brenna, editor, *O Rio De Janeiro De Pereira Passos: Uma Cidade Em Questão II*. (Rio de Janeiro: Index, 1985), Jaime Larry Benchimol, *Pereira Passos: Um Haussmann Tropical* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1990), and Teresa Meade, *Civilizing Rio: Reform And Resistance In A Brazilian City 1889-1930* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

Planning from the beginning of the twentieth century to the late 1920s in Rio de Janeiro can best be described as a mix of the city beautiful and city practical movements. Starting in the early 1900s, Rio's politicians and engineers designed plans to modernize and beautify the city, but to also transform it into a "civilized" urban center. Heavily influenced by French forms of urban planning, these projects immensely altered the city's space, yet also marginalized many of the poorer and working classes. These projects continued into the 1920s, yet it was not until the late 1920s that Rio de Janeiro developed its first master plan.

Many of the urban reforms that transformed the city of Rio de Janeiro from 1930-60 are rooted in the "master" plan for the city designed by the French urbanist, Donat Alfred Agache. Often referred to as the Plano Agache, this study's intent was to reorganize the economic, social, cultural, and civic space of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>5</sup> One major objective of the Plano Agache was to prescribe a growth management plan for Rio de Janeiro, while also remodeling and beautifying the city to reflect its capital status of the Brazilian Republic. Moreover, the Plano Agache and its impact on the planning profession in Brazil have attracted attention from various scholars.<sup>6</sup> Often cited as the first comprehensive plan for Rio de Janeiro, the Plano Agache studied Rio's dynamic topography using aerial photography, and also analyzed the city's demographic growth in an historical fashion. Inspired by the traditions of the Beaux-Arts, Agache proposed a grandiose renewal scheme mainly for the downtown (Centro) area of Rio.

As a comprehensive plan, the Plano Agache was never implemented given the changes in national and local administrations brought about from the revolution in October 1930. Under the President/Dictator Getúlio Vargas and Mayor Pedro Ernesto (1931-36), the plan was officially outlawed in 1934. With the nationalist climate of the

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<sup>5</sup> The official title of the Plano Agache is *Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: Extensão, Remodelação, Embellezamento*, (Rio de Janeiro: Foyer Bresilien, 1930).

<sup>6</sup> For some good overviews of the actual plan and Agache's influence on urban planning in Brazil see: David Underwood, "Alfred Agache, French Sociology, and Modern Urbanism in France and Brazil," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (June 1991), 130-166. Norma Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals: Architecture and Urbanism in Rio de Janeiro and Brasília*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 40-52, Vera Rezende, *Planejamento e Ideologia: Quatro Planos Para a Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*, (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1982). Maurício de Almeida Abreu, *Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, (Rio de Janeiro: IPLANRIO/Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1997), 86-91.

Vargas period and the Estado Novo, the Plano Agache signified the imperialist influences of the Primeira República on several levels. Even though the Agache Plan was never fully implemented, several of the plans and recommendations by the French urbanist were actually adopted in some ways, and had a great impact on the spatial development of Rio de Janeiro even in the post 1945 era.

Perhaps the two projects that influenced urban planning in the period from 1945-1960 was the construction of two large avenues. The first avenue, Avenida Presidente Vargas (1944), provided an direct link between the central or downtown area of the city with the north zone, while also displacing many small merchants and residents from the central zone of the city. Later in 1946, the Avenida Brasil was constructed over a landfill and intended to give a better circulation of traffic to the Rio-São Paulo and Rio-Petrópolis highways. Furthermore, it established a better link to the central zone from the railway suburbs of the city and also triggered the growth of industry in the suburban areas of the city.<sup>7</sup>

Subsequently, residential patterns were also altered in Rio because of the new avenues. Many people who lost their homes and apartments in the central district due to the construction moved to nearby areas on the fringe of the central district, while others “relocated” to the north zone, favelas, and suburbs. By the mid 1940s, the south zone of Rio, particularly the fashionable area of Copacabana, experienced a “vertical invasion” with the construction of high-rise apartment buildings and the demolition of the older one and two-story homes. Furthermore, this “vertical invasion” created chaotic conditions and precarious growth due mainly to either the lack of and/or loose regulation of land use and building codes by the city and federal governments.<sup>8</sup> With the declining population of the central zone of Rio due to the reforms and newly constructed avenues, many neighborhoods began to develop into sub-centers with their own commercial, cultural, and social spaces that would rival those of the historic central area. The districts that

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<sup>7</sup> Maria Cristina da Silva Leme, editor, *Urbanismo no Brasil: 1895-1965* (São Paulo: FUPAM/Studio Nobel, 1999), 368.

<sup>8</sup> Gilberto Velho, *A Utopia Urbana: Um Estudo de Antropologia Social, 5<sup>th</sup> Edition* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editores, 1989), 23. Additionally, for an overview of the role of the state and urban development law in Brazil see: Edesio Fernandes, *Law and Urban Change in Brazil* (Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1995).

developed into major sub-centers by the end of the 1940s were Tijuca, (Praça Saenz Peña), Méier, Copacabana, and Madureira.<sup>9</sup> Tijuca and Copacabana emerged as products of the real-estate boom and verticalization projects, whereas Méier and Madureira owed their status to being located on the rail lines in the more distant suburban regions of the city. As the residential population of the south zone intensified in Copacabana in the 1940s and 1950s, so did the tourist industry. Hotels, restaurants, shopping galleries, and movie theatres flourished due to various reforms and politics of real estate development in Rio during the 1940s and 1950s.

By the mid 1950s, many Cariocas became less dependent on the central area of the city, and the majority of the new reforms and infrastructure were invested in the growing south zone of the city. Aside from Tijuca, many of the neighborhoods of the northern and suburban area of the city were neglected in urban renewal campaigns. The more industrial and working class areas along the rail lines had inadequate water supply, unpaved streets, and poor circulation of traffic due to the lack of overpasses over the rail lines and avenues. Even though the majority of the city's population resided in the neighborhoods of the distant northern areas and suburbs, they received ambiguous forms of investment and improvements in the late 1940s and early 1950s.<sup>10</sup> By 1955, the political economy of Brazil under Juscelino Kubitschek coupled with the real estate and automobile boom sparked even more initiatives to urbanize the southern zone areas of Copacabana, Ipanema, and Leblon, and the northern, suburban, and western regions to a lesser degree.

By the late 1950s, Brazil was in the midst of President Juscelino Kubitschek's economic program that intended to yield fifty years of progress in five years. This period

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<sup>9</sup> For more details see Maria Therezinha de Segadas Soares, "Bairros, Bairros Suburbanos e Subcentros," In Lysia Bernardes and Maria Therezinha de Segadas Soares, *Rio de Janeiro: Cidade e Região*, (Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, Turismo e Esportes, Departamento Geral de Documentação e Informação Cultural, Divisão de Editoração, 1995), 121-133.

<sup>10</sup>In terms of percentages, the suburbs actually received a nice slice of the new development projects. However, the actual cost of the projects in comparison with other regions of the city, especially the south zone, is ambiguous and debatable. For a good quantitative study of this see Mauro Kleiman, "De Getúlio a Lacerda: Um "Rio de Obras" transforma a Cidade do Rio de Janeiro: As Obras Públicas de Infra-Estrutura Urbana na Construção do "novo Rio" no Período 1938-1965," Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, 1994. For an additional take on the quality of life issues see Alberto Gawryszewski, "'A Agonia de Morar': Urbanização e Habitação na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (DF) – 1945/50." Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, Departamento de História, 1996.

also included the building of a brand new capital city, Brasília. Most of the industrial growth that occurred under Kubitscheck benefited the three large metropolitan areas in the Southeast of Brazil: Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte and São Paulo. Moreover, this growth was most prominent in the state and city of São Paulo, which had long surpassed Rio de Janeiro as the premier industrial center of Brazil and Latin America. Due to São Paulo's industrial supremacy, the importance of Rio de Janeiro's port diminished, while the port city of Santos located in the state of São Paulo flourished. Kubitscheck's economic program did bring about some advantages to the country industrially and technologically, but it eventually put the national economy into a state of stagnation that caused high levels of inflation and national debt.

The form of development that Brazil followed in the late 1950s also accelerated other patterns of growth that had been evident since the 1930s. The rates of rural to urban migration, national population growth, and percentage of people living in favelas were the most prevalent growth patterns. The intensification of these factors in conjunction with the state of the national economy led to the rapid expansion of Rio de Janeiro. On account of the high levels of inflation, the real estate values increased in certain neighborhoods and districts within the central area of the city, which in turn led to the development and expansion of the city towards the periphery. The various forms of population pressure, the raise in real estate prices, and shortage of affordable housing, were responsible for various neighborhoods in the north, south, and suburban zones of the city growth between 1950-1960. It was also from 1950-1960 that the number of residents in favelas increased immensely. Although people had lived in the favelas dating back as far as 1898, they served as a form of residence for approximately 335,000 people in 1960 (11% of the total population), which was an increase of about 98% since the 1950 census.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> This data was found in Abreu, *Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro*, 126. There is an extensive amount of scholarship that has been dedicated to studying favelas within the context of Rio de Janeiro. For some examples see: Alba Zaluar and Marcos Alvito, editors, *Um Século de Favela* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 1998), Janice Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), Julio César Pino "Dark Mirror of Modernization: The Favelas of the Rio de Janeiro in the Boom Years, 1948-1960," *Journal of Urban History* 22:4 (May 1996): 419-453, Maurício de Almeida Abreu, "Reconstruindo uma História Esquecida: Origem e Expansão inicial das Favelas do Rio de Janeiro," *Espaço & Debates* 37 (1994): 34-47, and Lilian Fessler Vaz, "Dos Cortiços às Favelas e aos Edifícios de Apartamentos - A Modernização da Moradia no Rio de Janeiro," *Análise Social* 29:3 (1994): 581-597.

Another major avenue, Avenida Perimetral, also was planned along with numerous other urban projects as part of Mayor Negrão de Lima's SURSAN. SURSAN (A Superintendência de Urbanização and Saneamento – Bureau of Urbanization and Sanitation) was established to act as a municipal organization responsible for the fiscalization and implementation of urban development plans. Established on September 20, 1957, SURSAN and its plan for urban development would continue to influence city planning in Rio until it was abolished by Governor Chagas Freitas in 1973.<sup>12</sup> Many of the plans that transformed Rio de Janeiro as the city-state of Guanabara in the 1960s were SURSAN projects dating back to its initial outline of 1957.<sup>13</sup>

April 1960 signified the end of an era for Rio de Janeiro. After almost 200 years, Rio ceased to be the political capital of Brazil. With the new capital Brasília in the central-west region of Brazil, Rio was left to reformulate its position not only within Brazilian society, but in the international system as well.

### **Planning the City-State**

When the newly constructed capital city of Brasília was inaugurated in April 1960, many Brazilians and Cariocas wondered what would become of the city of Rio de Janeiro that served as Brazil's capital and Federal District since the mid-eighteenth century. Many debates surfaced concerning the geopolitical status of Rio once Brasília was inaugurated. In the late 1950s, there seemed to be more opposition to the idea of Rio de Janeiro becoming its own state on the grounds that it was geographically too small. For many politicians, the idea of a city, whose industrial and economic growth was at a modest growth level, to become a state seemed preposterous. Yet, in the end, many politicians finally supported the idea for the city to become its own state for the prospects of gaining political powers in the 1960 elections.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Arnaldo César, "SURSAN: O Fim de Uma Era," *O Jornal* (RJ), 30 September 1973, and "SURSAN se aposenta com 16 anos de Trabalho," *Jornal do Brasil* (RJ), 30 September 1973, Primeiro Caderno.

<sup>13</sup>These issues will be discussed in the forthcoming dissertation: Mark Edward Kehren, "The Building of a City-State: Urban and Spatial Transformations in Rio de Janeiro, 1960-75."

<sup>14</sup> For an analysis of the geopolitical transformations of Rio de Janeiro and its metropolitan region, see Marieta de Moraes Ferreira and Mario Grynspan, "A Volta do Filho Pródigo ao lar Paterno? A Fusão do Rio de Janeiro." In Marieta de Moraes Ferreira, coordenadora, *Rio de Janeiro: Uma Cidade na História*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getulio Vargas, 2000) 117-137.

Whereas planning in Rio de Janeiro in the period from 1945-1960 was done mainly in a piecemeal fashion without a large comprehensive plan, the years of 1960-1975 represent a drastic change in planning the city on numerous levels. One main reason that can be attributed to the change in planning is the changes in the political system. Before 1960, the mayor or prefect of the city of Rio de Janeiro was appointed rather than popularly elected by the citizens of the city. With the creation of the state of Guanabara, the city's residents popularly elected a governor, who in reality was a mayor. The people directly elected the first two governors of the state of Guanabara - Carlos Lacerda and Francisco Negrão de Lima.<sup>15</sup> The third (and last) governor of Guanabara, Chagas Freitas, was elected indirectly as a consequence of the Brazilian military regime holding indirect elections within the two party system.<sup>16</sup>

Carlos Frederico Werneck de Lacerda was the first elected governor of the newly created state of Guanabara in 1960. Lacerda was elected by running on an anti-Communist, anti-corruption, and moderately conservative platform that appealed to the middle and upper class professionals who mostly resided in the south zone of the city.<sup>17</sup> Lacerda, who was a communist until WWII, also was an influential political journalist and founder of the Rio daily the *Tribuna de Imprensa*.<sup>18</sup> As Lacerda came into office, he criticized his predecessors on their "antiquated" and slow pace in regards to urban

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<sup>15</sup>To gain insight into the political culture and composition of the State of Guanabara see Marly Silva da Motta, *Saudades da Guanabara*, (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getulio Vargas, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Once the military regime banned all political parties, it set up a two party system. ARENA, which was the party in support of the military dictatorship, and the MDB, which was the "legal" opposition. For an overview of the administrative changes during the Chagas Freitas administration of 1971-1975 see: Carlos Eduardo Sarmento, organizer, *Chagas Freitas* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getulio Vargas, 1999) and Francisco Manoel de Mello Franco, *O Governo Chagas Freitas: Uma Perspectiva Nacional Através de Uma Experiência Local* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1977).

<sup>17</sup> Although he was the first elected governor, it should be noted that José Rodrigues Sette Câmara led a transitional administration from April 21, 1960 to December 5, 1960. For more info see the indispensable reference book written by Engineer José de Oliveira Reis, *A Guanabara e Seus Governadores* (Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1977): 9. For an overview on the ideology of Lacerda see Gláucio Ary Dillon Soares, "As Bases Ideológicas Do Lacerdismo." *Revista Civilização Brasileira* 1:4 (Set. 1965): 49-70.

<sup>18</sup> For extensive biographical information on Lacerda see John W.F. Dulles, *Carlos Lacerda, Brazilian Crusader Volume One: The Years 1914-1960* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991) and by the same author *Carlos Lacerda, Brazilian Crusader Volume Two: The Years 1960-1977* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996). Also see Claudio Lacerda, *Carlos Lacerda e os anos sessenta: Oposição*. (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1998).



development and planning. Rafael Almeida de Magalhães, Urban Planning Secretary under Lacerda, commented: “we not only battled against political opposition, but also against old methods within the government and planning community. We fought hard to promote administrative reorganization, fiscal reform, and a renovation of personnel by instituting a meritocracy.”<sup>19</sup>

The main concentration of planning during Lacerda’s term as governor concentrated on improving the city’s system of roads and circulation of traffic, basic infrastructure, and battling the growth of favelas. In order to finance these projects, Lacerda solicited a good deal of money from the federal government, the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, D.C., and foreign investors. Furthermore, Lacerda was also given a good amount of capital by the USAID and Alliance for Progress. With a leftist government in power at the federal level, the United States believed that they had an ally in power in one of Brazil’s major cities, and thus used this to help Lacerda strengthen his campaign for the presidency in 1964. This campaign never came to fruition due to the military’s takeover of the country in April 1964, yet the transnational capital and sources of funding are crucial elements in explaining the rapid development that occurred during Lacerda’s tenure in office.

One way that Lacerda was able to accomplish some of his goals was by delegating a large amount of responsibility to the municipal agency, SURSAN, (A Superintendência de Urbanização e Saneamento) which was created when Francisco Negrão de Lima was mayor of the Federal District in 1957. Many of the projects that were carried out during the Lacerda administration were actually SURSAN projects that were developed in the late 1950s.<sup>20</sup> Yet, over the past several years, these projects are overwhelmingly associated with the legacy and memory of Lacerda.

The major projects of the Lacerda period revolved around the planning of new expressways, tunnels, heavy infrastructure, as well as the building of schools and the “solving” the problem of the favelas. Due to Rio’s dynamic topography and spatial

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<sup>19</sup> Israel Tabak, “Cidade Teve Quatro Grandes ‘Viradas’ Neste Século,” *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 October 1988, Caderno A, p.15.

<sup>20</sup> Prefeitura do Distrito Federal – Fundo Especial de Obras Publicas, *Plano de Realizações na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: 1957).

layout, the circulation of traffic between the north and south zones of the city could only be obtained by passing through the central area of the city. Two of the projects that were constructed and finished during the Lacerda period were the completion of the Santa Barbara tunnel that linked the central area with the south zone, and the gigantic Rebouças tunnel which linked the North Zone directly with the south by cutting through the main massif of the city. Declared by the many engineers and planners as the largest urban tunnel in the world, the Rebouças tunnel is possibly the most significant planned project in the history of the city of Rio de Janeiro. For the first time, there was a direct link between the north and south zones of the city. The residents of these zones and the idea of a “dual” city existed before the construction of the tunnel and with the advent of this tunnel, the production of space in the city of Rio de Janeiro became completely altered. Moreover, the project also signified a great advancement for the engineers and planners of Rio. Once seen as a large nuisance in the physical planning process, planners and engineers were finally able to overcome the topographical obstacles which often dictated how planning was conducted throughout the city. Scholar Maria do Carmo Corrêa Galvão suggests that because Rio de Janeiro is immense and fragmented by its topography, it is always vital to rethink the significance of its geographic location and the magnitude of the work produced by engineers and planners.<sup>21</sup> This point correlates directly with the Rebouças tunnel.

Other projects during Lacerda’s tenure focused on building and landscaping a large urban park in the south zone of the city, the construction of a large water-supply system, and the introduction of electric buses throughout the city. However, Lacerda is often associated as being the first politician to address the problem of the growing favelas throughout the city and its periphery. His association with this matter, I should note, is not always remembered in a positive light, particularly by those who lived in favelas.

The approach taken to solving the favela problem within the city of Rio de Janeiro in the 1960s and early 1970s is often referred to as the “eradication” and “resettlement” approach. This approach focused on the destruction of squatter settlements in selected

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<sup>21</sup> Maria do Carmo Corrêa Galvão, “Focos Sobre A Questão Ambiental No Rio De Janeiro.” In *Natureza E Sociedade No Rio De Janeiro*, edited by Maurício de Almeida Abreu, 13-26. Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro – Secretaria Municipal de Cultura, 1992), 20.

areas of the city, and with the “relocation” of its residents to new housing complexes located on the fringe of the city.<sup>22</sup> Like many of the other projects that Lacerda initiated, these housing projects were financed by the USAID and Alliance for Progress. Many of Lacerda’s supporters applauded his administration for eradicating these settlements, whereas many saw these policies as a blatant form of segregation and stratification of Rio’s social classes.

This was just one of the numerous debates that surfaced regarding the planning aspects of Lacerda’s administration. Many on the left criticized him for accepting transnational capital and aid to fund his projects that had dubious socio-spatial intentions. Many of his opponents supported his efforts to modernize and rebuild the image of the city, but criticized him for allowing the international capital to dictate and intervene in domestic planning issues.

The projects listed above are not by any means all of the projects that were realized by SUSRAN and the administration of Carlos Lacerda from 1960-1965, but were probably the most influential in transforming the city spatially and socially. Although these reforms made drastic impacts and improvements for the city, many people including Lacerda felt that the city needed a serious master plan to control and monitor the expansion of Rio de Janeiro. Finally, this is where Constantinos Doxiadis enters into the scene of planning in Rio de Janeiro.

### **Lacerda, CEDUG, and Doxiadis**

Although Carlos Lacerda was an extremely well read and traveled man, even he was unaware of the Doxiadis’ extensive résumé. Lacerda, who wrote an article praising Doxiadis shortly after his death in 1975, attributed his knowledge of Doxiadis to a profile piece shown to him by friends in the *New Yorker* magazine in 1963.<sup>23</sup> Aside from the detail regarding the theory of Ekistics, the profile piece written on Doxiadis contains certain biographical information that undoubtedly seemed appealing to Lacerda. One particular matter that probably resonated with Lacerda was Doxiadis’ involvement in

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<sup>22</sup> For an overview of the policies regarding Rio’s favelas see: Ayse Pamuk and Paulo Fernando A. Cavallieri, “Alleviating Urban Poverty in a Global City: New Trends in Upgrading Rio de Janeiro’s Favelas.” *Habitat International* 22:4 (1998): 449-462.

<sup>23</sup>For Lacerda’s article see: Carlos Lacerda, “Doxiadis, criador e criatura” *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro) 28 July 1975, Primeiro Caderno. For the profile piece in the *New Yorker* magazine see: “Profiles: The Ekistic World: Constantinos Doxiadis. *The New Yorker*. 11 May 1963: 49-87.

housing and the funds provided by the Marshall plan briefly after World War II. Even though Lacerda was probably most intrigued by Doxiadis' résumé for working in the developing world, it cannot be understated that these political and ideological values of Doxiadis' past certainly perked Lacerda's interest even more. Thus, shortly after reading the profile piece in May 1963, Lacerda and his advisors invited Doxiadis and his firm for a brief visit to Rio de Janeiro in September 1963.<sup>24</sup>

Shortly before Doxiadis' arrival in Rio, Lacerda solicited his cabinet to conduct an abundant amount of research regarding the specific projects that the Greek firm had designed. Furthermore, Lacerda was specifically informed in a memo of Brazil's economic, cultural, and diplomatic relations with Greece. Moreover, Lacerda was also informed and advised in this memo to refrain from making any sort of opinion regarding the tensions that existed between Greece and Turkey regarding the situation in Cyprus<sup>25</sup>

On January 7 1964, the State of Guanabara and the Greek firm of Doxiadis Associates signed a detailed contract with the intention of producing a growth management plan for the city-state of Rio de Janeiro. The plan, which would monitor and project Rio's growth until the year 2000, commanded an unprecedented amount of fiscal and human resources. Aside from contracting the Greek firm, the State of Guanabara created the Comissão Executiva do Desenvolvimento Urbano do Estado da Guanabara that was to oversee and assist in the design of the master plan.<sup>26</sup> Hence, while the Greek firm would have offices in Athens and Rio de Janeiro, many Brazilians would also be involved in the process of research and data analysis. Eventually, Americo Fontenelle and Helio Modesto were responsible for coordinating the activities and interaction of CEDUG with the Greek firm.

The language of the contract signed between the government of Guanabara and the Greek firm deals with issues such as proposed timelines for portions of the plan, as

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<sup>24</sup>Letter transcription of a cable message from Carlos Lacerda to Constantinos Doxiadis 19 August 1963. Available in the Coleção Carlos Lacerda (CLC) – Universidade de Brasília.

<sup>25</sup>Undated memo from 1963 – CLC.

<sup>26</sup>CEDUG can be translated as the Executive Commission for the Development of the State of Guanabara was created by Decreto "N" no. 159 on March 19, 1964. Information on this legislation can be found in José de Oliveira Reis, *A Guanabara e Seus Governadores*.

well as many details regarding financial and other material resources. According to the contract, each Greek consultant working in Rio de Janeiro was to be paid the equivalent of \$27,000 a year plus all living expenses for their families. Additionally, consultants working on the Rio plan in Athens were to be paid \$17,000 a year. Aside from these salaries, the State of Guanabara pledged to pay all office, living, travel, and research expenses that were to be incurred during the two-year length of contract. Although financial details are not entirely accurate, it has been estimated the Doxiadis Plan cost roughly \$700,000 to produce.<sup>27</sup>

### **“O Negócio Grego”**

After the contract was signed between the two parties, the Rio press began to report to the public that the Greek and Brazilian consultants would begin working in Rio and Athens at the beginning of February 1964. These initial reports soon led to fiery charged debates, battles, and exchanges between Carlos Lacerda and numerous Brazilian and carioca engineers, architects, and planners that had no previous knowledge regarding the contract signed with Doxiadis Associates. These debates and exchanges were made extremely accessible in the press throughout the month of January 1964 and became known as the “*negócio grego*.”

The two main figures that publicly opposed the hiring of Doxiadis were the presidents of Instituto de Arquitetos Brasileiros– Guanabara Division (Maurício Roberto) and the Clube de Engenharia (Hélio Almeida). Throughout the month of January 1964, these debates and exchanges were fully covered and documented by the press. Many others, including Lacerda’s political opponents added their displeasure to the hiring of the foreign firm. Subsequently, architects, engineers, and other professional associations began to exhibit the same disapproval that their carioca colleagues exhibited regarding the contract.

The main reasons for the overwhelming resentment and disapproval regarding the hiring of Doxiadis Associates stemmed from the fact that they saw the contract as a threat to national (Brazilian) forms and expressions of planning. Both Roberto (IAB-GB) and Almeida (Clube de Engenharia) in their messages to Lacerda and the press expressed

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<sup>27</sup> Carlos Lacerda, “Doxiadis, criador e criatura” *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro) 28 July 1975, Primeiro Caderno.

how the hiring of a foreign firm directly insulted Brazilian engineers and architects. They expressed how Brazil possessed extremely reputable planners and that they certainly were capable of providing the necessary “know-how” to cure and manage Rio’s urban growth. Furthermore, both these leaders and many of Lacerda’s political rivals continued to denounce his affinity for dealing with transnational sources of aid, capital, and consulting to develop and renew Rio de Janeiro. In the minds of many, the hiring of Doxiadis Associates signified regression for the Brazilian Planning profession as well as for the socio-cultural values of the city of Rio de Janeiro and its residents.<sup>28</sup> Many went as far to state that the signed contract was illegal according to a 1933 decree that required any foreign firm working in Brazil to be registered with the appropriate commissions of engineering and architecture.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the Instituto dos Arquitetos argued that a copy of the contract was not even made available to the public for analysis.<sup>30</sup> Lúcio Costa, the famous Brazilian architect declared that Doxiadis was a “show-off whose philosophy of urbanism was obsolete.”<sup>31</sup> Oscar Niemeyer added more fuel to the fire when he declared that he had zero knowledge of the Greek firm having any form of prestige in the international community. Furthermore, other leftists attacked Doxiadis for the previously mentioned fact that he worked within the confines of the Marshall plan and declared that he was “intimately linked to imperialism.”<sup>32</sup>

Yet, Carlos Lacerda and many others involved with urban planning in the government defended the hiring of Doxiadis and his firm. Lacerda still maintained that the knowledge, philosophy, and resources that the Greek firm held were still non-existent

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<sup>28</sup>There are many newspaper articles that can be cited that contain similar and often repetitive information regarding the disapproval of the contract. One good example that summarizes the opposition’s opinion are “Arquiteto Brasileiro Tem “Know-How” Para Seu País” *Correio da Manhã* (Rio de Janeiro) 6 February 1964: Primeiro Carderno.

<sup>29</sup>“Ilegal o Contrato” *Última Hora* (Rio de Janeiro) 22 January 1964.

<sup>30</sup>The contract was finally published in the Rio daily *Correio da Manhã*. See “Contrato com Doxiadis” *Correio da Manhã* 31 January 1964: pg 3. Previously the IAB-GB received a copy upon request. Reported in “IAB recebeu do Governo o Contrato” *Correio da Manhã* 19 January 1964: p. 2

<sup>31</sup>Lúcio Costa Fala Sobre Doxiadis.” *Correio da Manhã* 4 February 1964, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup>Quoted from the socialist weekly. “Arquitetos Reagem à Importação de Estrangeiros Para Guanabara.” *Novos Rumos* (Rio de Janeiro) 7-13 February 1964, p. 7.

in Brazil.<sup>33</sup> The Governor continuously repeated that the attacks against the hiring of the firm had nothing to do with urbanism and planning, but were solely ones concerning political ideology and tensions that plagued Brazilian society in general. Lacerda often cited the inconsistencies that associations such as the Clube de Engenharia had concerning foreign influence in Brazilian engineering.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, he questioned that if Brazilians had the “know-how” necessary to propose such a plan, then the same philosophies, techniques, and skills practiced by the Greek firm would be taught in Brazilian planning schools. Still, there were certainly other questions at hand. Two issues to consider are those of credibility and politics.

As much as Lacerda and his administration succeeded in rebuilding Rio in the early 1960s, it must always be remembered that Lacerda had intentions to run for the presidency of Brazil after his term as Governor was over. Additionally, as much as Rio de Janeiro and Guanabara developed in the early 1960s under his leadership, issues such as foreign aid and investment were crucial factors for his political survival. In a transcript of a meeting regarding the contract with Doxiadis Associates, Lacerda specifically mentions that the opinion of Doxiadis as an internationally respected figure could make a difference in securing more aid from the Alliance for Progress and other international investors.<sup>35</sup> These forms of credibility and acceptance were certainly factors and tools that Lacerda knew he needed in order to secure his future political aspirations.

### **The Plan**

*“The main objective of the Plan is to create a framework for the infrastructure that will permit the future balanced growth of the city, and will help solve the problems of the present city, without unduly destroying its charm and character.”<sup>36</sup>*

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<sup>33</sup>Lacerda went to the papers to explain his point of view regarding the plan. See “O Governador da Guanabara Rebate Críticas ao Contrato da Doxiadis” *O Globo* (Rio de Janeiro) 3 February 1964, p. 6.

<sup>34</sup> One often cited case is when Russian engineers went to Brazil to work/consult in the state oil company Petrobrás. See: Mauro Magalhães, *Carlos Lacerda: O Sonhador Pragmático* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1993) 45.

<sup>35</sup> Contrato Doxiadis – Reuniao Realizada em 3/2/1964 – 18hs e 30 minutos. Coleção Carlos Lacerda (CLC) – Universidade de Brasília.

<sup>36</sup> CEDUG and Doxiadis Associates, *Guanabara A Plan for Urban Development* (Rio de Janeiro: The State of Guanabara, Document Dox-Bra A6, 20 November 1965.) VII.

The Doxiadis Plan for Rio de Janeiro/Guanabara was different than any other one that it had seen during the twentieth century.<sup>37</sup> The Doxiadis plan, which was not concerned with aesthetics and design, was a highly technical plan that was to give long and short-term solutions to problems in the growing metropolis of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>38</sup> The most common problems and issues that were highlighted in the Doxiadis plan were the lack of adequate housing, mass transportation networks, the quantity of people living in sub-standard housing, insufficient space for industrial development, and crowded port facilities. The technological infrastructure of the city was also seen as insufficient for the city's population, largely in part to the stress put on the central area to serve as the main commercial center of Rio. In order to alleviate this pressure, Rio's relationship with the city of Niterói across the bay was targeted as a necessity in order to grow into a modern metropolis. The framework for the plans design would revolve around the philosophy of Ekistics. Ekistics, is highly based on studying the physical, social, economic, spatial, and demographic components of the city and analyzing its relationship to the various sectors of the population within the contexts residential patterns, public utilities, and public and private transportation, and use of space.<sup>39</sup> The plan's use of polychromatic lines and designs in reference to transportation networks, land use, and settling patterns are rather detailed and revolve around the framework of Ekistics.

Doxiadis also proposed that the city start to expand as far outward as possible in order to avoid the serious problems of overcrowding and lack of space in the central area of the city. He noted that the port area was too close to the overcrowded Central Business District, and therefore recommended that Rio establish a new port in the Sepetiba area just outside the city limits. This he proposed would spark new areas that

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<sup>37</sup> CEDUG and Doxiadis Associates, *Guanabara A Plan for Urban Development* (Rio de Janeiro: The State of Guanabara, Document Dox-Bra A6, 20 November 1965.) The plan was originally published in English and later into Portuguese. Roughly only 200 copies were ever printed of this plan.

<sup>38</sup>Two good, yet brief, urbanistic descriptions of the Doxiadis Plan are Norma Evenson, *Two Brazilian Capitals: Urbanism and Architecture in Rio de Janeiro and Brasília* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973) 57-63 and Vera Rezende, *Planejamento urbano e ideologia : Quatro planos para a cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1982): 51-57.

<sup>39</sup> Konstantinos Apostolou Doxiades, *Ekistics: An Introduction To The Science Of Human Settlements* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1968).



would be available for industrialization and not create problems of congestion within the city.

As much as the Doxiadis Plan dealt with the metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro on a macro level, it also identified two distinct areas that were ideal for urban renewal. One of these areas was the well-known neighborhood of Copacabana in the south, and the area of Mangue on the fringe of the CBD. Copacabana was a densely populated upper and middle class neighborhood that mixed high rise office buildings, large avenues, apartments, hotels, stores, bars, and cafés, with the natural splendor of the Atlantic Ocean and beach that served as a postcard image for the city and tourists. It was Rio's best-known area and perhaps even the symbol of Rio de Janeiro and Brazil to the international community during the 1960s. According to Doxiadis:

“The only solution to the problems of Copacabana is to organize the space and group various related functions in a radical way. There should be a complete separation between pedestrians and vehicles. The functions, uses and movements of pedestrians should be gathered together in areas that will be safe from traffic and be agreeable and relaxing. This can only be achieved by a vertical separation between man and car.”<sup>40</sup>

The plan for Mangue was slightly different. While Copacabana was growing exponentially, Mangue deteriorated daily. Most of this deterioration was related to all the construction and displacement that occurred with the building of the Santa Barbara Tunnel and gradual loss of industry within the central zone of the city. Doxiadis' plan for Mangue called for a renovation of the area that would preserve some of its remains, but largely call for redevelopment by constructing new housing complexes and office buildings.

“It is very probable that the plan for Mangue will propose a different internal street system and larger size blocks more compatible with the function and design of large scale central area building complexes, to permit the erection of modern office, commercial or residential buildings. Therefore, it would seem necessary for the reparcellation of the land.”<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Doxiadis Associates and CEDUG, Chapter 2.

<sup>41</sup> *Guanabara a Plan for Urban Development*, 312.

## **Forgotten Ekistics?**

Once Carlos Lacerda's tenure in office was over in December 1965, the Doxiadis plan never came to fruition. Even though there were some highly credible plans, it would be almost unthinkable for any state, federal, or municipal government to allocate the amount of funds and resources that the initial plan established. Furthermore, the dubious political climate caused by the military takeover in Brazil in April, 1964 also lessened the degree to which certain leaders and planners could operate. Thus, even though the Doxiadis plan established five-year intervals for action and planning, the political climate was not exactly favorable for its planned intentions.

Even though the plan was never implemented as it was intended, that does not mean that it was just another plan that "*ficou na gaveta.*"<sup>42</sup> Francisco Negrão de Lima, Lacerda's successor, never implemented the plan but certainly allowed his planners and urbanists to follow some of the ideas found in the Doxiadis plan. Although initially they might not have admitted to deriving their ideas from the Doxiadis plan for political or professional reasons, it is overwhelmingly obvious that the root of their ideas came from the 1965 master plan. Strangely, Negrão de Lima's administration also produced an extremely less ambitious plan for the city in 1970 entitled *Rio Ano 2000*.<sup>43</sup>

Since 1965, many of the plans and projects for the development and infrastructure of Rio de Janeiro have at least had some root in what Doxiadis and his team envisioned for Rio. By the late 1960s, the areas and neighborhoods of Mangue underwent drastic and chaotic renewal that still continues today.<sup>44</sup> Presently, the area contains little of its traditional characteristics and is where the headquarters and city government offices are housed. Copacabana also experienced a massive renewal campaign during Negrão de

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<sup>42</sup> A Brazilian (Portuguese language) expression for something that sits in a drawer and collects dust.

<sup>43</sup> Estado da Guanabara/Comissão do Ano 2000/Secretaria de Ciência e Tecnologia, *Rio Ano 2000*. 1970.

<sup>44</sup> For good examples on renovation of Mangue and the neighborhood of Catumbi see: Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos, *Movimentos Urbanos no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1981), Carlos Nelson Ferreira dos Santos and Arno Vogel *Quando a Rua Vira Casa* (Rio de Janeiro: IBAM, 1985), Guida Nunes, *Catumbi: Rebelião de um Povo Traído* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Vozes, 1978).

Lima's administration. The high population density, coupled with intense traffic and the environmental concerns of erosion, undertows, and sewage, led SURSAN to redesign and reform the beachfront area of Copacabana along Avenida Atlântica. The project was headed by Raymundo de Paula Soares, the president of SURSAN in 1968, along with guidance from the Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil of Lisbon. The expansion of the beach area along Avenida Atlântica intended to alleviate social tensions of the neighborhood by providing more open space for people to carry out leisure type activities. Secondly, the expansion of Avenida Atlântica was planned to help conserve the stability of the various apartment buildings, hotels, and other establishments that were threatened by the undertows from the ocean. Also, because of the demographic growth of Copacabana and the south zone of the city in the postwar years, there was a need to construct a new sewage system that would run along Avenida Atlântica. Lastly, one of the arguments for renovating this area of Copacabana was to promote tourism in the city.<sup>45</sup> Along with SURSAN, the Brazilian landscape architect Burle Marx (who also designed the Aterro do Flamengo for Lacerda) designed the famous stone sidewalks along the new ocean beach front of Copacabana. After completing the project, Raymundo de Paula Soares, commented that "Copacabana transformed itself in a prison of armed concrete."<sup>46</sup>

The last major form of planning and renewal that evokes Doxiadis and the reinvention of Rio de Janeiro under Negrão de Lima is the expansion and urbanization of the western parts of the city: Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá. As much as the northern, southern, and suburban areas grew from 1950-1965, the city of Rio de Janeiro still lacked available space for housing and industry within the city limits. This was also reflective in the increasing rates of people living in favelas during the 1960s, which was triggered by the lack of affordable housing and high rates of internal migration from other regions of Brazil. Oddly in 1969, the famous Brazilian architect and planner, Lúcio Costa, delivered his pilot plan for the urbanization of Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá in the

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<sup>45</sup> *Engenheiro Paula Soares: Antevisão Urbana – Uma Visão Humana*, 9.

<sup>46</sup> *ibid.*, 9.

western zone of the city of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>47</sup> This plan strove to solve the problems of population pressure in the other zones of the city, and at the same time aimed to expand the city's infrastructure. The plans to urbanize the western zone of the city ironically goes back as far back as the Plano Agache and Doxiadis, yet was never accomplished because the areas were essentially isolated from the rest of the city geographically.<sup>48</sup> With the advent of the tunnels, bridges, and expressways built under the Lacerda administration, SURSAN and the State Highway Department were better able to "conquer" this area of the city. This was no small task. In order to reach Barra da Tijuca from the south zone, two tunnels were built that would extend from Gávea-São Conrado-Barra da Tijuca. One of the tunnels, Joá, was the first double-leveled tunnel in Brazil. The tunnels, overpasses, and roads that provided access to Barra da Tijuca and Jacarepaguá were part of the Auto-Estrada Lagoa-Barra and the State of Guanabara's "ring of expressways." Furthermore, the Auto-Estrada Lagoa-Barra was part of the Federal Highway Program (BR-101) that linked Rio de Janeiro to São Paulo. By the late 1970s, both of these areas of the city became highly urbanized. Barra da Tijuca, which is located along the oceanfront, has been modeled after many North American - particularly Miami lifestyles. Until recently, there has been very little public transportation in that region where high-rise apartments and strip-malls have dominated since its inception in the early 1970s. Like many parts of the city, there is a form of socio-spatial segregation between the highly affluent but and low-income population. Jacarepaguá on the other hand, has always had a sizeable middle class population along with those residents who decided to construct favelas in the newly urbanized area as well. Whereas Barra da Tijuca contains ocean beaches and endless shopping centers, Jacarepaguá still remains mainly residential with a small industrial region. Residents of Jacarepaguá have traditionally relied on shopping in either Barra or in the northern zone of the city. One interesting phenomenon that was triggered by the urbanization of Jacarepaguá and Barra da Tijuca was the decrease in popularity of the open-air markets in many parts of the city. Instead, many large supermarkets opened in Barra da Tijuca where the upper and middle

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<sup>47</sup> A nice concise history of the Barra da Tijuca area with a reprint of Lúcio Costa's report is Ayrton Luiz Gonçalves, *Barra da Tijuca, O Lugar.* (Rio de Janeiro: Thex Editora, 1999).

<sup>48</sup> I mention ironically here in reference to Costa's comments regarding Doxiadis and his plans.

classes could do their grocery shopping and buy products in large quantities. From the early 1970s to the late 1980s, the amount of open-air markets in the south zone decreased while they still were very prominent in certain parts of the north zone and especially in the suburbs. These were areas where people had less access to capital and private transportation to reach Barra da Tijuca.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, many people in the suburban and northern zones of the cities made their living (or part of it) selling products at these fairs.

From the 1970s to the 1990s, numerous plans that were constructed, implemented, and designed could still find their roots from the plan envisioned by Doxiadis and his staff. Most recently, the numerous polychromatic transportation networks designed by Doxiadis such as the Linha Vermelha (Red Line) and Linha Amarela (Yellow Line) have been constructed and transformed the spatial configuration of Rio de Janeiro. Still, very few people, including planning scholars, often acknowledge the presence of Doxiadis. Scholars interested in Rio's planning history are more often able to recall the presence and plans of Donat Alfred Agache, Marcelo Piacentini, and Le Corbusier. Yet, these plans never came to fruition in their entirety, but are still celebrated more than the Doxiadis plan. Perhaps some of this can be attributed to the more technocratic elements and shift in planning that the Doxiadis plan represents. Secondly, the major research and historical archives have very little documentation on the Doxiadis plan. Thus, many planning scholars and historians have opted to focus on earlier plans such as Agache's where there is an abundant amount of archival and visual material.

I have attempted to suggest throughout this text that although Doxiadis and the Plan for Guanabara often have gone unmentioned, their legacy and importance for the city of Rio de Janeiro are immense. One can only truly appreciate this by analyzing the spatial layout of the city today. While there may be many questions regarding the social, cultural, and other consequences of such plans, they certainly have served as reference point for a new generation of planners. Furthermore, the political and cultural debates that surfaced upon his hiring illuminates many of the larger scale issues and tensions that existed in Brazilian society in the mid 1960s.

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<sup>49</sup> For a good overview of the history of the feira livre (open markets) see Gilmar Mascarenhas de Jesus, "O Lugar da Feira Livre na Grande Cidade Capitalista: Rio de Janeiro, 1964-1989." *Revista Brasileira de Geografia* 54:1 (Jan-Mar. 1992): 95-120.



# Appendix: Images

FIG. 154 MASTER PLAN FOR THE YEAR 2000

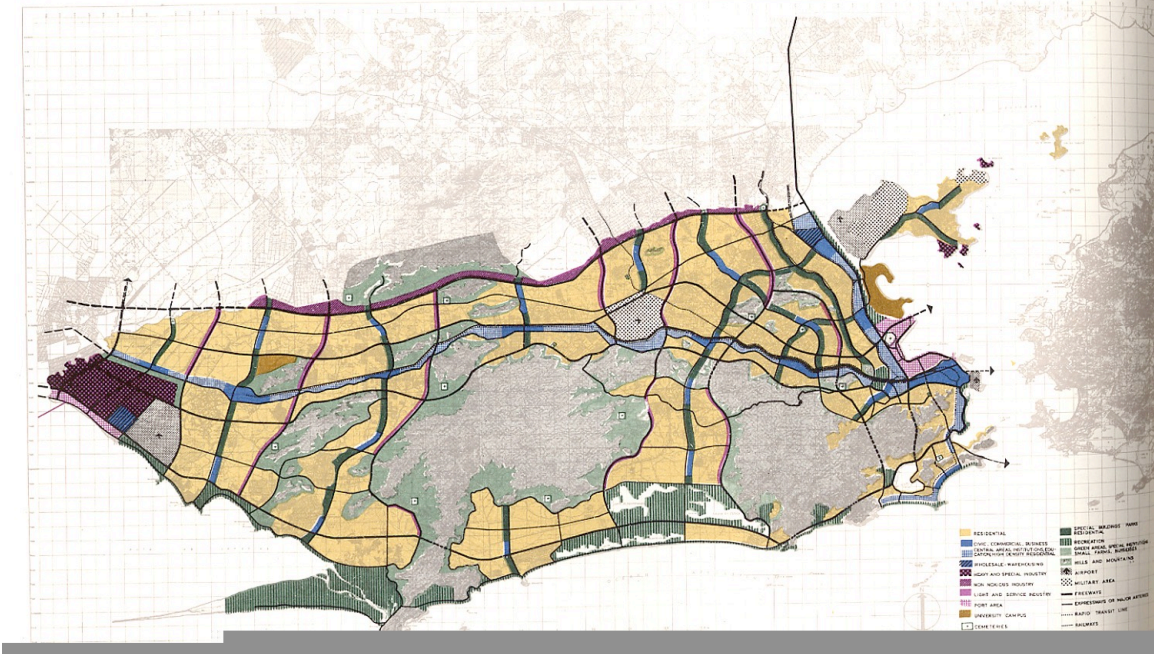
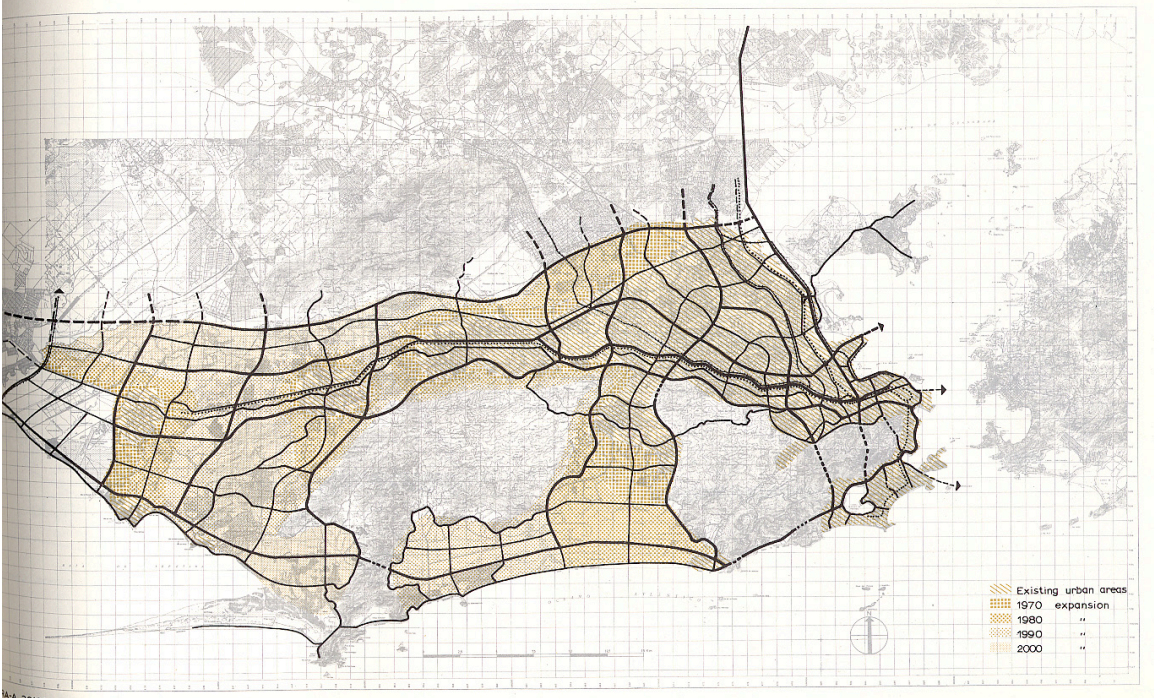
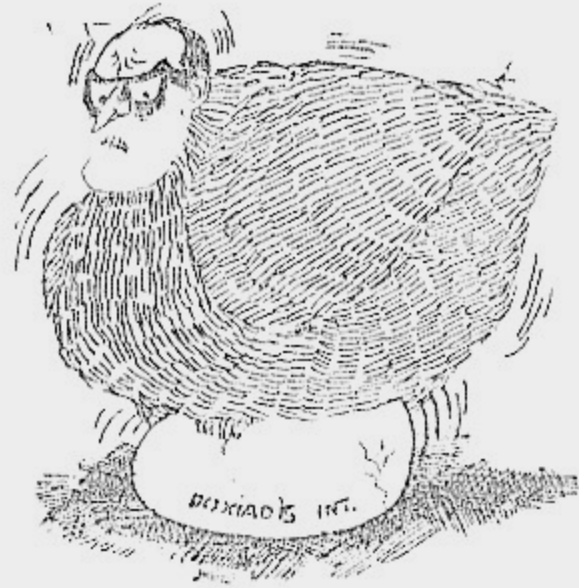


FIG. 172 PHASES OF URBAN EXPANSION

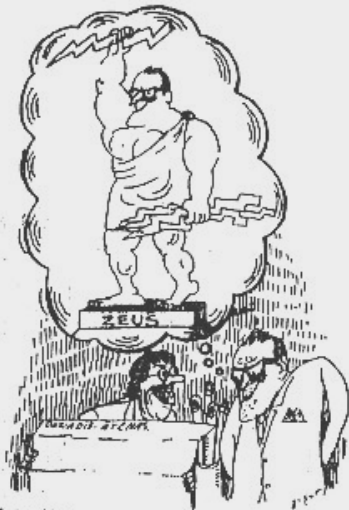




## Jaguar e o Negócio Grego



## Jaguar e os Gregos do Governador



... e em todas as praças seja erguida: estátuas de  
Vossa Excelência.

## O EMPRESÁRIO QUE SONHA

PLANEJA CIDADES  
PARA 38 PAÍSES. EMPREGA  
CIENTISTAS PREMIADOS  
COM O NOBEL, MAS  
SEU PLANO PARA O RIO  
NÃO FOI APROVEITADO.



Soldie viveu e  
reass com os

Duizentos e Carlos Lucardi. A humanidade se vivida para a sua

**Implementing the *Plan of Chicago*: Promotion and the Private Sector**

**Matt Lasner**

PhD Program / Urban Planning & Design

Advanced Studies Program

Harvard Design School

48 Quincy Street

Cambridge, MA 02138

USA

lasner @fas.harvard.edu



**Abstract**

The 1909 *Plan of Chicago* represents the first great effort to redevelop the modern American city, and the most implemented of the City Beautiful plans. This paper looks at the mechanisms used to execute projects, how they were financed, and who set the agenda.

The first section specifically considers who the men that funded the plan were and the nature of the system they helped devise to guide implementation—the semi-private, independent Chicago Plan Commission. It also considers how these men viewed the purpose of planning and their role in the planning process. The second part reviews how the Plan Commission went about its business and achieved its goals. Largely, this was a matter of promoting the plan to voters who were required to approve bond initiatives that enabled the city to pay for improvements. The final portion investigates some of the difficulties faced in realising improvements and the failure to realise the centrepiece of the plan, a new civic centre complex. An overriding concern is if and how private interests may have skewed public policy in their favour and, if so, than how this might affect our understanding of the plan.

Sources include the published materials of the Plan Commission, contemporary newspapers, the papers of plan architects Daniel Burnham and Edward H. Bennett at the Art Institute of Chicago's Ryerson and Burnham Libraries, the published accounts of individuals directly involved, and secondary sources on the history of Chicago's physical development, politics, and architecture.

The 1909 *Plan of Chicago* by Daniel Hudson Burnham and Edward H. Bennett is one of the most significant documents in American planning history. It guided what became the first great effort to modernise the American city through comprehensive planning, predating Robert Moses's work in New York by more than two decades, and Urban Renewal by more than four. This paper, however, is not about the *Plan*, which has been discussed extensively elsewhere. It is about how people chose to implement it. Planning histories, city histories, and essays otherwise commemorating the *Plan* have emphasised the plan's vision, scope, and beauty; the context in which Burnham conceived it; how Burnham understood the city; and its rhetorical merits—even what Burnham omitted from the final version. To some extent they also detail what was built and what wasn't, and what obstacles were faced, but often almost as though these were an afterthought.

As historian Sally Chappell has written in the catalogue for an exhibition at the Art Institute celebrating the plan's seventieth anniversary: "what happened and what failed to happen is not...the only nor the most important result of the Burnham Plan. The most important result...was the public demonstration of what city planning could do" (1979 14). For her, the ostensible ultimate value of the *Plan* lay in its status as an educational tool. This position is difficult to defend, however, because of its extensive impact on the city and because other such tools were around by 1909, namely planning exhibitions as organised Patrick Geddes in Glasgow, and the Municipal Arts Society and the city's Committee on Congestion of Population in New York.

Perhaps of greater value for Chappell was the plan's status as an authored artefact—an *objet d'art*. She makes this point, if unintentionally, in her use of the use of the term "Burnham Plan," *sans* apostrophe, rather than its proper name. Peter Hall seems to share this view. When he introduces the plan in *Cities of Tomorrow* he concedes that it "amazingly, despite apparently insuperable odds, got for the most part carried out" (1996 179). But then he says nothing more, never mind the fact that the odds were not insuperable. Likewise, in an introduction to a recent facsimile edition, plan historian Kristen Schaffer relegates the issue of implementation to a footnote directing readers to Chappell's essay.

This ought not to be the case. The Civic Centre scheme—the plan's symbolic heart—was never completed, but much of the rest was: the construction of lakefront parks and acquisition of open space preserves, the widening and extension of roads, new boulevards and highways, the straightening of part of the Chicago River, and the consolidation of train tracks and terminals—in

fewer than fifteen years.<sup>1</sup> Through what mechanisms were improvements undertaken? How were they financed? Who set the agenda? By surveying the methods of implementation, the ideology supporting them, and what came of them, we see a whole series of other issues raised—the relationship between government and the private sector, the role of public participation and class interests, and the very nature and purpose of planning. The projects, like the plan, are well documented, but they tell only half the story. Its their realisation—and how that realisation was negotiated—that tells us most about the built environment, in this case the modern American city.

With these questions in mind, the most salient feature of the plan was its stewardship. As was true of many planners in many cities, Burnham had been hired by an elite group of businessmen to design the *Plan of Chicago*, in this case the Merchants Club of Chicago, which merged with the Commercial Club in 1907. But unlike elsewhere, in Chicago these same individuals took a leading role in supervising the plan's implementation. After work had finished in the spring of 1909, the club's Plan Committee, which had been working with Burnham and Bennett, decided that an independent commission ought to oversee the plan's future. Charles Henry Wacker, a longstanding member of the club who was in large part responsible Burnham's commission, took the proposition to Mayor Fred Busse (1907-1911). The idea was that an independent body featuring "leaders in every walk of life" would liberate the plan from politics as usual and expedite the construction process. Busse, a former postmaster who had sought his fortune in coal, was machine Republican with reform tendencies. He'd slid through the 1906 election with only about 52% of the vote with the help of an endorsement from Teddy Roosevelt.<sup>2</sup> The members of the Club were nothing if not staunch reformers and Republicans. He proved sympathetic to their cause and by the beginning of November established the Chicago Plan Commission.<sup>3</sup>

The Commercial Club was a very private organisation. "It seeks no publicity and it accepts less," wrote one observer in 1919 (Moody 1919 180). Thanks to its very public work on the plan,

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<sup>1</sup> Though the *Plan* served as the principal guide for public works projects in Chicago at least through WWII, for efficiency's sake this paper will only examine the period between 1909 and 1923. While this date might at first appear to be arbitrary, 1923 serves as a useful limit for three reasons. In 1923 Chicago joined the emergent national movement to plan on a regional basis with the establishment of the Chicago Regional Planning Association. Also in 1923, the second administration of Mayor William Thompson ended, following fourteen years of unwavering support of the *Plan* by three mayors over four terms. And finally, it was in 1923 that Chicago enacted its first zoning law, establishing a new balance of power between business, the state, and property owners with respect to land use and redevelopment.

<sup>2</sup> See Dick Simpson *Rogues, Rebels and Rubber Stamps*, 2001, pp 63-69.

<sup>3</sup> Though semi-private, Chicago Plan Commission served as the city's official planning body until a Department of City Planning was established in 1956. It continued (and today continues) to operate as a mayoral commission, though as a subsidiary of the new Department.

however, we know a lot more about than we might have. After the merger with the Merchants Club—prompted by the Commercial Club’s desire to co-sponsor the plan—the group comprised about 125 members. Among them were the city’s most prominent, and richest, businessmen, including Jonathan Ogden Armour, heir to the Armour & Company meatpacking empire; Richard Teller Crane, the elevator manufacturer; Frederic Adrian Delano, the railroad magnate and uncle of F.D.R.; Samuel Insull, President of the Chicago Edison Company; Joseph Medill McCormick, heir to the Tribune Company and, later, Congressman (1917-1919) and U.S. Senator (1919-1925); Cyrus Hall McCormick, Jr., heir to the International Harvester fortune; his brother Harold Fowler McCormick, who married John D. Rockefeller’s daughter Edith; and Edward F. Swift of Swift & Company. The other members were manufacturers of hardware, railroad ties, and mining machinery; members of the Chicago and New York Stock Exchanges; and presidents of banks and life insurance companies; and they sat on the boards of countless banks, trusts, and railroads. But they also sat on the boards of the Children’s Aid Society, Hull House, and the Field Columbian Museum, and they had staged the World’s Columbian Exposition in the early nineties. This last achievement in particular inspired them to taken on this new project.

The Commission was initially comprised of three hundred men (no women) and an Executive Committee of an additional twenty-eight, all appointed by Mayor Busse.<sup>4</sup> One (of two) aldermen from each of the city’s thirty-five wards got a seat, and Busse was made honorary president. Wacker became Chairman. Alongside them sat the president and secretary of the Board of [Cook] County Commissioners, the postmaster, the city engineer, the private secretary to the mayor, the president of the Board of Education, the commissioner of public works, the president of the Board of South Park Commissioners, the president of the Board of Local Improvements, the corporation counsel, the president of the Lincoln Park Board, the president of the sanitary district, and the health commissioner, as well as architect William Holabird and an array of top brass from the city’s churches, newspapers, railroads, banks, and major department stores (Sears Roebuck, Marshall Fields, Carson Pirie Scott, and Montgomery Ward). Many—about fifty—were members of the Commercial Club.

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<sup>4</sup> Though membership started at 328, meeting minutes suggest it declined by about five to ten men per year through attrition. The body was not substantially restructured until 1939, and again in 1956 when it became a subsidiary of the new municipal Department of City Planning.

The remaining members' affiliations have proved harder to come by. But just these details suggest that Commission's contention that it was "thoroughly representative...of the entire citizenry of the city" (Moody 1919 353) was not entirely true. To the contrary, there seem to have been no members from the ranks of the working and middle classes—no labour or trade union leaders, no presidents of homeowners' or tenants' associations, no representatives from neighbourhood social clubs or ethnic societies, and no Jane Addams. Nevertheless, leaders insisted that the Commission was a democratic organisation, representing every conceivable interest. Not only had its membership been appointed by the mayor, but because it was so broad it obviated the need for any formal public input in the planning process. According to one leader of the commission:

...the City Plan Commission was made up of the leaders in every walk of life— industrial, commercial, financial, educational, religious, and political...It is clear at a glance that such an organisation was eminently capable of determining what work should be undertaken, when to undertake it, and how to present it to all of the people for their approval. (Moody 1919 353-4)

Despite the rhetoric the Commission was neither a democratic nor a publicly accountable body, and not just because of its exclusive membership.

Indeed, it was even less democratic than it might seem at first glance. When the Commission met for the first time on November 4, 1909, fewer than half the members attended. The same happened when the Executive Committee held its first meeting two weeks later. In 1910, the Executive Committee had to lower its quorum from fifteen to seven in order to continue business. As if to magnify the exclusiveness, the Executive Committee met more than twice as often as the full Commission, and neither met regularly. Between 1909 and 1923 the smaller group met sixty times and the larger twenty-four. The result was that decisions were effectively taken by only a handful of men.

The Plan Commission's power derived from its ability to shape public policy. It did this by recommending to the City Council particular improvements for adoption. The Council retained ultimate authority. The Commission proved wildly successful at negotiating this process. All of its recommendations were approved by wide margins, if not unanimously. Of the first ten proposals put forth by the commission, between 1911 and 1919, five passed unanimously, one with ten dissenting votes (of seventy), one with eight, one with seven, one with three, and one with two. This success, however, might be understood less as a reflection of the plan's merits than as deference to the Commission's power. While any party might suggest an improvement to the Council, it was the

Commission, not the Council, that could drum up construction money. Much of the cost of improvements were met through special assessments on abutting land, and in certain cases through contributions by railroads. But up to half the costs of projects were met through municipal bonds, and these had to be approved by voters. The city did not have the resources (or the right) to persuade people to vote one way or the other. The Commission did.

How leaders of the Commission viewed the purpose of planning tells much about why they devised this structure. According to Wacker:

It [planning] promotes trade by supplying direct and easy ways for the extension and development of commerce; fosters city growth by making it easier and cheaper to conduct all classes of business; increases and insures all property values by preventing the many evils of haphazard building; makes every citizen a more efficient worker by saving time and money in transit of goods and people; and, above all, it assures to that city which adopts it a future citizenship sound in body, mind, and morals. (qtd. in Moody 1919 32)

For him, the primary purpose of planning was to improve the climate for business and bolster property values. To this end, Wacker and his comrades believed the development and execution of plans was best left to the business community.

According to Charles Dyer Norton, head of Commercial Club's Plan Committee (until appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury by William Howard Taft in early 1909): "The City Plan is a business proposition and it should be developed under the direction and control of business men (sic)." Government, he believed, was ill equipped for the job.

Our political administrations...are subject to frequent changes of personnel and of policy. In Cook County to-day nine independent taxing bodies...are making plans, issuing bonds and spending money independently of each other. Occasionally they are antagonistic to each other, but every one of these taxing bodies must and does bow before the central and final authority, the public itself. In this great commercial city The Commercial Club is fairly representative of public opinion, and this is a permanent organisation. (Commercial Club 1908b 18)

To this end, the Commission preferred that the city not establish a department of city planning.

This professed lack of faith in government suggests an acknowledgement that Commission priorities differed from those of the majority. That the Commission spent twice as much to promote the plan as to draft it also points to this possibility. Historian Richard Foglesong has made such an argument. Planning, he writes, "carried with it the prospect of democratising the control of urban development." But the independent commission "provided a way of guarding against this danger...to capital" (1986 200-201). Before we delegitimise the effort on grounds that it represented only a narrow set of class interests, however, we should consider the wider political context more fully.

In the antebellum period, businessmen, lawyers, and realtors had governed Chicago directly, serving as mayors and aldermen. By the 1870s, however, a thoroughly corrupt partisan system had taken root and little room was left for reform (Simpson 2001 46). In the time Burnham took to prepare the plan alone, the City Council failed to approve a major traction ordinance to municipalise ownership of transit facilities and a new city charter giving the city greater powers of taxation. In these years, however, businessmen occasionally rallied to take direct control of projects such as the suburban annexation movement of 1889, the World's Columbian Exposition, or the Plan of Chicago (*ibid.*). If undemocratic, at least the commission represented the will among the elite for good, clean government.

If city planning was best overseen by an independent body, that body's success was largely due to its freedom to promote improvements to the public. Even before the commission had been established, the Commercial Club was working to make sure people knew about its plan. It was lavishly published in June 1909 as an 156-page, hardcover volume with more than a hundred black and white images and fifteen six-colour prints of watercolours by New York artists Jules Guérin. But it was too expensive to distribute widely and only 1,650 copies were made. To get the word out, the club prepared a press kit for release on Independence Day. When Chicagoans opened their papers Fourth of July morning they were greeted by full-page (or longer) supplements in every major paper, many replete with reproductions of Guérin's inspiring images. In August the club mounted an exhibition at the Art Institute. The show was organised in a single open room to convey the unity of the plan's many proposals. That ten of the museum's twenty-one trustees were Commercial Club members surely facilitated these arrangements.<sup>5</sup>

The public proved sceptical, however. The papers took to calling the plan "Chicago Beautiful" and, so the story goes, readers began to think of it as a costly beautification program. To reverse this troubling trend, the commission set out to hire someone to promote it full time. At a meeting in April 1910 Wacker nominated a young man named Walter Dwight Moody. Moody was a Detroit salesman who had stormed onto the Chicago scene at age thirty-two when he became active in the Chicago Association of Commerce, adding some 1,300 members in just a few years (*Who Was...* 1966 857). By 1910 he was also something of a celebrity. His 1908 book on the art of salesmanship, *Men Who*

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<sup>5</sup> Trustees: Edward Everett Ayer, Adolphus Clay Bartlett, Edward Burgess Butler, Daniel Burnham, Clyde Mitchell Carr, John Jacob Glessner, Charles L. Hutchinson, John J. Mitchell, Martin A. Ryerson, and Albert Arnold

*Sell Things*, if not a best seller, had run into twelve printings. Wacker waxed: “there ought to be a man like Moody, of the Association of Commerce, a hustler, a man who knows how to do things, and to get the greatest amount of publicity out of the movement we are undertaking” (qtd. in Walker 1941 236). Using money from the Commercial Club, the commission hired him as Managing Director. He remained in the position until killed by a stroke in 1920.

Wacker couldn't have picked a better man for the job. In *What of the City?*, Moody's 1919 book on city planning (adopted as a textbook by Harvard's Department of City Planning), he wrote that the planning comprises three aspects: financial, technical, and promotional. Tellingly, he adds that these might also be called “contribution,” “evolution,” and “execution.” And execution, he believed, was above all else a matter of promotion. “Of all the American cities that have attempted city planning,” he writes, “hardly a dozen have made any real progress because of their failure to realise the fundamental value of scientific promotional effort” (1919 vii-viii). By contrast, he continues, Charles Wacker realised from the outset that the plan had to be “established” with the people (*ibid.* 85).

Once on board, Moody set out to communicate directly with voters. His first idea was to circulate more copies of the plan—a hundred times as many. He prepared a less expensive version, abridged to 93 pages, and called it “Chicago's Greatest Issue: An Official Plan.” He had it mailed to all property owners and households paying \$25 or more a month in rent. Written in “plain, simple language so that all might readily understand it,” it appealed to people as potential beneficiaries of the plan (Chicago Plan Commission 1912 325). It explained to owners that they would gain from higher property values as the result of improvements, and it emphasised how “practical” it all was. This was just a start, however. Moody was very savvy and very creative. He produced a flashy presentation employing the latest technology—in this case the stereopticon, a magic lantern that faded one image (say, of gritty old Chicago) into another (shiny, new Burnham Chicago).

He and Wacker (and the commission's office manager) delivered nearly five hundred shows to an estimated 100,000 people between 1911 and 1920 (Chicago Plan Commission 1920 1030). About half were to open audiences at public school auditoriums, the rest to groups; sometimes they were given in foreign languages. Groups included professional and business organisations like the American Institute of Architects, the Cook County Real Estate Board, the Building Manager's

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Sprague. In addition, Frank H. Armonstrong, Charles Wacker, and Walter H. Wilson served as “governing



Association, the Rotary Club, the Elks, and the Business Women's Education League of America; exclusive social groups like the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Chicago Yacht Club; employees from Carson, Pirie, Scott & Company and the Chicago Telephone Company; charities like the University of Chicago Settlement League and Chicago Women's Aid; ethnic societies like the Knights of Columbus, the Swedish Club, the German Club of Chicago, the Irish Fellowship Club, the Chicago Hebrew Institute; and countless churches and schools.

Moody and Wacker did not just speak at schools. In his first year on the job Moody composed a textbook, *Wacker's Manual of the Plan of Chicago*, and teachers' manual. With the unanimous support of the Board of Education—headed by Edward I. Bennett, the commission's Vice-Chairman—it was added to the eighth grade public school curriculum as part of a pre-existing civics course. Perhaps as a result of efforts by parents or clergymen on the commission, many independent and parochial schools also began to use the textbook; at least one suburban school district even expressed interest (Chicago Plan Commission 1912 326). The plan was taught in public schools well into the 1920s.

As time wore on Moody devised other tools. The most basic were pamphlets urging support for specific bond initiatives: "Creating a World Famous Street" for Michigan Avenue, "Chicago Can Get Fifty Million Dollars for Nothing!" for the lakefront, and "Reclaim South Water Street." The titles alone suggest their tone. His most fashion forward creation was a film, *A Tale of One City*, which Moody commissioned and screened at more than sixty theatres to a total of about 150,000 people "not usually reached by ordinary methods" (Chicago Plan Commission 1916b 829). These efforts were bolstered by an extraordinary amount of free publicity, usually supplied by, or under the auspices of, men who served on the commission. During the war, for example, when progress on the plan all but stopped, he enlisted the help of the commission's clergymen in staging a Plan of Chicago Day in churches. He produced a pamphlet, "Seed Thoughts for Sermons," and on Sunday, January 18, 1919 seventy-eight ministers made sermons about the plan to about 200,000 congregants (*Chicago Tribune* 1919a 1). The day came to known as "Nehemiah Day" on account of the number of sermons about the reconstruction of Jerusalem (Chicago Plan Commission 1920 1032). If the people of Chicago decline to vote for plan bond initiatives they now did so at the risk of sinning!

Local merchants and bankers, often affiliated with the Commission, also lent support to the plan. The Harris Trust Company featured the plan in an advertising campaign, and the Railway Exchange Bank gave away reproductions of twelve of Guérin's images to customers. Marshall Field's featured the plan in its in-house magazine, *Fashions*, and sent out a booklet entitled "Chicago, the Great Central Market" to its wholesale customers nation-wide. The Consolidated Company, which produced construction materials, used the plan in its 1920 calendar, and the State-Lake Theatre painted an image of the Michigan Avenue improvement on its curtain (Chicago Plan Commission 1920 1031). Before the November 1919 election—the one with the biggest stakes to date—Marshall Field's, Carson, Pirie, Scott, and other department stores made pro-bond window displays; cinema owners gave slide shows; and the Chicago Bar wrote to its members urging support. Through Moody's efforts, by the early 1920s, it seems that nothing had come to symbolise the city's pride more than Burnham's plan. And the more powerful a symbol it became, all the more effective the commission became.

Perhaps the greatest, and most influential, of the private interests that promoted the plan were the three major newspapers: the conservative *Tribune*, the more liberal *Daily News*, and William Randolph Hearst's *Herald and Examiner*. None of the publishers was on the commission, but Medill McCormick of the *Tribune* and Victor Fremont Lawson of the *News*, as well as Alexander Agnew McCormick of the *Evening Post*, were all members of the Commercial Club. Year after year all of these papers gave bond initiatives top coverage, re-running Guérin's images and waging get out the vote campaigns with cartoons and editorials. Newspaper support for bond initiatives reached its peak during the campaign of fall 1919. Two days before the election, the *Tribune* and the *Herald and Examiner* ran statements by Wacker, and on nearly every page the *Tribune* reminded readers to "Vote YES on All Bond Issues" (1919b). In the same issue of the *Tribune* ran a full-page ad urging readers to "GO TO THE POLLS AND VOTE YES."

This is not to say that everyone supported the plan. Rather, that opposition is difficult to locate. The major papers record little if any. During the campaign of 1919, only a single incident appeared, on page eleven. It was a story about a local merchant who was against the South Water Street improvement (Wacker Drive) and had sent letters to other the property owners saying the project was a costly mistake (*ibid.* 1:11). But Chicago had dozens of other newspapers: labour papers, neighbourhood papers, and foreign language papers. While they were much smaller in

circulation, their role was not insignificant. Political scientist Charles Edward Merriam noted in 1929 (five years after the National Origins Act severely curtailed immigration) that the twelve leading foreign-language dailies alone had a combined circulation of 400,000, and foreign-language weeklies 600,000—very substantial numbers (Merriam 1929 164). It stands to reason dissent would have been more welcome in these “other” pages. Unfortunately, they are not easy to find.

One example of what we might have expected is the November 1914 edition of the North-West Side Commercial Association *Monthly Bulletin*. Most of its front page was devoted to a cartoon opposing the Michigan Avenue improvement, whose bonds were then up for vote. The image shows an overweight thug with a red face and beady eyes in a top hat and tails, with dollar signs on his vest and a pin on his collar reading “Captain of the Loop.” He is stomping along South Water Street (Wacker Drive) wielding a rough hewn club labelled “Daily Newspapers” with one hand, and shaking his hairy fist with the other. Just behind him is the proposed new Michigan Avenue bridge. He is saying: “Say!!! Vote for the bond issue for my automobile bridge.” The caption reads, “The big stick and the hand that wields it” and asks, “Are you foolish enough to do it?” (1914 1). An article to the same effect followed and at the bottom of each page in the whole edition ran the admonition: “VOTE NO  ON THE \$38,000,000.00 BOND ISSUE.”

As a result of the Commission’s efforts, however, between 1909 and 1923 voters approved every one of the twenty-three bond initiatives put before them: Twelfth Street in 1912; Michigan Avenue in 1914; Lincoln Park and two for forest preserves in 1916; a third forest preserves in 1917; a second for Michigan Avenue and a another forest preserves in 1918; a second Twelfth Street in April 1919; Ashland Avenue, the Exterior Highway System, a third Michigan Avenue, Ogden Avenue, Robey Street, South Water Street, and Western Avenue in November 1919; a forest preserves and South Lakefront (Grant Park) in 1920; forest preserves in 1921 and 1922; and forest preserves, La Salle Street and a second South Lakefront in 1923. Collectively they allowed City Hall to raise \$78 million for improvements at a time when the entire city’s annual budget was only about \$20 million.

Just because voters empowered the city to float a bond for a project, however, did not mean that projects progressed smoothly. Usually bonds covered less than half the cost of an improvement, so the city had to rely on other means to raise funds. In the case of a street improvement, where private property owners would benefit directly from an increment in property values, the city levied special assessments. In the case of the west side railroad terminals project, the city persuaded the

railroads to fund improvements totalling about \$82.5 million, but only after years of negotiation. In all cases, the condemnation of private property resulted in a *de facto* lengthy lawsuit. Where the city could not simply condemn land, either because the state owned it or it was subject to federal regulation, the process of land acquisition proved even more complex.

Because of these complications, most improvements took half a decade or more to complete and the reclamation of the lakefront took almost two. The State Legislature authorised the South Park Commission to reclaim submerged lakefront between Grant and Jackson parks in 1903 and 1907, in accordance with recommendations made by Burnham at the close of the Columbian Exposition. In 1909, the Commercial Club began negotiations with the Illinois Central Railroad, owner of the riparian rights, yet they didn't reach an initial agreement until 1912. That same year the city applied to the federal War Department to establish new harbour lines, and in 1913 Mayor Carter H. Harrison (1911-1915) testified to this end in Washington. The Secretary of War did not approve the changes until 1920, however. Though an extreme example, it is indicative of the types of difficulties the city faced in realising plan improvements. Indeed for every improvement, the only relatively straightforward step was securing City Council approval.

Of all the improvements begun between 1909 and 1923, the vast majority concerned the widening of roads. The principle exceptions were expansion of the lakefront parks, work towards the new West Side railroad terminals, and acquisition of open forest preserves on the city periphery. While we ought not diminish the magnitude of these achievements, we can't ignore the fact that the Commission made little progress towards realising the very centrepiece of Burnham's plan: the Civic Centre complex. The scheme called for a broad new avenue along the line of Congress Street, complete with a 300 foot wide mall extending from the lakefront to a massive, domed City Hall a mile inland. Radiating from it were to be six more diagonal avenues leading to further governmental buildings and other parts of town. In this respect, it served as the symbolic centre of the new Chicago envisaged by Burnham.

Yet ten years into the project, the scheme merited hardly any mention in commission publications and at commission meetings. In the report "Ten Years Work of the Chicago Plan Commission," the Civic Centre appears only as part of a long list of improvements then under consideration by the Commission (Chicago Plan Commission 1920 1037). In an article about Commission work published in the journal *Chicago Commerce* in 1921, Wacker placed the Civic

Centre dead last on a list of eighteen projects (“Here’s What…” 1921 14). By the mid-1920s, when the Commission published the pamphlet “The Plan of Chicago in 1925: Fifteen Years’ Work of the Chicago Plan Commission,” the proposal failed to appear altogether.

The high cost of land at the Congress Street site seems to have offered the official excuse for delay (Ball 1926 39). With \$23.7 million already spent on land acquisition by 1921 alone, and another \$24.2 million pending, one is tempted to regard the party line with a bit of scepticism (Chicago Board of Local Improvements 1923a 5). More likely was an unwillingness on the part of the commission to seriously pursue such a large project, or plain disinterest. An alternative explanation might be that while private donors could be tapped to pay for museums, railroads to pay for new stations, and neighbouring property owners to pay at least a portion of street improvements, no level of government could be made to pay for a new civic centre on high-priced land adjacent to the Loop. As a celebration of the public realm and the democratic process, it represented all that plan came not to.

The decision, deliberate or otherwise, to place Burnham’s scheme for the Civic Centre on hold indefinitely should, though, also be seen in a wider context of changing priorities in American cities. Indeed, even before WWI, City Beautiful had lost much of its currency. As M. Christine Boyer writes, beginning around 1909—not only the year the Commercial Club published the plan, but also the year of the first National Conference on City Planning—interest began to turn from formal and aesthetic approaches toward the “City Practical.” By the 1910s, “the idealisms of environmental reform finally appeared to be too slow, [and] too hidden remove the barriers of economic growth” (1983 60-61). Mere cosmetic improvements no longer seemed an appropriate remedy for the effects of unplanned *laissez-faire* urban development. She continues: “Order in urban growth and plan had to be established without reference to classical or ceremonial harmony....An interventionist strategy was necessary, a planning mentality was essential—one that offered a conceptual scheme for rational development and regulated growth.” (*ibid.* 62)

If, in this light, we see the plan as a transitional document—incorporating both monumental elements and the means to rationalise the city’s transport infrastructure—the order in which the Commission went about realising its proposals suggests one served as sugar coating for the other. The failure to implement formal elements also testifies to an emergent disregard for this type of intervention on the part of capital. In other words, in practice, if not by design, the order in which the plan was sold to the public was not the way it had been conceived by Commercial Club. Further

research into the operations of the commission and particular local circumstances must ask why the commission selected projects in the order that it did. Take the case of Twelfth Street. The commission's first official action was recommending that Twelfth Street (today Roosevelt Road) be widened. Running along the southern edge of the Loop, Burnham intended it form part of beltway of boulevards around the centre. In *What of the City?* Moody posits that the commission gave it first priority because it believed it would make a good demonstration project. The commission, he wrote, "determined that the people should be 'shown' [the value of the plan] by starting on a single improvement in the worst district" (1919 94). The geography of Chicago in 1909, however, suggests that other forces may have been at work.

Twelfth Street was one of the "worst" districts in the city. The South Loop was gritty and industrial—and it was growing. But only a half mile away stood the city's original "Gold Coast," along Michigan, Prairie, and Calumet Avenues south of Sixteenth Street. First settled in the sixties and seventies by Philip Armour, George Pullman, and Marshall Field, by the 1900s it had come to house the next generation of merchant princes, including Marshall Field, Jr. and Commercial Club member John J. Glessner, whose house by H. H. Richardson led to the area's eventual designation as an historic district. In 1905, the year before work on the plan began, the area was home to a third of Commercial Club members still living inside city limits (Leonard 1905).<sup>6</sup> But it was under threat and in transition to commercial uses. While many of the city's elite had moved to the new Gold Coast (today's Gold Coast) just to the north of the Loop, or to the suburbs, it's conceivable that club members hoped to use the project to stem the tide of decay.

While these questions are for future research, they point to some larger issues about the changing shape of cities and the role that class, class interests, and class antagonism play in guiding that change. Within the modern practice of city planning there have always existed tensions between the various groups that use the city. Residents, workers, property owners, commerce, and industry each have a competing interest in the built environment, and must vie for power to meet it. In the U.S.—and issues of representative equity aside—local government, as mediated by the courts, is usually the mechanism through which the value of those interests are weighed, and through which communities realise their plans. And, under such circumstances, it is up to local elected officials accommodate participation by "the public" in whatever form may found to be acceptable.

Today, the value of “public participation” in planning is a given. Dissatisfaction with planning procedures in the post-war period—in the US, urban renewal procedures—that minimised opportunities for input from residents, lead to widespread protest by residents. They were led by younger planners, the so-called “advocacy planners,” who made public participation an explicit aim of the profession. Planning has always been meant to work toward the “greater good,” of course. But the 1950s and early 1960s saw a series of excesses in planning. Excesses still fresh in our collective memory, and excesses that led to this ideology of inclusion. These excesses were, at least at a certain level, the result of two mechanisms pioneered in the 1930s that largely insulated planning from electoral politics—the semi-autonomous “authority” and the funding of urban public works by the federal government. But all this came later. In Chicago, when faced with implementing a great urban redevelopment scheme, the city government still found ways to bracket debate, and to exclude certain types of interests—in particular, local (as opposed to city-wide) interests—from the decision-making process. It established a semi-public body to set the agenda, and to promote that agenda using private funds.

Certainly the captains of capital—the Armours, the Swifts, and the rest —had their way with Chicago in the 1910s. This doesn’t necessarily mean that “capital” was served. Many writers have theorised that planning will always, inherently, benefit capital—at the expense of the poor. But this idea is problematic. If an Armour argues with Aaron Montgomery Ward (who opposed the construction of museums in Grant Park), and both lock heads with the railroads, there are a range of possible outcomes. And even if a benefit to capital, the outcome may not necessarily strike a blow to the poor. The great difference, in fact, between what happened in the 1910s and the 1950s is that under Burnham’s plan hundreds of thousands of people were not displaced in an effort to shore up property values. To a certain extent we are free to celebrate the *Plan of Chicago* today—to hold it up as an example of what planning can do, of what we can do as planners—precisely because it lacks this culpability. Whether a scheme destroys entire neighbourhoods should not be our gage of planning’s success or acceptability, however. Public dialogue might prove better. Ultimately, though, if we must judge planning, we should do so on grounds of social equity. Have the *Plan of Chicago* improvements more it equitable place? To answer this question would require yet further research. But this historian suspects we needn’t bother; he would answer a resounding “yes.”

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<sup>6</sup> About a third of members actually lived in the suburbs, mostly Evanston and Lake Forest, but also Winnetka,

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Matthew Bradbury.  
Lecturer, Landscape Architecture.  
School of Landscape and Plant Science.  
UNITEC, Institute of Technology.  
Auckland, New Zealand.

Private Bag 92025.  
Auckland.  
09 8494180

## ABSTRACT

The announcement that Beijing is to become a Garden City by the opening of the 2008 Olympics shows how powerful and pervasive the idea of the garden city has been in urban development in the 20th and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. This paper explores the many complex engagements between the landscape and new urbanism in the 20th century.

From the inception of the suburb, the relationship between the house and garden, subdivision and landscape has been an integral part of the development of the suburb. The success of this particular urbanism, from the English garden city movement to the post war American subdivision can, in large part be attributed to the garden as part of its ideological make up. Yet the actual condition of the garden in the suburb, (defined as a bounded domestic, horticultural and living space,) has remained remarkably unchanged from the turn of the century English model. Its role is ideological. A range of larger social and cultural reasons has contributed to this situation, and these include; individualism, the nuclear family, and desire for privacy, real estate demands, and private property. All have contributed to the sanctity of a suburban model, which has changed little from the first suburb of Letchworth built over one hundred years ago.

The first part of the paper begins by considering the presence of landscape in the great texts; Howard's 'Tomorrow a Peaceful Path to Real Reform', and Le Corbusier's 'The City of Tomorrow,' which while ostensibly about architecture, is in fact, a detailed description of many landscape; from gardens, parks, and farms and their engagement with the new city. From these texts, the paper moves on to consider both built and paper projects. Famous examples such as Letchworth and Alton West Housing estate in Richmond. Are considered.

The second part of the paper proposes a design case study to explore the idea of generating an urbanism from the exploration and engagement with the landscape, specifically garden design practice and landscape ecology. Starting with a typically subdivision site, the study utilises a GIS programme to both map the site and generate speculative possibilities. The programme then sets up a process in which the interaction between ecological processes and garden operation are generated and mapped.

Two specific garden operations are chosen, exotic horticulture and topographic alteration. The interaction between the indigenous and exotic produces a rich and complex horticultural field across the site. Topographic operations transform the site into a landscape of natural contour and terracing. Typical suburban infrastructure; roads, housing, services are treated in a generic manner and placed in the garden zones

The result is a rich heterogeneous and unstable landscape, opening up a myriad of new possibilities for this important urbanism, the garden city.

# one

*In short, by 2008, Beijing will become, a garden city*<sup>x</sup>

The announcement that Beijing is to become a Garden City by the opening of the 2008 Olympics shows how powerful and pervasive the idea of the garden city has been in urban development in the 20th and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. This paper explores the many complex engagements between the landscape and new urbanisms in the 20th and 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## Garden Cities of To-Morrow

Howard's seminal text, *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*,<sup>ii</sup> advocated a paradigm of English social change and a panacea to the problem of English industrialisation. While the book advancing practical solutions that addressed a spectrum of city planning challenges such as land use, design, transportation, housing and finance, the book actually avoids specific plans for the new city and hardly mentions gardens at all. In the 118 page treatise, only six pages were devoted to a description of a *diagram* of the new city.

Howard's diagram of the Garden City was a set of concentric circles alternating built zones and landscape zones. These circles radiated from a circular space containing 5 and a 1/2 acres of beautiful and well-watered garden<sup>iii</sup> surrounded by public buildings each standing in their own ample grounds".<sup>iv</sup> Encircling these public buildings was the landscape ring of Central Park'- an area of 145 acres, planned to accommodate ample recreation grounds within very easy access of all the people".<sup>v</sup> This in turn was encircled by a Crystal Palace, a wide glass arcade, with shops and permanent exhibition space. Its circular form, Howard wrote 'brought it near to every dweller in the town, the furtherest removed inhabitant being within 600 yards".<sup>vi</sup>

Howard continued these concentric rings outward to accommodate residential housing, which each stood in their own ample ground (with) varied architecture and design some having common gardens and co- operative kitchens".<sup>vii</sup> These were to be ringed by the verdant backdrop of Grand Avenue, which divided the city into two belts. Within this avenue Howard located the cities schools and churches

Grand Avenue was bounded by two further rings of residential housing which in turn were encircled by an industrial ring containing; factories, warehouses, dairies, markets, coal yards, timber yards, etc which fronted the circle railway. The sidings of this railway line connected it with a main railway line which passed through the estate and radial thoroughfares bisected the concentric rings.

Finally a green belt of agriculture and forestry surrounded the whole town interspersed with institutions which included farms for epileptics, asylums for blind and deaf and convalescent homes".<sup>viii</sup>

The lack of a clear plan for the new city was matched by the lack of any description or design as to what the 'garden' of the garden city might be.

Houses in Howard's 'residential zones' of the city are described as standing in their own grounds' <sup>ix</sup> and the grand avenue, a dominant element in Howard's plan is described by him as 'belt of green".<sup>x</sup> The form, character and design of the domestic garden is left unexplained and unexplored.

The key diagrams which Howard used to illustrate his model were, as he pointed 'illustrative only - to be modified when put into practice',<sup>xi</sup> this reluctance to prescribe specific design detail or to foresee every contingency is perversely the very strength of the project. The generality, abstraction and emptiness of city design and garden design at the heart of this Ur text, has allowed a versatility and freedom of movement for the designers of the garden city in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## Letchworth

Letchworth<sup>xii</sup>, the physical realisation of Howard's garden city model was designed for 30,000 inhabitants by the architectural partnership of Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin in 1903. Following Howard's lead to the extent of clearly separating the town from the surrounding countryside Parker and Unwin set aside 1250 acres for the new city and 2,800 acres for an Agricultural Belt that would act as a permanent girdle to the town.

Parker and Unwin' plan sought a more subtle organic sense of order as suggested by the terrain. They took advantage of the location of hills, streams, an old Roman road and even larger trees to define the plan, the town centre was sited on the highest and flattest point of the land the formal arrangement of municipal and cultural buildings embodied a Beaux-arts

style with a large town square and hemicycle at one end, surrounded by public building including a Town Hall, Museum and Art Gallery and Public Library.

However the structure of the built town became defined by the infrastructure, the railway and the road bifurcating the town into four areas with different zoning characteristics; to the north-west an old enclosed common and housing, the north-east, workman cottages, football grounds and allotments, the south-east factories, sidings and workman's cottages, and the north-west the town centre, station and housing. Industry, instead of forming a uniform periphery to Howard's circle was grouped into an industrial park adjacent to the power plant and railroad.

In contrast to the diagrammatic nature of Howard's design and the functionalist zoning distribution of the towns urban structure, a deeply traditional view and use of the garden was promulgated. The four landscapes present in Letchworth were linked; the individual garden, the street landscape, the 'nature' of the common, and the agricultural landscape of the town belt. This seems to be the result of two ideas, a very romantic, literary view of the landscape and garden, 'each street has a slightly different character, so that you may walk around the town and think yourself to be in a garden all the while'<sup>xiii</sup>. Purdon comments on how the lack of a formal park (the Victorian model park with arboretum, shrubbery, and band rotunda) is made up by access to nature, in the form of Norton common, a 63 acre grass and woodland.

Particular zoning regulation, also contribute to the landscape, for example regulations 7(3) *Most building in Garden City will be open to view on all sides, and so, should be treated accordingly; the sides and back being built of materials as good as the front.* and 17-(a) *Gardens*

*The garden attached to every house shall be dug over, laid out, and planted sufficiently to contribute in a reasonable degree to the amenities of the situation as soon as practicable, taking into account the season of the year when the building is completed...*<sup>xiv</sup>

In *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*, the garden is simply a diagram with all of the openness and freedom that such a diagram affords. Howard strips the notion of the garden of all its associated meaning, leaving it open to possibilities. Elided of any prescription, any possibility, whether it is; park, internal landscape, belt, street landscape or cultivated domestic yard is conceivable.

Letchworth demonstrates the landscape possibility of this potent diagram, the private residential garden, the planted public street, and the nature/reserve'. A model, which has really become the dominant type for the design of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century suburb.

### **City of To-morrow**

1. *We must de-congest the centres of our cities*
2. *We must augment their density*
3. *We must increase the means for getting about*
4. *We must increase parks and open spaces.*<sup>xv</sup>

Le Corbusier's plan for the modern city was based on a super sized grid laid over a level site, surrounded by a protected zone of woodland and fields. The centre of this gridded city was a multilevel transport interchange, surrounded by a large park supporting twenty-four, sixty-storied towers in grid point pattern. Surrounding this central area was a perimeter of housing blocks of two types; a traditional perimeter block with a large courtyard/garden/recreation area in the centre and a more open linear type block with large return or redent along the perimeter. A green belt or fresh air reserve<sup>xvi</sup> encircled this configuration.

Similarities with Howard's diagram are obvious; the Central Park with the public building embedded within it, the perimeter of residential housing and the surrounding green belt. However other qualities clearly differentiate the two, in particular Le Corbusier's carefully considered treatment of the landscape in relation to his various architectural forms.

To accommodate the apartment dwellers desire for a private garden in their three and four storied 'redent' housing blocks, the sides of the buildings are opened with green gardens, boring through the building like Swiss cheese. The garden is paved with red tiles, its walls are hung with ivy and clematis; laurels and other shrubs cluster thickly in large cement pots;"

<sup>xvii</sup>Collective garden areas wrap around the foot of the building and are laid out in a combination of sports field, and kitchen gardens.

The Central Park landscape by comparison is composed as a traditional English picturesque scene complete with grass and large specimen trees.

Located within a strong axial grid the office towers are never- the less freed from this structure by the garden landscape. From a distance these immensely tall, glass sheathed office towers appear to float in a sea of greenery, effectively dislocated from their empirical grid. Similarly the landscape of the 'Redent' housing blocks produces a similar effect, as the landscape seems to erode the perimeter of the blocks fusing garden and street landscape.

Despite Le Corbusier's different garden treatments, the city morphology is still governed by the Beaux-arts grid. Ironic then that one of the most famous images of his city, the view of the towers in the park from the surrounding terrace, would assume a life of its own becoming the icon for the modern city, the tower in the park.

A good example is the Alton West estate<sup>xviii</sup> on Roehampton Hill overlooking Richmond Park – the tower in the English countryside. Designed by the Architects Department of London County Council, this mixed housing estate was built between 1952-58. Located on a 130-acre site on the southern side of Roehampton, this housing estate is made up of point blocks, slab blocks, maisonette blocks, terraces and houses. Bounded by roads on three sides and a park on the other, the site was and still remains occupied by large C18th and C19th houses and gardens. As a consequence of this, the housing estate not only overlooks a park but also exists within a series of historic gardens.

Le Corbusier City is a conglomerate of basic garden typologies, the individual garden, the communal garden with allotments, the sport fields, the English picturesque garden and the park; all remain essentially unchanged (although they are placed within a radically reconfigured architecture).

However the rereading of Corbs sketch at Roehampton (and in many other cities) lead to a fundamental reordering of the garden in the modernist period, a disappearance of the private garden, to be replaced by the communal public garden.

## **Singapore 1980 - 2000**

*Almost ominously, it seems as if nature will be the next project of development, throwing the mechanics of the tabula rasa into a paradoxical reverse gear: after development Eden<sup>xxix</sup>*

Singapore was driven to re-create itself as a Garden City at the hands of Lee Kuan Yew. In a calculated strategy to attract overseas investors and ameliorate the visual and psychological effects of burgeoning industrial development, the Prime Minister sought to transform Singapore into a Garden City. Improving residents mental and physical health as well as convincing potential investors that Singapore was an efficient and effective place. "In wooing investors, even trees matter"<sup>xx</sup> Yew told the Singapore Economic Board and 'well kept trees and gardens were a subtle way of reflecting Singapore concern with and attention to detail.'<sup>xxi</sup> 'well kept garden' Yew believed would demonstrate to outsiders Singapores ability to organise and be systematic<sup>xxii</sup> and in addition the greenery of nature would soften the harshness of Singapore life.<sup>xxiii</sup>

Developing his own knowledge base about soils, vegetation, tress, drainage, climate and fertilisers, Yew directed that the grass has got to be mown every other day, the trees have to be tended, the flowers in the gardens have to be looked after."<sup>xxiv</sup>

Initiating a massive 30 year planting programme which involved a search for and propagation of suitable tree species from through out the world, Yew achieved his vision which now unfolds before the visitor on the famous ride from Changi International Airport (and now over the entire island) An exotic verdant pastiche of South American and Madagascar landscapes is spread like an emollient blanket over Singapore groundplane. A unifying horticulture of Musa, Strelitzia, Bouganvillia, Travellers Palms, Rainforest trees, these species effectively link the various infrastructural and urban elements of the city.

The trajectory of the citys development from colonial entrepot to city as network was driven by the development of the cities infrastructure particularly the Mass Rapid Transit system (MRT) a circuitry of high-density travel corridors with 48 terminals. Formerly, Singapore reflected the traditional racially segregated urban layout of the colonial city; Singapore contemporary urban form has morphed into a new kind of urbanism, centring on the MRT terminals. Distinguished

by a remarkably consistent and undifferentiated architecture these urban clusters contain schools, housing, light industry, shops, and offices. In abandoning the traditional urban model there has been an associated interment of the traditional urban model of squares and streets and a public and private building hierarchy. In the present day Singapore, buildings/landscape accommodate many functions in an above and below ground blend of office space, shops, food courts with high density housing, hotel accommodation and specific urban experiences are embedded in this new matrix. Singapore, an undifferentiated network of infrastructural functions is given urban cohesion and meaning by the garden. The garden of Singapore is the urban 'glue' which holds the cities infrastructure and satellite form together.

## two

### Paremuka

The preceding historical and contemporary examples show something of the richness of possibilities that has been generated from Howard's Garden City diagram.

And there are many other examples in 20<sup>th</sup> century urbanism of interesting negotiations between landscape and urbanism, i.e. Raeburn, the English New Town movement, and the Zelendorff Seilung in Berlin.

The following is a design case study developed to explore the idea of generating an urbanism from the exploration and engagement with the landscape, specifically garden design practice and landscape ecology. Starting with a typically subdivision site, the study utilises a GIS programme to both map the site and generate speculative possibilities. The programme then sets up a process in which the interaction between ecological processes and garden operations are generated and mapped, to suggest new urban possibilities

Two specific garden operations are chosen, exotic horticulture and topographic alteration. The interaction between the indigenous and exotic produces a rich and complex horticultural field across the site. Topographic operations transform the site into a landscape of natural contour and terracing. Typical suburban infrastructure; roads, housing, services are treated in a generic manner and placed in the garden zones

To explore these issues a site was chosen in the Paremuka valley in the foothills of the Waitakere ranges. It is located in Waitakere City, in the western suburbs of Auckland.

The south side of the valley is characterised by farmland; some regenerating bush and rolling grass land. The north side of the valley is classified as foothill in the district plan and is categorised as having a steeper topography with a mix of regenerating bush and exotic trees, mainly pines. A vineyard also occupies part of this site.

This area is becoming rapidly developed; housing subdivisions have started at the eastern end of the valley and are moving up the southern side of the valley.

The project takes one block, approx. 700 m by 300m. Sturges road runs along the upper part of the site, the Paremuka stream runs along the bottom. The site facing north and is characterised by a sloping topography mostly 0- 8 degrees.

The project started with an exploration of the conventions of garden design and their roots in historic garden theory and practice, especially the English 19<sup>th</sup> century landscape movement, the gardenesque. The project was also interested in environmental landscape design, from the regional constraint diagramming of McHarg, to the closer scale ecological restoration programming, and specific revegetation techniques. The project was interested in establishing some kind of technique that could establish a connective strategy between the two practices to engender a new urbanism. A moment of connection with forces outside the conventions of contemporary garden design, a segue, or seamless flowing of conventions. To ensure this seamless connection a new technique had to be developed to establish a connective relationship between garden design practice and environmentalist landscape practice. The idea of condition was explored. The projects definition of condition developed thinking about certain aspects of garden practice which had their own energy or potential for movement which could then make connections to similar conditional practices in environmentalist design. The project was also interested in the representation of such work. This was explored through the use of a GIS programme, ArcView. ArcView is not a design tool in the conventional sense; it is a mapping and analysis tool. ArcView offers a way to move beyond the sceneographic, towards something more concrete. In broad terms the capacity of ArcView offered a way of decontextualising garden practice from the particular design conventions that surround it, typology, styles, the social /cultural paraphernalia, including its particular representational technique. ArcView offer a way to shift beyond the convention of garden representation, in particular the garden in the subdivision. It offered a way to avoid the parcelling of the site using the convention of autonomous subdivision planning by referring to the conditions of the existing site. The value of ArcView then was the crudeness and literalness of its method of inquiry. In some ways the literalness and one dimensionality of ArcView methodology, its unblinking crudeness, is itself a value as it unthinkingly effaces the shibboleths of subdivision design, garden convention, and ecological purity.

The process of setting up such an interaction was as follows;

The first move was to map the site conditions,

1 Slope as represented by contour and digital elevation model,



- 2 Overland water flow as represented by prevalent water flow direction and flow accumulation, specifically the effect of a 100 year flood on the site
- From this data a more specific plan was generated
- 1 Areas of the site above 8-degree slope
  - 2 Areas of the site, which would be specifically effected by a one hundred-year flood,
  - 3 The river
  - 4 Buffer zone to the existing ridge road.

The next move was to intersect specific site conditions with the conventions of contemporary and conventional garden design. These were found in a close reading of Loudon<sup>xxv</sup>, the 19th century English garden writer. It was fascinating to see how many of the conventions of contemporary garden design are derived from Loudon precepts. For example, gardens are to be distinguished from the surrounding landscape by differences in horticulture i.e. gardens have exotic planting in comparison to the indigenous planting of the surrounding landscape. Topography can also be used to distinguish the garden boundaries from that of the surrounding landscape.

A series of qualifying criteria are drawn from the Loudonesque prescription to establish zones for optimum garden cultivation, such as on slope less than 8 degrees and away from floodpath areas.

The resultant site map is divided into three horticultural zones based on the sites topography, a river zone a slope zone, and a ridge zone. The zones are planted with an array of exotic planting which suit the zones conditions.

The river zone is planted in particular wet / boggy plants such as *Alnus*, *Betula*, *Cordaderia*, *Dianella*, *Fraxinus*, and *Gunnera*.

The ridge area is planted in dry loving plants like *Acacia*, *Agapanthus*, *Banksia*, *Casuarina*, *Cistus*, *Echium*, *Lagerstroemia*, and *Pinus*.

The slope is planted in a mixture of these two types.

The areas of the site, which are unsuitable for garden cultivation, are classified as not-garden. If the not garden areas are a representation of *nature* then they could be sites for the revegetation of indigenous vegetation<sup>xxvi</sup>. Three broad vegetation zones are located according to topography.

The area by the river is planted in typical riverine indigenous vegetation such as; Kowhai, Kawakawa, Kahikatea, Karaka, Titoki, and Mahoe.

The slope area is planted in Karaka, Rata, Kohekohe, Puriri, and Rimu.

And the ridge area is planted in Kauri, Miro, Tanekaha, Totara, and Mapou.

The result is horticultural plan, which is made up of three garden areas planted in exotic plants, and three not garden areas planted with indigenous plants.

In what ways may the garden and not gardens connect? The indigenous condition and the exotic condition. Quite simply, plants spread and migrate between the zones; the garden zones with the non-garden.

The non-garden areas interact between them selves, e.g. the river zone with the slope zone. So species in each zone that have more a specific tolerance for the neighbouring zone can cross over.

Plants in the garden zones interact within themselves, the river zone with the slope zone, the slope zone with the ridge zone. Species in each zone that have more a specific tolerance for the neighbouring zone can cross over

Then there is interaction between the not garden and the garden areas. Aggressive native species spread into the garden areas.

There is interaction between the garden and the not garden areas. Certain virulent weedy exotic species become established in the not-garden zones.

The garden areas and the not garden areas and there associated buffers are finally put together to form a horticultural map of the site

Turning from the horticultural aspects of garden making practice another important condition of garden making, topography, is explored The not garden areas are left as original contours, as a representation of there *natural*, condition. In contrast the garden areas are terraced. The terracing shares some of the functional concerns of the typical subdivision. Its

dimensions are roughly two-metre high contours and roughly 30m deep. These perimeters are driven by quite prosaic subdivision design imperatives.

A road network is established between the existing ridge road and a projected river road running along the river. A single road connects the two roads; it is located on one of the minor flow paths. Housing is placed in a contingent manner on the garden/terraces. The housing stock is terrace semi detached housing, two story blocks. Housing is accessed using feeder roads placed on every second terrace.

The formal physical structure of the project now raises the question, how should people occupy this landscape? On what terms can people build here? Some preliminary observations might be that people occupy zones rather than private property. What might be the implication of this type of occupation? The zones of occupation seem to form mainly on the terraces. The terraces form their own neighbourhood through a variety of factors, including the relationship of the housing to the landscape and the view and each other rather than towards the roads and services. The terraces could engender communities rather than the property parcelling. Roading assumes a lesser importance in this project. One speculative possibility is that the inhabitants of the terrace could choose what type of infrastructure they required, for instance; where does the road go? Does it have tarmac? pavers? Speculative possibilities raised by terrace configuration are; how are the terrace walls constructed? Battered or walled? How are these junctions created?, what materials are used? All these possibilities show how it is possible to make up a bigger world by smaller interactions. Other possibilities that are opened up are the creation of informal contingent path systems; how do paths transverse the terraces? i.e. ramps. This opens up the possibility of a completely separate pedestrian communication structure with no reason to access the roads. Some speculative possibilities that arise from the planting ideas are; the inhabitants could play an important part in how the plants are appropriated and which area they occupy. This could lead to rules about the removal of plants by transplanting them and moving them somewhere else. This could lead to group decision being made about the provision of open space. All these suggestions point to an empowering of the traditionally docile suburban dweller. The relative topography determines a community, people on each terrace form friends, group/body corporates', and the landscape helping to naturalise human relationships.

#### Conclusion

A blanket of exotic vegetation crossing boundaries and hierarchies dissolves the traditional garden with its semi public front garden and private rear garden. Streets and footpaths cut through the new garden, old hierarchies of street planting, appropriate trees', entrance statements and the public landscape, of the subdivision is elided for an highly ordered yet dynamic horticulture, through which services cut a functional path. Public landscape in the subdivision, normally the marginal vestigial land, is revegetated with indigenous planting in the same manner as the garden vegetation. The result is a thick mat of vegetal growth in which the inhabitants burrow, kids make paths, shortcuts, and tracks, the boundary between what is private and public is uncertain. This leads to an inescapable landscape where both occupants and visitor alike are confronted by the lack of traditional garden conventions, as they move about their landscape, between the exotic garden, indigenous landscape and the multiplicity of possible combinations. This busy and vibrant interchange between the two states is not static, but rather is a continually changing and evolving landscape. The whole subdivision becomes its own entity through the cohesive and overwhelming logic of the planting. Just as Central Park is a world within Manhattan so the Paremuka subdivision becomes its own world in West Auckland. The strength of this scheme is the in-built energy that plants bring to the project; they look after themselves, avoiding necessary external energy inputs. This is relevant to contemporary world concerns of energy conservation. The project approaches the different practice of the public realm by localising it; making it more collective.

#### Implications

##### Gardens

Garden design is capable of moving beyond its contemporary conventional structure and sites to generate new possibilities for its own practice. Garden design need no longer be limited to the domestic sphere, tied to an individual owner, and limited by property boundary conditions. In the Paremuka project some of the conventions of the traditional garden, exotic horticulture and artificial topography assume new freedoms and possibilities of scale and experience. The surprise of the Paremuka project was at both the ease of scale in which these refigured conventions could operate and the feeling of potential and possibility. There seemed to be no reason why the implications of the discoveries had to be kept within the boundaries of the

subdivision. Additionally surprising was the fact that just two conventions, horticulture and topography could generate both a greater scale a complex richness, and an intensity of purpose.

#### Environmentalism

Environmentalist discourse is often perceived as having a limited range of design options or intentionalities. The only solution to every landscape problem/issue seemed to be reconstruction, the restoration of the previous ecosystem. In some ways the condition of environmental design was similar to garden design, an immensely rich corpus of work but with a limited almost one-dimensional focus within the practice of landscape architecture. In the case of garden design the focus was the individual and domestic, in the case of environmental practice, the focus was 'save the world'. This project demonstrated that environmental landscape practice could develop a richer range of possibilities through a particular engagement with the idea of the condition. Certain moments in the site demonstrated powerful potential, such as the overland flow paths. The material of such conditions led to a series of connections and the development of richer intentions, mediation and modifications, beyond the conventional environmental reconstruction and restoration

#### Process

The development of ways of thinking about how to construct a way of escaping from the contemporary conventions of garden design and urbanism were inextricably linked with an exploration of the GIS software, ArcView and its abilities and limitations. The implications, which come with the use of Arc View, are; garden conventions have to undergo some kind of transformation to enter this system. This is an escape route, a way of freeing garden design practice from its conventions. The GIS tends to make zones, to set up rules, and take the process literally. This makes it stronger and able to cut across garden and subdivision conditions and seems to open up new ways of representing the changing possibilities for this new garden/urbanism.

#### Urbanism

This project demonstrated that new forms of urbanism could be generated even within the hidebound ethos of the developer subdivision. The intentionalities of garden design practice are used to determine the form of the suburb. This privileging of the garden over other more conventional concerns of the suburb has led to a revaluation of some of the most revered and central tenants of suburb design; the individual detached house and its associated private bounded garden. These shibboleths are almost miraculously dissolved in the face of a seemingly overwhelming logic of garden driven development, private boundaries are elided for a delicious horticultural confusion of the indigenous and exotic, giving rise to a new way of living in the suburb. A particular architecture is promoted by these developments; reticent, formal, dumb, uncomplaining. However there is no reason why a more nuanced architectural response could not develop from the challenges of this new garden. New forms of the suburb are developed from within. Topography elides property boundaries, challenging the architecture. The result is a rich heterogeneous and unstable landscape, opening up a myriad of new possibilities for this important urbanism, the garden city.

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## ALTERNATIVE VISIONS: THE LETCHWORTH GARDEN CITY MASTER PLAN

Paper presented at the International Planning History Society Conference, London-Letchworth, July 10-12 2002

Abstract Key Words: Letchworth Garden City  
Master Plan  
Garden City Pioneer Company  
First Garden City Ltd.  
Ebenezer Howard  
Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin

Abstract: with the approach of the centenary of Letchworth Garden City in 2003, I have, for the past five years, systematically revisited some of the prime source material of the Garden City Movement, covering the period 1898-1904. This spans from the publication of Ebenezer Howard's *Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* to the initiation of the construction of the First Garden City, by First Garden City Ltd., on the site finally selected at Letchworth, north of Hertfordshire.

This paper will present an analytical view of the Master Plan procurement process, including the unorthodox limited plan competition, organised by the Engineering Committee of First Garden City Ltd. The plan by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin was chosen, over a submission by W. R. Lethaby and Halsey Ricardo. A third plan was prepared by the local, Hitchin, architect, Geoffrey Cranfield, about which little is known of the commissioning, although the plan itself survives. A radical, visionary alternative was published by A. R. Sennett in his two volume study, *Garden Cities*, published in 1905. Analysis of the procurement process and the content of the alternatives, throws into relief the familiar Parker and Unwin layout, given imprimatur as 'the company's plan' in February 1904.

The rich archival source material of papers, correspondence and drawings, is now largely held by the First Garden City Heritage Museum at Letchworth Garden City. I have drawn on this source for over 25 years, supplemented by Ebenezer Howard's papers from the Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies at County Hall Hertford. Earlier thematic papers include 'The Garden City roots of the neighbourhood unit' (Cornell, 1998), 'The Iconography of the Garden City (IPHS, Helsinki, 2000), and 'Locating Utopia: selecting the site for Howard's Garden City' (SACRPH, Rutgers, Camden-Philadelphia, 2001).

... It's Near Hitchin In one of his less performed plays, John Bull's *Other Island*, (written in 1904) Shaw speculates on the possibility of Garden Cities being built in Ireland. The following exchange occurs. 'Have you heard of the Garden City?' 'D'you mane [mean] Heaven?' 'Heaven! No: It's near Hitchin'... (a copy of Howard's book is handed over) you understand that ... the circular construction - is only a suggestion'. [1]

Completion of the purchase of the Letchworth Manor Estate, and related landholdings by the Garden City Pioneer Company, in July 1903, represented a defining moment in the evolution of the Garden City movement from Ebenezer Howard's theory to a practical demonstration of the soundness of his ideas. The choice of site had taken over a year

since the announcement, in June 1902, that the newly formed Pioneer Company would regard land acquisition as its prime task. Many sites had been given consideration; several, including Howard's initial favourite, Chartley Castle, Staffordshire, had been examined in detail. The Letchworth Manor Estate had been identified in Autumn 1902, but at 1012 acres it appeared much too small, and it was not until the following Spring that Herbert Warren, the Company's solicitor, and his clerk, James Brown, negotiated additional options to form an estate of 3818 acres. This was far short of Howard's 6000 acre target, but it was judged to be sufficient, and purchase was authorised. [2]

First Garden City Ltd First Garden City Ltd was registered at Somerset House on 1 September 1903, with an authorised share capital of £300,000. [40] The first £80,000 capital was sought, divided into £5 ordinary shares with dividend restricted to five per cent. Investment was to be sporadic and slow: Directors and their friends undertook to find the first £40,000. Although £100,692 had been subscribed at the end of the first year's operation in September 1904, the total had only risen to £181,026 ten years later. With £93,934 mortgaged on the freehold of the land, development was inevitably piecemeal and cautious.[3]

Nevertheless the prospectus confidently proclaimed that the Company would 'not only promote a great social improvement, but provide for those who could afford to wait an investment which will prove a sound one.'[4] The location, '35 miles out of London', was 'admirably adapted for the purpose of industrial and residential development ... traversed not only by important highways, but ... by the Great Northern Railway from London to Cambridge ... [which is] prepared to give the Company facilities for starting the scheme and has consented to erect a temporary station at once.' The first issue of shares would finance part payment for the land and preliminary work including the layout plan. Howard was 'to give special attention to the work of the first designing of the town'. [5]

The Unveiling of the Estate 'I think Mr Ebenezer Howard is greatly to be congratulated upon the fact that within five short years his visionary hopes for tomorrow have become the almost fulfilled realisation of today ... The fortunate community living on this estate will rejoice in the knowledge that the unearned increment which may result from the rents of a population of 30,000 souls will not go to enrich any individual landowner, but will be spent in such a way as will tend to refine the lives, ennoble the characters and exalt the minds of all who reside on the estate'. [6] Thus spake the fourth Earl Grey (1851-1917), Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland, noble patron of the Garden City movement, as he declared the Letchworth estate open on Friday 9 October 1903. The ceremony took place in the pouring rain. One thousand guests took lunch in the marquees, after which the hardiest made forays into the estate's agricultural hinterland. It had also rained two days previously when Ralph Neville, Ebenezer Howard and Thomas Adams had hosted a gathering of 250 representatives of the nation's press. Appropriately, the road leading to the site, now Letchworth cricket ground, was later named 'Muddy Lane'. The mud was to be an essential part of the Garden City experience at both Letchworth and Welwyn. So little money was available for surfacing the roads that mud remained an abiding memory.

Preparing the Master Plan It was imperative to obtain a layout without delay, and to begin development to convince sceptics that Howard's ideal city was being made practicable. [7] On 17 July 1903, in reply to Barry Parker, Adams guardedly wrote 'I think we owe it to you and to Mr Unwin to tell you where the First Garden City will be. We have decided on about 4,000 acres near Hitchin ... please keep the matter absolutely private as there is still the possibility of an accident whilst the legal formalities are incomplete ... We are not yet taking up the question of expert advice on architectural subjects, and note that when we do we shall have the benefit of your help'. [8] A week later the Pioneer Company convened an Engineering Committee consisting of Howard, H .D. Pearsall and H. B. Harris. W. H. Lever, developer of Port Sunlight also participated. H. Howard Humphreys, a Westminster surveyor, was commissioned to prepare a preliminary report, [9] indicating the main roads, the railway station, and sidings for the industrial area. This was submitted on 3 August. He later prepared a contour survey. In August, G. R. Strachan reported on water supply: both he and Humphreys recommended construction of a reservoir in the Weston Hills, three miles to the east. Humphreys advocated construction of a station, 13/4 miles west of Baldock, overlooking Norton Common and the valley of the Pix brook, along which he envisaged building the main north-south road, ultimately Norton Way, should run. The sector between the Pix and the railway, a rounded plateau, would provide an ideal site for the town centre. He proposed a 'North Road', built as Norton Way, with connections north through Stotfold, and south through Willian to form an alternative to the historic Great North Road through Baldock. Humphreys opted for a factory zone on the north-west, although he felt that factories would best be placed on the east to the leeward of the town. Humphreys' recommendations helped fix several key features of Unwin's layout. By August Unwin had twice visited the estate and the Committee requested his report. Regrettably this does not appear to have survived.

The Engineering Committee broadened their ideas about consultants. Unwin's involvement was discussed in October 1903, but no decision was taken. The architectural section of the Garden City Association, [10] led by Harold Clapham Lander (1868-1955), recommended Richard Norman Shaw, W.R. Lethaby and Halsey Ricardo. Shaw (1831-1912), the foremost architect of his generation, had in the 1870s popularised the eclectic 'Queen Anne' style through his involvement with Bedford Park Garden Suburb. Lethaby (1857-1931) had trained in Shaw's office, and became a leader of the Arts and Crafts Movement and a founder of the Art Workers Guild. He was better known as a theorist and teacher than as a practitioner. Ricardo (1854-1928) had had a varied career ranging from Arts and Crafts houses to the Calcutta railway station. In October 1903, Herbert Warren was asked to consult Aston Webb (1849-1930), R.I.B.A. President, one of the leading architects of Edwardian Pomp and Circumstance, best known for the Baroque splendour of the Royal Naval College at Dartmouth, The Mall, London, and the Victoria Memorial facing Buckingham Palace. [11] Both appear to have declined; had one or other become involved it is an intriguing speculation as to what form the First Garden City might have taken.

On 20 October 1903, Pearsall, Howard and W. H. Lever interviewed prospective consultants.[12] Lethaby and Ricardo requested further clarification of the brief. Lever



replied that the Board required the best plan with the least trouble. Pearsall asked them to participate in a limited competition, and also asked for advice on assessment! Parker was called in and Howard queried him about Unwin's experience as an engineer. Pearsall asked how long it would take to prepare a plan: Parker replied that a week to ten days on site would be sufficient and a finished plan could be ready within five weeks. The Committee also suggested a £50 payment to each architect, with a premium of £200 for the best plan. The Board approved these arrangements on 29 October. A third plan, unrecorded in the minutes, was prepared by Thomas Geoffry Lucas (1872-1947), a Hitchin architect [13], in collaboration with Sidney White Cranfield (1870-1961). The press also tried to visualise development of the estate by hiring artists to give a bird's eye view of a slice through Howard's circular diagrams. He had pragmatically endorsed them 'N. B. Diagram only. Plan must depend upon site selected'. At least one unsolicited entry was submitted to the Garden City Association, while A. R. Sennett, an engineer, prepared and published a massive two-volume work on Garden Cities, [14] which included his layout for Letchworth with hexagonal land plots, resembling a giant honeycomb. He also offered his own critique of Howard's diagrammatic concept.

**Towards Community Design** Barry Parker (1867-1947) and Raymond Unwin (1863-1940) were pioneers of both Garden City architecture and town planning. [15] Although they settled in the south-east, they were born in northern England, which influenced their design philosophy. Raymond Unwin grew up in Oxford, where he experienced lectures by John Ruskin and William Morris, and the excitement of the formative period of socialism in Britain. Rejecting a scholarship to read divinity, Unwin retraced his northern roots, and became an engineering apprentice at the Staveley Coal and Iron Company outside Chesterfield. The Parker and Unwin families were related by marriage, and the ties became stronger when Unwin married Parker's sister, Ethel, in 1893. Unwin joined Barry Parker in practice in Buxton, Derbyshire. The partnership lasted until 1914, shortly before Unwin joined the Local Government Board and began a distinguished Civil Service career.

In the late 1890s Unwin designed an urban quadrangle of co-operative housing, with shared common rooms and restaurant. He also sketched an idealised village green for a rural co-operative community, with housing groups facing southwards over open countryside - a prophesy of Westholm Green at Letchworth. Unwin wrote of eliminating the 'festering suburb', interposed between town and country, contrasted with the self-contained organic nature of rural communities:

The village was the expression of a small corporate life in which all the different units were personally in touch with each other ... it is this crystallisation of the elements in a village in accordance with a definitely organised life of mutual relations ... which gives the appearance of being an organic whole, the home of a community, to what would otherwise be a mere conglomeration of buildings . We cannot of course put back the hands of time ... the relationships of feudalism have gone, and democracy has yet to evolve some definite relationships of its own ... we could, if we really desired it, even now so arrange a new building site ... that it should have some little of the charm of the old village. [16]

Despite evoking the future imagery of the Garden City, theory had outstripped practice. By 1901, only three Parker and Unwin-designed working-class cottages had been built. The most significant, a semi-detached pair in Cunnery Road, Church Stretton (1900-01), had roughcast walls, a hipped roof and a central gable, and served as a prototype for the first cottages at New Earswick and Letchworth. Unwin's writing on housing design carried authority. He emerged from provincial obscurity through his ability to be in the right place at the right time. Autumn 1901-Spring 1902 witnessed publication of *The Art of Building a Home* and his Fabian Society Tract, *Cottage Plans and Common Sense*, which reiterated the quadrangle concept. He appeared at the Garden City Association Conference in Bournville, and gave key lectures in London. In September 1901, the *Daily Mail* reported his advocacy of democracy in design under the by-line 'Concerning the coming revolution in domestic architecture'. The revolution was closer at hand than even Unwin supposed.

Unwin's concept of a broad framework to give form to urban development was described with conviction in his Bournville Garden City Conference paper of September 1901, 'On the Building of Houses in the Garden City'. [17] This 'design brief' strikingly anticipated elements of the Letchworth plan. Notwithstanding enthusiasm for the village as a community ideal, Unwin counselled against self-conscious informality and advocated 'that beauty and orderly design for the creation of which alone power had been given to us', hinting at the formality of a renaissance plan. The layout was to be

arranged in conformity with the land ... sites for our civil, religious and recreative public buildings ... have been determined, dominating the city. Wide avenues or roads must be planned to lead off from these sites in all directions, so that glimpses of the open country beyond shall be obtained from all parts ... and vistas leading up to the finest buildings shall greet the visitor from every direction ... In the arrangement of the space to be denoted to dwellings ... a complete acceptance of natural conditions must be combined with some definite design. No weak compound of town and country, composed of meandering suburban roads, lined with semi-detached villas, set each in a scrap of garden, will ever deserve the name of 'Garden City'. [18]

Through co-operation the whole would attain still greater value than the sum of its parts:

splendidly attractive as the Garden City scheme is ... because it presents to us ... a clean slate to work upon; it is yet more attractive ... because it promises to call together a community inspired with some ideal of what their city should be ... which will have in its life something more worthy to be expressed in its architecture than mere self-centred independence and churlish disregard of others, which have stamped their character on our modern towns. [19]

Enlightened bye-laws and regulations would control development, possibly through an advisory committee who would, as a last resort, possess 'an absolute veto on monstrosities'.

Unwin had concisely defined key elements - a broad overall plan, detailed design standards, aesthetic control exercised by committees - which marked the transition from the Victorian reform tradition to modern environmental management, exercised in the public interest, which underlay town planning. He was able to put some of the ideas into practice through his consultancy, in 1902, to plan New Earswick, the Rowntree Company's model village north of York. This proved to be a valuable testing ground, particularly for Parker and Unwin's designs for grouped housing. A further prototype, 'Cottages near a town' was exhibited at the Northern Art Workers' Guild in Manchester in 1903, and related to a small housing development at Starbeck, Yorkshire, outside the spa town of Harrogate.

'That the Plan be issued as the Company's Plan' Preparation of the master plan for the Garden City at Letchworth was divided between Unwin's Buxton Office and Letchworth. Parker and Unwin employed about six assistants and a secretary. Smooth running of the scattered domestic projects and the building of New Earswick required skilled management. Unwin, with his industrial experience, was more effective, but neither he nor Parker was a harsh taskmaster. Robert Bennett (1878-1956), Wilson Bidwell (1877-1954) and Cecil Hignett (1879-1960) achieved successful independence at Letchworth. A more obscure assistant, Bowland Brockman Moffat (1880-1925) was clearly impressed by Unwin's 'quickness in grasping new ideas' as 'the Garden City scheme speedily took shape'. He found it

A unique experience ... quite out of the general range of architectural knowledge ... and valuable in helping one to regard architecture not as appertaining merely to isolated buildings, but as controlling whole towns and masses in one scheme. [20]

Unwin and Bennett set off for Letchworth, lodging in the post office at Letchworth corner, spending their days tramping over the estate and evenings sketching overlays on Humphreys's survey. The position of the town centre was fixed and a natural feature helped Unwin to clinch matters.

The three old Oak trees which stood out solitary in the central town area were very helpful in fixing exactly the main axis line ... I often remember, with a feeling of gratitude to them, the day when they suggested to me the exact position, and Mr Bennett and I were able to begin to lay the plan down on paper. [21]

The final drawings were completed in Buxton in December 1903, with the Parkers' dining table commandeered for the preparation of a large-scale layout.

The Board assembled on 7 January 1904. Ricardo and Unwin had explained their plans to the Engineering Committee shortly before. The final selection was left open until after a site meeting. On 28 January, the Engineering Committee met and compared the layouts with the requirements of the Great Northern Railway. They cautiously recommended acceptance of the Parker and Unwin plan. The Board concurred and instructed Adams

To write to Mr Unwin for lithograph copies of his plan ... and request ... that he modify his plan in accordance with the Railway Company's plan ... and also to inform him that his plan has been accepted, but only provisionally. [22]

On 11 February 1904 the waiting was over. The Board finally resolved 'that the plan be issued as the Company's Plan'. [23] There would be modifications and compromises, and Unwin found that Adams had his own ideas about the layout. For the present, however, efforts were directed towards the plan's launch in April, at a soiree in London's Grafton Galleries, where printed copies were distributed to shareholders and guests.

### The Three Plans (and one Joker)

The three alternative layouts all reflected a formality derived from the geometrical precision of Howard's original diagrams. The Lucas and Cranfield plan [24] was, perhaps, the least satisfactory, although it had the merit of compactness, being about 1.5 miles square, symmetrically disposed north and south of the railway, between the Wilbury Road on the north, and the Hitchin-Baldock Road on the south. It was basically a grid layout imposed arbitrarily over the undulating landscape, emphasising the division of the site by the railway, with twin factory belts running through the centre of the estate on both sides of the tracks. Norton Common to the north was to be transformed into an elaborate, rather Victorian park, with a central ornamental canal, but also a gymnasium, swimming baths and playing fields. A grand boulevard, 150 feet wide, appropriately to be named 'Howard Avenue' ran southwards to a vast piazza, 23 acres in area, at the town centre, bordered by public buildings. Smaller, outer squares were designated 'College Place', 'School Place' and 'Market Square'. Other main roads were to be 100ft. wide, with 40ft. for those serving the residential areas. Quadrangles were shown for most of the housing, those areas to the north of the railway intended 'primarily for the cottages of the poorer classes', but there was also a suggestion that 'large private residences' would be developed south of the Hitchin Road, anticipating The Glade.

The Lethaby and Ricardo plan [25] also had several questionable elements. They had clearly studied Humphreys's contour survey, reproduced as the base for their plan together with his suggested 'North Road'. The industrial area was, controversially, sited to the north-west of the town, with sidings and a goods yard curving round from the main track on the edge of the town. The position proposed for the main passenger station was just to the east near the cattle creep beneath the embankment on the present Spring Road. [26] The first impression from the rail approach, and the town's principal aspect to Hitchin and to the open landscape north of Wilbury camp would have been unrelievedly industrial and difficult to screen with planting. [27] Although Howard had emphasised the potential for clean industry, the working class housing and Norton Common would have been the first to suffer any pollution. The common was to be retained in its natural state as 'the garden of the estate'. Ricardo and Lethaby favoured a compact town layout, with a clear street pattern based on a grid for ease of development, with the addition of major diagonals. Their report stressed that 'the city should not have the appearance of an overgrown village', [28] the antithesis in some respects of Unwin's plan, as implemented. One of the major diagonals, a mile long, led westward from the station to the town centre,

an impressive concept but seriously weakened by ignoring the undulating contours of the line. The town centre itself would have been more successful, however. Three main axes converged on a square on the slopes of Pixmore, very close to the present site of Hillshott School:

a well defined centre around which would be placed the town hall and other public buildings ... rising in the middle of the central place would be a campanile to mark the heart of the city. [29]

Unwin had often quoted Lethaby's remarks about the preservation of narrow vistas to the sea in historic Constantinople, [30] and this principle was evident in both the Unwin and Lethaby/Ricardo plans for Letchworth. In the latter the entrances to the place were to be narrowed to slits, to heighten the sense of opening out to the centre. For housing Ricardo and Lethaby adopted quadrangles with inner allotments on the Port Sunlight pattern, but an arrangement also quite close to Unwin's Cottage Plans and Common Sense. In contrast to Unwin's folksy philosophy there was something rather chilling and impersonal about Ricardo and Lethaby's description:

Each island is surrounded on all four sides with an undivided strip of lawn and garden, planted and kept trim and by the civic authorities ... The backs of the houses are bordered by a 10ft. wide cartway along which the dust and sanitary carts go... We hope that the company will be able to aim at efficiency, lastingness (sic) and ordinary pleasantness rather than at 'picturesqueness' and 'ornamentation', which things are likely to fail in themselves and, as fashions change, are likely to become unattractive. [31]

The amount of housing was precisely calculated. Each of the cottage quadrangles was totalled, 3770 overall. In addition there were to be 664 dwellings in three storey buildings - shops and town houses, and 23 villas, detached and semi-detached. [32] The plan and report thus presented a striking alternative to Unwin's, a more cosmopolitan approach, perhaps influenced in its geometrical clarity by continental town extension plans or the American grid combined with diagonals. But it was not to be translated beyond the paper layout for they were paid off on 28 January 1904. [33] Adams later emerged as the staunchest supporter of their approach and in November 1909 he wrote to Ricardo

I think the more concentrated development shown on your plan would not only secure a better architectural effect but would make the scheme more successful from a financial point of view. One of the difficulties they [Parker and Unwin] have got into ... is due to the cost of roadmaking being so high as a result of wide frontages to lowly rated cottages The result is that you certainly get large gardens and opportunities for architectural treatment ... but you are unable to provide really substantial tidy roads and footpaths [34]

This, of course, was a private opinion, expressed directly to the authors of the plan. It is interesting to compare, and contrast, Adam's published assessment, which appeared in his book, *The Design of Residential Areas*, published in 1934. By this time, Adams was an eminent consultant, at the height of his powers, having worked on the New York

Regional Plan. Unwin too, recently retired from the Civil Service, was also developing a career in the United States. Adams's revisionist opinion was

Considering the probabilities of the character of development, it was not a suitable plan for Letchworth, which required compact continuity of building in its business and administrative centre only, but in its residential areas, a spacious landscape setting agreeably arranged in relation to changes of level, existing trees, and other natural features. Moreover, it was too rigid and left too little opportunity for those adjustments of secondary streets which inevitably follow from experience in development ... Lethaby and Ricardo showed more indifference to natural conditions, and laid down a more rigid and formal pattern, which would have become disorganised unless carried out as a whole. [35]

The Parker and Unwin plan (Unwin's) [36] contained a blend of formal and natural elements and fitted the character of the site better than its competitors. At a casual glance, it seemed an exercise in formal geometry, with carefully regulated major and minor axes, but these fitted the contours with effortless ease. The railway, the existing Wilbury to Norton road, the old Icknield Way and the Hitchin to Baldock road were given their due weight as east-west routes. Existing lanes such as Letchworth Lane, Spring Road and Dunhams Lane already provided fragmentary north-south communication. Unwin incorporated Humphreys's recommended north-south road skirting Norton Common, and running west of the Pix valley, south of the railway. This became Norton Way, one of the first major roads to be built. The main axis, now Broadway, ran at an angle from the Hitchin Road, through the area reserved for the Town Square (now J. F. Kennedy Gardens), to intersect the railway at the site reserved for the permanent station. Beyond, it was projected through The Quadrant, and ran as a broad walk across Norton Common, north of Icknield Way. Both sides of Broadway, between Town Square and the station, were sweeping curved roads, recalling the line of Oxford High Street, one of Unwin's favourite historical examples. From Town Square, minor axes radiated in a web-like pattern, providing open vistas of countryside from within, and glimpses of the intended group of public buildings in the centre, to visitors approaching the town, fulfilling Unwin's objectives from his Bournville paper. Minor roads created a modified grid layout which closely resembled the area surrounding the Exchange on Sir Christopher Wren's plan for rebuilding the City of London, prepared in 1666 after the Great Fire, one of the few major precedents for this type of layout. [37]

Unwin took a justifiable pride in preserving most of the existing trees and hedgerows, [38] and this was highlighted by the more informal treatment of the outlying areas. The Pix valley represented a logical break east of the town centre, although two of the minor axes, Hillshott and Pixmore Way, were thrust across. The upper slopes of Pixmore were to be developed for working-class housing, informally grouped as at New Earswick, with a defined neighbourhood centre. Detail was subsequently modified but guiding principles remained. The factory area was zoned as a broad belt north and south of the railway, but was concealed from the town centre by a bluff, for which Unwin designed the Birds Hill/Ridge Road housing scheme. North of Icknield Way the Norton Glebe lands were to be developed as a further neighbourhood, and the field boundaries and hedgerows were

incorporated in the modified grid layout. During implementation Unwin reduced the number of east-west roads, in accordance with his principle that the cost saved would justify better housing and larger gardens. In 1912, this theme became the keynote of *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding* [39]. Norton Common was largely preserved in its natural state, but Unwin attempted to bring the major axis of the plan to it by a civic design sequence of a broad crescent and two interconnecting circuses. The name, *The Quadrant*, recalled the Buxton address, where Parker and Unwin opened their offices. The axial line of *The Quadrant* remains, but the area was radically replanned to include Exhibition Road (now Nevells Road) to accommodate the 1905 Cheap Cottages Exhibition. Adams felt that the axial line across the Common would make a convenient road. Unwin flatly disagreed stating

We do not need more than a wide handsome walk ... A broad grass glade ... with perhaps a narrow paved way ... would carry forward the axial line of the town and provide ... a short cut for pedestrians, the extra distance for vehicle traffic ... would be very slight. [40]

The area north-west of the town centre contained another proposed neighbourhood centre, but in the early 1930s the plan was radically altered by Parker to create the bold axial line of the present Bedford Road. Likewise in the south-west there was little development beyond Spring Road until the early 1920s, with the exception of Sollershott West. The individual elements were largely integrated by Unwin's strong geometrical framework, tempered by his regard for natural features. At a functional level, influenced by German practice, he developed the principles of land use and density zoning, with definition of town centre, commercial and industrial areas, varied residential districts forming the overall town area, beyond which agricultural uses, corresponding to a modern green belt, would predominate. [41] The Parker and Unwin plan thus provided a transition from Howard's diagrammatic idealism to 20th century town planning.

The joker in the pack was A. R. Sennett, multiply qualified engineer, motor enthusiast and travel writer. His exhaustive two-volume study, *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice*, appeared in 1905. [42] He took presented a negative critique of Howard's concept. [43] He ignored the Parker and Unwin layout. He had proposed himself as consultant for the Letchworth Garden City Plan. Cryptic remarks by Adams indicate he was rebuffed with difficulty. It is difficult to assess what impact Sennett's work made on his contemporaries, but he enjoyed international circulation. His two volumes were sent out to Japan in response to their urgent request for Garden City material in 1905-6. [44]

Sennett presented a comprehensive alternative plan for Letchworth Garden City, contrasting his ideas favourably with Howard's. He saw the Garden City as a beneficent compromise ... a spot of country upon which the dweller would carry on his industrial and mercantile pursuits as in a town, a spot of country the advantages and beauties of which he could enjoy concurrently with his business and his labours. The master's town house would be his country seat; the clerk's a garden-surrounded villa; ... the artisan and labourer's tenement a complete maisonette standing upon his allotment ... In *Garden Cities* every house will be surrounded by a garden, the streets will be avenues delimited

not by brick and mortar, but bordered by shade-giving trees, marginal by widely detached villages. [45]

Sennett's Garden City was in two parts, with the railway line as divider. The station was to be central, approximately in the same position as with Parker and Unwin. The shopping centre ('agora') was to be immediately north, [46] and the main building ('capitol') immediately south. Norton Common was to be restyled 'The People's Park', with linking village recreation grounds and city recreation grounds. Wilbury Road formed a northern limit to the residential development of the village 'consisting of the cottages of artisans, factory hands and agricultural labourers, the homes for female operatives, the creche, men's recreation-rooms, clubs and schools. [47] It covered 78 acres, with 10,000 population. Sennett had pointed out Howard's 20 foot wide plots as a serious weakness, and proposed a honeycomb of one-sixth acre hexagonal plots for workers' cottages, eleven and twelve deep between roadways, which would have posed serious circulation problems. [48] Significantly, he did not show the type of housing to be built in this area. Larger plots were allocated for 'hexamultiple artisan dwellings', to contain six family dwellings, or flats for single occupancy. [49] The structure was to be concrete, with roof gardens, in addition to the surrounding gardens. The facades of the buildings were to be ornamental with elaborate timber studwork.

The industrial zone concept rejected Howard's perimeter belt, for a compact area of about 50 acres. [50] Sennett was rather vague about its location, which is not shown on his diagrams, but stated that factories were to have room for expansion, and be set in landscaped gardens, [51] west and north of the Garden Village (the same general location as Lethaby and Ricardo had chosen}. Given the prevailing winds in the area, any polluted emissions would have fallen on the village, and the northern agricultural belt.

The Garden City, of 15,220 population, south of the railway, would accommodate the professional, managerial, and clerical classes. [52] It was a grid plan with long rectangular blocks, again subdivided into hexagonal plots. The central feature {the equivalent of Howard's circular Grand Avenue) was the Grand Promenade, axially aligned on the Capitol. It was lined with the largest villas, set back in irregular hexagonal plots, with internal carriage drives, and 'duplex' and 'quadruplex' stables and garages. [53] Further 'promenades', up to twelfth east and fourth west, were connected at 1600 ft intervals by cross avenues - alpha, beta, gamma etc. While the village was relatively finite in form, the garden city was indeterminate, construction beginning nearest the railway, and spreading southwards as required. [54] The first promenade west connected with the village grand promenade to form the 'North Road', originally specified by Humphreys, with connections at each end to the historic Great North Road. [55] The peripheral promenades, particularly on the east, became lined by smaller plots, the smallest, hexagonal lozenges, being internal, without road frontages. Architecturally, the buildings illustrated by Sennett were Victorian and eclectic in character. The capitol was to be monumental, with a tall campanile, enriched by terracotta ornament, [56] and was suggestive of the work of Ernest George, or Aston Webb. Sennett illustrated a wide range of housing from model industrial villages, particularly Port Sunlight and Bournville. [57] His designs for housing in his own Garden City were limited to the



larger villas and the 'hexamultiple' flats, both to make use of concrete, and impervious 'self cleansing' materials. Sennett's was certainly the most radical and Utopian of the plans prepared for the Letchworth site. It represented an almost obsessive logic, and an over-detailed approach, often at the expense of fundamentals, and would have starkly stratified the settlement in terms of social class. The latter aspect was certainly present in the Parker and Unwin plan, in a less regimented form. The implications of the smaller hexagonal plots for housing form appears to have been ignored, and the circulation pattern in the garden village would have required radical revision to accommodate increasing car ownership. It is perhaps surprising that Sennett, as a motor enthusiast did not foresee this. However, with the benefit of hindsight, it is possible to see the distant ancestor of the grid-layout and open plan form of Milton Keynes in Sennett's garden city.

Dr Mervyn Miller

#### Notes

1. The first act of the play is set in the offices of Doyle and Broadbent, Civil Engineers, in Great George Street, Westminster. Broadbent tries to persuade Tim Haffigan who 'might be a tenth rate schoolmaster ruined by drink' to assist the Land Development Syndicate to develop in Ireland. 'John Bull's other island', pp. 405-52 in Shaw, B. *The Complete Plays of Bernard Shaw*, (London, Odhams, 1934).
2. The search for the site and acquisition of the Letchworth estate is described in Miller, M., *Letchworth: The First Garden City*, 2nd edition, Chichester, Phillimore, 2002, pp. 20-24. For a contemporary account see Purdom, C. B., *The Garden City, Letchworth*, Dent, 1913, pp. 2631.
3. Miller, op. cit., p. 24; Purdom op. cit., pp. 31-5, and Appendix C.
4. Purdom, op. cit., p. 33 quoting FGC Ltd. prospectus.
5. First Garden City Ltd., Directors Minutes, Resolution 14, 12 November 1903 (First Garden City Heritage Museum, Letchworth)
6. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies
7. The detailed material which records the commissioning of the plan is in Garden City Pioneer Co. and First Garden City Ltd. records and correspondence, First Garden City Heritage Museum, Letchworth.
8. Thomas Adams Company Secretary of G. C. Pioneer Co. to Barry Parker, 17/6/03, First Garden City Heritage Museum.
9. First Garden City Heritage Museum.
10. G, C. Pioneer Co. Engineering Committee Minutes, 10 October 1903, First Garden City Heritage Museum.
11. First Garden City Ltd., Directors Minutes, Resolution 32, 12 October 1903. Warren wrote enthusiastically to Adams that Webb was 'absolutely the best man for preparing the scheme', 6 November 1903, First Garden City Ltd. correspondence, First Garden City Heritage Museum.
12. Engineering Committee Minutes, 20 October 1903, First Garden City Heritage Museum, Letchworth.

13. The Minutes of both the Engineering Committee and First Garden City Ltd., are silent about commissioning this plan, although it survives as a faded photoprint, with its accompanying report, First Garden City Heritage Museum, Letchworth.
14. Sennett, A. R., *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice* (2 vols), London, Bemrose, 1905.
15. For biographical information about Parker and Unwin see Miller, M., *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester University Press, 1992, especially Chapter Two.
16. Unwin, R., 'Co-operation in Building', in Parker, B., and Unwin, R., *The Art of Building a Home*, London and New York, Longmans Green, 1901, p. 95.
17. Unwin, R., 'on the building of houses in the Garden City', pp. 66-74 in *The Garden City Association Conference at Bournville*, London, Garden City Association, 1901.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70. 19. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
20. B. B. Moffat, R.I.B.A. Membership File, No. 1464 (L), (B.A.L.), R.I.B.A., London.
21. Raymond Unwin, 'The Planning of Garden City', Appendix B in 'The Garden City', p.228. Unwin also described his plan in 'Making the Plan of Letchworth', *Garden Cities and Town Planning* 20(6), June/July 1930, pp.156-9. Whilst Mabel Barry Parker credited her late husband with a leading role in preparation of the layout plan, available contemporary evidence does not appear to corroborate this.
22. Directors Minutes, First Garden City Ltd., 28 January 1904, First Garden City Heritage Museum, Letchworth.
23. Directors Minutes, First Garden City Ltd., First Garden City Heritage Museum, Letchworth. Resolution 106 began 'That the modified plan being prepared by Messrs. Parker and Unwin be adopted as the plan for the development of the estate, subject to any further modification which may be necessary'. This preceded the more definitive statement quoted.
24. Vide Supra note 13.
25. The present whereabouts of the Lethaby and Ricardo plan is uncertain: it was reproduced by Adams in *Design of the Residential Areas*, Vol. IV in *Harvard City Planning series*, 1934, p. 253 and in Purdom's *The Letchworth Achievement*, London, Dent, 1963.
26. It is evident that some Great Northern Railway officials favoured this arrangement, as indicated by a letter of 4 January 1904, included with the Report on the Lethaby and Ricardo Plan, FGC Museum.
27. In their Report, FGC Mus., Lethaby and Ricardo claimed that the factory area would be site in a declivity (valley), but this would have restricted its extent.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 4. 29. *Ibid.*
30. 'Of Beautiful Cities', Chapter II in *Art and Life in the Building and Decorating of Cities, Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society*, Rivington Percival, London, 1897. Unwin quoted Lethaby's example in his paper 'on the Building of Houses in the Garden City', *The Garden City Conference at Bournville ... Report of Proceedings*, p. 70.
31. Lethaby and Ricardo, Report, p. 5.
32. These figures were shown on the reproduction in *The Letchworth Achievement*.
33. FGC Ltd. Directors' Minutes, 28 January 1904, LGC Corp.

34. Adams to Ricardo 29 November 1909, FGC Mus. In this letter Adams was scathingly critical of Parker and Unwin having created difficulties for themselves through the piecemeal, and scattered development of the Letchworth Estate, an aspect for which he, himself, had been partly responsible when Estate Manager. Purdom in *The Letchworth Achievement*, was also sympathetic to the Lethaby/Ricardo plan.
35. *The Design of Residential Areas*. P. 252.
36. Identification of the earliest layout plan is difficult. A fragmentary photoprint labelled 'Mr Unwin's plan' (sic) appears to be the earliest and differs in detail from a slightly later (probably Spring 1904) version, on which the lithograph version was based.
37. Unwin knew the Wren Plan from Reginald Blomfield's *A History of Renaissance Architecture* (London, 1897), and reproduced a version traced from Blomfield's reproduction in *Town Planning in Practice* (London and New York, T. Fisher Unwin, 1909) p. 78. Interestingly Sennett also illustrated the Wren Plan (together with John Evelyn's of similar date) in *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice*. pp. 82 B, C. His long, narrow street blocks may have been influenced by Wren's arrangement.
38. Appendix B in *The Garden City*, p. 228.
39. Unwin, R., *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, London, Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1912.
40. Raymond Unwin to Thomas Adams, 22 February 1904. First Garden City Ltd. correspondence, First Garden City Heritage Museum, Letchworth.
41. The zoning corresponded to the later statutory planning process of primary land use allocation. A colour diagram, based on the 1904 plan, with land uses tinted was published in Germany before the First World War, but it is not known whether this was originally prepared by Unwin himself. Unwin learnt of the zoning practice in Germany initially through the work of the Manchester social observer T. C. Horsfall. By contrast, in housing density zoning was based on the cost of building set for each district, an extension of the English practice of restrictive covenants imposed by a ground landlord.
42. Sennett, A. R., *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice* (2 vols), London, Bemrose, 1905. According to the title page the work originated as a paper on 'The Potentialities of applied science in a Garden City', read before the British Association. The author's foreword is dated April 1905.
43. See particularly the analytical resume, in *Ibid.*, pp. 193-200.
44. Comment by Shun-Ichi Watanabe at New Garden City Conference, Tsukuba-Kobe, September 2001.
- 45 pp. 4-5. 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-14, 358-364. 47
- 47 *Ibid.*, p. 141. 48. *Ibid.*, Diagrams pp. 232 B and 234 B.
- 49 These were proposed as an alternative to the conventional terraced houses and group cottages. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-5, Diagrams 262 B, C, D, E.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 143. 51. *Ibid.*, pp. 365-80. 52. Overall plan, *Ibid.*, p. 192B.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 143-58, 166-79; diagram 168 A. 54. Phasing diagrams, *Ibid.*, pp. 222 A, C, E, G.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 230. 56. *Ibid.*, frontispiece showing the completed Capitol, and pp. 216-220.
- 57 *Ibid.*, pp. 250-54, and photographs pp. 250 A, B, C, D; 292 A, B; 254 B, C; pp. 254-62 and photographs pp. 260 B, C, D, E, F, G.

## UTOPIA NWII: AN INTRODUCTION TO HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB

'The most nearly perfect example of the unique English invention and speciality, the Garden Suburb'. Nikolaus Pevsner

At the turn of the 19th into the 20th century, London was beginning to sprawl outwards. Initially through the intensification of suburban rail services, and subsequently the development of the underground railway, the possibility of living in a suburb, while working in central London, became practicable for many of the citizens who had hitherto crowded close to the centre. Districts, such as Tottenham in the east or Acton in the west, grew within a short span of time, laid out to a monotonous grid pattern of streets, and developed with the 'Bye-law' terraces which characterised late 19th century development. The emergence of a viable electric train made the construction of deep underground lines a practical proposition. In 1902, Parliamentary sanction was granted for construction of the Charing Cross, Euston and Hampstead railway, now part of the Northern Line. It served not only the village of Hampstead, but Golders Green, with a proposed (but never built) intermediate station at Wyldes, off North End Road. This area was undeveloped farmland, for the most part, and the Golders Green crossroads on the Finchley Road had a rural character. However, in the distance, arose the tower and the first phase of building of the Golders Green Crematorium, which opened in 1902. The likelihood of development was increased by the knowledge of the construction of a radical new transportation facility. Golders Green Station was opened on Saturday 22 June 1907, by David Lloyd George, then President of the Board of Trade. Yerkes, ironically, did not witness the success of his venture, as he had died in New York in September 1905.

In the late 19th century, Whitechapel, with its crowded slums was one of the most densely populated districts east of the City. One of the key figures of the late 19th century reform movement was Henrietta Barnett (1851-1936). Born into a wealthy family, she had become a follower of Octavia Hill, the pioneer of social reform, who was also a leading figure in the preservation of common land around London, which was under great pressure for development in the late 19th century. Henrietta Barnett's husband, Canon Samuel Augustus Barnett, was for many years Vicar of Whitechapel. He had opened a pioneer university settlement at Toynbee Hall in the mid-1880s. The Barnetts worked hard to try to bring spiritual, moral and social enlightenment to East End London. They had a weekend retreat, Heath End House, on the northern fringe of Hampstead Heath. It was renamed St Jude's Cottage, after the Parish of St Jude, Whitechapel. In 1896, the Barnetts first learned of the proposed underground railway, but they became more concerned once the go-ahead for construction had been granted. With a mixture of social concern, and protecting her own interest, Mrs Barnett began to campaign for the preservation of an extension to Hampstead Heath, on the land below Heath End House, Wyldes Farm. The 323 acre estate had been owned by Eton College since 1531, and the timber-framed farmhouse survived from the 17th century. Mrs Barnett approached the owners, and was told by the Bursar of Eton College that while he understood she was acting in good faith she was, after all, 'only a woman'. She was advised to increase the creditability of her campaign by recruiting men of standing and influence. She did so, recruiting two Earls, two lawyers, two Free Churchmen, and a

bishop, with herself as 'the token woman'. Thus, the Hampstead Heath Protection Committee was formed. In 1903, development of the First Garden City at Letchworth, in North Hertfordshire, was begun. Influenced by this, Mrs Barnett added 'a garden suburb for all classes' to her campaign, with the Heath Extension, to be preserved as an internal green belt. She then set about raising finance, and engaged Raymond Unwin (1863-1940), the planner of Letchworth Garden City, with his partner Barry Parker (1867-1947), to prepare a preliminary plan for her new venture. Unwin had previously consulted Canon Barnett about the possibility of taking Holy Orders, when a young man during the 1880s, but had pursued his zeal for reform of housing conditions through the Garden City Movement.

Eventually, the land was conveyed to the Hampstead Suburb Trust on 1 May 1907. The next day, Henrietta Barnett dug the turf for the foundations of the first cottages, to be built on Hampstead way. Unwin had now developed his preliminary plan, which Henrietta Barnett had signed with enthusiastic comments, with a series of neighbourhoods, with housing of different size and status. This would satisfy the objective that all classes would be accommodated in the new suburb, but would be assigned to discrete areas within the overall landholding. It was a case of 'a place for everyone with everyone in their place'. The south-western boundary of the Suburb ran from Finchley Road, along Temple Fortune Lane, crossing Hoop Lane, where there was to be a formal 'gateway' into the new development, and then along Wild Hatch. Other gateways were designed at Rotherwick Road, near the Golders Green Tube Station, and at Temple Fortune, on the Finchley Road.

The area for 'artisans cottages' was designed in detail by Raymond Unwin, and was probably his masterpiece of housing layout and design. He followed closely the pattern of field boundaries, and preserved virtually every existing tree, and some of the hedgerows. This contrasted with the late Victorian developers, who would fell any trees, selling the timber where possible, and would build a grid pattern of hard-paved streets and alleys, to comply with the local byelaws. Unwin benefited from private legislation in 1906, the Hampstead Garden Suburb Act. This enabled the Suburb to benefit from a layout which preserved natural features, with lightly paved roads. Grouping of houses revived the traditions of English cottage building, which had been popularised through the Arts and Crafts Movement. Each street frontage was a carefully designed ensemble, and road junctions were developed with key groupings. A walk around Asmunds Place, Hampstead Way, or Temple Fortune Hill, will show the variety, developed from simple designs, and their placing and spacing relative to the roadway. Of course, no one envisaged that car ownership would be possible, let alone universal, at the time the housing was built. The Co-Partners who had begun development of Brentham at Ealing in 1901, formed a subsidiary, Brentham Garden Suburb. Hampstead Tenants, who were responsible for building the original Artisans' Quarter, and for administering the rental of the properties.

Housing for the middle-classes was developed around the fringes of the Hampstead Heath Extension. Between Hampstead Way, and the Suburb boundary, there was only a narrow swath of land, and in this area, Unwin ingeniously designed a series of culs-de-

sac. Reynolds Close is a classic example of pre-1914 grouped housing at its finest. Heath Close is somewhat similar, but there is a surprise at the end. Henrietta Barnett was keen to encourage housing for different groups in society. There was a distinct need for accommodation for women of modest means, some employed in education and the civil service. Hence, Waterlow Court was built in 1909. Approached through a timber-framed gateway, this quadrangle of housing recalls the calm of an Oxbridge college. It was designed by the Arts and Crafts architect, M H Baillie Scott (1865-1944), and its original residents were single business ladies who took their meals in a communal dining hall. Today, Waterlow Court is owned by a residents co-operative.

Unwin and his family moved into Wyldes Farmhouse in 1906. He opened the Hampstead office of Parker and Unwin in the handsome black-boarded barn alongside, and the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust also had its offices there for many years. The summit of the land was developed with larger houses, particularly along Wildwood Road, on the far side of the Heath Extension. Enclaves of larger houses were also built between Meadway and the Heath Extension. Raymond Unwin was an enthusiast for the urban form of the fortified hill towns of southern Germany. In order to emphasize the boundary of the Suburb and the Heath Extension, he conceived the idea of a wall, studded with garden pavilions and gazebos. The detailed design was by Charles Paget Wade, then an assistant in his office, and a dilettante, who retired to Snowhill Manor in the Cotswolds, to create his own rural idyll. The 'Great Wall' leads to a piazza, Sunshine Corner, linking the Heath Extension with the Central Square. This axial vista appeared on Unwin's first plan, but it was developed with masterly finesse by Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944), then a rising star of architecture, renowned for his country houses, but developing a taste for Grand Manner, which would culminate a few years later, in Imperial New Delhi. Lutyens's plan evolved between 1907 and 1910. He cast aside the village groupings on Unwin's initial layout, and the central Trinity of two churches - St Jude and the Free Church, framing The Institute, emerged. Although the two churches are related in design, they differ in detail, particularly their skyline. St Jude, with its spire, followed the outline of a traditional Gothic church, but its interior was more classically designed. The Free church was non-denominational, although funded by the Baptists. It too has a more Classical interior, using Lutyens's favourite Tuscan Doric Order. The skyline culminates in a low, rather Byzantine, dome. Framed between the twin churches, The Institute, evolved over many years, and Lutyens changed its design more than once. With its cupola, and its crisply detailed grey brickwork, with red dressings, it has a rather Colonial Williamsburg character. Its rear elevation with its tall pediment, was designed to be seen from the 'New Suburb', built on land added after 1911, but views close to are now obscured by the later buildings for the Henrietta Barnett School, in Bigwood Road. The churches and Institute line Central Square, whose west end is open. This gives a view towards Harrow church, a favourite of Henrietta Barnett. After her death in 1936, the ingenious arched memorial to her, designed by Lutyens, was placed where it could command that view. The squares beyond Central Square contain housing designed in the Lutyens manner, but not always by him. Heathgate and South Square are largely by J. C. S. Soutar and A. S. G. Butler. However, in North Square, there are original Lutyens houses, and east of Erskine Hill, some by G. L. Sutcliffe, which follow closely the Lutyens design characteristics. The same division of labour in design can be seen on Erskine Hill itself.

Concern for preserving natural features led to the retention of Little Wood and Big Wood in their original state. This became all the more important as the 'New Suburb' was developed from 1912, and mostly in the interwar period. Further housing by the Co-Partners, architect G. L. Sutcliffe can be seen in Denman Drive. The main roads in the New Suburb, Northway, Middleway and Southway, were thrust eastwards in Unwin's plan, which had been sketched out on shipboard, en route to a conference in the United States in 1911. One of the main roads across the north, Addison Way, was developed initially just before the First World War. During the 1920s, the Ministry of Transport sought to build a new link road to the Barnet By-pass, avoiding the congested Great North Road through Barnet itself. Unfortunately, Addison Way was partly chosen for the new route of the A1, along Falloden Way, channelling ever-increasing volumes of traffic through the northern part of the Suburb and increasing the isolation of the housing developed towards East Finchley. The Finchley Road, likewise, has seen a great increase in traffic over the years. Immediately north of the Golders Green Underground Station, Rotherwick Road was developed as a gateway into the Suburb as early as 1908-10. Further north, where Hampstead Way emerges, another gateway was built, emphasised by two tall dark brown brick buildings, containing shops, with flats above. These were designed in Unwin's office by Arthur Penty, a Guild Socialist. He exploited the picturesque character of the designs, and incorporated one of the Germanic towers about which Unwin enthused, and this can be seen when looking into the Suburb from Finchley Road.

Development of the 'New Suburb' was virtually complete by the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Among the many residents was a substantial Jewish population, moving initially from the crowded East End, but their numbers were increased by refugees from Nazi Germany, including the brilliant architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner. The serenity of the Suburb was shattered by a surprising amount of bombing during the Blitz. In addition to the Club House on Willifield Green, large numbers of houses were destroyed, their open fronts facing the roadside, looking like wrecked dolls houses. A large collection of Raymond Unwin's papers, stored in a garden shed at Wyldes, was also destroyed - just a few weeks before he died in Lyme, Connecticut, stranded in the USA after the outbreak of World War 2. After the war, the Suburb became increasingly one of the most desirable residential areas in northern London. Many of the artisans cottages, developed by the Co-Partners, had already been privately sold before the war, and the trend continued. By the end of the century, even the smallest cottages were out of reach to any but the very wealthy, while the large houses in Winnington Road and the Bishops Avenue change hands for multi-million pounds. Hampstead Garden Suburb has long been a conservation area, and is also monitored closely by the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust, through their landlord powers and scheme of management, in addition to the statutory planning role played by the London Borough of Barnet. In consequence, the Suburb has kept its appearance without many of the detailed changes, which have eroded other comparable areas, involving changing of doors and windows, and re-roofing in substitute concrete tiles.

Hampstead Garden Suburb was influential, at home and abroad. Garden Suburbs, built around the fringe of Greater London before the First World War, include Gidea Park, on the outskirts of Romford, which originated as a housing exhibition promoted by the illustrated periodical, *Country Life*, in 1910. The style also influenced the housing architects of the London County Council, under William Edward Riley (1852-1937), particularly the Old Oak Estate at Hammersmith, built from 1911. Raymond Unwin's seminal book, *Town Planning in Practice*, published in 1909, contained many examples of layout techniques from the Suburb, and was attractively illustrated with idealised pictures of revived village groupings. In 1909, the Housing and Town Planning Act, permitted local authorities to regulate suburban development along Garden Suburb lines, first approved under the Act, at Ruislip-Northwood. Unwin's booklet, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*, published by the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1912, contrasted the verdant gardens of Hampstead Garden Suburb, with the drab monotony of the old 'bye-law' development. Internationally, the influence was potent. Deputations from the Continent, particularly Germany, visited Hampstead Garden Suburb. In 1910, there a special excursion from the RIBA International Town Planning Conference. In the 1920s, Henry Wright and Clarence Stein from the United States, visited Hampstead Garden Suburb, Letchworth and Welwyn Garden Cities. They developed the designs for culs-de-sac and closes, to formulate pedestrian and vehicular separation, shown at Radburn, New Jersey, in 1929. This methodology of neighbourhood planning returned to Britain in many of the State-developed New Towns built after the Second World War, such as Harlow, Essex, and Stevenage, Hertfordshire. Today, Hampstead Garden Suburb is still a 'must see' for visiting architects, planners, and community developers.

Dr Mervyn Miller, President, Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust

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DR MERVYN MILLER has been a leading authority on the Garden City Movement for many years. His association with Hampstead Garden Suburb began in the mid 1970s, when he showed members of the HGS Design Study Group around Letchworth Garden City, and began research into the Design and development of the Suburb for his Doctorate, under Professor Gordon Cherry, at Birmingham University. In 1979, he was appointed by the Royal Town Planning Institute as their Director, on the Board of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust. Through its ground landlord process and Scheme of Management, the Trust operates strong controls over the alterations and extensions to Suburb properties. Dr Miller served on the Board for 21 years, and on stepping down in September 2000, he was appointed the first Honorary President of the Trust. With A. Stuart Gray, he has written a history of Hampstead Garden Suburb (Phillimore, 1992). It is planned to revise this for the Suburb's centenary in 2007.



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## **COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND THE REDISCOVERY OF THE STREET**

Michael Hebbert,  
Professor of Town Planning,  
School of Planning & Landscape,  
University of Manchester,  
England M13 9PL  
michael.hebbert@man.ac.uk

### **Abstract**

This paper is part of a larger project to explore the linkages between the American-led New Urbanism of Andres Duany and contemporary European trends in urban design. A key figure in both perspectives was the late Aldo Rossi, winner of the Pritzker Prize for Architecture in 1990 and author of book *L'Architettura della Città* of 1966. Writing in a context of headlong confrontation between the modernist project and historic preservationism, Rossi set out an alternative strategy for the recovery of urban collective memory. He taught a generation of urbanists to break free from the building-fetish of the modern movement and recognise the city as architectural object and expression of collective will - in Claude Lévi-Strauss's words, *la chose humaine par excellence*. Like Rob Krier, Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter, Rossi found urban memory not in buildings but in the voids between them, the public realm, the labyrinth of the streets. Introducing a worldwide readership to the techniques of morphological mapping developed by his colleagues at the Institute of Architecture in Venice, he argued that only meticulous historical research into a town's plan can reveal the deep structure of the urban artefact, or, as he put it, 'the soul of the city'. The paper follows this argument back to its sources (e.g. the writings of Maurice Halbwachs) and forwards to contemporary design practice in which morphological figure-ground analysis has become an indispensable and universal tool for the town planner, enabling communities to rediscover the collective memory of their streets after the traumas of modernism, highway-dominated redevelopment, or division by war and terrorism. It ends in Berlin where Rossi's vision of 'critical reconstruction' is being put to its boldest and most controversial test.

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## Introduction

The town planning movement has had a love-hate relationship with the urban street. Early twentieth century planners were street-makers. They had their differences over formality of layout, style of architecture and treatment of green-space but not in the fundamental object of civic art or town planning, the making of urban space. By mid century the professional ideology had been revolutionised by the modernist vision of free-standing architecture, the highway engineering ideal of free-flowing traffic, and a democratic image of freedom, air and sunlight. Urban space suddenly appeared claustrophobic, and facade architecture no better than sham or veneer. Town planning had only to complete what Herbert Read called Hitler's good work of demolition and 'go out into the wide spaces and build anew' (Gutkind 1943 326). The third step of this dialectical sequence followed almost immediately, for the pulling down of street walls was (like Communism) an experiment that went quickly sour. The ball and chain breaking down the facades to let in daylight and air, brought a shock not of exhilaration but of loss that at its most acute resembled the grief of bereavement (Fried 1963, Marris 1974). The tale of town planning in the back end of the twentieth century has been about rebuilding former urban space and searching the elusive formula to make it anew.

It is not surprising that collective memory played a significant role in both the rejection of the street and in its rediscovery. Urban topography and memory are closely related. Patterns of enclosed, interconnected space are the oldest memory device. Practitioners of the mediaeval *ars memoriae* developed elaborate teaching and learning systems based on imaginary spaces furnished with mental reminders. Sixteenth century humanists went on to build the memory machines in three dimensions, experiments that contributed directly to design of the Renaissance theatre (Yates 1966). The idea of the city as a theatre of memory is famously symbolised in Palladio's *Teatro Olimpico* in Vicenza (1580), where false perspective streets in bas-relief led from arches built into the back of the stage, the Street of Tragedy one way and the Street of Comedy the other (Vidler 1978 86-93).

Now. Tragedy's building frontages are formal, colonnaded and public, Comedy's are mixed, individualistic, and demotic. They express two types of urban collective memory: the first a public architecture that expresses institutional power and continuity, the second an everyday urbanism that grows cumulatively from shared popular experience, Dolores Hayden's 'power of place' (1995). Looking for collective memory in the streets of Vitoria, Brazil, the anthropologist Geert Banck finds the names of generals and governors in the central boulevards while the dirt roads of the squatter settlements express the solidarity of the people who built them - a street named after a man who died of a heart attack in a police raid, *Rua Quatro de Setembro* to commemorate the day the squat was officially recognised as a city neighbourhood and linked up to electricity supply, *Rua do Acordo* to celebrate the settling of a row about a school site (Nas 1993 104-112). Few of us get the chance to name our streets but we do contribute to their life and they to ours. Nobody put this better than Spiro Kostoff, recalling that 'school of urbanity', the untidy, mundane, undesigned life of the traditional street:

'In its changing architecture, its slow shifts and adjustments, in its sometimes wholesale reincarnation, the street was our communal register - the safeguard of those continuities of culture and place that made us as street users vastly and substantively older than our age and infinitely wiser than our natural gifts' (Kostoff 1992 243).

## **The Twilight of Cities**

Kostoff's memory of street-based urbanism is widely echoed. Much of today's town planning seeks to revive and repopulate Comedy Street. A hundred years ago the town planning movement - with the exception of Patrick Geddes - was more taken by the visual order of the Street of Tragedy. A modernity founded on industrial capitalism and colonialism continued to use the scenographic repertoire of the Age of Autocracy. Town plans based on formalisation and ritualisation were a key ingredient in the nationalism's ideological cocktail of 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). Twentieth century town planning set out from an assumption that its task was to make spaces that would evoke memories of citizenship, inspire civic behaviour, and instill a sense of the community as a going concern. The debt was most explicit for those who designed in the grand manner but those who argued for more informal or irregular street design instead of the dominant Enlightenment classicism shared the same pedagogic intent.

The route from there to Comedy Street was circuitous. It involved attempts to pull down the entire edifice of the Theatre of Memory. The insouciant declaration of *tabula rasa* by experts and bureaucrats is one of the great puzzles of town planning history. It expressed machine age optimism, but also a deep cultural pessimism about the city as a cultural form. The landscape architect Christopher Tunnard wondered whom to blame for the pervasive metaphors of cancer and putrefaction in mid-twentieth century urban discourse. He thought not J-J Rousseau or William Morris. Instead, he identified a thinker who may not have received sufficient attention from planning historians :

Some have buried him in their subconscious, for he is to them as sinister an influence as the city itself, but they could not but be drawn to his theory; nor could they escape it, for an extraordinary vogue in the 1920s disseminated his 'biologizing' philosophy into popular thought. To conjure up this strange figure - the necromancer of a Germany between two wars - is to reveal the source of the misdirection . . .Oswald Spengler. (Tunnard 1953 43-4)

Spengler's *Decline of the West* , published in 1922, is indeed pertinent to any discussion of urban collective memory. It contains passages of great beauty about the historic expression of city identity through urbanism. For Spengler urban layout and street architecture are visages that reveal the soul of a city as the human face reveals personality. But as to the modern industrial city Spengler was radically and utterly pessimistic: it had no soul and no destiny other than to suck the country dry until civilization expired in a depopulated wasteland (1932 90-3). *Decline of the West* was an international best-seller whose influence extended far beyond the author's own circle of right-wing German nationalists. When the first American edition came out in 1922 Lewis Mumford hailed it in *The New Republic* as 'audacious and profound, exciting and magnificent'.

In a later collection of essays on *Books which Changed our Minds* (1939), Mumford had changed his mind about Spengler's profundity but not about the significance of this 'black crow hoarsely cawing whose prophetic wings cast a gigantic shadow over the whole landscape'. Spengler's image of urban rotteness left a clear mark on Mumford's own thinking, and on that generation of town planners who so entirely wanted to undo and forget the inherited urban *gestalt*. The debt is surely evident in E A Gutkind's *Twilight of Cities* (1962) a tract for the eradication of conventional streets and the 'humbug' of building facades, the break-up and dispersal of urban areas, and the introduction of natural vegetation on a large scale right into the heart of cities, bringing 'life, change and vigor direct to the townsman'. Gutkind's urban remedy was planned deurbanisation. The city was a memory to be expunged. The exceptions made for national monuments and urban centres of special historical interest only heightened the general presumption against continuity.

### **The Street Rediscovered**

Then came the defining moment for modern town planning in the western democracies, when everyday urbanism bit back and people took to the street to defend what officialdom had written off. Reviewing Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1959), Herbert Gans predicted that the intellectual critique of modernity in the 1960s would focus 'on the destruction of traditional urbanity by new forms of city building' (1968 30). He was right. Jane Jacobs was just the first (if greatest) in a line of urbanists whose thinking was formed by direct encounter with the bull-dozer or the riot police. She, Marshal Berman, Spiro Kostoff, Robert and Leon Krier, Henri Lefebvre, Richard Sennett, Rene Schoonbrodt and their like taught planners to see themselves once again as makers of urban space - but this time, a demotic rather than formal space, embodying popular rather than institutional memory.

The link between urbanism and memory was reforged explicitly by Aldo Rossi, Pritzker Architecture Prize laureate of 1990, and leading voice in the postmodern urbanist project (Ellin 1996). Rossi's influence was diffused through a long and active design career, through the Venice Triennale and architectural journalism, and through professional networks of a post-Stalinist EuroCommunism that drew political strength from grassroots issues of everyday work and life. On the theme of collective memory, he was an acid critic of pasticheurs and contextualists, and he detested what he called 'Anglo-Saxon' urban design. Efforts to preserve history by retaining facades or mimicking traditional form and materials produced 'an empty, often repugnant stage' (1982 118, 123). In his *L'Architettura della Citta* (1966), Rossi set out an alternative strategy for the recovery of urban collective memory. It presented the city as a totality, a thing in itself, the most authentic expression of collective will: in Claude Levi-Strauss's words, *la chose humaine par excellence*. Rossi looked for urban memory not in buildings but in the voids between them, the space-pattern that constitutes the enduring skeleton of a town. Introducing a world-wide readership to the techniques of morphological mapping developed by his colleagues at the Institute of Architecture in Venice, Rossi argued that only meticulous historical research into a town's plan can reveal its deep structure, or, as he put it, 'the soul of the city'.

Rossi developed his argument through the familiar example of Rome, but his references were to a French text that would be known to few if any of his readers, *La Memoire Collective* of Maurice Halbwachs (published posthumously in 1950). Here was Rossi's paraphrase of Halbwachs:

One can say that the city itself is the collective memory of its people, and like the memory it is associated with objects and places. The city is the locus of the collective memory. This relationship between the locus and the citizenry then becomes the city's predominant image, both of architecture and of landscape, and as certain artefacts become part of its memory, new ones emerge. In this entirely positive sense great ideas flow through the history of the city and give shape to it. . . Thus [he continues overleaf] the union between the past and the future exists in the very idea of the city that it flows through, in the same way that memory flows through the life of a person; and always, in order to be realized, this idea must not only shape but be shaped by reality (1982 130).

### **Collective Memory**

Halbwachs deserves closer scrutiny. Born three years before Spengler in 1877, he studied under Henri Bergson and Emile Durkheim, and pioneered the analysis of social frameworks that allow memory to be shared and transmitted: for example, musical notation, the layout of churches and ceremonial spaces, and - what attracted Rossi - town plans (1925, 1950). Maurice Halbwachs wrote that in our perceptions and memory of streets, 'we are never alone'. Every urban space is a receptacle of collective memory. Even stronger than the nexus between rural people and their landscapes (on which French geographers had constructed an entire science) is the memory embodied in a city:

The place a group occupies is not like a blackboard, where one may write and erase figures at will. . . The board could not care less what has been written on it before, and new figures may be freely added. But place and group have each received the imprint of the other. Each aspect, each detail of this place has a meaning intelligible only to members of the group, for each portion of its space corresponds to various and different aspects of the structure and life of their society, at least of what is most stable in it (1980 128).

The persistence of street plans is a powerful social law. In our personal lives, the normality of street life is a consolation during times of crisis - the impersonal flux of people and traffic 'calms and steadies us'. What affects the material aspect of an urban quarter matters more to its residents than high politics, and in the life of the city - war, upheaval, new roads, economic decay - people will always try to restore some elements of their familiar material environment. Even if they cannot arrest change, they try to hold firm to what they can and protect it within a new equilibrium (1980 133). It is in urban space that humans discover who they are and make history.

Maurice Halbwachs was a wideranging scholar. Working with the International Labour Office in Geneva, he pioneered the statistical investigation of household budgets and expenditure patterns. He wrote about probability calculus, about Leibniz, about the causes of suicide. His last book, published in 1941 in occupied

Paris, was *La Topographie Legendaire des Evangiles en Terre Sainte: Etude de memoire collective* (1970), a study of collective memory in pilgrimage through Bethlehem, Nazareth, the shores of Lake Tiberias, and the holy city of Jerusalem. But like Walter Benjamin, it was from the streets of Paris that he drew his best insights into urban existence. As a student he had watched the completion of Haussmann's boulevards, and in 1928 he published an vividly precise statistical study of the demographic and physical impacts of those brutal sabre slashes (Haussmann's own metaphor) through the tissue of old Paris (Vidler 1978 86-93). The most striking aspect of the Halbwach study in the late twenties was its conclusion - the sabre wounds had healed: the urban tissue had formed around them, seamlessly incorporating ancient streets within a modernised urban order (1928 263).

Like Jane Jacobs, Halbwachs believed firmly in the self-regulating power of great cities. He statistically refuted the supposed links between urbanisation, social degeneracy and cultural decline. At a time when social reformers, (whether they were German, French or Anglo-Saxon) saw the solution to the city problem only in terms of getting people off the streets and into smaller face-to-face communities, Halbwachs affirmed the value of the great flux and roar - the 'collective exultation' - of big city life. He demonstrated that the supposed infertility of city-dweller was a demographic myth. Far from being pathological, the giant modern metropolis was a litmus of biological and social organisation. It was the source of innovation in religion, culture, politics, business, and medicine. Such inventiveness was peculiar to 'compact and complex urban milieux', cities which put their people to the test but also stimulate their will to succeed (1938 69-82, 126-7).

Spengler and Halbwachs, two exact contemporaries, shared a belief that the form of a city embodies its collective memory, its common intelligence, its soul. Beyond that, everything is contrast. Halbwachs was a highly professional academic, Spengler a lone author who arranged evidence in cloudy formations that appalled expert historians. To shield himself from the modern urban world Spengler 'made it a habit to hang a sign on his door which read "out of town". When he actually left town, the sign would be taken down' (Fischer 1989 70). Halbwachs was never out of town. Spengler died in 1936 disappointed that Hitler (with whom he had a personal audience at Bayreuth in 1933) would not accept his doctrine of manly pessimism. Halbwachs was taken by the Gestapo in 1944 and died of dysentery eight months later in Buchenwald concentration camp. The Spanish writer Jorge Semprun, a Communist, was a fellow-prisoner. He had attended Halbwach's lectures at the Sorbonne in the 1920s, and regularly visited the dying professor in Block 56 of the Little Camp. At the end, Halbwachs was too weak to speak. In the fetid, fecal odour of death, Semprun recited Baudelaire:

*O mort, vieux capitaine, il est temps, levons l'ancre -*

*Il sourit, mourant, son regard sur moi, fraternal.* (Semprun 1994 70)

### **Collective Memory, Forgotten and Remembered**

After the war, Halbwachs' work on collective memory was totally forgotten. Outside the Soviet Union, the entire thrust of scientific memory research by postwar psychologists took the 'single-minded' premise that

remembering and forgetting are individual, not social, activities (Middleton & Edwards 1990). The concept of city streets and neighbourhoods as receptacles of collective memory had no place in the thinking of a generation of architects, highway engineers, landscapers and town planners who assumed *tabula rasa*. So it was a stroke of good fortune that Halbwachs did at last find a charismatic interpreter in Aldo Rossi.

A generation of urbanists took *The Architecture of the City* as their manifesto, an escape route from the object-fixation of the modern movement, and an invitation to rediscover and give contemporary expression to the inherited morphology of street, place and quarter. In the Latin countries this movement was known as 'neorationalism', becoming the *urbanismo de izquierda* for democratic municipalities regaining control of urban space from the office and hotel speculators who had flourished under Franco and Salazar. The message of *Architecture of the City* was disseminated through the vigorous Marxist political culture of the seventies and eighties, its morphological approach meshing with the New Left strategy of mobilization around neighbourhood and community issues, and with Henri Lefebvre's fluent ruminations on contemporary urban experience (1991). In Paris the new sensibility towards urban space coincided with the first translations of Walter Benjamin. The published morphological research of the Atelier Parisien d'Urbanisme (APUR) opened with his simile (in a 1913 letter to Carla Seligson) of the city's street facades as the wings of a stage set through which Baudelaire, Apollinaire, the surrealists have walked before us (Loyer 1987, Cohen & Fortier 1988 18-25). The city set up an architectural centre in the Pavillon de l'Arsenal where building projects could be juxtaposed through maps and models with a continual exploration of collective memory embodied in the street plan. Plaster maquettes at the scale of 1:1000 showed the contrast between the postwar city where the buildings stand free as objects, and the traditional tissue where the street has the appearance of being carved out of a block of solid mineral. The central insight in all this new urbanism is a Halbwachian focus upon urban space, *le jeu des pleins et des vides* (Ansay & Schoonbrodt 1989 33).

The message spread by Rossi and the morphologists in southern Europe was taken in Germany by Robert Krier's Stadtraum of 1975 and the real-life experiment in 'critical reconstruction' carried out by Joseph Paul Kleihues for IBA-Berlin (1984-7). The seminal text for the English-speaking world was *Collage City* by Colin Rowe and Fred Koetter (1978), an extended exploration of the meaning for architectural design of the oscillation of figure and ground, active and passive behaviour, collaboration and assertion. Rowe had studied for his doctorate at the Warburg Institute in the 1940s and *Collage City* acknowledged Frances Yates's work on the art of memory. Like Rossi, Rowe wanted to lay the basis for an urbanism which looks forward as well as back, a city which functions both as a theatre of memory and a theatre of prophecy (1978 49). Figure-ground imagery did that well, particularly when framed in a triptych of past, present and future: the mid-century labyrinth of continuous streets and places; the break-up caused by wartime destruction, highways, surface parking, freestanding object-architecture, landscape planting and urban blight; and the figure-ground of prophecy to show how a place might be. Popularised through the Cornell urban design studio and the work of practices such as Koetter Kim, the triptych is in use today from Milwaukee to Manchester as a basic design tool for the rediscovery of the street, and through it, a Halbwachian idea of collective memory.

## Conclusion - the rediscovery of the street and collective memory in Berlin

An enormous figure-ground triptych could be seen in October 2000 at a show entitled *Citta - less aesthetics, more ethics*, part of the Venice Biennale. In an exhibition dominated by extravagant deconstructionist fantasies, the City of Berlin contributed a sober triptych of cartographic images (scaled at 1 : 5000) under the heading *Stadtwende*. The first image was a figure-ground map of the urban fabric in 1940, a city substantially unchanged since the turn of the century. Next, the pocked and gaping image of modern Berlin, after war damage, postwar urban renewal, highway schemes and proposals, and - of course - the huge linear void of the wall. And third, the plan of 1999 in which Senator Peter Strieder and his building director, Hans Stimmann set out the strategy of long-term morphological repair, (*Kritischen Rekonstruktion*) that continues today. Old streets are being restored, lost frontage rebuilt, and the grid extended over voids such as the goods yards of the old Hauptbahnhof, the grass verges at the Alexanderplatz end of the Karlmarxallee, and along the projected motorway route to the south of An Der Uranie Strasse. Through infill and densification, the city's project is to rebuild its streets, square and quarters into a complete identity-giving image or *identitätsstiftenden Gesamtbild* (Burg 1997 8, 77).

In *The Ghosts of Berlin : confronting German history in the urban landscape* (1997) Brian Ladd describes Berlin as a haunted city, beset by conflicting calls for remembrance and forgetting. The local strategy of critical reconstruction has been very controversial (Marcuse 1998, Wise 1998). Design stars commissioned to create signature buildings for the revived *Waldstadt* have been intensely critical of what they consider to be the oppressive provincialism of planning control: 'reactionary and grimly historicist' is the verdict of *Blueprint* magazine (Horn 1996). Rem Koolhaas quit the jury over the decision to entrust the master-plan of Potsdamer Platz to the Heinz Hilmer and Christoph Sattler, architects who see their work as the recombination of architectural memories rather than the invention of new forms. Daniel Libeskind believes it has produced 'mediocrity on a mega-scale'. His own contribution to the reconstruction of Berlin has been the Jewish Museum, zig-zagging away from the street according to a geometry derived from of imaginary lines scratched across the map between random postal addresses of nineteenth century Jewish families. The building makes a statement of profound dislocation that could not be more at odds with the city's planning policy, described provocatively by Libeskind as an authoritarian vision with the building of a *New Teutonia* as its object - a 'Call to Order' (Balfour 1995 35-6).

I hope this paper will have suggested an alternative reading of struggle for the soul of Berlin. In the draft plan of 1997 the city spelt out its philosophy of bridging the rift between *Ossis* and *Wessis* with a seamless tissue of street life :

Modern urban design in the twentieth century sought to dissolve the city, leading it to deny the city as a cultural form which had evolved historically, and as a place of collective memory. Today our treatment of the city as an essential manifestation of life is determined not by the model of *tabula rasa* which modernism used to sacrifice existing substance and make way for the new, but by dialogue with the features of place and memory (Burg 1997 19).



Here is the language of Maurice Halbwachs and Hannah Arendt; also of Aldo Rossi, who was a frequent visitor to Berlin until his death, and has been described by Hans Stimmann as 'the godfather of our strategy'. It is quite natural for an international star architect like Libeskind to emphasize the potential of a freely designed individual building to crystallize memory. But an international conference of town planning historians will recognise the City of Berlin's project for collective memory as equally credible - and arguably more prophetic.

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## ELIEL SAARINEN AND THE GARDEN CITY IDEA

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Minna Chudoba, M. Arch

Meri-Lappi Institute  
University of Lapland/ University of Oulu  
Kauppakatu 27, 94100 KEMI, FINLAND

### Abstract

The garden city – an idea offering city dwellers the best of both town and country – was one of the design themes Eliel Saarinen adopted in his general plans of Helsinki. Both Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan of 1915 and Pro Helsingfors plan of 1918 were inspired by Ebenezer Howard's garden city diagram. This was of course not the only source, as Eliel Saarinen combined freely several new design ideas of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in his plans for Helsinki. Theoretically these plans are not examples of a pure garden city. For example, connections to surrounding agrarian areas were missing, and growth could not be maintained and controlled according to the strategy proposed by Howard.

The garden city idea continued to intrigue Eliel Saarinen throughout his career in some form. His theoretical work on urban design – *The City. Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future* – was born out of the desire to solve some of the problems of the congested city, the very same reason that had prompted Ebenezer Howard to draw his famous diagram several decades before. The later book carries the garden city heritage.

Eliel Saarinen designed large-scale urban schemes as well as taught urban design during his years in America, but Cranbrook Academy of Art remained his only realized plan on a larger scale. In Cranbrook, one may feel the same quaint spirit of well-designed, dignified residential living – indeed the best of town and country – that was visible in Raymond Unwin's illustrations of Hampstead Garden Suburb. This is perhaps one of the most common views of the garden city – a city in a garden – although it does not have much in common with the pure idea as envisioned by Ebenezer Howard.

### The Garden City idea

Various kinds of green cities and suburbs have been called garden cities since Ebenezer Howard's time. Some bear little or no resemblance to the actual ideas of the term's founder. The only common characteristic between the various types of "garden cities" may be the abundance of greenery: a garden in a city or a city in a garden. Howard himself gave a very precise meaning to the term.<sup>1</sup> In Finland even prominent teachers of urban design have given the name garden city to such towns that in reality are just garden suburbs - only one, Tapiola, is actually a successful garden city and worthy of the name.<sup>2</sup>

In a preface to the 1946 edition of Howard's famous *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* F.J. Osborn suspects that very few of the many planners who quote the book have actually read it, although it is not a difficult book. Of the recognized formative writers on planning he credits only Raymond Unwin with fully understanding the idea.<sup>3</sup> It is not Unwin's fault that the strong images of garden suburb architecture that he made famous so obscured Howard's message on land politics. The public ownership of land was of course the key to the whole process of forming garden cities<sup>4</sup>, and it has unfortunately often been forgotten.

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<sup>1</sup> E. Howard's definition from 1919: "A town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land being in public ownership or held in trust for the community". Howard 1965 (1946), p. 26 (original publication 1898)

<sup>2</sup> Virtanen 1994, 35

<sup>3</sup> Osborn 1965, 9-10

<sup>4</sup> Howard 1965 (1946, 1898), 135-136

## Elie Saarinen's Plans for Helsinki

Ebenezer Howard had ended his book on garden cities with the future of London. He wrote of the difficulty of building a new city in the place of an old one, when the site was already occupied by a huge population. The task differed much from laying out a city based on the garden city diagram on agricultural land.<sup>5</sup> When Elie Saarinen began to think of the growth areas of Helsinki in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century he was faced with exactly that kind of problem, although the population of Helsinki could not be compared with that of London<sup>6</sup>.

The overcrowded conditions in cities and the new transportation possibilities offered by the railway had already brought about a villa district movement in Finland, these communities were built around Helsinki in the late 1800's. Usually they were for the upper middle class, although some were planned for the working class also. Areas of land around the city were bought by companies especially formed for the purpose, the same company laid out the plans and sold the lots. There was a tendency to plan these communities with their own parks and public buildings, but the latter were rarely realized.<sup>7</sup>

### *Munkkiniemi-Haaga*

Ideas behind this villa district movement were the basis of Saarinen's Helsinki plans (Suur-Helsinki, the greater Helsinki plan of 1910-1915 and Pro Helsingfors plan of 1918), but there is a change of scale: he was looking at the whole city. The satellite city model he used was influenced by many sources, perhaps by the environment of his childhood - St. Petersburg and its circle of villages - and also by Otto Wagner's model for Vienna from 1893.<sup>8</sup> Another great influence was of course Ebenezer Howard and his Garden City, in the Unwin-Parker version. Gustaf Strengell, who had visited Hampstead Garden Suburb in 1910 and written an account of his trip in the Finnish architectural magazine *Arkitekten*, collaborated with Saarinen on the Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan texts. In his travel article about Hampstead, Strengell had noted the short five-minute travel time on the subway, the extensive area of green around the suburb, the integration of different social classes, the relatively low density of building, the gravel surface of the minor roads and the high quality of the architecture.<sup>9</sup> The Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan also includes several pictures from Raymond Unwin's book, *Town Planning in Practice*. The influence of Hampstead architecture is clear in the Munkkiniemi-Haaga perspectives, for example the residential plazas (which have been seen to resemble the ideas of both Sitte and Unwin, some northern parts of the plan recall a sector of Howard's garden city diagram<sup>10</sup>).

The text for the Munkkiniemi-Haaga and Suur-Helsinki plan mentions Ebenezer Howard's book and includes a detailed description of the garden city idea<sup>11</sup>, so it is obvious that the influence came from the main source also, not just Hampstead Garden Suburb version of it. Strengell especially notes the land politics, the system of using the rising land values to benefit the whole community.<sup>12</sup> Later in his part of the text, Saarinen refers to the same issue, criticizing the city of Helsinki severely for not providing reasonably priced residential land and allowing land speculation to occur with the rising downtown land values. All this benefitted but a few real estate speculators, and common good suffered as a result. He also goes as far as to suggest official control of the food market... perhaps inspired by Howard's text on the town food distribution?<sup>13</sup> The Suur-Helsinki plan as such did not include any links to the surrounding agricultural land.

The Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan, which included a general plan for Helsinki, was published in 1915. It is not really a book in the traditional sense, but a collection of large city plans, as well as detailed building drawings (which Saarinen modestly called just "drafts"<sup>14</sup>), and accompanying text written by Saarinen and Strengell, also by Sigurd Stenius and Johan Ugglä. The general plan was drawn by Elie

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<sup>5</sup> Howard 1965 (1946, 1898), 157

<sup>6</sup> In 1900 London had a population of over 6,5 million, Helsinki under 94 000. (Saarinen 1915, 4)

<sup>7</sup> Mikkola 1990, 192

<sup>8</sup> Mikkola 1990, 220

<sup>9</sup> Strengell 1910, 137-141; Strengell 1911, 5-10; Mikkola 1990, 193

<sup>10</sup> Mikkola 1990, 208

<sup>11</sup> Saarinen et al. 1915, 12-17

<sup>12</sup> Saarinen et al. 1915, 13-14

<sup>13</sup> Saarinen et al. 1915, 48-49; Howard 1965 (1946, 1898), 62

<sup>14</sup> Saarinen et al. 1915, 91

Saarinen and by Bertel Jung, who had been appointed as the Helsinki city planning architect in 1907. The whole purpose of the publication was to get the general public interested, as without them the realization would not happen<sup>15</sup>.

This plan included the first general plan of the city, defining all land use. The transportation system consisted of a clear hierarchy of roads, with rapid automobile traffic separated from slower cargo transport. Park network was spread all over, to ensure clean air in the city. Unified townscape was of utmost importance: the individual building and the whole city were to serve the same purpose.<sup>16</sup>

Munkkiniemi-Haaga was not to be just a garden suburb; the amount of public buildings planned was quite large in relation to the intended population of about 55 000 to 170 000 (library, museums, churches, schools, two hospitals).<sup>17</sup> The plan showed a classification of city functions into living, working, recreation and transportation - but these were *not* regionally separated in the functionalist sense.<sup>18</sup> Classes, however, were separated, not integrated as was planned in the original garden cities.<sup>19</sup> Attached row houses as a building type were introduced for the first time in Finland, but only few isolated examples were built. The type did not become popular until the 1940's.<sup>20</sup>

### *Pro Helsingfors*

It is not certain who is to take credit starting the process of plan design. However, the *Pro Helsingfors - a general plan of the Greater Helsinki* was commissioned by the Helsinki businessman Julius Tallberg from Eliel Saarinen, Bertel Jung and Einar Sjöström. Saarinen finished the plan alone in 1918, due to circumstances caused by the civil war in Finland, but Jung wrote the text. The basis for the plan was formed by the previous plans for Helsinki, in which both Jung and Saarinen had taken part. The main idea of the plan is a central city surrounded by satellite towns of "garden suburb qualities", which are all connected by railway and tramline networks. The size of the satellite towns was estimated at 10 000 - 12 500 people.<sup>21</sup>

The satellite towns were diagrams, but they were depicted as being densely built in the centre with public buildings, surrounded by row house blocks, and individual villas around the periphery of the town. The majority of the inhabitants of these towns were expected to commute daily to the central city, where most of the jobs were at the time. However, another kind of development was also visioned: the towns could just as easily become independent units.<sup>22</sup> Strictly speaking these satellite towns resembled garden suburbs - but perhaps the original requirement of total independence in employment would have been revised by even Howard himself, had he foreseen the changes that took place during the 20<sup>th</sup> century (improvements in transportation methods, or the rising amount of women entering the work force).<sup>23</sup> The transportation system in this plan was a detailed, integrated whole, dominated by railway connections and a multi-level main avenue. The plan also took a stand in the Töölö Bay question, which is still undecided almost ninety years later, and continues to be a source of heated discussions in the urban design circles in Finland. Saarinen filled the bay and moved his own railway station several kilometres north; these ideas originally came from Julius Tallberg, the businessman who commissioned the plan<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Saarinen et al. 1915, preface

<sup>16</sup> Strengell had praised Hampstead Garden Suburb for unity, achieved by the collaboration of many architects (Saarinen et al. 1915, 17). This was apparently something to strive for; both Strengell and Saarinen criticize the Finnish villa district -communities for the lack of harmony (Saarinen et al. 1915, 17, 101). Here they share the view held by Unwin, as chapter X in his book is titled "Of Buildings, and How the Variety of Each must be Dominated by the Harmony of the Whole" (Unwin, 1994 (1909), 360).

<sup>17</sup> Saarinen et al. 1915, 82. The list is very much like the list Ebenezer Howard had in his book for the garden city core (Howard 1965 (1945,1898), 53). Saarinen would not approve the placement of the public buildings isolated in parks, he believed they should be integrated into larger architectural designs (Strengell 1924, 36; Mikkola,1990, 208). The latter view he shared with Raymond Unwin (Unwin 1994 (1909), 198-207), and Sitte of course would have agreed: size was more impressive in relation to something.

<sup>18</sup> Mikkola 1990, 204

<sup>19</sup> Saarinen et al. 1915, 62

<sup>20</sup> Mikkola 1984, 59, 106

<sup>21</sup> Mikkola 1990, 214

<sup>22</sup> Jung 1918, 11

<sup>23</sup> Virtanen 1994, 34

<sup>24</sup> Jung 1918, 4-5; Mikkola 1990, 214

Perhaps due to the chaotic times, Eliel Saarinen's Helsinki plans did not receive much publicity outside the Scandinavian countries. In Finland the plan was well known, but only some small parts of the street network in Munkkiniemi were ever realized. Riding a tram along the tree-lined avenue to Munkkiniemi today gives one a sense of what might have been - it still retains a feeling of a special neighbourhood with a distinctly pleasing human scale.

The plan gave guidelines for Helsinki's growth until well into the 1950's, but after that the growth lines have been horizontal east-west, not northeast-northwest like Saarinen proposed.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless Saarinen's Helsinki plans still exert an influence today. The many renderings, aerial perspectives and the amazing wood model have created a lasting image, they are a Helsinki that might have come about had things taken another turn, an inspiring alternative that makes the real thing just a bit more real, just a bit more of a chance.

Just few years later Eliel Saarinen was to draw the plans for Chicago Lake Front (1923) and Detroit Riverfront (1924). These dealt with the solving the problems of the central areas of large industrial cities, and focused on traffic. The only reference to "garden city" in connection with these urban schemes is perhaps Gustaf Strengell's mention of Chicago's reputation as such: a garden city<sup>26</sup>.

## The City

F.J.Osborn recognized only Raymond Unwin as a true disciple of Howard - perhaps did not believe Eliel Saarinen fully understood the garden city idea or did not recognize him as a formative writer on planning<sup>27</sup>. Nevertheless Eliel Saarinen in his 1943 book, *The City – Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future*, owes a great deal to both Howard's ideas and the way they were interpreted by Unwin. Howard was not much concerned about the outward form of the city, his interest was in the processes that would produce them. Saarinen, as an architect, was concerned about form, but his book on the city also stresses the process-like nature of planned city growth. His illustrations of this process are very abstract and diagrammatic. Lewis Mumford called this book "a perspicuous plea for a decentralized reorganization of great cities"<sup>28</sup>; such it should have been, for it was written for the layman<sup>29</sup>. It shares the simplicity and lucid style of Howard's *Tomorrow*.

### *Ebenezer Howard's influence*

Saarinen has no references in his book, it is the summary of lifelong thoughts, influenced by many sources. Picture credits mention Unwin and his *City Planning*, as well as Pierre Lavedan's and Werner Hegemann's books. Howard and Unwin are also mentioned in the text<sup>30</sup>, and of course Sitte<sup>31</sup>. Many themes in Saarinen's *The City* have something in common with Howard's or Unwin's ideas. The very core of decentralization could be from Howard - or indirectly from other sources. In any case *The City* carries the garden city heritage.

*The City* begins with the problems of the congested big city, seeing these problems to be of both sociological and physical nature. Unplanned disorderly suburban growth is equally condemned. Immediate changes are seen as inevitable, but in town building matters a gradual process is deemed best, evolution is seen to be more successful than revolution. As an architect, Saarinen believed that the physical environment had a culturally constructive influence upon the human mind, but the form order and the social order could not be dealt with separately.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Mikkola 1990, 219

<sup>26</sup> Strengell 1924, 18. Stephen Ward notes that both Osborn and Hall claim Howard to have coined the term "garden city" from this nickname of Chicago's - Howard himself seems to have denied this, and Ward mentions William Morris as a possible source. (Ward 1992, 3)

<sup>27</sup> Osborn does include Saarinen's book among the select book list of the 1965 edition of Howard's book, he sees Saarinen's urban pattern "very close to Howard's social cities". (Howard 1965 (1946), 162)

<sup>28</sup> Mumford 1961, 621

<sup>29</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), x

<sup>30</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 128, 168, 362-364

<sup>31</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 116, 116-133, 168, 366

<sup>32</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), viii, 4, 17

According to Saarinen, development should start with homes, not plazas and monuments. He seems to share the sympathy with people that was displayed in Howard's book.<sup>33</sup> He also shares Howard's optimism and calls for "new type of man, influenced by the positive qualities of both town and country"<sup>34</sup> – this could just as well be Howard speaking. However, for Saarinen a healthy social order was something that was the result of a "home-atmosphere", created with a design-character<sup>35</sup>, whereas Howard stressed social processes.

The question of land tenure was essential for the original garden city idea. Howard proposed to use it for the benefit of the community, having been influenced by Spence and Spencer<sup>36</sup>. This proposal of Howard's was mentioned in the Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan, and its spirit carried through to the book *The City*. Saarinen writes clearly of the necessity to control negative land speculation, but ends the chapter on re legislation in somewhat contradictory way. In spite of these controls, the freedom of individuals should not be limited!<sup>37</sup> Most probably he did not want to be misinterpreted; if he was to gain an audience in an environment where individual freedom was held at such high regard, he should not stress the needs of the collective to the extreme.

Saarinen's decentralization is of organic nature, he defines it as "a group of individual communities separated by a protective belt-system of green land", but agriculture is not mentioned.<sup>38</sup> The size of the community units was to be restricted, and they were to be self-sufficient enough to provide jobs for the population, just as Howard had suggested.<sup>39</sup> Saarinen uses the term *organic decentralization* to differentiate it from just plain decentralization, which had been begun to be used in America for spontaneous movement from centre to the outskirts<sup>40</sup>. The latter kind of decentralization and compulsory commuting Saarinen criticized severely<sup>41</sup>. This organic decentralization could not and should not be the work of one mind, but several, it was to be a collective process<sup>42</sup>.

The word organic also describes both Saarinen's and Howard's city analogies. Howard speaks of a city as a flower or a tree, calling for the organic qualities of unity, symmetry and completeness<sup>43</sup>. Saarinen also compares the growth of a city to that of a tree, seeing in the design instinct all the potential for future growth, like in a seed of a tree. He sees the whole city as an organism, he speaks of the organic order of all things. This order was to him the very principle of architecture.<sup>44</sup>

### *Raymond Unwin's Influence*

Raymond Unwin's influence on Saarinen and his Finnish contemporaries is not, of course, just limited to Unwin's book on town planning. His garden city and suburb architecture was well known, and documented on several occasions in the magazine *Arkitekten*<sup>45</sup>. The book was also reviewed in the same magazine by Sigurd Frosterus<sup>46</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 2; Osborn 1965, 10

<sup>34</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 177

<sup>35</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 170

<sup>36</sup> Howard, 58-59, 118

<sup>37</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 320 –323.

<sup>38</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 23

<sup>39</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 208

<sup>40</sup> Osborn 1965, 27

<sup>41</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 17, 151, 209-212

<sup>42</sup> Both Howard and Saarinen were emphatic about this point ( Saarinen 1945(1943), 377; Howard 1965(1946), 76). Marc Trieb has noted, that although Saarinen's urban design schemes for Helsinki were exact, they were always meant to be proposals, not plans, as the realization should be the work of many people. (Trieb 1982, 44, 52)

<sup>43</sup> Howard 1965 (1946), 76. Christopher Alexander found this analogy faulty, as his article "The city is not a tree" proves with mathematical assurance. Perhaps the two were not quite talking about the same thing when they used the word in question.

<sup>44</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 15-18, 50.

<sup>45</sup> Strengell 1910, 137-141; Strengell 1911, 5-10.

<sup>46</sup> Frosterus 1909, 169-182. Pictures in various articles circulated the garden city image, even when Unwin's book was not actually read. Perhaps Frosterus was aware of the dangers of this happening, for he does not include a single perspective drawing in his article, instead he relies mostly on text and mentions that if one were to look at just the pictures of this book, one might think that here is just another follower of the example set by Sitte's *Der Städtebau*.



The Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan had included several example pictures from Unwin's book, but in *the City* only two are mentioned in the sources of illustrations - both of them of historical town plans, not of Hampstead Garden Suburb. The structure of Saarinen's book resembles that of Unwin's: especially the historical overview, which was thought to be necessary background for understanding the core of the book <sup>47</sup>.

The most noticeable similarity to today's reader in the writings of Unwin and Saarinen is their treatment of the city as a whole. Their texts reflect the planning ideas of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the city was seen as one entity. Both men criticize the fact that this whole city was often not treated as such. Unwin speaks of broader elements being neglected and of "forced picturesqueness" prevailing in the treatment of minor details <sup>48</sup>. More than thirty years later the situation is not much different. Architects seem to be interested in only interior space, buildings are primarily independent units and the outside has been left to "vibrate in discordant distress"<sup>49</sup>.

Saarinen in his book continues to ponder the question of *informal vs. formal* in architecture, which had intrigued Unwin also. They came to the same conclusion: both are needed, the classical clarity of the formal and the organic timeless quality of the informal.<sup>50</sup> The relationships between parts and the whole were important also. Saarinen writes of the planning process needing continuous flexibility between various scales: "from the whole to the detail, and from the detail to the whole"<sup>51</sup>. The correlation of all parts in the whole was essential. Unwin had written years before "of buildings, and how the variety of each must be dominated by the harmony of the whole"<sup>52</sup>. This same principle was already promoted in the Munkkiniemi-Haaga plan <sup>53</sup>, and Saarinen continued to do so in *the City* <sup>54</sup>.

### *Conclusion of the City*

*The City* carried on the garden city message, even though Howard and Unwin were mentioned only a few times in the book. The order of Howard's diagrams was translated to nature, and biological analogies underlined the point. The town and countryside relationship reflected the garden city, although Saarinen went as far as the medieval times to find an early example of the idea.<sup>55</sup> Land politics was also a major issue in Saarinen's book, just as it had been in Howard's. Saarinen followed the example set by the earlier book, offering a compromise between the needs of the individual and the good of the collective.

*The City* had but few illustrations, but it was a book about architecture, about urban design. It brought the third dimension into town planning, and would rather call it town *building*. It was an easy book to read, and offered to the readers the two most prominent contributions of Eliel Saarinen to the 20<sup>th</sup> century town planning theory: decentralization and biological analogies. The rest of the book has been summed up as consisting of mainly simplified history and practical design knowledge.<sup>56</sup> This may be just a bit unfair. Much of the book was about design philosophy in general, there it resembled Saarinen's other book, *Search for Form in Art and Architecture*. The underlying theme was the organic order of most things, of nature as well as town building. This was manifest in two distinct phenomena inherent in all: the existence of individuality, and the presence of this individuality in a collective, which were formed in design terms as principles of *expression* and *correlation*.<sup>57</sup> It was a simple, but rather fundamental foundation for architectural as well as urban design.

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<sup>47</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 21. The historical part was summed up by Kirmo Mikkola as "simplified description of history". (Mikkola 1984, 93)

<sup>48</sup> Unwin 1994 (1909), IA-IB.

<sup>49</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 52.

<sup>50</sup> Unwin 1994 (1909), 115-119; Saarinen 1958 (1943), 135-136.

<sup>51</sup> Saarinen 1958 (1943), 291.

<sup>52</sup> Unwin 1994 (1909), 360.

<sup>53</sup> Strengell 1915, 6.

<sup>54</sup> Saarinen 1958 (1943), 55-59.

<sup>55</sup> Saarinen 1958 (1943), 640. Lewis Mumford goes as far back in his 1965 introductory essay to Howard's book, mentioning Leonardo da Vinci's plans of a group of cities to help congested Milan.(Mumford 1961, 29)

<sup>56</sup> Mikkola 1984, 53

<sup>57</sup> Saarinen 1945 (1943), 8-9

## The Idea and the Image

What would the decentralized city of Eliel Saarinen have been like in reality? Although Saarinen designed large-scale urban schemes as well as taught urban design during his years in America, Cranbrook Academy of Art remained his only realized plan on a larger scale. It is a special place of its own, but a fragment that has only loose connections to those large urban wholes that Saarinen considered so important.

The image of a garden city, meaning a garden in a city or a city in a garden, and seen as a town with a semi-rural appearance, was both described by Howard and depicted in Unwin's perspectives for Hampstead Garden Suburb.<sup>58</sup> This image is much more common than a real understanding of Howard's ideas. It is a misinterpreted image, but it has become one of the meanings of a garden city in everyday speech. Image is always easier to grasp than an idea, which needs more thought to be properly understood. Howard's diagrams did perhaps not have the popular appeal of the later garden suburb perspectives, as perspectives are more powerfully affective than any other mode of design illustration. As Peter Hall has said, Unwin-Parker architecture so memorably dressed the idea, that people could not separate one from the other.<sup>59</sup> And whether we like it or not, it is the popular image that is more known, and often more desired than the real thought behind this image. There are cases where inhabitants of quiet suburbs have opposed plans to bring more services or jobs to their area, afraid the place would become too urban, and lose its suburban quality. In many such places around the world, the misunderstood image seems to triumph over the purity of the idea.<sup>60</sup>

There is something of this popular garden city image in the Cranbrook schools and housing designed by Eliel Saarinen. There one may feel the same quaint spirit of well-designed, dignified residential living – indeed the best of town and country – that was visible in Raymond Unwin's illustrations of Hampstead Garden Suburb. It is a bit ironic that this popular image of a garden city – which does not have much in common with the pure idea as envisioned by Ebenezer Howard - is cited as the most extensive realization of Saarinen's urban design ideas. It is true that Munkkiniemi of today looks rather different than the bird's eye view of Saarinen's perspectives, but perhaps it is after all a better example than Cranbrook of the city as Saarinen saw it.

The tramline connection to downtown is there, the tree-lined avenue and the shops and other public buildings to serve the residential blocks, even though the streets wind differently and the architecture shows the many decades after 1910's. There are long vistas and narrow paths, plenty of small details and a hierarchy of spaces that give the area a pleasing human quality. Munkkiniemi was never meant to be just a garden suburb, and today it obvious that it is not. It is a place that shows a part of a city as a continuous process, flexible and never finished. Eliel Saarinen would probably recognize his city.

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<sup>58</sup> Howard 1965 (1946), 67

<sup>59</sup> Hall 1992 (1988), 97

<sup>60</sup> The *Washington Post* from Oct 5, 1997 tells the story of Reston, whose residents were opposing office building projects in the area. They were afraid the place would become too urban, and lose its small-town, neighbourly feel. When Reston was founded in early 1960's, it was intended to be a place where working and living would come together, instead of being just a subdivision with no centre. More office space and a thriving town centre were exactly what the founder intended, in the spirit of a thriving garden city.

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**'Building Jerusalem' in the post-war British shire town**  
**- The battle for planning in Worcester and Bedford, 1945 to c.1960-**

Naoki Motouchi

Postgraduate Doctoral Research Student (History)

University of Luton

75 Castle Street

Luton

LU1 3AJ, UK

e-mail: [nmoto@attglobal.net](mailto:nmoto@attglobal.net)

## **Introduction**

In recent years, there has been considerable argument about why the 'planners' moon' of the immediate post-war years apparently faded so quickly and left so little trace. Much of this debate has focused on the bombed cities or new towns. This paper breaks fresh ground by considering developments in locations that are less well known but often equally illuminating – the shire towns, those quintessential centers of 'Englishness'.

Bedford and Worcester both commissioned plans from experienced planners shortly before or just after the end of the Second World War. My object will be to explain why the two places opted for planning; analyse what the planners suggested; and trace how their ideas fared during the following twenty years. To what extent were the plans implemented? What forces shaped their acceptance or rejection? Was the pace of rebuilding shaped by economic concerns? Or did planning flounder on popular prejudice? How did the local political parties handle the issue? The comparison is particularly interesting because both sets of planners took account of ordinary people's views. Did their determination to plan in this way make any difference? And did their approach make implementation easier?

## **Worcester**

Worcester, with a population of 60,000 and an area of 5,394 acres in 1945, was a cathedral city on the River Severn, the administrative and market centre of the county of Worcestershire, and famed for its porcelain, sauce, glove and engineering industries. It had an ancient history, and many picturesque vistas, but also a number of pressing problems – traffic congestion, an unbalanced economy, housing problems etc. As a consequence, in 1943, the Conservative controlled council decided to re-plan the city. They employed Prof. Sargant Florence of Birmingham University to conduct a survey,<sup>1</sup> and then

two planning consultants, Anthony Minoprio and Hugh Spencely, an ex-student of Abercrombie, to prepare detailed recommendations.<sup>2</sup>

In their *Outline Development Plan For Worcester* of 1946, Minoprio and Spencely underlined that they wanted to produce a 'more beautiful, more convenient' city, blending ancient streets and buildings with a new road system, improved amenities, better siting of industry, and a series of seven new neighbourhood units. Some of their ideas were particularly striking. Most of the old retail streets were to be preserved and enhanced. A new shopping square was to feature 15ft. pavements and continuous cantilevered glass canopies to give shelter in wet weather. On the riverside, a new recreational area would boast an indoor swimming pool with cafe, an arts centre, a hotel, a small sports stadium, and attractive parks.<sup>3</sup>

The council approved this plan 'in principle' during 1946, but thereafter its implementation was extremely slow. The Worcester public's interest in planning gradually declined. More importantly, the council found itself tightly hemmed in over finance. It was not eligible for government reconstruction grants – Worcester had not been bombed – and so could only raise money through the rates or by borrowing, both methods that had serious political implications. The appropriate Ministry approved the shopping centre plan in 1954 but no building had started by 1960. The budget for the projected swimming bath was cut from £224,000 to £174,000 in 1960, yet still remained an idea rather than a reality at the turn of the new decade. Only a single neighbourhood unit was begun, and this without any associated facilities. One new bridge over the Severn was built, but most of the road plans were shelved. Many other of Minoprio and Spencely's ideas remained as objectives without any real commitment to their realisation.<sup>4</sup>

## **Bedford**

In the middle of the 1940s, the borough of Bedford had an area of 4,972 acres and a population of about 50,000. It, too, was a county town and market centre, standing on an important river (the Ouse), with many old streets, dilapidated houses, and poor traffic flows. In 1950, pressed with the need to comply with the Labour Government's planning legislation, the local council, also Conservative-dominated, appointed Max Lock as planning consultant. Lock had already worked on plans for Hull (1942), Middlesbrough (1946), Hartlepool (1948), and Portsmouth (1949), as well as having been a councillor in neighbouring Watford.<sup>5</sup>

Lock's final plan, *Bedford by the River*, published in 1952,<sup>6</sup> echoed that of Minoprio and Spencely. He recommended an enlarged shopping centre with adequate car parks; a better traffic lay-out, encompassing two relief roads and a new bridge; eight neighbourhood units, with shops, pubs, and welfare facilities; and some re-location of local industries away from the urban core in a dedicated 119 acre site. Most adventurously, Lock proposed opening up the banks of the River Ouse to the public, turning them into a sort of cultural and leisure centre. He noted that the area was already very attractive, writing that: 'On a calm evening when the swans float among the reflections of the lights along the Embankment it challenges comparison with any other urban riverside scene'.<sup>7</sup> If a new cinema, theatre, indoor swimming pool and restaurant were added, he felt, it would provide a real bonus for the townspeople.

Lock's plan was broadly approved by Bedford council in 1952, but quickly ran into considerable controversy at county level. The planner wanted his plan to cover the town and the adjoining Kempston neighbourhood, as he considered them to form a natural planning unit, and was aware that the latter contained much undeveloped land. But, unsurprisingly, neither Kempston urban district council nor the county officials were keen on such expansionism. Second, there was also disquiet at the cost of the plan, particularly at Ministry level. In this situation, the council had no choice but to

think again about what could be built. One neighbourhood unit, part of the Goldington estate, was started in 1954, but, for example, little development was done in the town centre and most of the road plans were dropped. Towards the middle of the decade, the *Bedfordshire Times* commented: 'In the case of Bedford's development, the handsome volume entitled "Bedford by the River" is no guide', and added 'what's to come is still unsure'.<sup>8</sup>

## **Conclusion**

Three observations can be made about these stories. First, it is notable that both sets of planners wanted to take notice of the ordinary person's views, and indeed tried to encourage dialogue wherever possible. Each circulated questionnaires – as many as 12,000 were distributed in Worcester<sup>9</sup> – and included queries about choice. Each helped organise exhibitions about their work and tried to ensure that it was widely commented upon in the local press. Each, too, addressed clubs and societies, and met with local employers. Lock went even further and opened an office in the middle of Bedford, from where he would foray out to talk to both adults and children. Not all this activity produced results, but even where the public's response was patchy, the planners found themselves in possession of a good deal of information about popular preferences. Looked at in a broader perspective, the planners' activity here confirms that the war had precipitated some degree of change in ideas about how planning should be organised, and made the profession more amenable to consultation.

Second, in terms of general aesthetics, it is interesting to note that both sets of planners placed much emphasis on their town's central riverside areas. Their objectives here combined respect for the past with keen appreciation of the current population's needs. Thus, for example, they were eager to preserve some aspects of 'the traditional' - views of the cathedral in Worcester, tranquil and tree-lined walks in Bedford, the old bridges, the centrality of the water for leisure activities etc. - yet they also



wanted to add improvements consistent with the modern age – new swimming pools, cafes and restaurants. Thus, in both cases, the planners were keen to preserve what they saw as the essence of the county town, but also to a certain extent transform it in line with the way society as a whole was evolving in the post-war period.<sup>10</sup>

Third, there are also lessons about what prevented the realisation of planning. Of course, financial constraints were always paramount. The planners did not imagine that their blueprints would be implemented immediately and indeed worked with twenty-year time horizons. Nevertheless, their recommendations cost substantially more than either local authority was able to afford in the relatively stringent financial climate of the 1940s and 1950s. On top of this, there were a series of political problems which remained nearly insurmountable. A few local politicians were extremely supportive of the planners. Significantly, it was a senior Conservative in each case who was really responsible for pushing the planning cause. However, such 'planning champions' were not necessarily representative of their councils as a whole. Some Tory and Labour representatives were always quite sceptical about questions like cost. Outside the council chamber, opinion fluctuated, but was never wholly positive about the merits of the plans. Those directly in the firing line sometimes protested volubly. Plans for the siting of a gas works and an abattoir in Worcester became mired in controversy after local residents protested about the way these facilities would blight their lives. Reference has already been made to the Kempston problem. Finally, the public as a whole gradually became more and more disenchanted with planning. When the plans were first published, of course, people responded positively and with some excitement. Exhibitions about the plans in Worcester and Bedford drew quite substantial crowds. The local papers noted the enthusiasm. But, as the years past, the mood grew more critical. Poorer people wanted their local councils to concentrate on housing, which they saw as the most urgent priority. Electors were often quite sensitive about rate levels and feared that the plans would prove bottomless pits. The drift to the Conservatives in both towns during the 1950s reflected

such feelings. Planners like Spencely, Minoprio and Lock had the best of intentions, but they were simply unequal to the countervailing forces that confronted them.

Appendix One:

Questionnaire circulated with electricity accounts, and summary of answers

QUESTIONNAIRE

Question 1

Would you rather live in the centre of Worcester and have a flat or house with no garden; but near main shops, cinema, and other places of entertainment?  
or

Would you rather live further out in the suburbs and have a house or bungalow with garden, good bus service to main shops and cinema, etc., more healthy surroundings, and safer roads for children?  
or Do you not mind?

ANSWERS

(Place a X against the one you prefer.)

.....

.....

.....

Question 2

Which of the following do you think is most needed in the City?

(a) Concert Hall (b) City Orchestra (c) Municipal Theatre  
(d) Swimming-baths (e) Skating-rink

(Place in order of importance to you.)

1.....

2.....

3.....

4.....

5.....

Question 3

Do you prefer to live near enough to your work so as to be able to get home for a midday meal?

(Place a X against the one which applies.)

YES.....

NO.....

Do not mind.....

Question 4

How many persons reside at your house (including those away from home with H.M. Forces or on National Service)?

.....

Question 5

Can you say how many of those mentioned in No.4 Do NOT intend to remain in Worcester after the war?  
Please give the name of your road.

.....

.....

[Source: J.Glaisyer, T.Brennan, W.Ritchie and P.Sargant Florence, *County Town*, p.311.]

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<sup>1</sup> J. Glaisyer, T. Brennen, W. Ritchie and S. Florence, *County Town* (London 1946).

<sup>2</sup> *The Times*, 5 March 1988, *Daily Telegraph*, 5 March 1988, *RIBA Journal*, vol.90, no.9, (1988), p.123.

Minoprio had previously completed a plan for Chelmsford.

<sup>3</sup> A.Minoprio and H.Spencely, *Outline Development Plan for the County of the City of Worcester* (Worcester 1946). See also *Architect and Building News*, 3 October 1947 and *Building*, 7 November 1947.

<sup>4</sup> See N. Motouchi, 'Reconstruction and Planning in Worcester and Bedford, 1939-60', forthcoming Ph.D. Thesis, University of Luton, chapters 2-4.

<sup>5</sup> For Max Lock, see inter alia the catalogue *Max Lock 1909-1988. People and Planning: An exhibition of his life and work*; *RIBA Journal*, vol.95, no.7. (1988) p.92; and *Architects' Journal*, 20 April 1988. For Lock's appointment at Bedford see *Bedfordshire Times and Standard*, 17 March and 24 March 1950. A limited amount of interesting material on Lock and Bedford can be found in the Max Lock Archive at the University of Westminster.

<sup>6</sup> Max Lock, David Grove and Gerald King, *Bedford by the River: A Town Planning Report* (London 1952).

<sup>9</sup> For an example of one of the questionnaires used in Worcester, see Appendix One.

<sup>10</sup> Another example of this desire to balance the traditional and the modern occurred in the way the planners handled shops and shopping. For example, both sets recommended that the towns should preserve their markets and small shops, while also allowing the development of big new shopping centres.

**Planning, decision-making and university campuses in the UK**

Peter J. Larkham

School of Planning and Housing, University of Central England, Perry Barr, Birmingham, B42 2SU.

E-mail: [peter.larkham@uce.ac.uk](mailto:peter.larkham@uce.ac.uk)

## **Planning, decision-making and university campuses in the UK**

### **Abstract**

From the late-nineteenth century there has been a tremendous growth in universities in the UK. Most recently there has been major growth in the number of students attending university. This paper reviews a range of historical and contemporary evidence on the origins and growth of universities during that period, and their interaction with planning and decision-making at scales ranging from the national (the decision to expand higher education) to the regional (where should new universities be permitted) to the very local (the location of campuses and buildings, and the relationship between town and campus).

In particular, examining the form and development of campuses, a number of trends can be demonstrated. These include the influence of fashion in campus layout, methods of campus planning from the masterplan to the (apparent) non-plan, and the physical, social and economic impact of campuses expanding into their surrounding urban fabric. A historical perspective shows how these trends have been operating throughout the twentieth century, culminating in the concerns commonly expressed in today's media on the problems of 'university towns'.

## **Planning, decision-making and university campuses in the UK**

### **Introduction**

There has long - and perhaps inevitably - been critical academic involvement with the planning, location, design and development of universities, and particularly the relationships with urban areas and their planning. This has been spurred by the periodic expansion of higher education. However, there have been few attempts to unite these planning-related issues, at scales ranging from national economic planning to site-specific design.

This paper presents some of the issues raised in university origin and growth during this period. These complex inter-relationships are explored through examples drawn from a voluminous literature, including specific university histories, and with data drawn from university registrars and estate offices. A model of stages of growth is suggested, and the impacts on contemporary university planning discussed.

The university, as we now know it, is a relatively recent phenomenon: the majority arose in the late-nineteenth century. Instead of towns growing up to serve the university, the university was merely an adjunct - and, originally, often a very small one - to large industrial cities. Earlier views of the university-town relationship often referred to the 'University Town'. Such towns have, from time to time, been the subject of scholarly study (Gilbert, 1961). Planners have also used the term; for example it was held by the post-war planners of Cambridge that this was the only true university town remaining in England, and this character merited protection (Cambridgeshire County Council, 1952, p. 1). Yet the question of what constituted a university town remained thorny. Evidently it was not simply a town that possessed a university. Even in the late 1950s, the growth of higher education in the UK drew attention to 'new' universities in places not traditionally associated with such seats of learning.

Was it a town whose main function was that of a university? If so, in concentrating upon England the Cambridge planners and Vice-Chancellor conveniently ruled out St Andrews - but then, it is also the home of golf and a booming golf-related tourism. Aberystwyth, too, could be considered, but only in term-time: outside those periods, the town is dominated by tourists. Oxford was omitted by the implication that it had become a centre of heavy industry; although various planners considered that Cambridge was also so affected (Holford and Myles Wright, 1950).

Was it a function of the proportion of land within the town's boundary that belongs to the university? Gilbert (1961, pp. 4-6) shows that, in 1948, 24.7% of land within the County Borough of Cambridge was owned by the University or the colleges, and in 1950 in Oxford, the equivalent figure was 23.2%. However, in both towns, there were large expanses of University/college land lying immediately outside the municipal boundary. German universities in comparable towns (including Marburg, Göttingen, Heidelberg and Tübingen) occupied even smaller proportions of the town centres. Criteria of age of university foundation, or the student percentage of the urban population, are even less useful. Thus defining a university town has always been difficult, and the relationship seems now to be far more complex as new types of university, and edge-of-city campuses, emerge.

## **Some contextual factors affecting UK university planning**

### History and politics: funding and expansion

The key political and practical factor affecting university activities has always been funding, and specifically the relationship with financial planning at the national level. The origins of many UK universities lie in commercial and civic donations and support in the nineteenth century, before the State's involvement in the early-twentieth century. Since then, universities have been characterised as being almost always chronically short of money (Scott, 1984). Nevertheless, there have been various 'waves' of expansions and - if not contraction - then prolonged periods of standing still, in both foundations and student numbers. The inter-war period was one of stable, or even slightly declining, student numbers. From 1945, however, expansion was planned; first with Keele and then the 'new' universities of the mid-1960s. The size of the sector more than quadrupled in the four decades between the mid-1940s and mid-1980s (Scott, 1984, p. 57). The Robbins Committee report (1963) was the main spur for this growth and for the government funding to permit it.

However, expenditure on education fell disastrously in 1973-4; as a result partly of direct government cuts, but largely of the rapidly-rising inflation rate. Expenditure had not recovered before the election in 1979 of a Conservative government, with a mandate to reduce public expenditure. Two rounds of cuts followed, with some universities facing losses of some 40% (Scott, 1984, p. 88). At the 1992 general election, however, the government's target of expanding higher education to reach one-third of all 18-21 year olds by 2000 was widely accepted, partly in the light of the UK's relatively low participation rate in higher education. As part of this strategy, the former polytechnics were allowed elevation to university status. The new Labour government's target, post-1997, was to achieve 50% participation in higher education by 2010. However, the rapid growth in numbers was to be fuelled virtually wholly from fees, rather than central government support, and other changes in higher education funding - including the transition from grants to loans, and the introduction of a contribution to fees - have led the sector to feel under-funded.

As student numbers have recently risen rapidly, indeed more than doubled within a decade in some institutions, universities have urgently needed to provide additional teaching, staff, support and student accommodation space. In some cases this has prompted new administrative mechanisms for the more intensive or 'efficient' use of existing space; but a range of new buildings for teaching and student accommodation has also resulted. By the late 1990s, for example, "the University of East London opens a new £40m campus. Oxford University has seen as much new building in this decade as at any time in its history Nottingham University is to unveil a new £50 million campus" (Beckett, 1999, p. ii). Funding still determines the nature and extent of university construction - but there is increasing evidence of private profit-making involvement, at least in the provision of student accommodation. A private company, Unite, was floated in 1999 and aims to provide 60,000 student bedspaces in the UK and Ireland by the end of 2003, in some cases taking on management of formerly university-run residences, in others undertaking substantial new construction (*Investors Chronicle* 2001). It seems clear that the political decisions on expansion do not always provide the necessary funding; and that they create major regional and local planning decisions about how these new facilities are to be provided.

### Civic relationships

For many developing industrial cities in the nineteenth century, and non-industrial administrative centres in the twentieth, the emerging concept of the university became a status symbol in terms of culture and identity from a national level downwards (Readings, 1996; Chatterton, 2000). This was particularly so for the urban managerial elites; the emerging wealthy businessmen and professions. They did not necessarily receive a university education when there were so few universities, and when the entrance requirements of Oxford, Cambridge and the other medieval institutions still prohibited Catholics, Jews, and others not professing belief in the Church of England. The support of business had been a precondition for the establishment of the civic



universities from 1850 onwards (Archer, 1979, p. 494). This was particularly local support; as is shown in the wording of gifts or even of University charters. This is often reflected in the location of university buildings, particularly when gifts of land were made; in the design and construction of university buildings; or in their naming. Civic leaders gave moral and financial support to local colleges and, then, pressured for their elevation to university status - as with Manchester's Owens College, and Birmingham's Mason College, supported by the Chamberlain family. Social approval of these new universities was often demonstrated by Royal openings, as at Nottingham and Birmingham.

Such local involvement was particularly important in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, prior to the involvement of the state through the creation of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (1916) and University Grants Committee (1919). Much later, Scott (1984, p. 70) commented on this financial relationship that "of course, it is not always easy to distinguish philanthropy from self-interest, or to disentangle civic pride from industrial advantage". It is plain that some of these foundations are, in effect, a form of civic boosterism; a place-promotion tactic whereby advantage was seen in securing a local University. This was particularly so in those places with relatively little history, and that mostly recent and industrial; and where new university departments were seen to support local trade and industry, as Charlton (1951) shows for Manchester.

Some local support continued despite central government's taking control of university funding. This was particularly important for the new post-war university foundations. For example, when Warwick University was proposed in the 1950s, the UGC was positively influenced by the facts that the land (400 acres) was being donated by City and County Councils; who were both also annually donating the proceeds of a penny rate (£55,000), and a fund-raising campaign had promises and covenants of £1 million over the ensuing ten years. The UGC Chairman, Sir Keith Murray, said that "a million pounds would be a very remarkable contribution" in the economic climate of the time (quoted in Rees, 1989, p. 45). Elsewhere, donations have still fuelled university growth; either from named individuals (eg for Nuffield College, Oxford) or anonymously: the historian of King's College, London writes of the (capitalised) "magnificent benefactions from the Anonymous Donor" in the 1960s and 1970s (Huelin, 1978, pp. 208, 210-11). Private benefactors have been important, but their gifts have been affected by trade cycles and other externalities (Brown, 1953; Beresford, 1975, p. 134).

In fact, it can be seen that most universities were established by lay society, and the academic profession played almost no part in this (Scott, 1984, p. 130). The importance of these civic figures as powerful and influential *individuals*, notwithstanding their financial donations, and the pride of municipalities, is reflected in the words of the historian of Warwick University, recording the failure of deliberations in the 1950s: "Ought we to have sought out the sources of power - the major industrialists? Or the City Council, playing on its civic pride? Perhaps we needed a Joseph Chamberlain" (Rees, 1989, p. 8).

One of the other key elements of the university-city relationship was, and still is, the contribution made by the university to civic life and economics. Universities may easily be amongst the, if not the, largest employers in their cities (Harris, 1997) and have significant impacts on public policy (Felsenstein, 1996) and politics at both large and small scales (Claval, 1998; Burnett, 1998). Others have found that university spending, both direct and indirect, plays a major role in the local economy (Bleaney *et al.*, 1992; Huggins and Cooke, 1996; Robson *et al.*, 1995). This is becoming more important as cities swing from industrial to post-industrial economies. The economic implications of university plantation and expansion have also been closely examined (Armstrong *et al.*, 1994; Brownrigg, 1973). This, too, has become more important as cities re-position themselves in national - or international - markets in image, services and leisure. The city and the university could hardly be more closely interlinked. The urban benefits, direct and indirect, of the university are immense and wide-ranging.

Decision-makers and decision-making

Despite the significant lay element in university foundation and initial funding, the academic community rapidly took on independence. It is instructive to note the weight placed by many university histories on the process of seeking the first Vice-Chancellor and the relationship developed by the early senior academic community (eg Bamford, 1978; Rees, 1989), and their role as authoritative figureheads acceptable to the local civic and business community. Muthesius (2000, p. 122) notes that the lessons of Warwick's early development were that "in an ideal setup there should be a single site, a determined vice chancellor and a single architect who acts as planner and as designer. It needs a fierce commitment and stringent organisation". A similar role for the senior management is necessary today, with a probably more significant regional and national profile (Bargh *et al.*, 2001). This is particularly seen in issues concerning the interaction of the universities (and their senior staff) and the local planning system. This is true both early in the century, when land-use issues were most important; and after the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, with its nationalising of the right to develop. The finding of university sites - for new campuses and individual buildings - and internal mechanisms of planning and decision-making, are both of relevance.

## **Universities and planning**

### Planning and policy

Even in their first, small, incarnations, universities have always depended upon support from local planning authorities, up to and including the alteration of previous planning decisions and land-use allocations. This is true even before the planning system introduced by the 1947 Act. However, numerous examples through the twentieth century show that the relationship between university and local planning is not always smooth. Even the location of universities has proved problematic. Where should universities be located: were they integral central urban facilities or more appropriate in the urban fringe?

Hull, developing as a University from a local University College, occupies three fields originally on the urban periphery that had been targeted for higher education use as early as 1920. Nevertheless, despite its development in the 1930s, the key post-war redevelopment plan prepared by Lutyens and Abercrombie (1945) showed two university colleges. The University's historian suggests that this was either "the result of a well-timed leak", "a belief that in a period of post-war expansion in higher education a city the size of Hull warranted two universities" (but within three miles of each other?) or "something more sinister - an ultimate plan to move [the University College]" (Bamford, 1978, p. 219). The real intention of the Lutyens/Abercrombie Plan remains unclear; certainly the University College had not been consulted, and was then also in difficult and sensitive negotiations with the UGC over continued development (Bamford, 1978, p. 220).

Other post-war reconstruction plans did consider university planning in some cases, but not successfully. In both Oxford (Sharp, 1948) and Cambridge (Holford and Myles Wright, 1950) the eminent consultants were frustrated that the universities had no overall view of their future space requirements. However, the Manchester Plan (Nicholas, 1945, chapter 9 and plate 30) presaged the 3km-long Manchester Educational Precinct, whose attempted development two decades later shows close cooperation with the planning authorities over clearance, street closure and new road building. But Cambridge has had prolonged disputes with the planning authorities, for example over proposals for new roads and shopping facilities, which might prejudice the University's and Colleges' extensive landholdings: see the intense debate, involving legal Counsel, over the draft Development Plan in 1952 (Cooper, 1998) and, more recently, over new science parks in the green belt.

As with many of the post-war new universities, Warwick found an edge-of-city site. It was fortunate in that its site on the boundary of Coventry, targeted in the 1950s for a new university by a local pressure group, "was originally intended for a school, but this was placed elsewhere and the land is now classed as agricultural,

and so is protected from house building. There should be no objection to its reverting to educational use" (Arthur Ling, City Architect, quoted in Rees, 1989, p. 10). Even more fortunately, when the County Council donated an adjoining 200 acres of agricultural land within the Green Belt, it accepted that development for university purposes would be acceptable on Green Belt land. Yet the example of Warwick does show conflict between its promoters and municipal powers over its very location. The key promoter and publicist, its historian Henry Rees, advocated the city boundary site. An influential local politician, on the other hand, preferred a site on the Leicester road. The Director of Education felt that the site proposed by Rees was possible, but preferred one a little farther west. Ling, the City Architect, felt that "ideally a university should be in the city centre" although the Green Belt site had potential; although he did later support the acquisition of a much more expensive, and smaller, 7-acre city centre site (all quotes from Rees, 1989, pp. 10-11).

Indeed, research for the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP) found an array of planning conflicts ranging from development plans, cited by 56% of responding UK universities, to environmental assessments (20%) "Much of the problem, as universities, see it, is attributable to attempts to apply criteria devised to cater for general circumstances to the particular case of higher education institutions" (Stroud, 1995, p. 187 and Table 1). As universities continue to expand and diversify, the CVCP study found increasing likelihood of planning conflict unless specific planning guidance were to be issued.

#### Planning within the university

Many universities have employed eminent consultant planners, most particularly those developing new campus sites. These have included well-known town planners such as Sir William (later Lord) Holford at Nottingham - although his involvement there was short after his dismissal of the university as a "fruit cocktail of a campus" (quoted in Fawcett and Jackson, 1998, p. 99) and, more successfully, at Liverpool (Holford, 1949). Others have engaged architects as planners, as when Birmingham used Casson and Conder (1958); and the use of the landscape architect Geoffrey Jellicoe at Nottingham seems very appropriate for a campus overlying what is argued to be a Repton landscape (Fawcett and Jackson, 1998, Chapter 2).

The 'master plans' thus produced have not, in many cases, lasted well. In some examples their implementation has been piecemeal, spread over decades and constrained by funding; they have been rendered obsolete by changes in education and even in planning fashion (see Whitehand, 1987; Fawcett and Jackson, 1998). Although, at Birmingham, Casson and Conder (1958, p. 7) aimed "to correct the existing features of the past layout which have become or threaten to become physically hampering to future development", their own plan was rapidly superseded. Indeed, some of the best-surviving plans have involved the landscape context, as with Jellicoe at Nottingham, rather than the disposition of sometimes short-lived buildings. And, in deciding to develop its new £50m Jubilee Campus rather than compromise the Park with additional piecemeal buildings (O'Leary, 1999), Nottingham is also reacting to its changing financial position and student recruitment in the various 'league tables' of university performance that have been developed since 1992.

Many universities can demonstrate problems of internal site planning and space availability. In particular, proposed developments are often postponed, and temporary accommodation seems permanent. Birmingham, for example, still has some of the temporary post-war prefabricated huts, although they now house ancillary functions rather than teaching departments. For Leeds, Beresford (1975, p. 133) chronicled cyclic problems:

"the University's officers and staff were aware of a cycle beginning with crowded buildings, continuing with more students, alleviated by the organisation of a public appeal and a generous response (but too slender to meet the needs of a continually expanding academic community) and ending with new buildings crowded as soon as they were erected".

Nevertheless, the physical planning of universities appears to be a relatively under-explored topic, even during the expansionist phases; although Muthesius (2000) demonstrates how the post-war foundations began to explore the links between site layout, building design and new approaches to teaching. Most commentaries appeared to envisage extensive green-field development, taking little explicit note of urban context. A study by the Carnegie Commission showed that universities and cities should be closely inter-related, for a wide range of reasons and despite understandable misgivings: in particular, "most campuses should no longer and can no longer build medieval walls around themselves ... instead they must create pathways to their many doors" (Carnegie Commission, 1972, pp. 2-5). This is ironic in the light of the growing fashion from the mid-twentieth century towards edge- and out-of-town locations, and the approach of some of the post-war new universities (Muthesius, 2000, p. 122 calls Kent "Fortress College").

It was over a decade later in the UK, and spurred by the Jarrett Report (1985), that universities began thinking more seriously about their estates, and about strategic estate planning. Previously, it has been suggested that universities had little or no tradition of strategic estate management, largely because of their funding:

"in all institutions until recently, property was usually free, that is no payment was made by the institution for it. If they got it from their funding council or authority all well and good, if it could not be provided in that way, it did not come at all. So, while the institution treasured its new buildings there was a very limited sense of ownership and responsibility" (Avery, 1994, p. 17).

Universities had been faced by government-level decisions on expansion, but with declining funding to maintain ageing historic buildings and with more recent buildings suffering the usual problems of modern design and construction. Guidance on estate management was produced by the funding body for the polytechnic sector in 1990 and for universities in 1992. Some form of estate strategy is now a requirement; and these should not only assess the existing estate, but evaluate options and propose future projects. At the same time, growing concern is evident for ensuring the efficient use of existing university space, and this is likely to have a significant impact upon the design and location of new buildings (Kenny, 1985).

### **A model of the university and the city**

The general issues described above suggest a general model of the physical and administrative relationship between university and city. This has several phases, although not every university passes through every phase.

#### **Institutive**

In this phase the institution is forming. It is small, has few purpose-built permanent structures and may use temporary structures or occupy premises originally designed for other uses. These may be scattered on several sites, and there is little evidence of a concerted land acquisition policy; indeed, donations may be most important in determining location. Alternatively a substantial campus may be found, usually at an edge-of-city location. The relationship with the city management is likely to be close, as longer-term requirements, sites and structures are discussed. Relationships with other civic groups are also likely to be close, including groups that may have funded portions of the new foundation. It is at this stage that civic boosterism may play a part.

#### **Maturity**

Early buildings on the university site are likely to have relatively short lives, as they become replaced by more permanent structures more suited to the larger scale of operations or, indeed, to the widening range of teaching and research functions being developed. Paradoxically, some temporary and unsuitable buildings

may have much longer lives.

This stage may be marked by developments in educational provision, including the introduction of new subjects at university level and new styles of teaching with, particularly in science and technology, new equipment requirements. The introduction of a research-based culture and of the PhD is one example (cf Charlton, 1951). Such developments contribute significantly to the speedy obsolescence of university buildings.

The expanding size of the institution may bring problems of crowding and pressures for further site acquisition. Campuses are planned or redesigned, and 'gateways' and landmark buildings created. Such expansion and construction may lead to conflicts with the planning system, particularly in terms of environmental protection and sustainability goals.

#### Colonisation

As the university matures and grows, original sites and buildings prove insufficient. Remaining re-used buildings will be redeveloped; open spaces within the existing land portfolio will be developed; new sites investigated and acquired, and existing buildings on those sites either adapted or redeveloped. This stage of the process may involve campus extensions or colonisation of areas in other land uses, as universities become significant landowners; and at its extreme will include road closures as all elements of the urban fabric - streets, plots and buildings - are re-shaped to accommodate the new use (Larkham, 2000).

In this stage, the relationship with the city may develop conflicts. Continuing close relationships would smooth the process, particularly for protracted issues such as road closure orders; however, expanding requirements may conflict with other aspirations of city residents, users and administrators. Development proposals may conflict with Local and Structure Plans. New buildings, and the adaptation of existing structures, may conflict with a range of policies including conservation, aesthetic control, land use, and others (Stroud, 1995).

Colonisation may be taken to extremes when a university takes over another institution, perhaps a college in another town, as when De Montfort University, based in Leicester, took over a college in Lincoln. The relationship in resourcing and activities between the mother institution and its offshoot, and the additional complexity of dealing with multiple civic administrative and other bodies, could cause further complications.

#### Retrenchment?

No UK university has yet significantly reduced its provision nor disposed of property on a large scale; although Lincolnshire and Humberside is abandoning its Hull site and De Montfort its Milton Keynes campus (MacLeod, 2001). Nevertheless, as UK higher education has been cast to the mercy of the market in recent years, and as funding has become more uncertain but generally less in quantity, some universities are known to be in difficult financial positions. They may be forced to dispose of some property assets, invite non-university but revenue-generating uses into their campuses and buildings, or cease trading. The latter appears unlikely; it is far more likely that an ailing institution would merge with a stronger one, and a 're-branding' would occur: perhaps with some rationalisation of activities and property (Warner *et al.*, 1998). If this were to occur, there are implications for the place-identity and promotion functions that were present in many university foundations.

#### Conclusions

The complexity of universities, and the UK university system in particular, precludes simple conclusions of its interaction with the urban and planning systems. Yet some trends are clear.

Many universities owe their existence, their initial funding, and sometimes even their site and buildings, to local business interests. They were, in effect, a place-promotion exercise in the guise of educational provision. This promotion can often be seen in the monumental scale of their buildings and the 'respectability' of their gothic and classical styles - as used in many banks. As the academic community gathered independence, and as the universities became funded by central government, and grew in staff and student numbers to be significant elements in the local economy, relationships changed and became much more complex.

Universities originally established on substantial campuses outgrew them, and various functions - particularly service functions such as student accommodation - have required off-campus locations. This became a land-use and development control planning issue, and generated other problems including traffic and congestion. Recent proposals have had problems with green belt and sustainable transport policies.

Non-campus universities have long had problems of finding accommodation, and developed strategies of colonisation, particularly of low-value residential areas. Large-scale redevelopment of these areas ensued; although the grandiose long-term plans often were never completed. Nevertheless as neighbourhoods have been colonised for teaching, administration and accommodation buildings, public rights of way have been withdrawn - particularly for vehicular traffic. Original buildings are often colonised for new uses; and, as departments and student numbers expanded, these became redeveloped.

The character of communities has changed as university buildings colonise their surroundings, and particularly as rented housing became common and the increasing number of students dispersed from university-provided accommodation. Clashes with local communities occur (eg Chrisafis, 2000), although those communities are often well aware of the local economic impact of a thriving university employer.

The national level of planning for the increased national educational level, and of funding for education, have had significant impact upon the number and size of universities. These are worked out at the local level through a planning process in which numerous conflicts develop. Further national policies, principally the range of university performance indicators and their impact on funding and student numbers, have led to problems with long-term stability and funding - even for universities scoring highly in these ratings (Goddard and Tysome, 2001). Some universities, principally the newer, have suffered retrenchment; several mergers have been suggested. The problems of planning in this rapidly-changing sector are significant (Warner and Palfreyman, 2001).

The future, whatever the uncertainties of funding, will also bring new technologies, remote learning and other significant issues for the provision, amount and location of university space (Edwards, 2001). History suggests that universities will react belatedly to such trends, and in further conflict with planning systems.

These trends, well shown in the UK university sector, are by no means unique. In a range of national and cultural contexts, understanding the general trends, and individual histories, of the development of universities greatly assists in disentangling the complex relationships between university and the city. Awareness of rapidly-changing educational land-use requirements and other key planning issues, including sustainability and transportation, will assist in the future shaping of this complex inter-relationship. Universities will continue to adapt to changing education expectations and provision: their buildings, sites and long-term planning will have to adapt too.

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## **The place of conservation in UK reconstruction plans**

Peter J. Larkham

School of Planning and Housing, University of Central England, Perry Barr, Birmingham, B42 2SU, UK.

E-mail: [peter.larkham@uce.ac.uk](mailto:peter.larkham@uce.ac.uk)

## **Abstract**

During and immediately after the Second World War, several hundred reconstruction plans were drawn up. They covered both those towns and cities suffering serious bomb damage, and those relatively or completely unscathed. At the same time, the damage had given substantial impetus to the concept of urban conservation. The "Listing" of buildings of special architectural or historic interest was permitted by the 1944 Town and Country Planning Act, and made a statutory duty of the Minister by the 1947 Act.

However, the reconstruction plans have much to say – both explicitly and implicitly – about conservation on a larger, city-wide, scale. Many of the plans imply comprehensive clearance and redevelopment, creating a *tabula rasa* even if bomb damage had not (although few of the planners would admit this), albeit during a period of 30-50 years. Few were sensitive to the context of areas and groups of buildings. Some, particularly those by Thomas Sharp, were sensitive in their text, but the accompanying drawings and perspectives were much less so.

This paper reviews the evidence in these plans for the emergence of a broader concept of conservation, two decades before Duncan Sandys' 1967 Civic Amenities Act permitted the designation of 'conservation areas'. Some significant treatment of conservation ideas and terms is found, although this is limited to a small number of the plans, and particularly to those produced by the major consultants.

## Introduction

The concepts of 'conservation' and 'preservation' were slowly emerging in British town planning during the inter-war period. Wartime bomb damage was the initial impetus for the production of over 200 reconstruction plans, including many for towns that were damaged only slightly, if at all. Reconstruction planning in the UK began very soon after the major air raids particularly on Plymouth, Coventry and London in 1941. The production of these 'advisory' or 'outline' reconstruction plans peaked in 1945-46 but continued until the start of the next decade, by which time their character had changed to the new 'development plans' prescribed by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. This outpouring of plans during the period c. 1942-1952 provides a useful body of evidence about contemporary planning concerns and practices. The purpose of this paper is to explore how conservation and preservation were treated at this time. In particular it seeks evidence of both area-wide rather than building-specific concern, and for the emergence of concepts later enshrined in the statutory definition of conservation areas: areas "of special architectural or historic interest, the character or appearance of which it is desirable to reserve or enhance" (1967 Civic Amenities Act).

This review uses a content analysis of a broad cross-section of 25 reconstruction plans (Appendix), and contemporary planning texts. Extensive use is made of verbatim quotation from these sources, as these best display the contemporary values and attitudes towards these issues. It should be noted, however, that it is difficult to convey fully the conservation ethos permeating some of the plans, particularly when the terms 'conservation', 'preservation' and related words are used sparingly if at all. It is also important to recognise that these publications were aimed at multiple readerships, including contemporary practitioners, the lay elected members who would formally make decisions, and the lay public.

Conventional planning histories have tended to focus on the products of the well-known consultant planners such as Patrick Abercrombie and Thomas Sharp, and the plans for the metropolis and major cities (Ward, 1994, p. 95; Smith Morris, 1997) at the expense of smaller, less damaged, less popular towns whose plans were prepared by local planning officers, reconstruction committees or councillors (cf Larkham, forthcoming). Yet the latter are at least as numerous as the former (Larkham and Lilley, 2001). Planning histories have little, if anything, to say about the role or importance of conservation in these plans (cf Delafons, 1997, chapter 8), except to note that awareness of the extent of bomb damage spurred the recording of architecturally-important buildings.

Again, the traditional view of area-based conservation was that it was a new paradigm: introduced by the 1967 Civic Amenities Act (a private member's bill introduced by Duncan Sandys, the founder in 1957 of the Civic Trust) and called "the new concept of the Conservation Area" by Kennet (1972, p. 65). Some histories mention the possible influence of the French system (Kennet, 1972, p. 54ff). Others place this as part of a growing reaction against post-war comprehensive clearance and redevelopment (Esher, 1981). None, however, have explored whether there are links between preservation in the 1940s (or, indeed, earlier) and the conservation areas of the late 1960s.

## Conservation and preservation in planning texts

Contemporary views on conservation and preservation can be seen in both professional texts and books for the general public, mostly written by influential practitioners who were also involved in reconstruction planning. The subject receives very little specific coverage.

Thomas Sharp's *English panorama* (1936) places significant emphasis on learning from the past, but contains nothing explicitly on keeping it. His *Town planning* (1940), selling a quarter of a million copies in wartime and possibly the best-selling planning book ever (Cherry, 1974, p. 130), makes no mention of preservation, being directed towards new developments and written before bomb damage). Boumphrey's *Town and country tomorrow* (1940), aimed at the general public, made use of historic architecture and urbanism to draw unfavourable comparisons with that of the twentieth century (see his frontispiece) but had only one reference to preservation. That is indirectly to the 1932 Act's wording, and not an argument for preservation *per se* (p. 159). Another small book written for the public did discuss

"the problem of the old town that has retained enough of its own character to make its preservation not only justifiable but desirable" (Godfrey, 1944, p. 49). Although aimed largely at architectural preservation, this book does have some urban sensitivity, and even mentions the word 'conservation' once (p. 53).

The influential architectural historian John Summerson had ambivalent views of preservation. In a 1947 lecture he noted its public support, but that "preservation in general is only valuable when it is co-ordinated and related to a plan of positive development" (Summerson, published 1948, p. 223). Summerson also discussed "character" and its mutability. "It is impossible to preserve the 'character' of a place when the life in that place had completely changed": therefore, "do not try to preserve what you cannot preserve ... aim at the things which have the permanent values of architectural order and real artistic quality" (p. 229). This led to the conclusion that "I think we should agree that where radical replanning is possible general sentiments regarding historic associations should not be allowed to be an obstruction" (p. 230). It is interesting that these remarks were made in Bristol, the medieval centre of which had been significantly damaged.

Abercrombie's often-reprinted textbook *Town and country planning* (first edition 1933) dismisses preservation, even of historic centres; stating only that "the historic centres of old towns have received more attention on the Continent than with us: it is a highly complicated problem" (p. 156 of 1959 edition), followed by several very brief examples. Keeble's influential and equally-reprinted textbook *Principles and practice of town and country planning*, first published in 1948, dismissed preservation in under half a page. "This is a subject on the edge of Land Planning proper, and is of direct importance to it mainly as far as preservation of buildings of merit requires redevelopment proposals to be modified to secure their continued existence" (pp. 315-316). This is, clearly, an expectation that redevelopment would normally be a *tabula rasa* exercise. As Delafons (1997, p. 64) commented on this passage, "preservation was important to planners only in so far as it got in the way of their plans for redevelopment!" .

### **The language and concerns of the plans**

Approaches to conservation are varied amongst the sample of 25 plans examined here. This might be expected since plans range from small and undamaged towns to major heavily-damaged cities; written by civic organisations, consultant planners, local professional officers and elected councillors. Yet there is little discernible pattern in this variety.

#### *The historic towns*

A minority of plans for key historic towns go so far as to mention preservation in their title: *York: a plan for progress and preservation* (1948), and *Warwick: its preservation and development* (1949). Many plans make early and specific mention of preservation. As might be expected, the Edinburgh plan (1959, p. 53) has conservation as a core consideration:

"of the human handiworks which have overlaid these natural features, there are many that have acquired an historic interest and possess an architectural value. ... Nothing is so likely to arouse controversy and opposition as change or destruction of any of the ancient human landmarks of the city. This cherishing of the heritage of the past is laudable but it makes the work of the planner more perilous".

Unusually, Richmond's plan (1945) had a dedicated section entitled 'preservation', although it contained only 11 text lines. Norwich, suffering from a severe 'Baedeker blitz', likewise has a specific section, substantially longer at two-thirds of a page (Norwich, 1945, pp. 11-12). Despite this, the conservation-related detail is largely found in the plan's street-by-street treatment, which is very thorough in its coverage of conservation.

For Bath (as with many others) it is clear that road lines determine which areas and buildings can be retained. Yet Abercrombie *et al.* (Bath, 1945, p. 42) give, as their first "primary determinant" in selecting new road lines, "the fundamental necessity of preserving the maximum number of buildings selected for

preservation". Radical restructuring is proposed, although this is outside the Roman/medieval core, and focused on an area between the core and the river, which had suffered industrial change, neglect and bomb damage.

The consultants' plan for York (1948) notes that "the conflicting claims of clearance and preservation must be carefully weighed" although "in preparing this plan every effort has been made to satisfy the practical needs of this hurrying mechanized age". In contrast, a local resident's proposals published in 1940 were strongly biased towards retention of historic structures, opening up views of the Walls, and recommending that architecture of "the modern styles should be allowed outside the Walls" (p. 42).

Despite the title, Warwick's plan contains relatively little explicitly on preservation. A key early justification for preservation is given in the town's attractiveness as a tourist destination (Warwick, 1949, p. 32). It possesses many buildings "of historical interest but often of unsound structure", some of which could be preserved (p. 62). Here, the preservation focus appears to be more through the diversion of development and traffic to locations and routes outside the historic core. The plan for the neighbouring Georgian/Regency spa town of Leamington Spa, which is clearly-defined in architectural and plan form, again has relatively little on preservation. "Much of the town has great charm for the architect and the historian [not the general public?] but the preservation of its best and most characteristic features presents certain difficulties which must be overcome" (Leamington Spa, 1947, p. 24, my emphasis). Neither, rather surprisingly, does the Tunbridge Wells Civic Association's plan (1945) discuss preservation, although their concern for proper planning of the Pantiles area is evident (although this involves new buildings, an underground car park and so on).

#### *The industrial towns*

There is much less – sometimes no – mention of conservation for the industrial towns. Wolverhampton's plan (1944) does not mention preservation at all, concentrating on "rebuilding and regrouping" the central area within the proposed ring road. That for Macclesfield (1944) mentions only the "reconstruction" of remains of the old castle (p. 10). Lock's proposals for the Hartlepoons (1948) are of the new, post-1947 Act, structure and pay no explicit heed to conservation.

The plan for Birkenhead (1947) proudly lists the 11 structures identified by the Ministry of Works for protection under the 1944 Act; one being a 6-acre Georgian square for which specific proposals were developed, including sand-blasting to remove painted signs, and uniform and regular repainting in prescribed colours, for which a rate rebate was suggested (Birkenhead, 1947, pp. 125, 121, 118). For Accrington, however, there was a substantial section on its architectural heritage (Accrington, 1950, pp. 43-49); despite this, there is little or no sense of purposeful preservation during the envisaged 50-year scope of the plan's reconstruction of the central area. Manchester has very little on preservation: "the city's buildings, with few exceptions, are undistinguished. Moreover, our few noteworthy buildings are obscured by the dense development surrounding them" (Manchester, 1945, p. 192). The detailed proposals make provision for improving the setting of such buildings, for example the Cathedral and Cheetham's School, but little else.

#### *Thomas Sharp's plans*

Thomas Sharp was the most prolific individual producer of reconstruction plans (Larkham and Lilley, 2001) and his plans were widely and favourably reviewed in the professional and lay press. They are also widely cited by planning historians. Yet Sharp was a complex character (Cherry, 1983; Stansfield, 1981) and, although his texts are usually very sensitive to historic development and qualities of place, there do appear to be conflicts between his words and his detailed proposals, and the illustrations which accompany them (Larkham, 1997). He also seemed more at ease and in sympathy with irregular urban forms than with regular layouts of medieval or Georgian planning (Lilley, 1999).

Surprisingly, his plan for Taunton (1948) pays little heed to conservation issues other than a textual sensitivity to limited architectural preservation. The importance of other features in the built environment

is overlooked, although Sharp was clearly aware of issues of historicity (seen in his other plans) and plan form (that term is used on p. 14). This is suggested by the proposed location of a new bus station on the plot tails and land to the rear of the Crescent, "a subtle exercise of 18th-century design" (p. 14), "a distinguished architectural feature of the town" having "a quiet domestic seclusion" (p. 45). Bus access would be made possible by widening half of the Crescent, then using an existing narrow entrance at the mid-point of the terrace.

Likewise for Salisbury, a city of acknowledged special architectural character, Sharp says surprisingly little about preservation *per se*, although there is a map of several hundred "buildings of special architectural quality" (Salisbury, 1949, p. 63). Yet he also recognised that many of those buildings were nevertheless "not of the first quality" and in "dilapidated condition", "whose retention would make the necessary rebuilding [of the eastern part of the medieval grid-planned city] almost impossibly difficult" (p. 62).

In Oxford, which became Sharp's home in the post-war period, the text is very sensitive to urban form and architectural context. The 1948 plan is even "described as largely a work of preservation", although this replanning "provides that new developments, where they are necessary, shall not disrupt ancient practices or traditional forms where those are good". However, for Oxford, through traffic and congestion are the major problems, and thus "one piece of surgery is required", a new and controversial central road south of High Street which he names "Merton Mall" (pp. 113-119).

#### *Tastes and prejudices*

There are clear traces of contemporary taste and prejudice in making recommendations and decisions on what should stay and what should go. Abercrombie *et al.* wrote "The conscientious planner cannot escape producing a layout which is in harmony with his own architectural predilections. It is only necessary to compare the plan for the rebuilding of the centre of Coventry with that for Plymouth to realise the different outlooks" (Bath, 1945, p. 23; Abercrombie, of course, also co-wrote the Plymouth plan).

Wolverhampton's 1944 plan would remove its relatively recent Central Library, inconveniently in the path of the ring road. This function would be more conveniently located in the new Civic Centre. The architectural qualities of the library, later praised by architectural historians, are not mentioned. In Leamington Spa, the exuberant Victorian town hall is described as "obsolescent" and "entirely out of character with the Borough and its elegant neighbour, the Regency Hotel". It "could hardly be described, even by the prejudiced, as a fine architectural specimen" (Leamington Spa, 1947, pp. 77, 85). Likewise, of Leamington's spa building, "the tower – as addition to the original structure which may be thought in doubtful taste – is becoming unsafe, and should in any case be removed", while the remainder of the buildings "are externally worthy of preservation both from the point of view of association and architectural merit" (pp. 79-80). Discussing options around Worcester Cathedral close, replacement of the existing Georgian houses with a "uniform architectural treatment" was described as "infinitely more attractive" (Worcester, 1946, p. 45). Yet, in Bath, the importance of Georgian was clearly recognised, and it was even suggested that "a Georgian building completely furnished and equipped as in the eighteenth century would be a great attraction" (Bath, 1945, p. 17).

Although some of the texts have a strong view on the general desirability of 'clean sweep' planning, the plans themselves are emphatically of the opposite view. The opinion of the City Engineer of the City of London was that "The City is not, and never can be, whatever the destruction by enemy action of its buildings, in any sense regarded as a virgin building estate" (Forty, 1942). This was emphatically restated by the City's Improvements and Town Planning Committee (1944, p. 2): "whatever the surface destruction – the City can in no circumstances be regarded as virgin land, upon a blank plan of which the pencil of a planner ... can freely or fancifully travel". The consultants' comment on Princes Street, Edinburgh, which had been much altered, was "The next point is to decide whether there are any of the later buildings which should be retained.... The advocate of the clean sweep is taking the easier course: the timid preserver of many fronts in good condition would compromise a fine result. In the scheme

illustrated three or four buildings alone are retained" (Edinburgh, 1949, p. 65).

### **Preservation or conservation?**

One debate in English planning usage is that between 'preservation' and 'conservation'. The two have come to have different meanings: "to preserve may be taken to mean as far as possible to retain intact the total integrity of the structure ... To conserve has come to have a wider meaning which can include the sensible use, re-use, adaptation, extension and enhancement of scarce assets" (Michael Middleton, Director of the Civic Trust, quoted in Young, 1977, p. 68). The reconstruction plans demonstrate inconsistencies in usages.

'Preservation' is by far the most common word used in these plans. "Preservation is the keynote of the proposals" (for Petersham) (Richmond, 1945, p. 10). "While there should be a general rule requiring the preservation of all structurally-sound buildings of architectural or historic interest which contribute to the traditional character of the city, this rule cannot be considered as inflexible..." (Salisbury, 1949, p. 62). 'Conservation' is a much rarer usage. "The chief problem of central Bath is one of simple conservation" (Bath, 1945, p. 53).

This distinction in usages is not related to the later elaboration by Middleton: if anything, 'conservation' is used on a broader geographical scale, as by Abercrombie *et al.* (Bath, 1945) who were thinking of the expanse of Georgian buildings in Bath; however, in referring to individual structures, 'preservation' is usually used, as in the same report. Yet this is not a rigid usage: of George Square, Edinburgh, "the case for preservation should not only take the architectural and historical value into account but also the possibilities of what can be achieved by building anew" (Abercrombie and Plumstead, Edinburgh, 1949, p. 59).

### **Recognition of the need to conserve**

Already, a significant number of plans – mostly for industrial towns – have been seen to show no explicit recognition of any need to conserve. Of those that do, reasons are varied. A "plan is needed for preservation and development" in Richmond (1945, p. 2), but this is for the greater psychological benefit of its people, who would be "enabled to lead lives which are satisfying in every respect". A set of houses in Norwich were "well worthy of preservation for *other than sentimental reasons*" (James *et al.*, 1945, p. 27, my emphasis).

There are some peculiarly-worded statements: Abercrombie *et al.* (Bath, 1945, p. 5) give a strange quotation from "the citizens" of Bath to the effect that "we must ... modernize our architectural heritage and make this City worthy of its traditions". There are also vehement opinions: Sharp said of Durham that "as there are many buildings in the city which should be preserved, so there are many buildings which should be destroyed as soon as possible" (1944, p. 20).

Sharp's statement leads to recognitions that not all buildings, even those identified as of importance, could or should be retained. In Edinburgh, detailed land use mapping had identified "some 60 buildings in the Old Town as worthy of preservation" (1949, p. 63) and, in Salisbury, several hundred were identified by Sharp (1949, p. 63); however "by no means all of them can be preserved" because of their poor condition" (p. 62). The listing and mapping of buildings worthy of protection in Bath, and their condition, was largely undertaken under the Bath Corporation Act (1937). Section 24 of the Act provided for the "prevention of alteration of certain buildings", and the façades of 1,251 pre-1820 buildings had been identified for this purpose. It is interesting that this Act, and the consultants' report (by Abercrombie *et al.*, 1945) stress the façade over the structural integrity of the building. Even the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings had produced a report advocating the amalgamation and interior restructuring of Georgian buildings to form flats, and the consultants proposed the gutting of the (partially bomb-damaged) Royal Crescent to form a new civic centre.

Other planning considerations may also over-ride conservation. In Chelmsford, for example, the many

good but unpretentious eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings "should be preserved, always provided that their retention does not prevent the correction of serious faults in planning" (Chelmsford, 1945, p. 56). For Salisbury, "to insist on the preservation of these [dilapidated buildings in the eastern part of the town] would be to ask for an unwarrantable sacrifice of the future to the past" (1949, p. 62) – and their removal would permit his proposed new roads. Several plans, including Worcester and Accrington, propose the replacement of what in Worcester are termed "awkwardly planned" streets and blocks with "more economic and efficient rectangular blocks of buildings" (Worcester, 1946, p. 25).

Here, then, are the 'radical proposals' seen by Hasegawa (1999) which intuitively, and as mapped within the plans (and this is clearly seen in the 1946 Worcester plan), conflict with any broader-scale treatment of conservation and character.

### **Recognition of area-wide conservation issues**

The importance of seeking recognition of area-wide conservation issues is shown by the subsequent development of the conservation area as a planning concept. Were there fore-runners of this concept in the reconstruction plans? If so, then the traditional view of the 'new paradigm' of the conservation area is weakened.

Delafons (1997, pp. 36-38) shows that concepts of area-based protection can be found in the 1909 Housing, Town Planning etc. Act (provisions for "areas of any special character"), and in the Housing etc. Act 1923, where a planning scheme may be developed on account of "the special architectural, historic or artistic interest attaching to a locality ... with a view to preserving the existing character and to protect the existing features of the locality". Although, as has been discussed, the 1944 and 1947 Acts referred to the listing of buildings not the protection of areas, it is interesting that an internal memorandum on the "outline plan" system suggested that, in areas where no change was necessary, "here only a *conservation plan* would be needed" (Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 1943, quoted in Cullingworth, 1975, p. 95, with that emphasis). This is an interesting application of "conservation" on an area-wide basis, but would not deal with the problems of protecting those parts of an area within which some, or much, change was to occur.

The plan for Richmond does mention areas, albeit cursorily: "Neither the [civic] centre nor the approach roads should disturb buildings or areas having historic or architectural merit" (Richmond, 1945, p. 11). In discussing "preserving and developing an area" (Richmond, 1945, p. 10) it is, perhaps, contradictory.

Patrick Abercrombie (and his collaborators) did develop explicit concepts of area conservation. In Plymouth, a historic core was easily identified which, despite some damage, had survived:

"We consider that in this small district there is an area worthy of preservation from every point of view, and we recommend an intensification of effort towards the reconditioning and reconstruction of the buildings so that, whilst retaining its historic features of narrow roads, winding step-crossed lanes, enclosed courts and tiered houses, it shall possess those additional communal and personal facilities demanded by modern standards of living. We do not suggest for one moment that a faked, exhibitionist pseudo-antique district, but that this comparatively small area of the city – its historic precinct – should be set aside for special attention, its remaining ancient buildings and streets carefully restored, and the whole area controlled and directed in its future re-development, so as to form a fitting frame for the priceless antiquities which it contains" (Plymouth, 1943).

Later, and most specifically, Abercrombie's 1949 Warwick plan discusses "areas for preservation": a policy innovation worth quoting at length:

"In areas where the majority of buildings are of some architectural or historical interest and there are few 'problem cases', the aim should be to preserve the existing structure as far as possible ... Special efforts should be made in these areas to secure the



reconditioning of 'problem cases' of outstanding interest. New buildings in these areas will require very careful control, but should not be prevented altogether ... advantage should be taken of any necessary clearances or reconditioning to provide rear access or increased yard space to buildings lacking these amenities, and to remedy excessive building-over of the rear of the plots by the demolition of unnecessary outbuildings and extensions. The realization of these aims calls for a policy of positive planning as opposed to merely restrictive planning" (p. 85).

Sharp, in the early Durham plan (1944), and in a discussion of the "conservation of old buildings", explicitly uses the term "conservation areas". He seems to imply the main parts of the city centre where there is a concentration of conservation-worthy buildings. He discusses the sorts of work acceptable to buildings of this type in such an area:

"while the maintenance of the façades and of the main massing and roof shapes of the buildings is obviously a prime purpose of conservation (and 'maintenance' in this sense includes repairing, cleaning up and redecorating), a fairly free adjustment of interior arrangements, the clearing away of accretions (particularly in back-yards), and similar measures of this kind, are also necessary parts of the undertaking. So is the removal of unharmonious buildings within the main groups, and the harmonious filling in of the gaps thus created" (Durham, 1944, p. 79).

Sharp thus focuses on the façade, the street scene, rather than the integrity of the building or the building as 'text' demonstrating the accumulation of features and uses: this appears to presage his development of the concept of "townscape" (Sharp, 1969). But, as has been seen, other plans have proposed façade retention with internal rebuilding (Bath, Leamington Spa) supported, in the former case, by an SPAB report.

However for Cambridge, and perhaps surprisingly, the eminent consultants Holford and Wright appear against area-based conservation. "The powers for preserving buildings contained in the 1947 Act may be used effectively to protect isolated buildings of merit and even some groups of buildings, but they could hardly extend protection to the general character of a whole district in the face of strong economic pressure. Nor do we think that they should do so" (Cambridge, 1950, p. 62).

Thus, from these texts, it would appear that the majority did not consider area-based conservation issues, remaining at the scale of the preservation of individual buildings. This is most clearly true of plans produced by local officials and committees of councillors; and, surprisingly, of those plans produced by local individuals and societies. However the plans of the two most prolific consultants, Abercrombie and Sharp, do demonstrate area-wide sensitivities, and from the earliest dates (1943 and 1944). Yet, although widely reviewed at the time, there is little evidence that this concept was taken up more widely.

## **Character**

The term 'character' becomes most significant in UK conservation following the 1967 Act, as it appears in the legal definition of conservation areas and, subsequently, became the basis for the majority of reasons for refusal of conservation-related planning applications (Larkham, 1996, pp. 156-157) and thus one of the contentious terms around which many planning appeals and court cases revolved (Suddards and Morton, 1991). Again its early use in the reconstruction plans is informative in the development of planning concepts and terminology.

Most uses are vague, not specific of what character might be not how it might be recognised. For example, in the opening sentence of section on "Preservation", Richmond's plan begins "In a town having the character of Richmond..." (Richmond, 1945, p. 14). Accrington's plan (1950, pp. 113-116) has a section on "urban character and urban landscape", although it focuses particularly on the relationship between new town-centre buildings and open spaces, in contrast to the industrial terraces and back-to-backs being replaced. Sharp describes Salisbury, consciously or otherwise echoing part of the definition

of listed buildings, as "a place of beauty and special architectural character" (1949, p. 62).

Sharp's quote suggests that some plans are beginning to suggest more precise definitions; but 'character' remains an elusive quality for analysis. He does, at least, suggest a rationale for the use of the concept: in Salisbury there is a need to retain the city's historic character and present size,

"But in any case its character should be preserved not merely or even mainly because it is a great commercial asset to the city or attractive to people living elsewhere. It is something more valuable – valuable in that it enriches the city as a place in which to *live*" (Salisbury, 1949, p. 39).

Once more it seems to be Abercrombie and Sharp who, more than any other, develop the more sophisticated approaches to 'character'. Abercrombie *et al.* (Bath, 1945, p. 22) note that character is a joint function of predominant buildings and people: in Bath: "the prevailing buildings which give character to whole areas – indeed, in the minds of the enlightened public, to the whole City – are still in existence, but the tie of inhabitant for which they were designed no longer is found, at any rate in sufficient numbers". Again for Durham, "character is kept, and harmony found, not by copying the buildings that were on the scene before, ... but by keeping the buildings the right height, putting them in the right place, seeing they are good neighbours" (Durham, 1944, p. 23). Here, Sharp uses (probably for the first published time) his concept of buildings of different styles forming "foils", later developed into the concept of "enhance by contrast". For Oxford, Sharp notes that this contrast, these "foils", are principally provided by the difference between collegiate and domestic buildings. "It should be emphasized again. The character of Oxford will suffer immeasurably if these contrasts are impaired" (Oxford, 1948, p. 136). He criticises the Council's pre-war proposals to demolish small-scale dilapidated domestic buildings in Ship Street and Broad Street, replacing them with a municipal library.

From the plan evidence there seems to be widespread use of the term 'character', principally used either to describe places or as part of a justification for preservation. The two uses are related but distinct; and both are vague. This persists through the period of the development of the conservation area concept (cf Worskett, 1969) to the present day.

### **Concepts of conservation and management**

Of course, conservation implies more than merely identification and retention. Wider issues of the management of the conserved urban landscape arise; although there has been little development of values or ethics in this respect, which can lead to problems (Larkham, 1996; Worskett, 1982). Little or no recognition of broader requirements of managing conservation is evident within the plans. The same is, of course, true for listed buildings: the system of Listed Building Control was not introduced until 1968. Yet much of this management is actually the improving, often the opening-up, of the settings of already-identified key buildings. Newcastle upon Tyne (1945, p. 9) proposed improving the settings and accessibility of important historic buildings. Although Norwich sought to retain as many as possible of the identified significant buildings, it also noted that "some of [them] are in good repair and others in bad and sometimes deplorable condition: their treatment is at present at the mercy of the purse and conscience of their owners" (Norwich., 1945, p. 12). The opportunities (and resources) for direct action of the part of the local authorities were scarce. York was a rare example: the council took direct action in the case of the Shambles, much of which had been "allowed to fall into disrepair and decay", purchasing much of the street and seeking advice from the SPAB (York, 1948).

The majority of comments show that what was wanted, above all, was detailed development control. Tunbridge Wells Civic Association recognised the need to control new buildings: "since control over the elevations of new buildings as well as over the plans is now well established..." (Tunbridge Wells, 1945, p. 34; apparently referring to the 1932 Act). York had exercised such elevation control under the City of York (Special Area) Planning Scheme, from March 1937 (York, 1948). The Norwich plan illustrated a mixed street and bemoaned "the result of lack of control over both signs and elevations" (Norwich, 1945, p. 25). Key streets should be subject to particular attention: for Magdalen Street, "every effort should be

made to preserve it and, in the future, to control development and restoration" (Norwich, 1945, p. 28). Likewise in Leamington Spa, with its relatively uniform Regency townscape, "much greater control should be exercised over untidy and incongruous signs, fascias, street furniture and the periodic painting of continuous façades, in fact, over everything that combines to give the general impression denoted by the word "street". Too little use had been made of the powers under the 1932 Act, and the consultants hoped for more powers under future legislation. "It is clear that entire absence of control over these things, as over the design and materials of new buildings, means that the three-dimensional results of any planning scheme may be nothing less than chaotic and lead to a mere expression of individualism and self-sufficiency at the expense of citizenship and an expression of corporate pride" (Leamington Spa, 1947, p. 66).

This reflects a broader concern with the balance between old and new forms, and the implications for contrast between the two on issues of character and conservation. The Tunbridge Wells Civic Association did not wish "slavish imitation of the past" (Tunbridge Wells, 1945, p. 34). Sharp was characteristically forthright: in Durham, "in new buildings no attempt should be made to imitate past styles of architecture. Harmony between new and old buildings will depend upon scale, siting and suitability of materials" (Durham, 1944, p. 81). Likewise, and in very similar wording, he states that the important thing about managing Salisbury's development is that new buildings "should be good buildings, well-sited, and in scale with the rest of the city. The production of good buildings does not lie in sterile playing for safety any more than it does in slavish imitations of old forms" (Salisbury, 1949, p. 64). In Warwick, Abercrombie felt that no "attempt should be made to re-create an atmosphere of vague antiquity by means of more or less spurious restorations" (Warwick, 1949, p. 64).

## Conclusions

The range of plans is considerable, and readers should be aware of their production by heavily-damaged, slightly-damaged and completely undamaged towns; their authorship by consultants, local authority officers, committees and councillors, and local individuals and organisations; and their readership by much the same range of people. Yet the main differences between plans seem to be determined not by the extent of bomb damage, but by whether the towns were recognisably medieval/Georgian, ie 'historic', or Victorian/industrial.

Certainly, as Hasegawa (1999) suggests, some of the early plans, such as Plymouth and Bath, both heavily damaged, are radical in the nature and extent of their reconstruction. Yet, even here, some key conservation concepts emerged, and the radical reshaping was largely limited to the areas suffering the most severe damage. Sharp's early plans (eg Durham) demonstrate limited radicalism: a very small number of new roads aimed at diverting traffic and thus protecting the town. This idea, the 'technocentric' radical road replanning, is a feature of the majority of the plans (eg Wolverhampton) in Britain and elsewhere (cf Diefendorf, 1989). The change in the radical character of plans over time identified by Hasegawa (1999) seems unrelated to any rising awareness of conservation.

The bomb damaged produced very limited *tabula rasa* effect and, although texts such as Keeble (1948) promoted the clean sweep, the plans proposed very little in direct form. Yet many were planning for decades to come: periods of 30 and 50 years were common. During such a period both the 'radical' plan and the normal processes of urban development would reshape towns to a major extent, as they had done in the previous half-century. Within this long-term view, conservation was a very small element, and limited often to a relatively small number of key buildings.

There is clear difference in the way in which conservation is treated in 'historic' and 'industrial' towns; yet, even in the former, there is relatively little explicitly on conservation. Clearly, consideration of the conservation of the industrial and Victorian heritage is still in the future. This is a reflection of contemporary tastes and prejudices within the plans.

There are confusions over 'preservation' and 'conservation', with the latter being a rare usage. Most mentions are to the 'preservation' of individual buildings, although some examples do imply that it is

largely the external appearance that is of value. Where 'conservation' is used there is often an implicit hint at its application to an area, rather than an individual building.

There is some even more direct prefiguring of area-based conservation, as early as the 1943 Plymouth plan, and most particularly by the most prolific consultants, Abercrombie and Sharp. Area concepts are absent in almost all plans produced by local authorities, and by many consultants (cf Holford and Wright's 1950 Cambridge plan). It is odd that, despite wide and favourable contemporary reviews, the post-war status of these two consultants at the pinnacle of the profession, and latterly the iconic status of their plans, that these area-based concepts were not more widely adopted.

The concept of 'character', which became so significant in post-1967 area-based conservation, is here a difficult, elusive concept, most commonly given passing use as a simple and undefined word. Again, Sharp and Abercrombie developed more sophisticated approaches, although Sharp's views in various of his plans are somewhat contradictory: it took another three decades for there to be deeper discussion of this in Sharp's *Town and townscape* and Worskett's *Character of towns* (both, coincidentally, published in 1969).

It is clear from the majority of plans that mere identification is not enough: not even for individual buildings, and despite this legislation for listed building consent was not introduced until 1968. A much broader development control system than the limited elevation control permitted in certain circumstances by the 1932 Act was wanted and, to some extent, this was introduced in the 1947 Act. Even so there is clear evidence that some towns and consultants were concerned with longer-term management issues and broader conceptual/ethical issues such as the relationships between old and new architectural styles, area character and so on. Even these concerns were not to be directly addressed by the 1967 Act's conservation areas.

In summary, these reconstruction plans demonstrate an interesting stage in the development and adoption of conservation-related concerns. These are largely limited, although a small number of prominent and prolific consultants were developing area-based concepts that can be seen as precursors of conservation areas. Given Duncan Sandys' political activities during the war, perhaps the French influence in the development of area-based conservation in Britain has been over-stated.

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## **Appendix**

Plans reviewed (full bibliographical references are given in Larkham and Lilley, 2001):

Accrington (1950), Bath (1945), Birkenhead (1947), Cambridge (1950), Chelmsford (1945), Durham (1944), Edinburgh (1949), Hartlepool (1948), Leamington Spa (1947), London (City of) (1944), Macclesfield (1944), Manchester (1945), Newcastle upon Tyne (1945), Norwich (1945), Oxford (1948), Plymouth (1943), Richmond (Surrey) (1945), Salisbury (1949), Taunton (1948), Tunbridge Wells (1945), York (1940, 1948), Warwick (1949), Wolverhampton (1944), Worcester (1946)

## **Changchun: Unfinished Capital Planning of Manzhouguo, 1932-42**

Dr Qinghua GUO  
Senior Lecturer in Asian Architecture and Planning  
Faculty of Architecture, Building and Planning  
University of Melbourne  
VIC 3010  
Australia  
Tel: +61 3 8344 0062  
Fax: +61 3 8344 5532  
Email: [qinghua@unimelb.edu.au](mailto:qinghua@unimelb.edu.au)

**Abstract**

Manzhouguo (or Manchukuo, 1932-45) was a puppet state set up by Japan in Manchuria, Northeast China. Changchun was the capital designed and constructed by the Japanese. The paper explores the ideological underpinnings and the methodological sources of city planning and architectural design. The purpose is to understand why Changchun appeared as it is, and what its architectural and historical values are.



## **Changchun: Unfinished Capital Planning of Manzhouguo, 1932-42**

Qinghua GUO

Manzhouguo (or Manchukuo, 1932-45) was a puppet state set up by Japan in Manchuria, Northeast China. In 1932, the last emperor of Qing China (1644-1911), Puyi (1906-1967) who had been deposed in 1911, was commandeered as the 'Chief Executive' of the state. Changchun was the new capital (renamed Hsinking, lit. 'new capital') designed and constructed by the Japanese. The work was carried out soon after the establishment of Manzhouguo, and ended before the fall of Japanese Wartime Empire in 1943.

Research on this period of history is scarce. Two interrelated factors may be responsible for the situation. First, the wartime documentation was not accessible. Second, research interests were restricted by the country's boundaries. However, the groundwork of documentation began jointly in the 1980s,<sup>1</sup> and the PhD thesis of Koshizawa was the first attempt in this field. He specialised in city planning and wartime economy.<sup>2</sup> Since then Changchun has been regarded by Japanese as an important part of Japan's modern century, while the aspect of Chinese history has not yet been studied. Historical interests impel us to call for a frank and balanced review of the whole case. The subject of this study is therefore neither Manchuria in Japan nor Japan in Manchuria, but Changchun in Manchuria. The paper is a modest mapping of the development of Changchun between 1932 and 1942. The paper aims to explore the ideological underpinnings and the methodological sources of city planning and architectural design. Only at this level of analysis can we understand questions such as why Changchun appeared as it is, and what its architectural and historical values are.

### **Background**

First it is necessary to look at the historical context. In 1905, Japan defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War on Manchurian soil in the power struggle over Northeast China and the Korean peninsula. Manchuria, with an area of one million square kilometres, is a fertile plain and rich in natural resources, particularly coal, copper and iron. In 1906, following its victory, Japan rebuilt the former Russian rail network (officially called Chinese Eastern Railway) into the South Manchurian Railway (SMR), which was considered to be the key to the Japanese plan. The SMR obtained all kinds of extraterritorial privileges from China: the administration and juridical rights to the leased territory and land adjoining the railway tracks, the operation of mines, agriculture and industry. In the same year, armed troops were deployed to guard the leased territory, which developed to the Guandong (or Kwantung) Army in 1919. The SMR, with its president appointed by and responsible to the Japanese Prime Minister and fifty percent of its capital shared by the government, was in effect an agency of colonial administration and represented a variant of railway imperialism. In 1931, the regional administration was taken over by the Guandong Army headed by a General who was appointed by the Emperor. The Guandong Army as a political-military force provided the foundations of Japanese power in Manchuria.

It is pertinent to consider the economic aspect, both internal and external, of Japan's wartime expansion. In the 1920s, the uneven development of the economy generated great overpopulation pressure. To deal with the problem, the Japanese government decided to increase food imports from its colonies in Taiwan and Korea. Taiwan was annexed in 1895, and Korea 1910. Colonial rice provided enough food to meet the demand on one hand, but depressed the domestic agricultural sector and contributed to the prevalent recession on the other. A solution to the new problem was the acquisition of new overseas territory for settlement and new opportunity. The seizure of Manchuria was justified in part on these grounds. Moreover, it was a favoured point of entry for further invasion into China. During the 1930s, Japanese military and government launched plans to promote emigration of one million Japanese to the Manchurian hinterland to settle their families and to rear a new generation of 'continental Japanese' in twenty years.<sup>3</sup>

The other problem which faced Japan was the growing resource dependency. By the 1930s the growth in the textile industry, the leading sector at the turn of the century, had levelled off. Instead, expansion of output had become most visible and dramatic in heavy industry with an enormous appetite for resources and raw materials not found at home. The changing industrial structure created a new dependence on the outside world for not only raw materials but also markets. The Japanese economy was almost totally dependent on imports of such crucial resources. When the Japanese government realised that the military itself had a plan of expansion to solve the crisis, they followed its leadership. In Japan, the military had historically been a dominating force, which can be traced directly to the aristocratic warrior tradition. World War I provided the opportunity to stabilise Japanese imperialist interests. The growth of fascism in Japan resulted in a decline in rationality. From the Japanese point of view, the importance of Manchuria to Japan's economic security had been sufficient to justify committing the nation to a perilous course of armed expansion. The occupation of Manchuria aimed to use Manchuria as the means to revitalise Japan.<sup>4</sup>

### **Puppet State**

After occupying Manchuria, the Guandong Army founded Manzhouguo. The reason for establishing this puppet state was that by the end of WWI colonialism was no longer legitimate. By splitting Manchuria from China proper, the Guandong Army set itself up as a new political authority in the region, ruling through the puppet government of Manzhouguo. The Guandong Army was 'responsible' for the external security and domestic peacekeeping of Manzhouguo, but all 'the services' were paid out of Manzhouguo's revenues.<sup>5</sup> In 1934, the Japanese enthronement of Puyi as the Emperor of Manzhouguo was to foster strong support from monarchists in China on the one hand and to install a constitution to replace Puyi on the other hand. It would appear that it was a government by the people. Inevitably, the Japanese faced a dilemma: they had to maintain the newly enthroned emperor; this emperor irked them like 'a fishbone in their throats'. What we find here, therefore, is a heightening inner contradiction in Japanese political ideology, which resulted in the halt of Changchun planning and construction because of many practical difficulties. The situation made the true power of the government was in Japanese hands, namely the Director of General Affairs Department, which had been appointed and was held by the Japanese. The new state was nothing but a fictional construct designed to mask the reality of Japanese control. In terms of the quality and degree of control exercised by Japan over territorial affairs, Manzhouguo was equivalent to a colony in its entirety. Four major agencies conducted various aspects of Japanese policy in Manchuria. They were the Guandong Army, the SMR, the Ministry of Colonial Affairs and the Ministry of Overseas Affairs. The Guandong Army understood that the value of Manzhouguo was its prosperity. The prosperity of Manzhouguo was ensured by managing its economy under the fiction of a contractual agreement with Japan, namely the SMR.

### **Site Selection**

There were two great metropolises in Northeast China: Shenyang and Harbin, and each accommodated half a million inhabitants. Located equidistant between Shenyang and Harbin, Changchun had been a riverside walled town. The SMR zone located Northwest of the existing town was established in 1907. The railway station was the northern most terminus of the SMR line before the Russo-Japanese war. In 1931, the total population was less than 130,000 (figure 1). Why did the Japanese not choose Shenyang or Harbin as the capital? The reason was that Harbin was a beautiful 'Russian city' built up chiefly by the Russians, while Shenyang was the capital of old Manchuria with a dignified palace, double citywalls and two royal tombs.<sup>6</sup> Changchun remained 'untouched', where the Japanese could freely conceive their project without worrying about being overshadowed by the traditional Chinese urban culture, or confronted with earlier large-scale interventions by Russian planners, and without land ownership problems. With their new self-confidence, the Japanese decided upon Changchun as the site for the new capital to realise their ambitions and demonstrate themselves as a new

power. If designers were able to grasp the interrelation of topography, traffic, monuments and public buildings, this freshly founded city would be given an innovative characteristic plan.

### **Planning: Foreign Inheritance**

In looking at the context of decision making, it becomes apparent that the Guandong Army was behind Changchun's planning. Guided by a policy plan formulated by the Guandong Army, two metropolitan plans were made in 1932, one by the SMR and the other by the Capital Construction Bureau (CCB). Both were masterminded by Japanese planners who exercised their capabilities to plan in the Baroque mode, thus many important issues reached unanimity. The master plan was published in 1933.<sup>7</sup>

The new design was characterised by the straight line, the monumental perspective and the programme. The most important and decisive elements of the urban structure are two railway stations (West Station and North Station) and principal roads connecting them. Changchun was planned to extend over an area of one hundred square kilometres (including the 21sq km of the old town) and to contain a population of 300,000. The plan was to be realised in two stages over the next ten years. In the first stage (1932-37), construction of all planned areas were to be completed, and in the second stage further developments were to be carried out including planting and landscaping, as well as schools and sport centres.

As an extension of the SMR zone, the new city, centred on the West Station, is defined by the railway station to the north, the educational area to the south, the governmental district to the west and the industrial land to the east. The Yitong River separates the industry from the city (figure 2). The old town, which was geographically incorporated into the composition, spoke its indigenous language of street arrangement. A main street runs towards the curvilinear river, and several streets are perpendicular to the main street. The planning reflected the Japanese vision of an ideal city and their new role in East Asia. Japan was psychologically ready for an imaginative leadership, and willing to 'replace the Anglo-American power in the region for the sake of regional unity and prosperity'. The 'New Order' and the 'Great East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere' were announced in 1938 and 1940. A utopian vision of economic opportunity led Japan into not only the era of military expansionism, but also the realm of ceremonial fantasy. Changchun was intended as a great city in East Asia. An analysis of the city's plan reveals the following features.

### **The Beaux Arts-Chinese Union**

The monumentality was realised by exemplary adaptation of Baroque planning to a new situation. One of its greatest successes had been early nineteenth-century Paris, which created a durable archetype of urban culture. Changchun had all the aspects of a superb baroque plan: the siting of grand buildings, diagonal avenues, axial approaches, large scale and enveloping greenery. The city planning began with the west station, which was the reference point and dominant centre of the city. A radial-concentric system was adopted for the road network. Boulevards radiated from the railway stations and geometrically converged towards circuses. These were the highlights of the city plan. They were not only crossing points of major traffic axes, but also for monumental centres and landscape elements. There were five major circuses in Changchun, their scale was impressive by any standard, and each was formed by a series of principal buildings which gave it identity.

What was responsible for the strong hold that Baroque plan had so long kept on the planner's mind? Why could this then modern planning carry out in the Baroque spirit? Baroque plans required princely powers, stringent control of the surrounding area and heavy capital investments. It exhibited the ascendancy of absolutism, the centralised coercion and control. In other words, the transformation of the city into a dependency whose powers had been granted by military might. Changchun was built with a preconceived goal. It was the Guandong Army which turned the vision of an ideal city into a concrete reality.

An understanding of this planning can be obtained by examining its themes and symbolism. A close examination of the plan reveals a different picture. Two geometric layouts were employed: a baroque radial plan and a Chinese grid plan. The radial avenue network and

the grid road network overlap one another and complement the function of movement and division. The combination of the two systems gave the city an edge: a ring road on the perimeter. It was required and used by the Guandong Army as a patrol route against anti-Japanese resistance guerrillas. Dominance and enclosure entwined theoretically and practically. But Japanese practice was far in advance of Japanese theory.

The Chinese plan symbolises cosmic law, that cannot be put neatly within the time boundaries of any single period, represented for instance by Beijing, the capital of Ming-Qing China (1368-1910). The grid system also offers the most favourable possibilities for real-estate speculation. In the Changchun plan, if Baroque geometry was used to command, in one place, and to contrast to Chinese geometry, it can also be seen to be complementary. The grid system is valued from another viewpoint. Ambitious in scope, the urban planning of Changchun was an experiment based on imported concepts. It was turned into reality.

The modernity of the city was made explicit in new sanitary techniques, telephone facilities, electrical lighting and asphalt roads.

Two great avenues leading to two railway stations were arranged north-south and east-west and were planned on as generous a scale as the Avenue des Champs Elysees in Paris. Each of these axes consists of a ten-meter footpath and a twelve-meter carriageway on either side of a sixteen-meter green plantation, forming a grand avenue sixty meters in total width. Doubtless it was the very absence of buildings that made the railway stations to the avenues so profound. The secondary avenues, like those leading to administrative and commercial centres, are forty-five meter wide, and the lesser streets are twenty-six meter, and the rest ten-meter in width. The quickest means of travel was by wheeled vehicles.

The circuses are nodal and form focal points of strong representative character. Along the north-south axis, the Datong Circus (lit. 'Great Harmony Circus', present 'People's Circus') was the centre of Japanese administrative functions. Key buildings are situated close to or around the circus. They were the headquarters of Guandong Army, Japanese Police, the Broadcasting Station, Central Bank and Metropolitan Government. The open space was designed for public assembly, and used in such events as to celebrate the five-year and ten-year anniversaries of Manzhouguo in 1937 and 1942. Major retail facilities were built along the axis between the circus and the north station. As a result, 23% of the total urban area was reserved for avenues and circuses, 15% for parks and playground, and 32% for residential buildings.<sup>8</sup>

A general character and a uniform height were established in each street. All buildings conformed to a given programme to establish a uniform design concept. This was the era when new urban laws and building regulations were initiated. The hierarchy of social classes were also expressed. Green belts separated segregated and apart areas, which bounded Chinese and Japanese separately to their residential blocks and places of relaxation. In 1937, the first Five-Year Industry Plan (1937-41) was launched upon the completion of the first stage of the city's construction. Manzhouguo served in an all-round way the urgent and long-term needs of the Japanese Empire. Strong waves of immigration from Japan, Korea and other parts of Manchuria produced an increase in urban densities. The housing shortage became a big problem. In 1937, Changchun reached a population of 335,000 inhabitants including 20% Japanese; in 1939, 415,000 and in 1941, a half million.

### **War as City-hinder**

The city required expansion. But, the mechanical order of the city plan made no allowances for growth, changes, adaptations, or creative renewals. Here as elsewhere we note the typical Baroque failure: a command performance executed once and for all, whilst there were no concerns for neighbourhoods as integral units, no regard for family housing, no sufficient conception for business as a necessary part of the urban order. In the same fashion, the city centre was conceived without any further control over the townscape that enveloped it – and that openly denied its aesthetic pretensions. There was a further weakness: the wide avenues were receptive to vehicle traffic but caused trouble to pedestrians, especially in the circuses. The concept itself only was important, everything else was irrelevant.

The city had to enlarge the urban land beyond its edges. In 1942, a new plan was proclaimed together with the Manchurian Town and Country Planning Act. In fact, the 1942 plan shrank in size comparing with the 1937 plan, especially the west part of the city was totally altered (figure 3). The new population frame was one million distributed over an area of 160 sq. km. On average, 1200 families would form a housing district of about one square kilometre in area.<sup>9</sup> But, the work on the project was never realised due to the WWII.

### **Palace Issue**

Where there is an emperor, there is a palace. The palace had been a highly controversial issue between Guandong Army and Puyi. It was never resolved.

During the 16-year reign in Changchun, Puyi lived in a residence converted from the Provincial Salt Monopoly Bureau on the edge of the urban area between the SMR zone and the old town. In 1938, a new traditional building was erected, to mitigate the problem, together with a Japanese Shinto shrine in the compound, in which Puyi held audiences and banquets and worshipped the Japanese Sun Goddess. In the same year, the foundation stone of the palace was at last laid, in the city. But construction progressed very slowly and stopped in 1943. An unfinished structure of two storeys was left on the site. Puyi continued as an emperor without a palace.

Until 1937, the central argument was the location of the palace. It revealed the inevitable differences between the Japanese and Puyi about the nature of the city. For the Japanese, Changchun was the capital of an infant country to which Japan had given birth. For Puyi, although he understood that he was merely a puppet head of state, Changchun was the capital of his homeland. The two parties could not agree on the city's concept and form. For the Japanese, railway stations, financial and commercial buildings were important buildings, while for Puyi, the component of paramount importance was the imperial palace. The location and orientation of the palace belong to a cosmic order. Puyi was loyal to his past role as a Chinese emperor. He made it clear that the new palace must follow the Beijing model. Beijing was designed according to principles of capital city planning laid down in China in the 5th century BC.<sup>10</sup> There was a grid plan with the grand palace located in the city centre on the north-south axes. Governmental buildings were symmetrically laid out south of the palace. The Ancestral Temple was on the east and the Altar of Land on the west. The capital's energy, unlike that of other cities, emanated from its palace rather than from its trade centres or markets, and thus the palace was the first building erected in the city and located in the most commanding situation in the urban composition. Centrality was not only a European attribute, but also an ancient Chinese attribute. The question was who was at the centre and what was the locus. In the political sense there was a contradiction between the introduced Western governmental institution and the restoration of the Chinese monarchy. The Japanese had brought urban design to a deadlock. This political paradox made the architecture unresolvable.

Where was the Manchurian palace proposed to be situated? And what architectural style was contemplated for it? It is plain in Changchun. The landscape elements are three small hills and the Yitong river. In the SMR proposal, the palace was placed in the Japanese context picturesquely on a hill but off the north-south central axis, and separated from the government (figure 4). In the CCB plan, the palace was off-centre, but north-south set on a hill looking on to a park (figure 5).

Puyi's desires for the outward appearance of his palace is clear, while the image proposed by the SMR is not. But, we know that all the buildings designed by the SMR were European in style. Therefore, it is possible that the palace might be consistent with the architecture they designed earlier. A single design could not be decided upon and five designs were proposed, and altered several times. In 1937, the CCB submitted two schemes, both in Chinese style. The chief differences were concerned about the incorporation of a garden. Puyi chose the scheme with a garden (figure 6). The principle features in this palace were orthodox in plan. The emperor's office and apartment building was located in an enclosed courtyard along the north-south axis, the south side being an open square, and in the north there was a garden. The garden was in a combined Japanese-Chinese style with western ornamental features.

The palace was never completed, the Japanese Empire was perished before its completion. In 1950, the Changchun University was erected on the palace site, and the geology building was built upon the uncompleted ruin of the palace building. The original vision is perpetuated on the campus. Its geometric layout followed the original urban planning. One and a half kilometers to the south of the university, there is a big open space facing a park. The geology building was built of brick faced with stone and topped with Chinese roofs, close to the original design as we interpret from the original drawings. Apart from the interesting scheme of the palace design, all architectural activities in Changchun were concentrated on government buildings. It was not an age of the architecture of palaces.

### **State Architecture**

Town planning by itself could not generate a city of 'gleaming'. The Baux Arts approach was used in architectural design, where it found great opportunities for large-scale application, revealing on order and unity. This exotic architectural style and urban design principle suggest an imported institutional system.

Architecture carries built-in symbolic meaning which has a didactic political message, especially state architecture. In the 1920s-30s, the Guomintang government buildings were all made in Chinese styles in many cities in China.<sup>11</sup> It happened in Manzhouguo government buildings too. The Japanese architects incorporated Chinese elements into Western legacy in order to produce a formally satisfactory solution for the government buildings. Both the Chinese and the Western elements were not part of the Japanese repertoire. The source of their inspiration had not been found at home in Japan, the outcome was hybrid. However, the Japanese were extraordinarily adaptive, and their flair in applying what they have learned from others to new ways or a higher level of refinement is well known. From the fifth century, a massive influx of Chinese culture had occurred. Japan stepped suddenly on to the stage of (written) history, and participated fully in a Chinese development. Since the Meiji Restoration (1868), they have applied themselves to imported ideas from Europe and America. China ceased to be a source of inspiration for Japan.

Japanese colonialism was not culturally motivated. There was no particular Japanese architectural symbolism and planning dynamics to export. The buildings in Changchun reflecting the Japanese colonisers' identity are the Shinto shrine (1932), Martial Arts Hall (1936) and the Monument to Japanese Soldiers (1938). All face east - towards Japan. Regarding the question of what forms should be used in Manchurian state architecture, the Japanese understood that they must utilise the ideals and techniques learned from the colonial West as a vital force to open up China. They were also conscious that if any western form of architecture was to be imported to China, classicism would accept. Moreover, the Japanese were aware that anything that had no roots would fail in China. 'For the first time in history, a non-white race has undertaken to carry the white man's burden,' however, the planning and design attitudes of the Japanese to the colonies and occupied territories were different.<sup>12</sup> The Government-General buildings of Korea (Seoul, 1926-95) and of Taiwan (Taipei, 1919) were all non-traditional but inventive architectural expression. Japanese administrators were ruthless in disregarding historic realities and buildings' locales. Modernisation and development meant wholesale Westernisation. This was a common fact at that time in many Chinese cities occupied by Western powers, and any engagement with tradition was automatically avoided.

In Changchun, the architectural tactic was to relate the Chinese to the Western by superimposing Chinese tiled roofs as tectonic elements or iconographic ornaments on Western buildings. The two modes ran parallel through all government architecture. The roof could be structurally discrete. Form became paramount and structure was dissociated. The tiled roof is a distinct Chinese product with a long history. It has great symbolic value. Here in Changchun, Chinese architectural idiom was incorporated into the process of accommodating the modern. The Chinese roof and western building produce a total image of Manchurian architecture combined with stylistic variants of the period.

The state architecture, which is the essence of Changchun, can be classified into two types: Japanese and Manchurian. For these buildings, the most important representatives were the Headquarters of Guandong Army (1934) and the State Council (1936). The railway stations and the headquarters of Guandong Army are the urban nuclei. The Manchurian government buildings are located between these two centres. This layout clearly shows the ideological conception of the Japanese planners.

The government buildings included a series of eight ministries. They were Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1932), Ministry of Military (1935), Ministry of Transportation (1935), Ministry of Economy (1935), Ministry of Justice (1935), Supreme Court (1936), Ministry of Industry/Agriculture/Forestry (1937) and Ministry of Education and Health (1937). All buildings have had tiled roofs except the Foreign and Education Ministries. They are particularly politically conceived. The architectural unity of the state buildings was further emphasised by choice of materials, colours and ornamental elements.

A comparison of Manchurian State Council Building in Changchun with the Japanese National Diet Building (1936) in Tokyo reveal close stylistic links (figure 7). Architecture narrates identity and internets relationships with the homeland. Both these buildings were designed under the direction of Sano Riki (1880-1956), the all-powerful Japanese master of architecture and planning, and completed in the same year in 1936. In both cases, plans and elevations are symmetrical and each has a central tower, projecting two-story porticoes with classical columns. They were built entirely of masonry. The Japanese building was constructed based from the first prize of a national competition launched in 1918. The Manchurian building was designed from the model of the Japanese Diet building but with a better sense of style adopted. Designed by Ishi Tatzuro, the Manchurian building consists of three blocks: two extend from east to west, one is at right angles connecting the other two. Built of local stone, brick and tiles, much of the facade appears simple, while the central portion is bolder in treatment. This central tower is enhanced by different ornamental elements of different origins on its elevations. There are a Roman Doric colonnade, a Chinese *pailou* and four free-standing columns in the Doric mode standing out against the facade one above the other. It is crowned with a tiled double pyramidal roof of Chinese revival. The building is set back from the avenue and facing an open space. The entrance gateways are flanked by two 'towers' in the style of antiquity inspired by gatetowers (*que*) of Han China (206BC - AD220).

The Japanese National Diet Building is influenced by the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos of ancient Turkey, and government buildings in Tokyo are all of international inspiration. The Japanese architects considered the international style to be modern. Modernity was regarded as antithetical to tradition.

### **Modern-tradition Aggression**

One issue which remains to be discussed is the stand point of the Japanese architects. In the first decade of the 20th century, architects were in a dilemma between the East and the West. The winning design of the parliament house was the most perfect example, which proposed two different images: one with Chinese roofs and the other western (See figure 7-C). Seventeen years separated the design competition and the building completion. During this period, the move from traditionalism through neo-classicism to modernism was completed in Japan. Japanese deliberately chose to embrace Westernisation and modernisation. Although several public buildings were made to revive historical traditions between the 1920s and '30s, the mainstream was of a quite different type, characterised by western style. Japanese revival

architecture, though fine in decorative inventiveness, shows no appreciation of the genesis/principles of traditional architecture. Changchun was the only place where Japanese attempted revival of the glories of East Asia on a large scale. However it received acid criticism from modernists in 1939.<sup>13</sup> Traditionalism was synonymous with wartime imperialism. Since the 1920s, Japanese architecture has been strongly aligned with Western architectural movements. Upon the ongoing question of domestic and modern, the Japanese response was to modernise their domestic by focussing on Western modern. Western ways satisfied the pragmatic and emotional needs of economic development. Japan thoroughly committed itself to all the material aspects of Western progressive culture.

### Conclusion

The city of Changchun is the result of the desire for a reconciliation between western modernity and eastern tradition. It reflects the aspirations of Japanese planners and architects. The hybrid planning and the eclectic architecture, the western styles and techniques adapted to Chinese environment, gave Changchun an ambivalent identity. As a whole, there is indeed a sound reason for thinking of Changchun as a hybrid city of the East and the West. The Japanese version of easternised Westernisation or westernised Easternisation is a special feature of Changchun.

What becomes evident in this study is that the hybrid city reflected a cultural dilemma, and the unfinished palace was the result of the political paradox. Antithesis is its basic character. It would be acceptable to say that symbolically or practically Changchun reflected the age that had constructed it. It is as interesting as other planned metropolises of the twentieth century.

### Acknowledgements

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Figure 1 Changchun (1918)

Figure 2 Changchun Plan (1937)

Figure 3 Changchun Plan (1942)

Figure 4 Plan by SMR (1932)

Figure 5 Plan by CCB (1932)

Figure 6 Palace Plan (1938)

Figure 7 A. Manchurian State Council Building, Changchun (1936)

B. Japanese National Diet Building, Tokyo (1936)

(Height of Tower: MC 44.8m: JP 65.45m)

C. First Prize of Competition, Japanese Parliament House (1919)

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**FINNISH CONCERT HALLS - FROM ASSEMBLY ROOMS TO IMAGE-MAKERS AND TOWNSCAPE  
DOMINATORS**

Riitta Niskanen

Maisterinkatu 4

15100 Lahti

Finland

+ 358 3 7828 761, + 358 400 433 255

[riitta.niskanen@phnet.fi](mailto:riitta.niskanen@phnet.fi)

## **Abstract**

This paper is an abridged version of a study that is going to be published next winter.

In Finland public concerts were first built at the end of the 18th century. The first concerts were arranged in Turku. At first the concert halls were multipurpose rooms.

During the 19th century new assembly halls were built in connection with hotels and sanatoriums in many towns but this was also a time for the great assembly halls of Turku and Helsinki Universities. Especially the assembly hall of Helsinki University was the centre of Finnish music life until the Finlandia House was built in 1971. The model was classical architecture with its symbols.

The building type of a Finnish concert house actually took shape only in the 1950s when the concert halls of Turku and Lahti were built. Their models were mostly Scandinavian.

From the 1950s on several culture houses by Alvar Aalto were built. The high value of architecture and the fame of the planner also shaped the image of Finnish cultural life, music, and town planning. This was the beginning of an era aiming at forming the image of the towns through cultural buildings. This trend also spread to small country towns where huge concert and congress palaces by famous architects were erected.

Two concert houses have been built on historical sites in Finland. The Sigyn Hall in Turku and the Sibelius Hall in Lahti are opposite examples of developing townscape by building preservation. The architecture competition of the Helsinki Music House raised a furious discussion about historical and symbol values of central Helsinki and the debate is still going on.

## **International background**

In Finland public concerts were first arranged at the end of the 18th century, much later than elsewhere in Europe where the first public concerts are said to have been held in 1672. This took place in London, and the first rooms built especially for concerts were also in London, York Buildings. The oldest concert hall is supposed to have been Holywell Room in Oxford. It was built in 1748 and it still exists.

In continental Europe private concerts were more popular than public ones but the change was very rapid in the mid 1700s. The first concert halls were built using the English ones as models. Sacral architecture also served as a model. The most famous concert hall of this era is the old Gewandhaus in Leipzig, built in 1781.

In the 19th century these buildings began to get a character of their own by decorations usually depicting Apollon, the god of arts and sciences, and building parts that expressed the shape of the hall and its use. The finest examples are maybe Concertgebouw in Amsterdam, which has a big curved apsis indicating the ellipse shaped music hall and Neues Gewandhaus in Leipzig with a lantern showing the upper part of the concert room.

The acoustics was experimental in these days. The scientific acoustics began to develop only in the late 1800s. Anyway, experience told some talented musicians how to plan a music room, and e.g. composer Josef Haydn improved some halls in Austrian court better by replacing the stone floor with a wooden one.

At the end of the 19th century the shape of the concert halls began to get more versatile. The traditional shoebox was the most general but also the fan shape and different geometric shapes became popular. The shape of the hall has a strong effect on the acoustics. Wallace Clement Sabine and Dankmar Adler developed models to solve the relation of the acoustics to the shape and structure, the material and volume of the hall.

Modern concert halls have taken countless shapes. For instance Berlin Philharmonie by Hans Scharoun is a polygon with the so-called vineyard type auditorium. The visibility is good and the possibility to perform different kinds of music types is excellent. The London Royal Festival Hall has an egg shape. Its acoustics has given rise to a variety of opinions. The exteriors of the concert houses have become quite expressive, too. The most distinguished example is perhaps Sydney Opera House by Jørn Utzon. The roof resembles flying birds. The house and its architecture were very contradictory at the time but have become the established and beloved symbol of the city. Also in Japan many innovative concert houses have been built in recent decades. Their architecture and acoustics have been applauded.

## **The first Finnish concert rooms**

The first public concerts in Finland were arranged in Turku, the old capital of Finland. The earliest concert room was called Seipel hall. It was a big room for about two hundred persons on the upper floor of brewing master Johan Seipel's house, and the owner began to rent it out for public events to solve his financial difficulties. It is supposed to have been built approximately in 1777. The Turku Musical Society, which was established in 1790 and the first musical society in Finland, used this hall from the very beginning for its concerts.

At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th the concert halls were multipurpose rooms, meant for meetings, assemblies, dancing, theatre performances and concerts. They were quite small, inconvenient and unpractical though for instance the owner of the Seipel hall tried to make his hall more beautiful by painting the walls with roses to tempt the public to the events.

In the year 1815 the great assembly hall of Turku University got ready. The professors gave the architect and the artist who was responsible for the art works of the hall precise orders how to make the hall and the vestibules suitable for music and also to depict it. Carl Christian Gjörwell, the architect, planned the composition as a picture of a Roman antique house with Ionian columns in the assembly hall. Gjörwell's ideals were the theories of Vitruvius and Andrea Palladio. Eric Cainberg, the sculptor made six reliefs in the classic style with references to antique mythology for the assembly hall. He modelled for instance a Finnish hero Väinämöinen with a Finnish national music instrument kantele, which resembles the lyre. The professors compared this hero with the antique heroes such as Orpheus and Mercury and he was said to be the inventor of fire and a ship. He was also the patron of all arts in the Finnish national epic.

The assembly hall of Helsinki University was the centre of Finnish music life from its completion in 1832 until Finlandia Hall was built in 1971. Also this hall was built after antique norms referring to Apollon and his role as the patron of arts and sciences. Architect Carl Ludvig Engel knew his classical predecessors very well and the university got the exterior and interiors that continued the antique traditions in a magnificent and creative way. The shape of the assembly hall was a half circle. Engel himself called it an amphitheatre and it was an architectural novelty of the time in Finland. The musical use was carefully taken into consideration when planning the hall.

These early assembly halls were born to satisfy the cultural demands of a nation that tried to show its own character and later get its national independence. The model was generally classical architecture with its symbols. During the 19th century new assembly halls were built for instance in connection with town halls, hotels, especially so called society houses, volunteer fire brigade houses, community halls and sanatoriums in many towns. The most handsome of these houses were naturally in the biggest towns Helsinki, Turku and Vyborg such as Turku, Vyborg and Helsinki society houses, Helsinki and Turku volunteerr fire brigade houses and later Helsinki community hall but in small country towns might be stately examples of high value architecture, too. One of these is the volunteer fire brigade's house in

Tammisaari, where Theodor Höjjer, one of the most prominent Finnish architects at the end of the 18th century planned a miniature of the Helsinki volunteer fire brigade's house, which he had planned a few years earlier. A minor curiosity is the volunteer fire brigade house in Hamina on the southern coast of Finland by the first Finnish - also one of the first in the world - female architect Signe Hornborg.

Also in all these buildings the models were usually taken from classical sources. The architecture emphasized the role of the assembly hall so that it was placed symmetrically in the middle of the house and on the upper floor. It usually had bigger and more handsome decorated windows. The interiors of these halls, main staircases and vestibules were often decorated with flowers and leaves, cornucopias and in the wealthiest localities with great picture programmes with puttos or goddesses carrying musical emblems in their hands. In sanatoriums the assembly halls were more pavilion-like and their architecture was lighter and more decorative.

At the beginning of the 20th century some architects made interesting architectural proofs by planning the so called concert palace in Helsinki. The palace was never carried out mostly because of the financial problems and the civil war in 1918 and its consequences. The location in the urban structure and the innovative architectural solutions, however, nurture one's imagination as to the direction of the architecture of Finnish cultural houses if the concert palace had become true. These early plans were made by Armas Lindgren and Eliel Saarinen. Armas Lindgren planned two concert halls in Estonia the beginning of the 20th century together with architect Wivi Lönn.

Later Finnish architects have had the opportunity to carry out some other concert houses abroad, too. One of the most important such cases is that of the two halls in the United States of America by Eliel Saarinen, both in 1938. Saarinen already lived in the USA at that time. Heikki and Kaija Siren planned Brucknerhaus in Linz, Austria. The house was finished in 1974. Of the many plans of Alvar Aalto Essen Opera House is maybe the most remarkable. It was a postume work and was completed as late as in 1986.

### **The building type of the concert house takes its own form**

The building type of a Finnish concert house actually took an individual form only in the 1950s when the concert houses of Turku and Lahti were built. Their predecessor was the music hall of Helsinki conservatory in the 1930s but its architecture was quite modest and the house was placed in the common wall like a row of apartment houses without any distinctive character or references to music.

The direct model of the Turku hall was a great functionalistic Vyborg concert house which was planned by Ragnar Ypyä and Martta Martikainen-Ypyä just before the second world war. The house was never built because Vyborg was conceded to Russia after the war. The Vyborg concert house is set in the main street in a park. The exterior of the house got its own character from a big "hat" which was the upper part of the music hall. The interiors were asymmetrical because the concert hall was placed free into the foyer

like a room in a room. The architects let the luxuriant parks of Vyborg be seen through enormous glass walls.

The models of the Vyborg, Turku and Lahti concert houses were mostly Scandinavian, for instance the modern movement concert houses in Gothenburg and Helsingborg in Sweden and the Radio House of Frederiksberg in Denmark. Turku concert house by Risto-Veikko Luukkonen and Ahti Korhonen is a quite direct copy of Vyborg concert house. Lahti concert house, which was planned by Heikki and Kaija Siren, got the shape of a big shell. Especially the Lahti house was meant to be an image of a young dynamic cultural town although there were also a hotel, a restaurant, a movie theatre, a bowling alley and a small department store in the building. Carnegie Hall in New York is the first commercial model of this kind of solution.

From the 1950s on several cultural houses by Alvar Aalto were built. The originality, high value of architecture and the fame of the planner also shaped the image of Finnish cultural life, music and town planning. Aalto's first concert house is the theatre and concert house meant for Kuopio but it was not carried out. The plan was made in 1951. He also won the competition for Vogelweidplatz cultural house in Vienna in 1953 but this plan left a dream, too. In 1957 the Cultural House in Helsinki got ready. It is maybe the most innovative of Aalto's cultural houses with its special tiles made for the free ameba-like form of the concert hall part of the house. The house takes its cramped and rocky place brilliantly.

The culmination of the music halls by Alvar Aalto is naturally Finlandia Hall with its fan shaped hall, which was so characteristic of him. The silhouette of Finlandia Hall dominates the western coast of Töölö Bay in Helsinki. The house was meant to be the beginning of the new monumental centre of the capital city but it was never carried out as Aalto planned it. The architect gave this house its character by using a classical material marble and forming a simple but effective volume, which is reflected from the sea. Aalto's ability to give the house its own special character with multi-faceted cultural references is of course insurmountable in Finland.

### **Culture houses as image-makers**

The 1960s was the beginning of an attempt to form the image of the towns through cultural buildings. Most of the houses erected in the 70s and 80s. Especially the 1980s were the golden days of the construction industry because of the economic boom. This trend also spread to small country towns, where huge concert and congress palaces by famous architects were erected. Often these houses differed very much from the original scales and building types typical of the town. A question has also come up if it is wise to build a concert hall in a small locality where there is no orchestra at all and the orchestras of big towns are able to visit smaller places just once or twice a year. The acoustic problems have been difficult in many halls where different types of music - classic, jazz and rock - have to be performed in the same room. In some cases it has happened that when an expensive cultural house has

got ready, there have been no resources to cover its running costs. It is quite hard to attract congresses to small towns to win the money invested.

Architect Arto Sipinen planned numerous cultural houses for Finnish towns in the 1970s and 80s. His characteristic style, which comprises white cubes and light lath facades, is visible for instance in Espoo, Mikkeli and Imatra. The similarity of the architecture of these houses gives no rise to individual character and scale of the towns in the right way.

The Tampere House was perhaps the most pompous of the cultural and congress halls of the era. It was completed in 1990. Its floor area is over twenty five thousand square metres. The architects of the house, Sakari Aartelo and Esa Piironen have called it a town in a town or an entire ship that contains everything you need. The Tampere House has, however, succeeded in its task very well; it has attracted many famous international artists and orchestras to Finland and established its position as a good stage. The art works of the house are as large scale as the house itself. The main work is situated in the foyer. It is a sculpture by Kimmo Kaivanto and called Blue line. It begins at the Helsinki railway station and continues in the Tampere House in its columns and on the floor. By the door it takes the shape of a muse and makes a bow to the audience. The artist has written MOT ZAR T onto the ribbon - a play of words reminds us about music and art but also about mathematics. A distant echo from Vyborg and its unrealised concert house can be seen in the Tampere House, namely the "hat" which covers the big concert hall.

One of the most sophisticated multi-purpose houses was planned for Pieksämäki in 1989 by architect Kristian Gullichsen. The house forms a wall-like structure on the border line between the centre of the small town and the low scale surroundings with a beautiful view to the lake and the park on the shore line. The scale is the same as elsewhere in the town and the fine original functionalist architecture of the locality continues its history in the shapes of the house. The concert hall has not been emphasized but the foyer opens through a big window to the surroundings. Poleeni is one of the first cultural houses that took a more modest and low scale form trying to integrate into the old surroundings. It did not lose its own public building and cultural house nature, however.

The architectural solutions of concert and congress halls often took very expressive forms, even curiosities as for instance in Punkaharju where the concert hall was dug into rock. Sometimes efforts have also been made to combine the historical values and status of the glorious past to image making. Some concert halls have been built on historical sites in Finland. The Sigyn Hall in Turku and Sibelius Hall in Lahti are opposite examples of developing townscape by building preservation. In the Sibelius Hall case an old saw mill has been preserved as a small skeleton beside the new concert and congress hall, whose architecture reminds us about the past of the town as a centre of wood processing industry. The Sigyn chamber music hall is situated in an old rope factory so that its exterior does not reveal the new character of the house.



The architectural competition of the Helsinki Music House raised a furious discussion about historical and symbolic values of central Helsinki and the debate is still going on. The winner of the competition was a candidate that tries to adapt itself to the old railway surroundings in the vicinity of the parliament house, Finlandia Hall and two museum buildings from different eras.

So we can see that a new trend is to form public spaces and cultural houses as invisible as possible if the conditions of the surroundings call for it. The placing and architecture of a cultural house is not chosen to put emphasis on the nature of the institution. The old good classical rules about the hierarchy of the houses have disappeared. The task of the cultural houses is nowadays to produce values of image and economic welfare but not to show the value of the culture and the immaterial achievements of the society in the townscape.

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# **NEW TOWN POLICY AS A PROPOSED ACTION FOR SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS IN TURKEY.**

Sevin Aksoylu  
Anadolu University  
Department of Architecture  
[saksoylu@anadolu.edu.tr](mailto:saksoylu@anadolu.edu.tr)

## **Introduction**

One of the most distinctive development of our century is the rapid urbanisation of the world population . Industrialisation and modernisation in agriculture combined with a whole range of ever larger portions of the population of developed countries in cities and metropolitan areas. Rapid urbanisation is also a characteristic of developing countries although industrialisation in these countries is still working itself out and has not yet reached its highest level and modernization in agriculture is lagging for behind. Therefore, urban living has become a way of life for an increasing number of human beings on a global scale. Turkey is not exempt from the rapid urbanization trend of our century. As a developing country, its rate of urbanisation is much faster than its rate of industrialisation. Rapid urbanization which is generally called as “pseudo urbanization” has taken place since 1950’s, due to rapid population increase and structural change in agricultural sector, but comperatively slow rate of industrialization. This phenomenon is the most important reason for the formation of the present overall housing need of the country. As a consequence of the large deficit between the annual housing demand and supply, uncontrolled squatter housing construction has increased parallel to the rapidly growing urban population. ( Aksoylu,1990)

Planned new towns have been developed all over the world since the end of the Second World War, not only for being innovative in matters relating to urban environmental planning and design, but primarily for being the agents of a deliberate strategy directed at resolving the varied problems of rapid urban and industrial growth, both in the developed as well as the developing countries (Gupta,1985:251: Pour, 1993:32) On the one hand, they were founded, planned and developed as an alternative to city overgrowth and congestion and on the other hand they were established to scatter the human settlements.(Osborn & Whittick,1963:7) That’s why, this paper seeks to analyse similarities between the present problems of rapid urbanization of Turkey and problems of Great Britain and some European Countries after the Second World War , and New Towns’ relevance and adaptability to Turkey situation .

## **The Causes for the Idea of the New Town and the Debate on Regional Development**

The industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was marked in England as in most Western Countries by a rapid but anarchic urban growth. There were some major physical planning problems of the most of the European

Countries after the Second World War. These problems were caused by migration from rural settlements to the towns and cities, from the inner districts of the big cities to their suburbs and satellites, from the old industrial regions to the growth centres of the modern industry, commerce, communications and government.

Lack of interest in urban problems grew worse in France during the first half of the twentieth century. A new phase of population concentration in the towns, the resumption of economic growth and the increase in population created a serious housing problem. The measures taken to respond to it led to the extension of towns by collective housing estates with large apartment blocks and the spontaneous development of private housing estates of individual houses. (Lacaze, 1972:2)

There was the large population in relation to land area in England in other words the high ratio of the population density. England contains 85% of the Great Britain's population but only 57% of its land area. Between 1801 and 1901 the population of the country grew from 10,501,000 to 37,000,000. (Sayin, 1984) Throughout the nineteen fifties and early sixties, France also, experienced rapid rates of urbanisation not only in Paris Region but also in many of the larger provincial cities. While the population of the country was 40.1 million in 1946, it became 52.6 million in 1974. (Wilson, 1985)

Ratio of the urbanisation was too high and 70% of the people live in towns and cities of more than 100,000 population and 36% of them live in eight conurbations and their catchment areas in which approximately 60% of Britain's population live and work. In 1914 London had a population of about 6 ½ million and became 8 ½ million in 1939. Built-up area of the city extended about three times during the same period. (Hall, 1982:34)

There was a great imbalance of economic strength, quality of the urban environment and prosperity between the southern and northern parts of the Great Britain. (Thomas, 1980:55) New industries grew rapidly in and around London, in towns like Slough and in the West Midlands. As a result of this development, it was a growing discrepancy between the prosperity of the South and Midlands and the continuing depression in the North, Wales and Scotland. While the unemployment was 16.8% in Great Britain and 9.6% in London, this ratio was 60% in parts of Glamorgan and 53.5% in Bishop Auckland. (Hall, 1982 :85) Paris also monopolised the essential part of the economic and population growth of France during 1960's. (Lacaze, 1972)

Two million sub-standard houses and tenements were located within the core areas of the conurbations and other large cities and especially in the northern part of Britain. Most of them have to be demolished and replaced by modern houses with social and infrastructural facilities. (Thomas, 1980:55) At the 1968 census over a quarter of the dwellings inside Paris were classified as decaying or insanitary while 18.4 % were overcrowded. 70% of the houses were built before 1914 and 45% had no lavatory. (Wilson, 1985:120)

To deal with these problems and to manage the interwar urban sprawl and population concentration in the southeast of Britain, a series of studies were

carried out, all of them recommended to build the new towns and expanding the small towns to which industry, service sector and people can be attracted from the overgrown and overcrowded cities (Aldridge, 1979). New towns programme as a whole was directed to the attainment of larger objectives concerned with the distribution of population and employment and the improvement of social and economic conditions as between the country's main urban regions and within them. Therefore, it's necessary to set them in the context of the national and regional problems.

British new towns represent an outstanding and visible success for the case for town planning. Not only have they followed the recognised method of survey, analysis, plan, implementation but they are based on theoretical concepts, accepted planning standards and techniques and on realization provide an acceptable physical environment for one million people without slums, barriadas, bustees or any other kind of shacks and without the congestion, muddle and other environmental deficiencies evident in so many existing settlements. It's important to see them in a national and regional planning context. The new towns were located either for reasons concerned with national planning policies or in implementation of regional plans such as the Greater London and Clyde Valley Plans. (Marshall, 1982: 193) Characteristics of urbanization process in Turkey and the form of the urbanization after 1950's is very similar to these countries.

### **Rapid Urbanization Process After 1950's in Turkey**

While the level of urbanization is lower than the Western Countries, Turkey has been experiencing a high growth rate of urbanization. In fact the urban population which was 23.6 million in 1985 has become 44.1 million in 2000 and the ratio of urban population has increased from 45.2 % to 65.1 % in the same period. There is great differentiation between the western and eastern part of the country in terms of urbanization rate. While the 75% of the population lives in the cities in Marmara Region ( West Anatolia), this ratio changes between 33.7% and 37.5% in Karadeniz Region ( North) and East Anatolia.

The four fifths of total population increase had occurred in the urban areas. Larger cities with a population of 100.000 and more, especially three metropolitan cities of the country, İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir have experienced more higher growth of population. ( Bektöre,1986:43) 67.4 percent of urban population settled to the larger cities with a population of 100.000 and more. Share of the population of İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir in urban population is 35.7%. ( Keleş, 1993:42) The population of İstanbul has increased from 8.260.438 in 1997 to 10.033.478 in 2000. So mostly these larger cities were affected from the housing problem in Turkey.

The gap between rich and poor in Turkey is many times as wide as in the developed countries. There are very great differences between classes of the low-income and those who manage to sustain life at levels which are tolerable by local standards. There are 1.344.708 unemployed people in Turkey according to the census of 2000. ( <http://www.die.gov.tr>, 2002)

Depending on the population increase, housing need also increased in the urban areas and uncontrolled squatter housing construction became the major means for shelter of low income families who cannot have their place in the housing market as buyers. Therefore, the number of squatter dwellings called as “Gecekondü” has increased parallel to the rapidly growing urban population and the big cities have grown with population and spread with area.

A large share of total squatter housing is concentrated in the large cities of the country. The squatter houses in three largest cities İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir contribute 67.5% of the whole country and most of these houses are located on hilly sites, on garbage dump, near the industrial areas etc. without basic services, infrastructure and also without plan (Keles,1993)

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF SQUATTER DWELLINGS AND SHARE IN THE TOTAL HOUSING STOCK

Years	Urban Population	Share of the UrbanPop. In Total Populati. (%)	Number of Squat Populati.	Squatter Dwellings	Share of Squ. Dwellings
1927	3.305.879	24.2	-	-	-
1935	3.802.642	23.5	-	-	-
1940	4.346.249	24.4	-	-	-
1945	4.687.102	24.9	-	-	-
1950	5.244.337	25.0	-	-	-
1955	6.927.343	28.9	50.000	250.000	4.7
1960	8.859.731	31.9	240.000	1.200.000	16.4
1965	10.805.817	34.4	430.000	2.150.000	22.9
1970	13.691.101	38.5	600.000	3.000.000	23.6
1975	16.869.068	41.8	-	-	-
1980	19.645.007	43.9	1.150.000	5.750.000	26.1
1985	26.855.757	53.0	-	-	-
1990	33.326.351	58.4	1.750.000	8.750.000	33.9
1997	40.882.357	65.03	2.000.000 (1995)	10.000.000(1995)	35.0(1995)

SOURCE: DIE, (1983) Türkiye İstatistik Yıllığı, DIE Matbaası, Ankara  
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### **New Towns’ Relevance and Adaptability to Turkey Situation**

New Town Policy has been found as an expensive solution and it was not in demand in Turkey. Whereas, municipalities try to plan and legalize the squatter settlements which are spreaded around the city by way of the Amnesty Laws which are enacted by the central governments during the election times. They also try to bring the social and infrastructural services and municipal facilities after the establishment and construction of these areas and sprawl of the cities .

To cover the cost of these services after the establishment of squatter areas is also expensive and, spatial organization can never be provided as a result of this kind of development. To find the solution to the lack of spatial organization in the urbanization policy of Turkey, it's necessary to organize industry, service sector and housing together. That's why, it's necessary to search the applicability of settlement models which are more suitable to the social benefit of the people who live in the big cities or newly urbanized areas. The solution for this situation can be sought in the new town policy by the understanding of comprehensive planning to find a productive, effective urban form and implementation method of it. Because, there are some similarities between the targets of the new town policy and the urbanization policy of Turkey. New towns' relevance and adaptability to Turkey situation will be discussed below.

New towns were designed as balanced, self-containment settlements for working and living and to reduce regional disparities, to concentrate investment in certain core regions and the creation of new towns as economic growth poles. The goal of balance has widely been interpreted to mean having similar numbers of jobs and housing units in a defined geographical area. (Bookout,1990:12) Their primary purpose was to act as instruments for regional policy –mainly to disperse industry and population from conurbations. The last generation of British new towns were targeted as sub-regional centres with populations of at least 150.000. (Cervero,1995:1144) One of basic reasons of establishment of new towns is also the prevention of congestion in metropolitan cities or areas in other words to provide the decongestion of large cities by the decentralisation or assure the economic revival of entire sub-regions

Since the beginning of the 1960's, Turkey has been in the process of devising a national urban growth and regional development policy in conjunction with its economic development planning efforts. The seriousness of the nation-wide urbanization problems, the variety of difficulties faced in the metropolitan areas and the grave socio-economic disparities among the regions of Turkey have been well recognized and accepted. There has been a considerable increase in the willingness and commitment of the national government to deal with these problems systematically and rationally. (Aksoylu,1990) When the policies related to urbanization were analysed, it can be seen that most of them are similar to the targets of new towns. The goals of Five Year Development Plans of Turkey are;

- to solve the urbanisation problems by decreasing the regional disparities and increasing the standards of living conditions of the population, to take economic and social measures to bring urban migration and job opportunities to an equilibrium
- to create new attractive poles in the underdeveloped regions
- \* to support the development of small and medium-sized cities and to orientate the organized industrial districts to these cities
- direct the physical incentive measures towards cities of 50.000- 500.000 population for revitalising their economic activities



- to distribute the industrial investments and population in a balanced way among regions. Economic activities would be focused on medium scale cities in order to create self-sufficient medium-sized cities and to ensure a balanced diffusion of urbanisation
- to develop urban growth centers in the underdeveloped regions by diffusing the industry to the whole country, to prevent the growth of the larger cities by distributing the industry and industrial population in a balanced way all over the country, the economic activities of major cities would be extended as far as possible to smaller provinces by taking some deterrent steps
- to increase the supply of mass housing for prevention of squatter housing, to give the housing credits to the low income groups, to increase the construction of rental houses for low income groups
- to support the housing cooperatives and private initiative
- inequality in the distribution of income and low degree of industrialization must be abolished.
- to develop the rural areas by using cooperation and agricultural land reform methods and development of agricultural industry during the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation period. (DPT, 1979,1985,1989,1995)

It is possible to reach these goals by applying a comprehensive urban policy and by organising the industry and housing harmoniously. In Turkey, there is a relation between the industrialization period and the increase in the construction of squatter dwellings. Hence, it's necessary to create self-sufficient spaces by organizing industry and housing harmoniously. Mostly, squatters of Turkey are located around the industrial areas and close to the working place to minimize the transportation expenses and to decrease the distance between housing and working areas and most of them work in the marginal sector due to the insufficient amount of employment facilities in the industry and organized sectors. That's why, to solve the organizational failure in urban policy of Turkey, organization of housing, industry and services is necessary. If this organization can not be realized, the population who migrate from rural areas to the urban areas will not locate in the planned areas according to the zoning rules and settlement strategies, but to the unplanned areas. Consequently, housing demand for this population will be met by squatter houses. Therefore, the application of new settlement models which have to be more suitable for society are necessary to solve the squatter problem especially in the big cities and in the developing areas. Apart from this, in formulating population distribution and urban growth and settlement policies, initially, a country must determine the general goals which will be attained by these policies. These broad goals include the followings;

- Balanced economic, social and physical development in all regions of the country
- Effective regulation and limitation of the growth of major central cities and metropolitan areas.

- Stimulation of the development of existing small and medium sized towns located in both metropolitan areas and other regions
- Utilization of urbanization process to the advantage of industrialization and modernization of the country and to create a new urban form and settlement pattern
- Improvement of living conditions in both urban and rural areas so as to reduce the gap in standards of living between these two areas.
- Limitation and control of massive out-migration of the population and capital resources of rural and underdeveloped regions to other regions.

To achieve such broad national goals for Turkey, building of new towns can be assigned an important role in the national urban growth and economic development schemes. Because, a well-prepared new towns program has the potential to offer several advantages:

- It is an important way of organizing economic, social and physical development
- It is a method of channeling and controlling the peripheral growth of metropolitan areas and central cities
- It's an instrument for coping with special urbanization problems such as redistribution of population and economic activity, opening up of the resource development regions, handling of boom towns and replacement and reconstruction of blighted areas and disorderly developments. ( Aksoylu,1989)

### **Proposed Actions for Solving the Problem of Squatter Housing**

As it can be seen easily, parallels can be drawn between new town programmes and the goals of urbanization policy of Turkey. New town policy can be used for prevention of the population increase in the big cities, construction of the squatter dwellings, sprawl of the city area by constructing squatter settlements in the periphery of the cities, spatial organization of the country, organization of the industry and housing harmoniously. ( Aksoylu, 1993:25) Housing policies must be informed by and contribute to the solution of basic problems and dominant contextual realities of society e.g. population growth and poverty. ( Dewar,1977) Policies related to the squatter houses of Turkey didn't contribute or take into consideration any basic problems of the squatter phenomenon. The squatter policy have needed to contribute to or to be incorporated into a policy package which deals with employment reforms, land reforms, municipality revenue reforms, minimum wage increase etc. ( Dahm,1998) These arrangements and reforms can be possible by using new town policy in Turkey. But, it's necessary;

- \* to make new legal and organizational arrangements for constructing the new towns in Turkey.
- \* to define the general targets of new towns, responsibilities and influences of central, local organizations and private enterprises.
- \* to encourage the unity of industry and housing especially in the underdeveloped regions to prevent the migration from underdeveloped regions and small cities to big and metropolitan cities and also to prevent the loss of time and high transportation expenditures between housing and working areas depending on the target of the industrialization of the country,

- \* to use the construction of mass houses as a tool for application of New Town concept. Because there is an excessive demand for mass houses and cooperative buildings which are constructed by getting credits from Mass Houses Fund. But the credits of mass housing must be directed towards priority development areas where the industry will be encouraged and organized industrial districts will be established, thus spatial unity of housing and industry can also be obtained.
- \* to keep the public land as public, to prevent the putting up for sale of these lands by the governments and to canalize the mass houses to these lands. Because, the importance of the public land is high for the application of the new towns. The share of the land in the cost of the houses is too high in Turkey, due to the speculation of the land. That's why, it also provides the decrease in the cost of the houses.
- \* Credits of the mass houses are very low and this prevents the possession of the low income groups. Hence, new sources for the housing must be found by public and private sectors. The models of Company of New Towns and new organizations such as Tapiola can be evaluated for this manner. Mostly, rental house must be thought for low income families.

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## THE ROOTS OF URBAN PLANNING INNOVATION

Stephen V. Ward

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School of Planning, Oxford Brookes University, Headington, Oxford OX3 OBP, UK. Phone: 01865 483421/483450. Fax: 01865 483559.

Email: [svward@brookes.ac.uk](mailto:svward@brookes.ac.uk)

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### *Introduction*

*...historical actors do perform in response to the world they find themselves in, and in particular to the problems that they confront in that world. That, surely, is a statement of the blindingly obvious; ideas do not emerge, by some kind of immaculate conception, without benefit of worldly agency. But equally, human beings - especially the most intelligent and most original among them - are almost infinitely quirky and creative and surprising; therefore the real interest in history, beyond the staggeringly self evident, lies in the complexity and variability of the human reaction. Thus, in this book, the Marxian basis of historical events is taken almost as a given; what can make history worth writing, and what can make some history worth reading, is the understanding of all the multifarious ways in which the general stimulus is related to the particular response. (Hall, 1988, pp. 4-5)*

In his book *Cities of Tomorrow*, Peter Hall presents the process of planning innovation as the response of creative individuals to the challenges thrown up by advanced, highly urbanised capitalist economies. He rejects the notion that the nature of the response is essentially pre-determined by larger forces. Planning innovations, in other words, can only properly understood in terms of the particular experiences and idiosyncrasies of the innovators themselves. In the final analysis, therefore, individual creativity and chance factors have been more actively important than broader contextual or structural factors. In practice, the majority of active planning historians probably share Peter Hall's general perspective. Yet it is taken as an article of faith, providing a basis on which most historical work on planning proceeds, rather than itself forming an object of enquiry. There has been surprisingly little close examination of the roots of planning innovation.

This paper draws on the author's recently published larger study of the development of 20<sup>th</sup> century urban planning in the advanced capitalist world (Ward, 2002). It weighs up the evidence and arguments on this question. The case for innovation being the prerogative of creative individuals is critically examined. In doing this, the paper will also consider the diametrically opposed case for interpretations based on

context, specifically structural or geo-political factors: in other words, to what extent can we see planning innovations as being determined by the functional imperatives of the most economically advanced or globally powerful nations? If the individual innovators, whose names we remember, had not existed, would it have been necessary to invent them?

Between the extremes of individual creativity and structural imperatives, the potential for middle range interpretations will also be considered. These will focus on reformist and professional networks and the factors which seem to promote innovation within governmental planning agencies. The paper will suggest that these represent a more useful way of understanding planning innovation in more recent years.

### *Individual creativity*

Innovations begin, of course, as Hall says, with creative individuals. The vast majority of people in any activity are content to follow established patterns. A few, though, will make a difference, leaving behind them something which was not there before. At this point, we should remind ourselves of the classic distinction between *invention*, meaning the generation of new concepts, and *innovation*, meaning their practical application. Often in urban planning, these two aspects of creativity have been combined, but the underlying distinction remains important. Broader economic, social and political circumstances must always play a significant part in establishing conditions conducive to urban planning innovation. But the requirements of the pure inventor might be very modest indeed, requiring no more than a small amount of leisure time, a vivid and reasonably methodical imagination and some problem on which it can work. This can give an apparently random quality to the individual creativity from which modern urban planning developed. There was, for example, no larger reason why an obscure London shorthand reporter and stenographer should have invented the garden city.

### *The critical cluster of innovations*

If we step back a little, however, certain patterns begin to emerge. The later nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries saw many highly significant innovations, almost all directly identified, at least in historical narrative with specific creative individuals. Included entirely practical figures, such as Georges-Eugène Haussmann, a pure innovator, who resisted all temptation to conceptual exposition but still exerted a seminal influence. They also included a few visionaries, such as Ebenezer Howard, who may be seen as pure inventors. Most, however, such as Ildefonso Cerdà, Camillo Sitte, Josef Stübben, Patrick Geddes, Raymond Unwin, Daniel Burnham, Tony Garnier and Le Corbusier, spanned both empirical and theoretical realms. In many cases, lesser known figures were thinking along similar lines at roughly the same time. If Sitte had died before writing his book, then Charles Bulfinch's similar ideas would probably have become better known. Similarly Marcel Pöete can be seen as a partial substitute for Geddes. Several possible substitutes for Le Corbusier can be suggested. The international history of urban planning would obviously not have followed exactly the same course

without the names we remember, but its conceptual dimensions would not have been radically different.

*Individual creativity after the formative period*

No other period ever again experienced a chronological clustering of major innovations of comparable significance. Later innovations usually took the form of refinements, of varying significance, of previous ideas. In these, of course, specific creative individuals sometimes stood out, such as Cornelis van Eesteren, Patrick Abercrombie, Sven Markelius, Victor Gruen, Colin Buchanan, Josef Paul Kleihues, or Peter Hall himself. In general, though, the 'heroic' narrative which tells only of lone inventors, often dubious even in the formative period of modern urban planning, has become progressively less appropriate. The creative individuals have still been there, but working usually in a more collective context, bouncing their own ideas around with others. Still perhaps, there might be a figurehead for the creative process, capable of lucid expression, but only rarely can such figures claim sole responsibility.

*Reformist and professional milieux*

This last observation broadens the understanding of creativity to embrace the *milieux* within which individual inventiveness was located. Even from the early (if not quite the earliest) stages, there were reformist and professional networks, providing a rich substrate on which individual creativity was able to feed and to which it contributed. At first, the networks were comparatively unfocused. The emergent ideas of urban planning were only a minor theme amongst many concerns of existing organizations, such as the *Musée Social*, the Land Nationalisation Society, the *Verband Deutscher Architekten und Ingenieurvereine*, or the Royal Institute of British Architects.

Yet, as we have seen, new organizations everywhere came into being, such as the Garden City Association (and its many equivalents in other countries), the *Société Française des Urbanistes* or the American City Planning Institute. While most have been national in form, international organizations, such as the International Federation of Housing and Planning, the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* or, more recently, the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives, have exerted important influences. It has been within the, increasingly formal, settings provided by all these new organizations that urban planning discourse has developed, both in face to face encounters and through a growing volume of published material.

*Innovation and the organizational networks of urban planning*

The exact contribution of these networks to the innovation process has been subtle. Overall, there has certainly been a fairly direct correlation between the national strength and degree of adherence to these networks and the extent of successful innovation in urban planning. In part, this is because individual inventors, however creative, need at the very least a sounding board for their efforts. Here we can point to the abject failure of Cerdà's

extraordinary and early creativity, predating any effective urban reformist networks in Spain. (There is a contrast here with the later Spanish innovator, Arturo Soria, who clearly understood the need to set new ideas into an organizational framework.)

Yet there was also a downside. The creation of specific organizations, particularly those of a more professional nature, also defined urban planning as an area of knowledge. This concentrated but also tended to constrain the process of innovation more in the direction of technical refinement. It is interesting to speculate how the equivalent of a Howard or a Le Corbusier might today be received in such circles. Such radically new approaches as have appeared in recent years, have come largely from outside the formal organizations that comprise the urban planning movement. It has been noticeable, for example, that the new directions that urban planning has taken since the later 1980s, into sustainable urban development, drew their original momentum largely from the green movement. An increasingly large scale urban development industry has also generated important new forms of ordering urban space, with great influence for mainstream urban planning.

#### *The state and planning innovation*

Even more critical for the innovation process within western societies has been the state. As urban planning moved from the realm of autonomous reformist thought and action into actual urban governmental policy, then the state, in various guises, began to become an important setting of planning innovation. The timing of this transition varied, of course, between different countries. It also varied between the different levels of government, so that some city authorities, such as Paris, Frankfurt or Birmingham, acquired early reputations as innovators. This tendency was well established by the 1930s, for example, in Unwin's work on the planning of Greater London or van Eesteren and van Lohuizen's work on the extension of Amsterdam. After 1945, however, the trend had become a universal one. All levels of government in all countries became the principal arenas of planning action and, to a significant extent, of planning thought and innovation.

#### *The pre-conditions of innovative government*

What, then, have been the pre-conditions conducive to innovation in urban planning within a governmental framework? Obviously the nature of political control must always be important because it does much to shape the climate within which urban planning operates. There has to be, at the very least, passive political support for innovation. Often, this has meant political acceptance that a novel situation exists which depends upon finding innovative solutions. The reconstruction of destroyed cities or the building of entirely new settlements have been obvious examples, found in most western countries. Another was the widespread governmental recognition of the need to reconcile mass use of the motor car with urban planning. This triggered many important innovations, particularly in the wake of the British government's *Traffic in Towns* report. The politically-contrived



circumstances associated with a special, one-off spectacle in an individual city have also often been conducive to urban planning innovation. Two of the best known, amongst many other examples, were the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and the 1992 Barcelona Olympics.

#### *Transcending the routine*

It is also noticeable that innovation has tended to be greater in parts of government that stand outside the day-to-day administration of routine functions. Special official inquiries with a remit to consider new thinking, such as that headed by Buchanan, are the most obvious examples. But more modest versions of the same tendency litter the twentieth century history of urban planning innovation. Always the avoidance or minimization of interests committed to the status quo has been an important pre-requisite. It has been almost unknown, for example, for radical metropolitan plans (such as those for London in 1944, or Paris in 1965) to have been produced by local governments. Almost invariably some agency able, at least partially, to transcend existing positions, has been necessary. Sometimes this has also meant insulation from close public accountability, but this is not always the case. The 1970s, for example, everywhere saw an upsurge of innovation built upon unusually close encounters between planner and planned.

#### *Public and private innovation*

In general, recent Anglo-American rhetoric notwithstanding, governments obsessed by restricting their spending have not usually been good innovators. This may, though, sometimes be offset if, by this means, innovative private developers are given more freedom. Certainly, it can be argued that recent public-private partnership approaches, themselves an important innovation, have partly reflected a desire throughout all western countries to restrict state expenditure. In some cases, such as Baltimore Harbor, these arrangements have generated internationally important innovations. There, however, developer involvement certainly did not remove the need for very heavy city expenditure. Other partnership approaches associated with urban planning innovation, for example Euralille or some, at least, of the Dutch VINEX expansion areas, also show no abdication of the governmental role. Even the London Docklands, the urban planning showpiece of Thatcherism, has absorbed huge quantities of public money.

#### *Specific mechanisms to promote innovation*

Finally, we can note the specific devices some governments have used in more deliberate ways to foster urban planning innovation. Competitions, where planning and design rather than financial considerations have been the priority, remain very important. Even by 1900, it was clear that Germanic planning thought and practice had benefited a great deal by what was already a well developed tradition of extension competitions. After 1900, French *urbanisme* was similarly enhanced by energetic participation in competitions throughout the world, offsetting what were rather dismal domestic opportunities for urban planning endeavour.

Recent years have seen the popularity of competitions soar, as cities have sought new ways to signal their international credentials with outstanding urban projects. One of the most interesting has been the German IBA tradition. This has involved the periodic identification of locations where many innovative developments of high design quality are deliberately fostered. Through both open competitions and direct invitations, architects, planners and related professionals from around the world have thus been drawn into what has often been a highly creative context. Governments of all western countries have, from time to time, encouraged demonstration projects of various kinds, though none seem to have been quite as systematic in promoting innovation as the IBA approach.

### *Global power and planning innovation*

Over all the more specific factors which have a bearing on the innovation process is the more general role of larger economic and geo-political factors. Have such forces determined, to any extent, the propensity to innovate in urban planning? The evidence is mixed. From the outset it was the four major nations of the capitalist world which led in the development of urban planning. All large nations, with large cities, they were by 1900 the hubs of major international flows of trade and investment and possessed a military strength commensurate with their economic significance. They also presided over large overseas empires (or, in the case of the United States exerted a growing international hegemony that stopped short of formal empire). Together, they represented the most complex and highly developed urban systems which then existed. Modern urban planning can therefore be seen, in some ways, as an activity generated to manage some of the tensions within these urban systems.

Of course, the 'big four' were not the only inventors of modern planning. The declining international powers of Spain and Austria-Hungary also contributed, as we have noted, to the conceptual repertoire of modern urban planning. Yet their experiences also seem, in some ways, to confirm the importance of structural factors in understanding the distinction between individual inventiveness and innovation in a wider sense. Thus, as we have seen, the advanced thinking of odd individuals in nineteenth century Spain was certainly not matched by any wider national achievement. Austrian urban planning ideas, meanwhile, benefited because they quickly became part of German planning discourse.

### *Problems with a structural explanation*

During the course of the twentieth century, the 'big four' have continued to be at, or near, the forefront of western planning discourse. Germany's standing has wavered, broadly in line with its troubled history, so that its urban planning reputation fell sharply in the wake of its post-1945 defeat and shame. Yet it has certainly not been possible to 'read off' the contributions of different nations to urban planning in terms of their relative standing in the international pecking order. Over much of the twentieth century, Germany, Britain and France would probably show the closest correlation. But Japan, for example, has not (yet?) developed an innovative

urban planning tradition that reflects its position as the world's second largest economy. Nor has the United States, always a powerful source of ideas about cities and, to a lesser extent, urban planning, ever assumed quite the dominating influence on international planning discourse that its superpower status would lead us to expect. Moreover, as we have seen, several smaller countries, particularly the Netherlands and the Nordic countries, have contributed much more than their size and importance would suggest. They benefited by the long eclipse of Germany during the Nazi period and its aftermath, but this certainly does not provide a complete understanding of their prominence.

### *Summarizing innovation*

The explanation of innovation cannot, therefore, be found in any one of the major 'compartments' we have considered. Larger structural considerations certainly establish, in general terms, some important and occasionally very powerful pre-conditions. But they have not determined the pattern of urban planning innovation in any very precise fashion. The specific institutional climate and, outside the state, the vigour of reformist and professional networks have always exerted a very large, and relatively autonomous, influence.

Not least, of course, there remains the inventiveness of individuals. The most we can safely conclude is that their efforts have been much more likely to become successful innovations where wider circumstances have generated some need for them and created a broadly sympathetic context for their reception. Even this, however, could be partly overcome because of the speed at which promising new ideas, provided they crossed the threshold of initial awareness, were able to spread. Overall, therefore, these conclusions remain fairly close in several respects to Peter Hall's assumptions, with which we began. But there are differences of degree and emphasis. Here, I have argued, to a greater extent than Hall would seemingly be prepared to accept, that innovations occurred because there was a need for them and that someone else would have come up with the key ideas if the names we remember as their originators had not. The main difference, however, is the stronger emphasis here on the institutional context and the reformist and technical milieux, themes which have become increasingly important in understanding planning innovation in more recent years.

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# **Dreaming the Suburbs at Forest Lawn: The Memorial Park as Urban Planning Prototype**

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Steve Rugare  
Program Associate  
Urban Design Center of Northeast Ohio  
Assistant Professor  
School of Architecture and Environmental Design  
**Kent State University**  
820 Prospect Avenue, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor  
Cleveland, OH 44115

Phone: 216-357-3434

Fax: 216-357-3430

Email: [srugare@kent.edu](mailto:srugare@kent.edu)

## **Abstract**

The primary unit of suburban development in late 20<sup>th</sup> Century America is the residential subdivision, characterized as a real estate proposition by the application of design guidelines and covenants and as a symbolic proposition by appeals to nostalgia and often rather facile signs of community. Attempts to decode the symbolic structure of the resulting landscape have concentrated on developing a lexicon of individual signs. This paper proposes: 1) that the distinctive symbolic order of the suburban landscape is the result of a distinctive kind of place-making in which the form of signification takes precedence over its content, and 2) That the underlying principles of this form of signification can be seen in a precocious form in the design order of Forest Lawn Memorial Park, the cemetery founded in 1917 in Glendale, CA. Drawing on field research as well as analysis of Forest Lawn promotional materials, principles derived from the work of Barthes, Benjamin and Lefebvre are used to analyze Forest Lawn's design guidelines and approaches to art and memorialization. The innovations of Forest Lawn's founder, Hubert Eaton, are shown to be based on keen insights into the subjectivity of the real estate consumer who would play such a prominent role in shaping the American landscape later in the century.

## Introduction

Historians of the North American landscape generally agree that there was a big change in the pattern of suburban development in the decades just after World War II. Suburban developments of the first half of the century tend to fall into two categories, those with pretension to art – generally inspired by the garden city movement, the plans of Olmsted and a few wealthy enclaves of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century – and those which are frankly speculative, characterized by rectilinear layouts, minimal lot-sizes and the repetition of modest housing types. Among these first suburbs, the speculative bungalow tracts predominated, both because of their lower cost and because of the continuing need to keep commuters within walking distance of the mass transit lines around which many of these developments were platted. In fact, even Shaker Heights, Ohio, a suburb well-known for its attention to design issues, contains many neighborhoods of modest, closely spaced homes on gridded streets. It was only in the decades after 1945—and then only gradually—that this sort of development was superseded by a new type in which design and planning are much more conspicuous selling points. Made possible by the near universal use of the automobile, the new settlements were comparatively much more isolated from existing urban patterns and ways of life.

One of the many curiosities of the resultant landscape of disaggregated subdivisions is that it is notably rich in signifiers but correspondingly poor in significance. Place names, street layouts, building styles all seek to reinforce historical and pastoral associations in the minds of consumers, but the net effect is a landscape devoid of the differentiation and hierarchy of distinct places that characterizes more traditional patterns. At one level, it is easy enough to explain this phenomenon. Suburban housing is a mass-marketed commodity intended for highly mobile consumers, which means that developers have considerable incentive not to go beyond the most general evocations of place and history.

At another level, though, the situation is more puzzling. It's not so easy to explain the extraordinary level of acceptance these suburban arrangements have received from two (and soon three) generations of suburb-dwellers. How is it that such a surprising landscape has become so normal so quickly? Rather than pursue this question *via* what could only be a tentative and over-generalized account of signification in the American suburban proliferation of the last several decades, it is perhaps worth asking whether the now generalized phenomena of suburbia are prefigured in the more localized researches, or rather dreams, of the preceding epoch. Were there specific incubators where the design order of postwar suburbia first came to life?

In order to reveal underlying rules of the general environment, this hypothetical site of research would need to have many of the characteristics of what Michel Foucault (in a cryptic but much-cited lecture) calls "heterotopias." In Foucault's definition, a heteretopia is a real place that shares the main characteristics of a utopia, in that it relates to the normal procedures and relationships that govern lived space "in such a way as to suspend, neutralize or invert" them. Heterotopia and utopia are said to be "in rapport in some way with all the others [other spaces], and yet contradict them."<sup>1</sup> Among the heterotopias he mentions is the cemetery, that "other" city where the dead reside. Foucault's brief comments on the cemetery are not themselves particularly telling.<sup>2</sup> Although the idea of the cemetery as a kind of alternative city clearly intrigues him, he doesn't

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<sup>1</sup> Foucault M (1967) Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias in Ockman J (ed.) Architecture Culture 1943-1968 A Documentary Anthology. New York: Rizzoli 1993, pp. 419-426. I have fragmented the passage due to the highly tortured structure of the prose, and the interpretation presented here is necessarily questionable. Foucault gives this definition after a discussion of a phenomenological analysis of space, but I really have only proximity to go on in my attempt to assign antecedents to the many pronouns in this quote.

<sup>2</sup> He is primarily concerned with the transition from the churchyard to the "sanitary" cemetery at the edge of town, a phenomenon of the French classical age he had studied so thoroughly. He doesn't mention at all the later Anglo-American passion for the cemetery as park or garden, so the cemetery remains for him exclusively urban in its visual structure.

pursue it, perhaps because burial places have always existed and his entire procedure in “Of Other Spaces” is mostly ahistorical. The heterotopia at this stage in his thinking (1967) is more an invariant anthropological possibility than an event in a historical process. In fact, his lecture begins with a proclamation that the emphasis on time in nineteenth-century thought has now been replaced by an emphasis on space.

In this regard his meditation on heterotopia might have benefited from an encounter with Walter Benjamin’s then-unpublished *Arcades Project*.<sup>3</sup> Though Benjamin gets by without a special term for them, the spaces that attract his interest in that work – the arcade, the department store, the museum, the bourgeois interior etc. – certainly fall under the definition of “heterotopia.” Most of them are sites of display and consumption in which prevalent expectations about work and leisure, needs and wants, subjects and objects are neutralized and/or inverted. Benjamin differs from Foucault in that he sees these spaces as performing a role in a historical development. That role is neither directly causal nor strictly dialectical. Rather it is more akin to an unconscious process or dream. In nineteenth-century Paris, land speculators, entrepreneurs, cultural institutions and government created a variety of new environments for a variety of reasons. Their intentions are telling to the historical investigator, as are the stated responses of members of the public who came to view those sites, but Benjamin, sensing that the experiences these new environments allowed exceeded the intentions of those who made them, reads between the lines, making connections between innumerable telling details to relate the heterotopias of nineteenth-century Paris to the present. He sees them as circumscribed settings in which nineteenth-century culture was able to experiment with the relations to spaces, commodities and desires that would become generalized in the mass-mediated culture of his own time.

Benjamin’s procedure resulted in a herculean research project and a wonderful, unwieldy and unfinished book, all that in spite of the fact that he had – in Baudelaire – a “native informant” whose extraordinary insight into his own time and place gave Benjamin an essential head start on his work. Having neither years to spend in the library, nor a Baudelaire to point the way, this investigator will attempt something less subtle, but with Benjamin as compelling inspiration. The selection of a topic begins with the art historical subterfuge of constructing a historical relationship based solely on visual similarity. It so happens that the plan of Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Glendale, California – an innovative cemetery of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century – is analogous in its disposition of functions to the plan of a typical, large, American subdivision of the second half of the century.



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<sup>3</sup> Benjamin W (1982) *The Arcades Project* (ed.) Tiedemann R (tr.) Eiland H and McLaughlin K. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1999.

Obviously, one shouldn't make too much of this diagrammatic resemblance, but the comparison does suggest that further analysis might be rewarding. Fortunately, the site also provides a convenience that historians rarely have. There need be no speculation on the intentions that shaped Forest Lawn; they are literally written in stone.

### **The Builder's Creed**

"The Builder's Creed" is the work of Hubert Eaton, usually considered the inventor of the American memorial park cemetery type. It is a remarkable document -- part business plan and part profession of faith -- and it is carved onto a stone wall not far from the mortuary at Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Glendale, California, forever to be perused by two marble children standing on a step in front of it with their puppy. This text serves as the starting point for just about every critical discussion of Forest Lawn. Here are the passages that most clearly outline Eaton's business plan:

I shall try to build at Forest Lawn a great park, devoid of misshapen monuments and other customary signs of earthly death, but filled with towering trees, sweeping lawns, splashing fountains, singing birds, beautiful statuary, cheerful flowers, noble memorial architecture.

Where memorialization of loved ones in sculptured marble and pictorial glass shall be encouraged but controlled by acknowledged artists

A place that shall be protected by an immense Endowment Care fund, the principle of which can never be expended—only the income therefrom used to care for and perpetuate the Garden of Memory.

All of this requires a little historical context. Like many residents of Los Angeles in 1917, Hubert Eaton was a transplanted Midwesterner. Like others who were making their fortunes there, he was keenly aware of real estate values. He came to LA at the behest of the investors in a troubled subdivision in Glendale. Having attempted to market a cemetery on some of its land, the Tropico Company had nearly resolved to give up on the cemetery business and do a residential subdivision, but Eaton, well aware of the enormous return on investment in cemetery land,<sup>4</sup> hoped instead to expand and beautify the cemetery. His plans involved the acquisition of artworks to grace the site, an idea he seems to have developed after visiting the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915. Eventually, he used cemetery funds without authorization to purchase the "Duck Baby," an academic sculpture that won critical praise at the Exposition. His investors, who didn't much like Eaton's tendency to think big, saw no reason for the extravagant investment, and the result was a quarrel from which he emerged in control of the Tropico property.<sup>5</sup> He was then free to implement his vision for the newly christened Forest Lawn Memorial Park.

To make the property pay, he introduced a number of business practices and physical design policies, supported by an aggressive and carefully planned marketing campaign. These can be abstracted from "The Builder's Creed" into these four major innovations:

1. *"Pre-Need" Sales* – Cemetery lots would be marketed toward the living for their future interment, instead of sold to the relatives of the dead.
2. *Consolidation of Services* – All of the procedures deemed necessary for care of the dead would be sold in one package to be performed on site at Forest Lawn.
3. *Limitation of Private Memorials* – Private mausolea and headstones would be prohibited in favor of controlled and limited identifiers.
4. *Amplification of Thematic Elements* – The landscape would be organized around art works and buildings that recalled or imitated generally recognized cultural touchstones.

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<sup>4</sup> Rubin B, Carlton D and Rubin A (1979) LA in Installments: Forest Lawn. Santa Monica: Westview Press p. 23

<sup>5</sup> Rubin B, Carlton D and Rubin A (1979) p. 18.



As David Charles Sloane has shown, there was nothing truly novel in Eaton's business plan. He himself had already used "pre-need" sales, the marketing technique with which he is most identified, back in Missouri, and most of the other ideas included in "The Builder's Creed" can be found in trade journals of the period.<sup>6</sup> Eaton's genius lay in packaging the innovations of the period as a whole, adhering to them consistently and marketing them doggedly. That he did so is the result of a remarkable intuitive leap, as the environment he was marketing to his fellow Angelenos for eternity was not at all like the one they were making to live in for the present. Aside from the denizens few rarified hillside communities like the Pasadena *arroyo*, most immigrants to Los Angeles in this period were building themselves single-story houses on the narrow, rectilinear lots that had been platted out of the Los Angeles Basin, the suburban flatlands that Reyner Banham memorably called "the Plains of Id." The central characteristic of this habitat was a relative freedom to do as one pleased with one's own sun-drenched slice of an otherwise undifferentiated landscape. That the individualists who were filling up the basin should have responded to Eaton's ideas is unexpected. Rubin et al explain it in terms of the unmet need for community felt by the inhabitants of the Basin:

By amalgamating all "necessary services" at one location, Eaton claimed he was only recombining services as they been traditionally rendered. Forest Lawn, after all, had been built to provide the illusion of a village-scale supportive environment, an environment which urbanization had fragmented and destroyed. Eaton seemed to have an instinctive sense of the unmet needs of the uprooted Midwestern small town folk he served.<sup>7</sup>

The appeal to nostalgia, however, would imply that Forest Lawn had a sentimental character betokening rural or village life. In fact, the case is rather different. Residents of a city that was being built as a whole in the suburban pattern then becoming common elsewhere around the country were choosing for their final abode something that, rather than narrowing its horizons to the scale of a village, makes a great show of opening itself up to universals. Certainly, the consistent, controlled environment Eaton created at Forest Lawn bore little resemblance to either a village churchyard of colonial times or the picturesque rural cemeteries of the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

To understand both Forest Lawn's success and its physical form, it will be useful to take each of the four principles listed above in turn, looking at Eaton's intentions for each and the significance of each for the consumer. We will then be in a position to consider Forest Lawn's excess potential, the alterations in subject/space relations this particular heterotopia makes possible.

### **Pre-Need Sales**

From the point of view of "the builder" the logic of pre-need sales could not be clearer. By employing a sales force and offering a discount on burial lots to those who are willing to "plan ahead," the development of the cemetery is no longer entirely dependent on the death rate. Development doesn't have to occur on speculation, and new sections can be opened in an orderly fashion with their landscaping and artistic amenities fully realized. This last point is important for Forest Lawn, because the funds accumulating in the endowment allowed Eaton to realize some of the more monumental aspects of his plan quickly, thus further accelerating sales by establishing Forest Lawn as both a special and (importantly) a permanent feature of the Southern California landscape.

The consumer's stake in pre-need purchase of cemetery property is less clear. After all, one might hold onto cemetery property for a very long time without using it. Eaton stressed three major reasons to plan ahead: the convenience of installment payments (important for people of

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<sup>6</sup> Sloane DC (1991) *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins p. 189.

<sup>7</sup> Rubin B, Carlton D and Rubin A (1979) p. 55.

modest means who wanted a “decent” burial), the kindness to bereaved relatives who wouldn’t have to handle the details and the savings involved when choices are made rationally, rather than in an emotional crisis.<sup>8</sup> All of these are psychologically compelling arguments, and all are still mentioned regularly in the literature of the “deathcare” profession, in which pre-need sales became nearly universal long before the end of Eaton’s career.

To the degree that Forest Lawn has a historical potential, pre-need sales are a precondition. The notion that one might own a cemetery plot while going about one’s daily life makes cemetery land operate a lot more like other forms of real property. People buy plots with many of the same motivations that direct the choice of a residential lot: views, proximity to important amenities and proximity to elite or socially valuable neighbors. There is even the suggestion that there might be some form of investment equity in a cemetery lot, in the sense that the same lot one buys today would undoubtedly cost more at the time of one’s death.

There is, of course, a heterotopic reversal; the possibility of resale is missing. Although occasional private re-sale might occur for various reasons, the cemetery industry generally discourages it, and the aftermarket is marginal. In fact, many cemeteries insist that lots only be sold back to the management. More importantly, the message of the seller and, one imagines, the intent of the buyer at Forest Lawn is that the plot is a permanent residence, a dream home in which the equity is, for once, purely symbolic and will never be converted to cash. This is crucial to the memorial park’s status as a dreamscape. We see here a set of symbolic relations being pursued for their own sake, their lack of contingency guaranteed by the finality of death.

### **Consolidation of Services**

By providing the full range of funeral services on-site at Forest Lawn, Eaton obviously stood to increase his profits, a fact that didn’t escape the notice of the trades (particularly the undertakers) with which he was competing. However, with Eaton no part of the business plan was ever simply about money. The consolidation of services allowed him, in a very real way, to increase the value of a pre-need purchase from Forest Lawn. It was now possible to make all the arrangements in advance, with embalming, cremation, wake, funeral service, flowers, coffin and burial all included in a single package. All the deceased had to provide was a corpse, mourners, and perhaps a preacher to officiate. One can hardly deny the convenience, and it must still be a very real relief to families in far-flung LA. In a larger sense, though, this comprehensiveness of service was more than just a selling point. It also allowed Eaton to control quality, to broadcast seamlessly the particular vision of death and eternity that the design order of Forest Lawn embodied.

Like pre-need sales, the consolidation of services at Forest Lawn is a pre-condition to the site’s historical potential. As soon as basic, necessary services are included in a development, it is possible for that development to occur at a greater distance from the center. In fact, this would serve Forest Lawn well, as the company was able to follow the increasingly diffuse development pattern of Southern California, expanding into a current total of five memorial parks throughout the region. Just as Forest Lawn no longer needs nearby mortuary services, florists etc., the contemporary planned unit development no longer needs established, nearby shopping or other basic services. Greater isolation becomes possible, as does extraordinary flexibility in the selection of a site.

### **Limitation of Private Memorials**

Starting in the 1850’s with Spring Grove Cemetery in Cincinnati, superintendents of the larger American cemeteries had sought to prevent, or at least control, the proliferation of unsightly private monuments on their grounds. They established various forms of design review or at least tried to play some role in the siting of larger monuments and mausolea. As David Charles Sloane

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<sup>8</sup> As Sloane DC (1991) notes, this last point was crucial to making Eaton’s commercialization of the cemetery palatable. He could portray his competitors as scavengers, preying on vulnerable widows and children. It remains a powerful point, and the current Forest Lawn website repeatedly refers to the importance of avoiding “grief-induced overspending.”

reports in *The Last Great Necessity*, these efforts were seldom entirely successful. Nevertheless, the ideal persisted of a cemetery where the greater aesthetic good took precedence over private vanity, and this ideal only grew under the influence of the parks and city beautiful movements of the last decades of the century. Hubert Eaton was in complete agreement with the view that a dense collection of random tombstones was depressing and unsightly, and he took the imposition of design controls to its logical conclusion. He began offering customers incentives to do without tombstones, and the option proved so popular that he soon made it mandatory.<sup>9</sup> At Forest Lawn, graves are marked with small, bronze tablets. Free-standing monuments are only permitted at visually appropriate sites, and these must be marble sculptures chosen from Forest Lawn's own collection.

Much has been made of the immediate practical advantages of Eaton's strategy. The smaller monuments allowed for marginally smaller burial lots and a greater return on investment. By using tablets flush to the ground, mechanical lawnmowers could be used, resulting in a substantial savings on maintenance costs. As noted above, however, Eaton's goals are seldom simply economic. He recognized that aesthetics were important to marketing cemetery property, that, as developer of that property, he couldn't allow the unfortunate choices of current residents to ruin the prospect for potential buyers. Moreover, as with the consolidation of services, Eaton wanted no interruption of Forest Lawn's message, as conveyed by its green, peaceful terraces and inter-denominational, uplifting sculptures.

The consumer's stake in all this is more difficult to understand. The willingness to accept design controls usually implies a concern for protecting property values. A property owner accepts restrictions on his right to dispose of his property in return for protection from his neighbor's right to do something inappropriate that might degrade the value of everyone's property. While stringent design controls tended to appear first in the most exclusive communities, they have become the norm in subdivisions for the middle classes, for whom protecting the equity in the family home is especially important.

Cemetery property, however, is generally not bought with re-sale in mind. One doesn't occupy one's tomb with the goal of keeping it attractive to the next buyer. This means that the purchaser of property at Forest Lawn surrenders, without any specific economic incentive, the desire to mark as emphatically as possible the specific existence of a specific person. The incentive to adopt Eaton's very successful (and much emulated) approach must therefore be less tangible.

As David Charles Sloane notes, the landscape of Forest Lawn, and of most later memorial parks, is not especially rich in features. "Most memorial parks did not contain streams, woodlands, vistas, and other picturesque features, which made most rural and lawn-park cemeteries so aesthetically pleasing."<sup>10</sup> Indeed, as in many suburban developments that feature trees or wood in their names, there is a good deal more lawn than forest at Forest Lawn. There is, instead, a rather uniform vastness, reinforced (at least at the Glendale and Hollywood Hills parks) by ever-present views across the smoggy hills. Sites of intimate scale and places of meditative repose are very few indeed. The lawns of bronze plaques create a recessive, neutral foreground to every view, with no specific object, no proper name to arrest one's attention. The effect of anonymity and distance is rather like that created by the deep front lawns and scrupulously artificial landscaping of later suburban subdivisions. That such a landscape should be desirable suggests an surprising level of agreement with Eaton's contention that obvious physical tributes get in the way of some larger transcendent value, a value in which, having pursued property all their days, the residents of Forest Lawn have earned a share:

Man, especially men of the Aryan race, more especially men of the Western Hemisphere, more especially still, men of the Pacific Slope who have subdued the elements and made

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<sup>9</sup> Rubin B, Carlton D and Rubin A (1979) p. 51.

<sup>10</sup> Sloane DC (1991) p. 181.

the desert to bloom as a rose, has an inherent right to whatever the beauties of nature and the witchery of art can do for the spirit.<sup>11</sup>

What seems to be operating here is a process of group identification, in which the shared landscape symbolizes a shared cultural achievement and a shared agreement with the rationality of planning. Anticipating his own place in this Everyone's Valhalla, the prospective buyer at Forest Lawn feels at one with the powers that be. For once, there will be a place that is not rendered untidy by the contradictory exchanges and improvisations that introduce an element of what Henri Lefebvre would call use value into even the most efficient system of exchange values. Given the right combination of surrounding values, the Forest Lawn consumer could be persuaded to select from a very limited set of off-the-shelf products, transforming the need for individual memorialization into something far more remote.

### **Amplification of Thematic Elements**

Hubert Eaton gave this remarkable heterotopic reversal a curious rationalization through what he called the "memorial impulse." Without going too deeply into this quasi-metaphysical doctrine, it was Eaton's belief that almost anything lasting or valuable in history had been the product of a single impulse toward transcendence, an impulse deeply linked to the basic desire to give some visible care to the dead. That he should say so seems remarkable, since it is that basic desire to care for one's own dead, or to be cared for in death by one's own, that Forest Lawn seeks to control. Instead Eaton argued in favor of a kind of sublimation, in which the larger historical values of Culture and Art must always take precedence.

This sublimation in the name of culture and art, was very typical of a period in which aesthetic unity was a shared passion of modernist radical, bourgeois reformer and academic reactionary alike. And Eaton's version of aesthetic unity -- in which reproductions of great works of art provide visible evidence of the memorial impulse and ennoble the resting places of the many -- took something from most of his contemporaries. Eaton shared the reformers' faith in the salubrious effects of natural and artistic beauty and the reactionaries' unshakeable faith in traditional academic norms. At the same time, he was blind to modernism, while exhibiting an almost absurdist lack of concern for the authenticity of the object, as when he piously commissioned a "reproduction" of Leonardo's *Last Supper* in stained glass and billed it as a means of preserving the fading original. His resolutely conservative tastes and unflinching instinct for kitsch have made Forest Lawn an easy target for orthodox modernists and other intellectuals, most notably Evelyn Waugh, but this doesn't tell us much about the thematic function performed at Forest Lawn by objects of art and culture.

At the Glendale Forest Lawn, one can view, among other things, reproductions of all the sculptures of Michelangelo, Raphael's *Madonna del Prato* rendered in mosaic, the aforementioned *Last Supper*, Daniel Chester French's *Republic*, and "the world's largest oil painting," the *Crucifixion* by Jan Styka, which Pope John Paul II has called (in a statement that can't really be disputed) "a true work of art"<sup>12</sup> In addition, there are significant works of late 19<sup>th</sup>-century academic art, and a large number of commissioned works, especially on patriotic or national themes. One could attempt to read this collection ideologically, but Eaton's "memorial impulse" was a commercial rather than a theoretical conception, one which he used to explain the other components of his business plan. Since it is a packaging or legitimating device, it turns out that what it does is far more important than what it means.

Eaton's theology, which applies equally to strictly religious and generally aesthetic issues, admits of nothing controversial, stressful or surprising. One of the important reasons for the tight design controls at Forest Lawn was to maintain this message. As such, the accumulation of thematic objects speaks less to the particular qualities of any particular object than to the general assurance that culture and beauty are present. They serve to define Forest Lawn as an

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<sup>11</sup> Rubin B, Carlton D and Rubin A (1979) p. 62.

<sup>12</sup> [www.forestlawn.com](http://www.forestlawn.com)

autonomous realm where signification is at work. This brings to mind Roland Barthes' characterization of "bourgeois writing" in his *Writing Degree Zero*. In Barthes' interpretation, the narrative prose of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century novel served less as a delivery system for bourgeois values than as a kind of guarantee of order and normality, the horizon within which a particular reality could seem universal.

The false is equal to the true, not through any agnosticism or poetic duplicity, but because the true is supposed to contain a germ of the universal, or to put it differently, an essence capable of fecundating by mere reproduction.<sup>13</sup>

At Forest Lawn, this self-containment happens through the programmatic presentation of the works of art that set the seal of the universal on the park. The key elements, like the stained-glass *Last Supper* are shown in *son et lumiere* shows that explain the religious subjects they depict, the greatness of the artists who created them and the effort to which Forest Lawn has gone to acquire them. In this regard, the "degree zero" example of art at Forest Lawn is a sculpture group called *The Mystery of Life*. Unlike most of the major works in the Glendale memorial park, this life-size marble group is an original, made by Italian masters at Eaton's request. The piece depicts a group of people of various ages, some young lovers, some seekers of wisdom, some old and resigned. They are gathered around a small stream, presumably life itself.

The presentation of this work is really quite unusual. Not only is the title written on the base of the piece, but it is accompanied by no fewer than three stone tablets giving interpretations of it. On the wall to the right is a text under the heading "Forest Lawn Interpretations" which has been "approved by the Royal Supt. Of Fine Arts of Italy." Thus highly authorized, the text tells us of the artist's and patron's intentions. The statue was made because Forest Lawn has solved the mystery of life. The tablet then tells us how to read the work – by asking ourselves what thoughts "rage in the minds of the various figures." It concludes, though, by warning that each of us will have his own answer. Turning to the pavement in front of the sculpture, we find another interpretation, not official, just "one person's," which is willing to tread where the royal superintendent would not. It consists of an iconography, a numbered outline diagram which identifies each of the figures, and once again proclaims that Forest Lawn has found the mystery of life. To the left of the group is a final tablet, again labeled "Forest Lawn Interpretations," but this time signed by "The Builder" The interpretation he "likes best" is Victor Herbert's great sentimental ballad "Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life."

There is something very curious here. Why all the explanations? Why the strange play between expert and naïve authorities, or between the clichés of high culture and the wisdom of mass culture? They play with the discourses through which such an allegory normally is made readable and accountable. They incite a desire for an interpretation, but then refer that desire back to the reader. Each of these texts has a different kind of authority and uses a different interpretive technique. Yet they all end up at the same utterly banal conclusion. Captions, labels and descriptive diagrams are used consistently in this matter throughout the parks. At Forest Lawn one is invited to reside eternally in the presence of history, art and genius as such. To enter into transcendence by means of iconic representational monuments which make connotation their primary concern and in which denotation is, in a sense, always pre-empted by annotation.

This containment is not simply an obfuscation. Rather it is the pre-condition of certain practices and constitutions of the subject. The amplification of names and themes gives a kind of coherence to the organized amnesia that occurs within a heterotopic site like Forest Lawn. The practice of caring for the dead can then be re-deployed in a kind of denial of both the real life of Los Angeles and (as Waugh and others have noted) the grim reality of death itself.

### **Provisional Conclusion**

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<sup>13</sup> Barthes R (1953) *Writing Degree Zero*. New York: Hill and Wang p. 33.

The historical potential of this for urban planning is necessarily ambivalent, and it must always be given a double interpretation. As in the self-contained suburban unit of our day, there is an undoubted loss of the connections and experiences that would be part of caring for the dead in an urban context. There is little opportunity at Forest Lawn for the improvisations and surprises, for the political intrusions, that a theorist like Lefebvre would see as the revolutionary potential of urbanism.

At the same time, one must recognize that in Forest Lawn – as in the suburbs – people do get their lives accomplished. The work of caring for the dead goes on, and the self-contained vacuity of the place has been useful to several generations of Angelenos. Now serving one of the world's most diverse cities, Forest Lawn has proved amenable to, or at least adequate for, a remarkable variety of people. One can find inscriptions in Arabic, Farsi, Chinese and many other languages on the plaques and sculptures, though admittedly the figures in the sculptures still look very European.

There is also a lively tradition of temporary memorials at Forest Lawn. These homemade offerings, some of them quite elaborate, are usually placed on holidays, and the relentless Forest Lawn management lets them stay in place for a few days before removing them. This violation of the design controls is a revealing negotiation between the particularity of daily life and the self-referential sameness which is Forest Lawn's guarantee of universality. That it is allowed to happen suggests that the experiment of Forest Lawn is ongoing and even productive, in spite of any number of critics' attempts to write the place off. Something very similar might be said about the ongoing dream work of American suburbia.

**Toward a New Generation of Garden Cities:  
Conclusions of the Pre-conference  
-In Tsukuba and in Kobe, Japan (September 2001)-**

**Takahito SAIKI  
Kobe Design University  
8-1-1, Gakuen-nishi-machi, Nishi-ku, Kobe 651-2196, Japan  
t-saiki@kobe-du.ac.jp**

**1. Objective and Background of the International Conference**

The need for improvement in the living environment has been voiced for quite a long time with the growing trend of globalization. However, plans for resolving those problems or concrete results of executed plans have not yet emerged. What we have actually witnessed instead in our important living environments of "inner-city districts," "New Towns," "suburban residential districts," and "rural areas" are worsening cases of "unregulated land use," "an increase of idle lot," and "devastated farmlands" respectively. Furthermore, local problems such as "deterioration of the residential environment," "an aging society," "collapse of regional communities," "loss of employment opportunities," "collapse of historical heritages," "an increase of crimes," and "an increase of diseases" have become more and more serious. There are even some regions where moves towards regeneration or improvement of the environment are nowhere in sight.

In an attempt to tackle the above task, we focused our attention on "the concept of Garden City," which is reputed to have been one of the great inventions of the 20th century and "100 years of Letchworth, the first Garden City," and decided to hold "New Garden City International Conference 2001."

There are quite a few residential districts modeled after Letchworth Garden City in many parts of the world. Takayuki Namae who was section chief of Foreign Affairs Department of the Kobe Municipal Government was the first Japanese to visit Letchworth Garden City and he brought home the concept of Garden City in as early as 1909. This concept had a significant impact on such people as Ichizo Kobayashi, Hajime Seki, and Eiichi Shibusawa. Denenchofu of Tokyo, Ominoda Garden City of Sakai City, and the residential districts in the garden suburbs of Hanshin area evolved out of the concept of Garden City. This concept had a significant effect on formation of these fine, suburban residential districts, and it served as the foundation of modern urban planning and New Town planning.

The fact that the Japanese culture was incorporated into the above Garden City planning, however, is not widely known.

Raymond Unwin, one of the urban planners who designed Letchworth Garden City, explained in his "Town Planning in Practice" (Unwin R. (1994) Town Planning in Practice, New York, Princeton Architectural Press, p278. Originally published by T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., London, 1909.) that in addition to space creation in settlements which has existed in Britain since the medieval times, the Japanese rural culture of appreciating plum blossoms and cherry blossoms was also incorporated into garden city planning. He specifically wrote: "The Japanese celebrate some of their festivals at the blossoming of the cherry or the plum, and they go out to enjoy the blossoms."

If we plant various types of trees along our streets, local people will be able to enjoy different blossoms and different colors throughout the year while going to and from their work.” The tree-lined streets with as many as fifty-six kinds of flowers and blossoms were realized in Letchworth as a result of the above observation. The Japanese influence on Letchworth is partially attributable to the fact that the Japanese culture received much recognition at various exhibitions held in many European countries in the early years of the Meiji Era and that there emerged the boom of Japanism as a result of the above. Ironically, “the Garden City,” the planning of which was modeled after the Japanese culture, has made its way back to Japan.

What is currently required in Japan is not just the planning of suburban residential areas modeled after Western homes and urban planning formats but also the reassessment of Japanese “rural areas,” “home,” and “community.”

## 2. Format of the International Conference



Figure 1. Conference Poster

We treated the concept of Garden City not as the historical heritage from the past but as the material which would enable us to explore the ideal New Garden Cities for present day. What we placed on the table for discussions at the conference were not only the case examples of the U.K. and Europe but also the issues that need to be resolved within the current residential environment in Asia as well as New Urbanism which started in the United States.

The international conference kicked off with the sessions by Japanese and foreign researchers of the Garden City, the representative of Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation, the advocate of American New Urbanism, and the specialists from thirteen countries—including Taiwan, Korea and China—that are aiming to create Garden Cities. In addition to the above, we also obtained reports—from those who have actually implemented measures — on the

examples of how problems related to the living environment in rural areas and urban areas, which have surfaced in many parts of the world, have been resolved. We released these reports extensively to the public, discussed these issues with many people from different fields of expertise, different countries, different generations, and with different ideologies. We have thus been able to develop the ideal concept of Garden City for the 21st century as “the New Garden City Concept” (tentative term) based on those discussions.

The newly developed concept has brought to light the importance of rebuilding identity through flexible interactions with the outside world instead of through easy comparison between Asia and Western Europe. How should we create communities in an environment where various social situations are undergoing changes? In creating communities, it would be necessary to show our respect for nature and history and to create and to construct residential districts and to manage the region in such a way that capitalizes on the diversity of ecosystems unique to the region. Through our efforts at learning



about the past and the present and at trying to create a vision for the future, the image of the ideal Garden City of the 21st century is beginning to emerge.

	Tsukuba Conference	Kobe Conference
1) Theory of Garden City and its Attractiveness and Tasks (Understanding the past and the present)	S.1 Attractiveness and tasks of the Garden City, Letchworth and the New Town, Tsukuba "Theory of the Garden City and New Town, Letchworth, Tsukuba"	S.1 Theory of Garden Cities and Re-evaluating Garden Suburbs "Theory of Garden City and suburb housing in Hamstead, Housing in Hanshin area"
2) Present Problems of Rural Area and City (Sharing the problems through existing examples from around the world)	S.2 Cities and Rural areas of the 20th Century "Irvine, Seoul, Suzhou, Shinchou"	S.2 Community Planning "Letchworth, Taiwan District, Kobe Town planning"
3) Rural Areas and Cities of the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century (Outlook of the Future)	S.3 - Defining Rural Areas and Cities of the 21st Century "New Urbanism and Garden City"	S.3 Aiming for the Cohabitation of Rural areas and Cities  S.4 Beyond the Future of Cities and Rural Areas "Prospect of the future for Gardens and Cities of the 21th century"

Table 1. Format of the International Conference  
(Written by Takahito Saiki, September 2001)

### 3. Summary of the Tsukuba Conference



Figure 2. Tsukuba Conference

The first session of the Tsukuba Conference was held in the afternoon of September 10. The theme of the session was the development of the Tsukuba New Town constructed in the rural area endowed with rich tradition and nature and the challenges facing the rural area in the process of transformation. The session started with the opening speech by Mayor of Tsukuba Masakazu Fujisawa. It was followed by the keynote speech by Dr. Mervyn Miller (a member of Letchworth Garden City Heritage and

President of Hampstead Garden Suburb Trust), a leading authority in researches on Garden City. Dr. Miller spoke on Letchworth Garden City, which has the history of one hundred years and on "One hundred years of the thought of Garden City." After that, Mr. Stuart Kenny, Director General of Letchworth Garden City Heritage Foundation, explored the philosophy of and the challenges facing Letchworth Garden City.

The above speeches were followed by the presentation by Professor Hiroshi Dohi, who took part in the New Town planning of Tsukuba, has continued to

live in Tsukuba, and has been conducting the follow-up research of its changes. He spoke on the thirty-eight years of Tsukuba—its history and the challenges it is currently facing. Professor Dohi's speech was followed by the presentation by Mr. Shoichi Akita of Urban Development Corporation, which was mainly responsible for promoting construction of the Tsukuba New Town. He spoke on the current challenges facing the development of Tsukuba. The floor discussion moderated by Takahito Saiki followed the keynote speeches, and the five speakers discussed the attraction of and the challenges for "Letchworth Garden City" and "New Town Tsukuba" from the perspectives of their respective fields of expertise.

At the second session which was held in the morning of September 11, the latest developments in current housing plans in rural areas and cities were introduced. To kick off the session, Mr. Izumita (master landscape architect from Irvine) gave the presentation on the planned cases of Irvine, which is referred to as the modern settlement of the United States. It was followed by the reports from Asian countries. Professor Yong Hwan Park from Korea gave the presentation on the processes of and the challenges for new town development of Korea in recent years. Professor Shyh Meng Huang from Taiwan spoke on Chungshing New Village, and Mr. Kuang Shi from China gave the presentation on the living area of the Suzhou Industrial Park to be constructed adjacent to the Suzhou province.

Following the above, Professor Shun-ichi Watanabe moderated the discussion on the problems faced by cities and rural areas in the 20th century, using the comparison between the movements in Asia and those in the U.S. The four speakers participated in the discussion.

The emphasis of the third session held in the afternoon was the merits and demerits of garden cities and new towns, using the case examples of garden cities in the world. Professor Stephen Ward gave the keynote speech titled "The Howard Legacy," which focuses on the new social framework for people with new sets of values. It was followed by the speech by Mr. Matthew Taecker of Calthorpe Associates, who spoke on the tasks for "New Urbanism" which has emerged in the United States in the last decade.

The keynote speeches were followed by the discussion on "Definition of Rural Areas and Cities of the 21st Century," and ten members participated in the discussion moderated by Mr. Kei Minohara. The session concluded with the recapitulation of the Tsukuba Conference by Mr. Maurits van Rooijen.

#### **4. Summary of the Kobe Conference**

The Kobe Conference, which started in the morning of September 13, commenced with the opening speech by Professor Shigebumi Suzuki who is one of the organizers and with a memorial ceremony for the victims of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake, the Taiwan Chi-Chi Earthquake, and the terrorist attacks which had just hit the United States.

In the first session, Professor Shun-ichi Watanabe, a leading authority in the research in Garden City, spoke on the background of the introduction of the concept of Garden Cities to Japan within the context of the history of construction of residential areas. Professor Watanabe's presentation was followed by the report on "Hampstead Garden Suburb" by Dr. Miller, the speech by Professor Katsuhiko Sakamoto on the Garden Suburb in "the Hanshin Area," and the report on "Garden Housing in Korea" by Professor

Hyonhee Lee.

Following the above reports, the discussion on “Theory of Garden Cities and Reevaluation of and the Challenges for Garden Suburbs” was held and Associate Professor Shuji Funo moderated the discussion.

The second session held in the afternoon started with the address by Mayor of Kobe Kazutoshi Sasayama, followed by the keynote speech by Mr. Kenny on “Giving Back Profits of the Foundation to the Community,” which is one of the basic principles of Garden City management. After that, Mr. Chih-Chuan Chiang gave the presentation on the town planning schemes of Asia, and Professor Chusaku Yasuda gave the presentation on the town planning scheme of Kobe, Japan. Mr. Izumita also spoke on community planning.

Following the keynote speeches, Professor Shigeru Sato moderated the discussion on “Community Planning,” which was joined by the five speakers.

In the third session which was held in the morning of the following day, the keynote speech was given by Professor Teitaro Kitamura, a leading expert in rural planning in Japan. It was followed by the report by Dr. Maurits van Rooijen on the social role of green belts, which are considered to be the invention of garden cities. After that, Mr. Song-Hyun Choi gave the report on the ideal Asian rural area and the notion about it. It was followed by the discussion on “Aiming for the Cohabitation of Rural Areas and Cities,” which was moderated by Takahito Saiki and which was joined by six speakers.

In the fourth session—the final session, Professor Ward and Mr. Taecker gave the keynote speeches, and they were followed by the wrap-up discussion on “the Outlook for Rural Areas and Cities of the 21st Century,” which was moderated by Professor Kunihiro Narumi of Osaka University and which was joined by nine presenters including the moderators of the sessions at both the Tsukuba Conference and the Kobe Conference.

## **5. New Garden City Concept 2001 (Tentative term)**

The discussions at the Tsukuba and Kobe Conferences were compiled into the summary report of “the Tsukuba Conference” by Dr. Maurits van Rooijen and the summary report of both conferences by Dr. Robert Freestone.

We condensed the results of the conferences into eighteen items and put together “the New Garden City Concept 2001” (tentative term) which is comprised of three phases in creation of “New Community” and “New Design.” (See Table 2) The following is the content of “the New Garden City Concept 2001”:

### **1) Phase of Nature and Region**

We must capitalize on the natural ecosystem and abundant greenery of the region, and we must also take the comprehensive approach incorporating historical experiences of the region.

### **2) Phase of Human Settlement and Its Management**

We must program sustainable growth and development of the region, and that will be made possible through coordination between newly planned, proper-sized communities and the existing, surrounding communities. Specifically, we need to ensure land utilization and road pattern which do reverence to land. In addition to that, we must secure preferential

reservation of bounteous scenery and green space to be shared in the community. Furthermore, there is a need to establish (1) the system for assessing shared interests of settlements and communities rather than interests of individuals, and (2) the techniques for administering and managing shared property.

3) Phase of People & Society and Families & Homes

Regional communities must establish new forms of cooperation with developers, administration, and NPO's. During that process, the image of the targeted regional community must be shared and the rules for communal living unique to the regional community must be made. In order to realize the above, it would be necessary to discover human resources and to educate future generations.

For families, the environment richly endowed with nature and healthy life must be guaranteed, and the prerequisites for realizing the above would be compact houses of proper size in the compounds with gardens and greenery. This kind of residential area can only be made possible through creation of safe community and securement of stable economic incomes of families.

In an effort to realize the above, the images of families of various sizes and various lifestyles need to be created, and the planning of various living spaces sought by those families must begin.

There are not many new items in the concept. It is rather a reaffirmation of the homework carried over from one century ago, when the concept of Garden City was conceived by such people as Howard—the homework which has remained unresolved by modern society.

Community Design	Home	Town	Region
Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Diverse household types</li> <li>Adaptable housing.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Fostering future generations by maximizing human potentials</li> <li>Devising community-centered governance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Targeting community in regional image</li> <li>New forms of cooperation with regional communities</li> </ul>
Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Large compounds with gardens/yards and greenery</li> <li>Green settings richly endowed with nature and biodiversity</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Land utilization and road patterns respecting the land</li> <li>Reservation of common green space and scenic resources</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Capitalizing on the natural ecosystem and greenery of the region</li> <li>Comprehensive approaches incorporating culture and heritage</li> </ul>
Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Safe localities</li> <li>Securing stable economic futures</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Respecting shared interests</li> <li>Conserving and managing shared property</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Programming sustainable growth and development</li> <li>Exploring the proper size of the community as well as cooperation with surrounding communities.</li> </ul>

Table 2. New Design and Community Concepts  
(Written by Tahahito Saiki and Robert Freestone, May 2002)

## **6. Preparations to be Made for the Letchworth Conference (July 10 – 15, 2002)**

The times have changed dramatically after the conferences that took place from September 10 through 15, 2001. Numerous incidents occurring after the conferences strangely overlap with the issues that we initially hoped to resolve.

We need to accomplish the following while capitalizing on the characteristics of the area:

- (1) To create a sustainable residential environment in which the profits generated through land utilization can be given back to the regional community.
- (2) To create a wholesome community and to ensure healthy regional management for the sake of designing the residential environment.
- (3) To achieve our goal of creating the new Garden City concept for the 22nd century.

We have learned from Letchworth and have confirmed that in order to achieve the above, we must ensure the following:

- (4) To implement small, concrete themes and to disclose the accomplishments step by step.

What we accomplished at the international conference will be taken over by the 10th International Planning History Conference of the International Planning History Society (IPHS) to be held in Letchworth from July 10, 2002, and continued discussions are scheduled to take place during two sessions—"the Garden City of the Present Day" and "the New Garden City of the Future." The outcome of the conference will be released to the world.

# A study on Rationality of Street Network Patterns in English Historic Towns by Network Construction Model

Takashi TANIMURA\* and Masao FURUYAMA\*\*

*Kyoto institute of technology Matugasaki Sakyou-ku, Kyoto Japan 606-8585*

This study aims to clarify the property of English historic towns that have the complicated street networks. It does so by expressing numerically what degree we can reconstruct the random networks by using some rational network patterns. The study clearly shows the distinction between each street networks by considering the reproduction ratio as an index of rationality including in the random networks. The study also seeks to improve reconstructing methods to gain the higher reproduction rate, because the reconstructing method means the property of the random network if we can gain high reproduction rate. In our study, the cities regarded as the object are Chester, Canterbury, Norwich, Cambridge and Bath in English historic towns. As the network patterns, we select Minimum spanning tree, Exocentric tree, and Minimum circuit out of Network Construction Model that means the network pattern constructed by linking any points so as to fulfill a few regulations. Minimum spanning tree is the network pattern that the total length is the shortest of all. Exocentric tree is the network pattern of which the total length is the shortest of the tree and branch networks composed by linking in order of the distance from any one standard point. Minimum circuit is the network pattern of which the total length is the shortest circuit composed by linking so as to make a circuit of any points. As a basic stage of the experiment for a reproduction, we make the real networks after city figures, and then we form the model networks by linking the plotted points after each program of three network patterns. In the first experiment, for the purpose of showing clearly what degree each real network includes these network patterns, we try to measure the hitting rate by comparing the real networks with the model networks. In the second one, for the purpose of raising the reproduction rate, we try to improve the model networks by combining some kinds of network patterns or some model networks composed by Exocentric tree. As a result of the first experiment, it is clear that Minimum spanning tree is embedded at a rate of about 95% in the street networks of these cities; Chester (88%), Canterbury (91%), Norwich (96%), Cambridge (96%) and Bath (96%). As a result of the second one, by combined model of Exocentric tree, we got the reproduction rates of more than 75%; Chester (75%), Canterbury (81%), Norwich (77%), Cambridge (78%) and Bath (75%).

## 1. Introduction

English historic towns completely fascinate us with their intricately fabricated street network patterns. Walking down the street, their landscapes are changing gradually and we can feel the exquisite textures of the townscape. Such a kind of complicated street patterns as generating the charm of the town has been built up for long time and contained various kinds of historic contingency. The continental capital cities, like Paris, have the radial-circular street patterns, and Asian towns, like Kyoto, have the grid pattern. To the contrary, English historic towns do not have such geometrical clear patterns, therefore we have to categorize them into the other random pattern that is neither grid pattern nor circuit pattern. In that case, are you able to find clear and concise structure embedded in the historic towns?

The aim of this study is to analyze irregular street networks, which are peculiarly built in English historic towns and to find the geometrical grammar, which are generating the complex street pattern. Furthermore, by using the generating grammar, we try to reproduce the complex street pattern experimentally. In other words, we recommend the recipe for making English historic towns and we make it clear that in what proportion can reproductive street patterns include the real network patterns.

## 2. Analysis Method

In order to clarify the composition logic of the complicated road network, as one of analysis methods, we take note of reproducing the network by some simple models rather than decomposing some simple elements. In this paper, actually, we try to reproduce the street network of the five towns chosen out of English historic ones by three models based on the graph theory, and measure the reproduction ratio by comparing the real street network to the model network. Furthermore, it is possible to clarify the property of the network by dealing with improvement of model for a higher reproduction ratio, and regarding the reproduction ratios itself as an importance.

\* Doctorate Course, Graduate School of Kyoto Institute of Technology, M. Eng.

\*\* Prof., Dept. of Architecture and Design, Faculty of Engineering and Design, Kyoto Institute of Technology, Dr. Eng.

## 2.1 The Five Cities

In this paper, the cities regarded as the object are Chester, Canterbury, Norwich, Cambridge and Bath in English historic towns, as a result of taking the social meaning and historical character of English towns into consideration.

To sum up the major characteristics of these cities, Chester is a collage city that has gradually developed from the colonization city of Roman Empire. Canterbury is a typical English medieval city that has left the wall in the circumference as yet. Norwich is a typical English medieval city, but it differs from Canterbury in that Norwich includes many uphill and downhill. Cambridge is selected as typical academic town. Bath is also selected as typical tourist town.

## 2.2 Three Network Patterns in Network Construction Model

In order to make it possible to reproduce the network according to the geometrical grammar, it is proper to make use of Network Construction Model. Because Network Construction Model means a model forming a network as a result of linking points so as to fulfill a few clam.

Furthermore, in this paper, we select Minimum spanning tree, Exocentric tree, and Minimum circuit as desirable models out of Network Construction Model. Minimum spanning tree is the network pattern that the total length is the shortest one of all. Exocentric tree is the network pattern of which the total length is the shortest of the tree and branch networks composed by linking in order of the distance from any one standard point. Minimum circuit is the network pattern of which the total length is the shortest of circuits composed by linking so as to make a circuit of every point. Figure 1 shows each example of networks formed as a result of linked 100 points which are put on the square of  $1 \times 1$  at random by these three models.

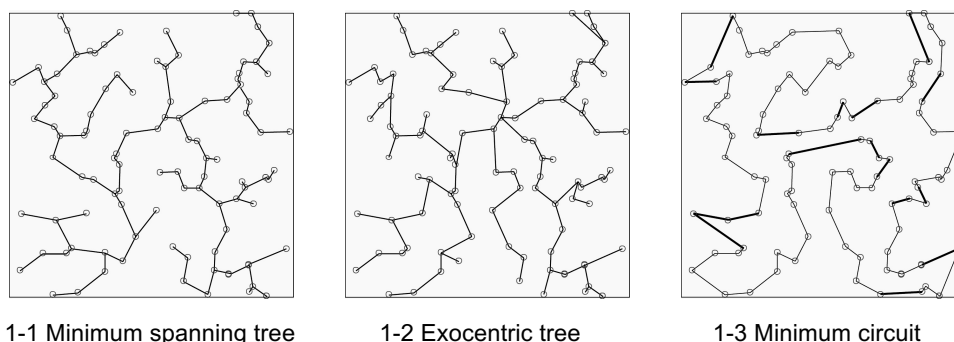


Fig.1. Three network patterns in Network Construction Model

The reason why we selected these three models is that the clam that total length is the shortest includes in their definition. In general, these models has used for obtaining an optimum solution in some studies on traveling salesman problem and economic efficiency problem of laying a network of a railroad and an arterial road. In other words, a network formed by them is appreciated as a rational one for the reason of lean and mean. Therefore, by comparing a real street network to the rational networks reconstructed by these models, it is possible to search in what proportion the real street network contains rationality.

## 2.3 Superposition Model of Some Exocentric Trees

In the case of reproducing real street networks, it is not enough just to use one of these models. Because the number of line segments (=links) in a model network falls short of the one of the real network. The number of line segments in Minimum spanning tree and Exocentric tree is equal to the number of intersecting points minus 1 ( $=N-1$ ). The number of line segments in Minimum circuit is equal to the number of intersecting points ( $=N$ ). Table 1 shows the total number of line segments and the total number of intersecting points in the real street networks of the five cities regarded as the object in this paper. What needs to be noted at Table 1 is the analysis of Numeric

① the hit rate for a reproduction: 2. Three kinds of hit ratio in model and real networks

② the hit rate on the number of segments in the model network:  $|A \cap B|$ : the number of hitting segments

③ the hit rate on the number of segments in the real network:  $|A \cup B - A \cap B|$ : the number of segments impossible

$|B - (A \cap B)|$ : the number of extra segments

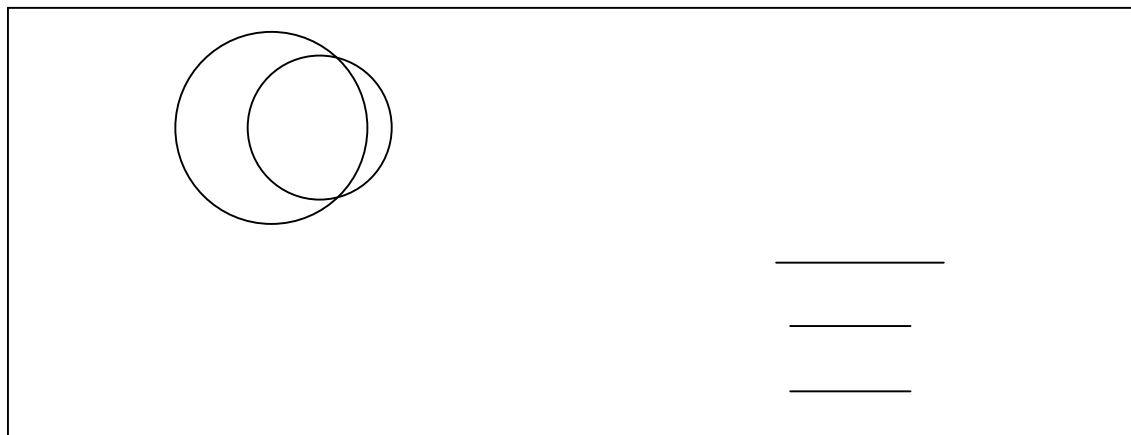
is. The analysis makes it clear that the total number of line segments in a real network is about one and a half times as many as the one in a model network. In short, the number of line segments in a model network is clearly lacking for reproducing the real one. Therefore, in order to reproducing the real network, we must devise the method that increased the number of line segments in model network to around one and a half times its amount.

CITY	Total number of points (N)	Total number of segments (E)	(E/N)
CHESTER	81	108	1.35
CANTERBURY	62	87	1.40
NORWICH	119	176	1.43
CAMBRIDGE	95	136	1.43
BATH	138	205	1.49
Model			1.42 (: Average amount)
Minimum spanning tree, Exocentric tree	N	N - 1	1 - 1/N
Minimum circuit	N	N	1

In this paper, in order to solve it, we try to reproduce by the method that superposes a number of Exocentric trees, because the other models can't provide more than a network for a city. To the contrary, Exocentric trees can provide as many networks as the number of the points picked up in a city. Therefore, it is possible to form a number of networks of Exocentric trees by changing the base point in turns, and to increase gradually the number of segments in a model network without diminishing the rationality.

### 2.4 Three Kinds of the Hit Ratio

In order to show numerically that how much a model network resemble a real network, we measure three kinds of hit ratio that are showed in figure.2. No.1 is the hit ratio for a reproduction, No.2 is the hit ratio on the number of segments in the model network, and No.3 is the hit ratio on the number of segments in the real network. Assuming that "A" is a set of segments in the real network, and "B" is a set of the number of segments in the model network, we can show the number of hitting segments as  $|A \cap B|$ . in the same way, the number of segments impossible is expressed by  $|A - (A \cap B)|$ , and the number of extra segments is appeared as  $|B - (A \cap B)|$ . Therefore, in order to raise the hit ratio of No.1; the reproduction ratio, it is a matter a of the greatest importance to not only increase the number of hitting segments but also decrease the number of extra segments.





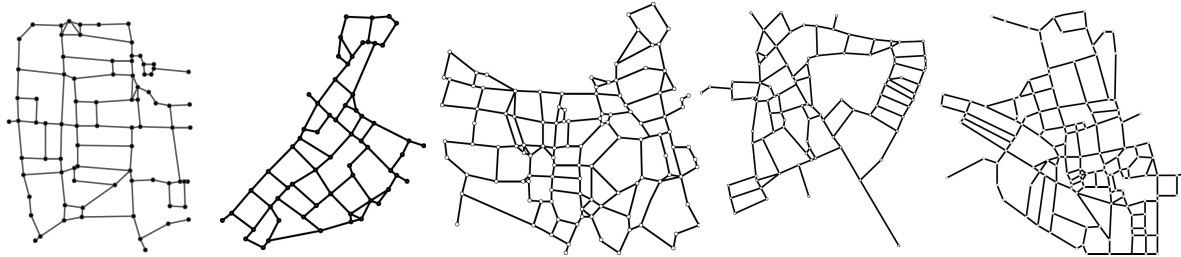
### 3. The Experiment Method for the Reproduction

We used the following procedure in the pre-processing of the experiment for the reproduction.

(1) The points are taken from each city figure. However, it is defined as the rule to set axis of coordinate so that the aresize are  $0 \leq x \leq 400$  and  $0 \leq y \leq 400$ , and to mark one point on the main open space, the crossing of the road, the bridge and the gate.

(2) We make the real networks by linking the points after each city figure. Figure 3 shows each real network of the five cities.

(3) We count the number of the points and segments.



How that, we try to express numerically what degree we can reconstruct the real networks by using some rational network patterns through two kinds of experiments as follows.

(1) In the first experiment, it is the purpose to making it clear that in what proportion real networks include the rational networks. The model network is formed as a result of linking the extracted points after each program of three kinds of models. They are Minimum spanning tree, Exocentric tree, and Minimum circuit. Then, by comparing the real network to each model network, we measure three kinds of the hit ratio.

(2) In the second experiment, the purpose is to make it clear that by what proportion the model network can resemble the real network. The model network is reconstructed by superposing some network patterns that formed by changing the based point after the program of Exocentric tree. However, the following approach must be employed in how to select the based point appropriately and clarify the appropriate turn to superpose them.

1. It runs the program of Exocentric tree so that every point may become the base point. Consequently, model networks are formed as many as the number of the points.
2. We measure each hit ratio by comparing a real network to every model network.
3. We define the model network whose hit ratio is the highest of all as M1.
4. We count the number of the hitting segments ( $=A_n$ ) and the extra segments ( $=B_n$ ) that are newly added in superposing another one on M1.
5. If we find a model network whose value of  $(A_n - B_n)$  is the most, we define it as  $M_a$ . However, if we don't find the only one, we define the one whose value of  $A_n$  is the most as  $M_a$ .
6. We construct the superposition model ( $=P_1$ ) by superposing  $M_a$  on M1. Then, we exchange M1 for  $P_1$ , and make  $P_2$  by repeating the same work of 4. and 5.
7. If the value of  $A_n$  is not equal to 0, we repeat the same work of 6.

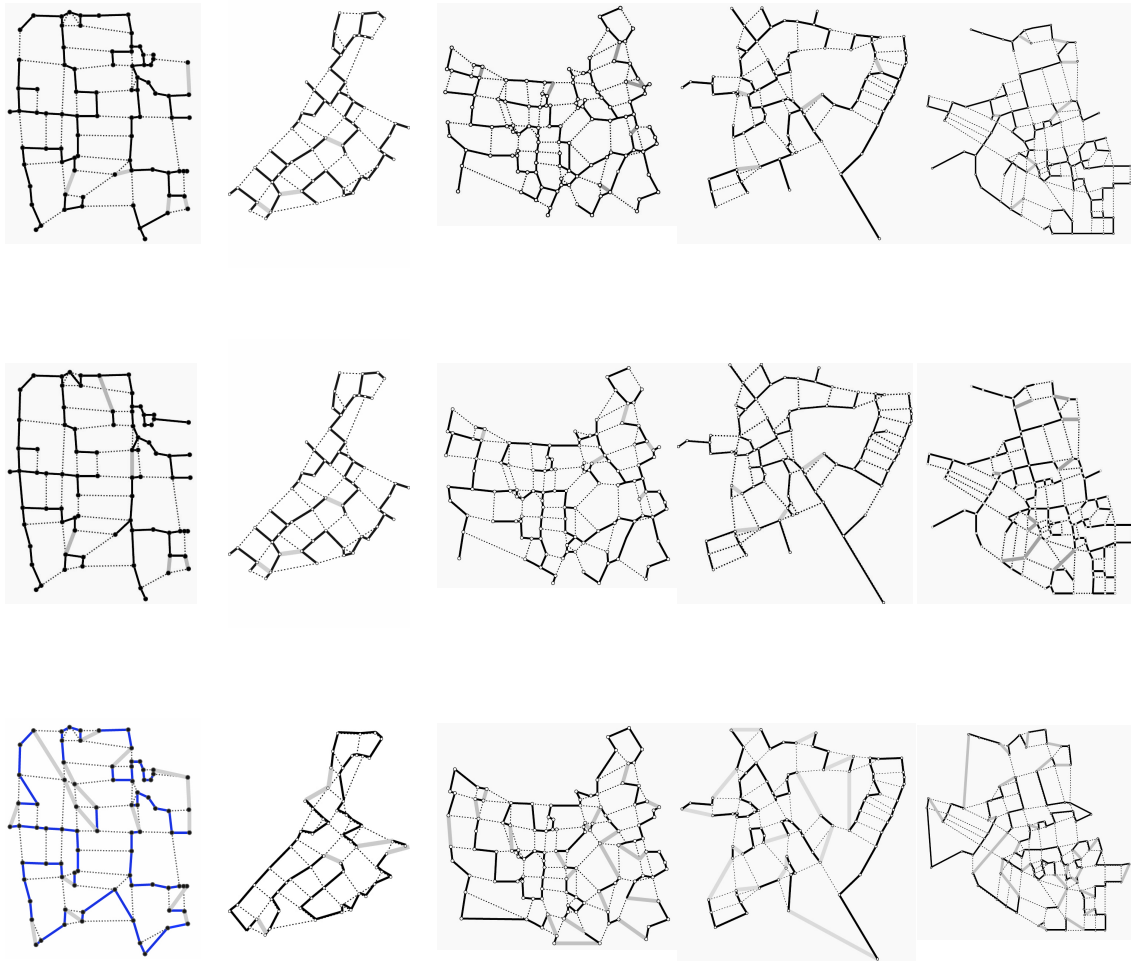
## 4 The Experimental Result

### 4.1 the Result of Experimental for a Reproduction by Three Kinds of Single Model

Figure 4~6 show the congruities and the difference between a real network and a model network, and black lines designate the hitting segments. Gray lines show the extra segments of a model network. And dotted lines are the sign of the segment whose reproduction is impossible in a real network. Table.2 shows each hit ratio measured as a result. However, the column of Exocentric tree shows the result of the one whose hit ratio is the highest.

Fig. 6. The comparison between each real network and Exocentric tree  
 Fig. 5. The comparison between each real network and Minimum spanning tree

CITY	Minimum spanning tree			Exocentric tree			Minimum circuit		
	①	②	③	①	②	③	①	②	③
CHESTER	59.8	88.8	65.7	66.4	93.8	69.4	47.8	66.7	50.0
CANTERBURY	66.4	91.8	64.4	64.4	93.4	65.5	53.7	75.8	54.0
NORWICH	64.3	96.6	64.8	61.2	94.1	63.1	53.0	87.4	59.1
CAMBRIDGE	64.4	96.8	66.9	64.3	95.7	66.2	60.2	93.7	65.4
BATH	63.0	96.3	64.4	59.6	92.7	62.0	50.5	85.5	57.6



#### 4.2 The Result of Experimental for a Reproduction by Superposition Model of Exocentric Tree

In the case of Canterbury, it was impossible for any network models formed by Exocentric tree to reproduce more than 64.44% of the real network. As a result of superposing the selected model networks in good order after Superposition model of Exocentric tree, the reproduction ratio rose to 80.80% in having just superposed the eighth model network. At this moment, 80 segments could be reproduced in 87 segments of the real network. On the other hand, there were 12 extra segments in the model network. Then, in having just superposed the tenth model network, the hit ratio of No.2 rose to maximal 94.25%. But, to the contrary, the hit ratio of No.3 dropped by 84.53% at that time. Likewise, the reproduction ratio also dropped by 80.39%. Such a deterioration of the reproduction ratio is a consequence caused by the cause that an increase of extra segment has exceeded percentage of rise in the number of hitting segments. Figure.8 and 9 shows the above result. In the case of the other cities, everything can be explained by figure.9~12.

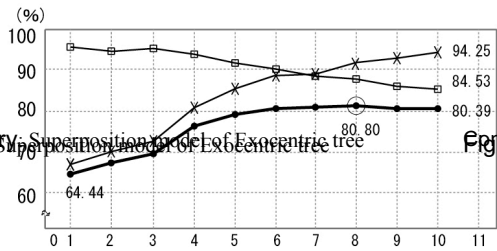


Fig. 9. Canterbury: Superposition model of Exocentric tree

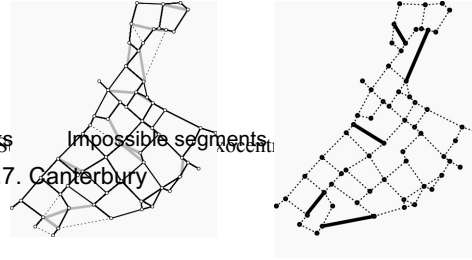


Fig. 7. Canterbury

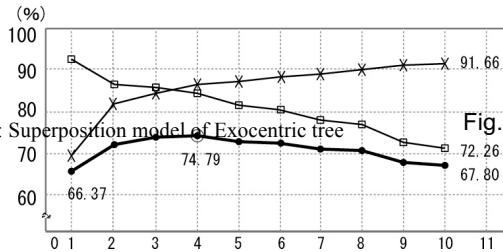


Fig. 11. Norwich: Superposition model of Exocentric tree

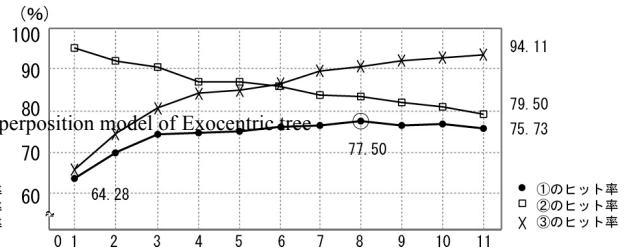


Fig. 12. Bath: Superposition model of Exocentric tree

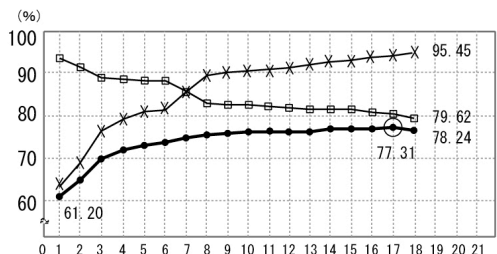


Fig. 11. Norwich: Superposition model of Exocentric tree

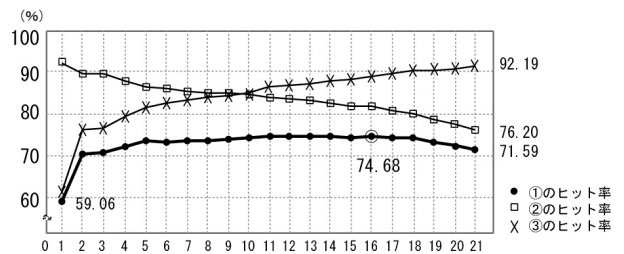


Fig. 12. Bath: Superposition model of Exocentric tree

### 5 Conclusion

As a result of the first experiment, it is clear that Minimum spanning tree is embedded at a very high ratio of about 95% in the street networks of these cities; Chester (88%), Canterbury (91%), Norwich (96%), Cambridge (96%) and Bath (96%). As a result of the second one, by combined model of Exocentric tree, we got the reproduction rates of more than 75%; Chester (75%), Canterbury (81%), Norwich (77%), Cambridge (78%) and Bath (75%). This result shows that the real networks have a geometrical correlation. Therefore, by considering the reproduction ratio as an index of measuring the geometrical correlation, it is possible to clarify the difference among the complicated network.

We would now like to go on to raise the reproduction ratio by analyzing segments that could not reproduce by these models and extra segments that model linked.

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# **A Comparative Study on the Methods of Supplying Community Facilities into Residential Areas Based on Residents' Evaluations**

Takashi Yokota

Associate Professor, Department of Architectural Engineering, Graduate School of Engineering, Osaka University  
2-1 Yamadaoka, Suita, Osaka 565-0871 Japan

## **Abstract**

Many suburban towns including the first large new town, Senri New Town developed about forty years ago, have been developed in Japan. At times we have taken for granted that these new towns have a very comfortable environment for residents to live in. However, it seems that various issues have been arising recently in those towns, such as the aging of the residents and consequently a decrease of retail activities at the neighborhood centers in them. The author has insisted that the development of various facilities in these housing areas will make the area more attractive.

This study brings the location of community facilities, including retail ones, into focus in two new towns in Japan: One is the Onohara District in Mino-city which has no special regulation on facility location and consequently has many facilities naturally developed in the sites; and another is Seishin-Minami New Town in Kobe-city, where some shops can be developed along the main street in addition to planned facilities at the neighborhood centers. I compared the actual conditions of the facilities' developments in the new towns with that of the Senri New Town, which have mainly planned facilities at neighborhood centers.

After investigations on the developments of facilities in the new towns, questionnaire surveys on the evaluation of whole town and facility location were conducted on the residents. The results lead to some new findings in the field of supply planning of facilities in the future.

## **Introduction**

It is most important to consider when and where community facilities should be located in new suburban town projects. It is, however, often recognized that publicly-developed new towns were so well-planned that they ended up being not as attractive as existing towns, in terms of the diversity of available community facilities because land-use zones for houses and community facilities are strictly separated in newly-developed towns by utilizing the law of new residential town development projects. Moreover, the law has prohibited facilities such as shops and clinics from being developed in residential areas in such new towns during a fixed period. On the other hand, commercial establishments can be freely built in some districts developed by a land readjustment project. Therefore, an investigation requires how to create attractive and diverse new towns that offer the inhabitants an opportunity to select several available facilities.

I have already pointed out in previous researches [4,5,6] that a mixed-use in residential areas is needed to help solve the above problems to provide new towns with a convenient and diverse environment. In addition, I had also found that commercial facilities had been developed in residential areas by easing the regulations that prohibit commercial establishments in some new towns.

Needless to say, since residents living in the areas without such facilities seem to evaluate their own surroundings for a nice and quite place, there is a high probability that residents would move if deterioration of living environments occurred from the development of commercial establishments into their areas. However, these areas seem to be inconvenient for the elderly who cannot drive. That is why a method is needed to determine when, where and what kind of facilities should be attracted and developed, which match the surrounding environment.

This report aims to establish basic guidelines on the quantity and the locations of community facilities through a comparative analysis of the new towns and by clarifying the residents' opinions for the planned and unplanned development of commercial establishments.

## **Technical terms**

Technical terms used in this study are as follows:

- 1) Community facilities: educational, medical, cultural and retail facilities supplied for the convenience of inhabitants.
- 2) Center: a district center or neighborhood center in a newly-developed town, or a shopping center in a residential development.

## **Method of survey**

The research flow and the investigation method are shown below:

### *1) Data collection of facilities in the new towns*

First, in order to better understand the actual conditions of facility locations in the surveyed new towns, we made up lists of facilities by extracting the names, addresses and telephone numbers of the facilities from the newest classified telephone directories or telephone yellow pages on the internet website of NTT. Then, we plotted the positions of all kinds of facilities on each map of the new towns.

### *2) Questionnaire survey*

The questionnaire surveys were conducted to research residents' activities on using community facilities and their opinions on the living environment such as mixed-use and commercial establishments in the districts.

In Onohara, one thousand packages that contained five sheets, respectively, for family members over 12 years old were distributed to detached houses and to multi-dwelling houses in November 1998. 592 packages were returned by mail and a total of 1,302 individual sheets were returned. The same kinds of questionnaire surveys were conducted in Seishin-Minami New Town, July 2000.

## **Outline of Surveyed areas**

Three districts including Senri were selected as the surveyed areas by development methods.

### *1) Onohara*

Onohara District is located in Minoo-city near Senri New Town. The distance to the nearest railway station is about 3km along the bus route. This area has been under construction as a suburban residential area for the past fifteen years by land-readjustment development. This district has almost the same area as a neighborhood center in Senri New Town, and has about ten-thousand people total. It has no special regulation on facility locations and consequently has many facilities naturally developed in the sites.

As a result of the investigation on the location of community facilities in the Onohara District, almost all the values of facilities per unit area except for the electric appliance shop, the barbershop and bank are higher than those of other existing districts.

### *2) Seishin-Minami New Town*

Seishin-Minami New Town has been under development by Kobe city in 2002, and is located on a hill in the West part of Kobe city about 15km west of Sannomiya, the center of Kobe city. The total area of the new town is about 330ha and its planned population is about 24,000. Supplying community facilities has been a major plan of Seishin-Minami New Town, which has prepared some open spaces in advance in residential areas where community facilities are to be developed. Its planning has been expected to equip the town convenience by avoiding uniform planning of residential areas in the new town, and by offering a more natural feeling there. Now, some unplanned community facilities are developed in some of the sites.

### *3) Senri New Towns*

Senri New Town, which is one of the most representative publicly-developed large new towns in Japan, was planned in the North part of Osaka city based on C.A.Perry's Neighborhood Unit. All commercial facilities had been located in the district centers and the neighborhood centers, while only a few in the residential areas due to strict regulations. This new town is used only as a comparative project in the study.

### **Evaluation by residents from each number of community facilities in the Onohara District**

From the result of the evaluations by residents from fifteen kinds of facilities, more than 60% of the residents have opinions that the current number of the facilities is enough for them. As there are five convenience stores in the district, residents think the number is too many and some of them are to be eliminated. After a comparative analysis between residents over and under 64 years old, it showed that evaluations for park and convenience store have 10 point definition between them. That is, elderly people hope the number of parks is large and that the number of convenience stores is small.

Residents responded on desirable kinds of facilities during ten kinds of facilities which have not developed in Onohara District. As a result, a library was desired for 60% of whole replies and a cloth shop for 30% of the residents. A branch of city hall, a general public hospital and a public junior high school have not been constructed following the quick increase of the population in the district. The residents also desired those facilities. In addition, over 50% of the elderly desired a day care center for themselves. On the other hands, both a game center and a rental video shop were mostly disliked by the elderly. This seems to be caused by no acquaintance and no need for them.

### **Opinion for mixed-use in the Onohara District**

An analysis on mix-use in a residential area indicated that the opinions of the residents were basically divided into two types; For and against mixed-use. The result shown by aged residents stated that most of the residents over 50 years old were against mixed-use, while those less than 30 years old for it. The results taken by types of their houses indicated that residents living in a multi-dwelling house was 16 point higher than those living in detached houses. This tendency is equivalent to the one derived by the other survey that I had conducted in the past in other new towns developed by land readjustment projects.

The answer, "Only some facilities which residents think to be desirable in the residential area." is the highest while the negative answer, "Almost no facilities" was 13.8%. The positive reply, "Almost every one" was only 12.8% of all the residents, while the 30.0% of young residents under 20 years old replied for that. It is found that the more the residents become advanced in age, the more they come to accept land mixture.

### **Actual distribution of community facilities in New Town of Seishin-Minami**

In the investigation of Seishin-Minami New Town, community facilities were classified into two types: Type 1 that provides goods or services necessary for residents' daily lives, and Type 2 that does not provide this. Community facilities became popular in residential areas at the time of the investigation. Those facilities were developed by using three methods in Seishin-Minami New Town: Planned development, unplanned development and reservation of sites for developing shops through deregulation. In particular, a busy atmosphere resulted from community facilities built on nine to twenty sites in the residential area facing the main street, while unplanned community facilities are limited to schools, special good shops, and type 2 facilities.

When comparing the actual numbers of facilities in Seishin-Minami New Town with those in Senri New Town that were developed by the new residential town project, the numbers of restaurants and commodity retailers per unit area in the district center in Seishin-Minami New Town are smaller than those in Senri New Town, while numbers of commodity retailers and services per unit area in Seishin-Minami New Town are grater than those in the Senri New Town.

Because parts of the center of Seishin-Minami New Town is under construction, the numbers of many types of facilities such as daily goods shops per unit area are not as great as those of the other new towns. On the other hand, the fact that some types of shops such as cleaners and cultural facilities were larger than those of the other two new towns seems to be caused by the reason that the method of reserving sites for shops was effective on the view of increasing the number of facilities.

### **Free answers for the community facilities in the New Town of Seishin-Minami**

The sizable opinions about community facilities and introductory planning of them contain important information about thought of residents. Most of the opinions about the town view and its atmosphere were that the new town was not as diverse as the existing towns because its structure is too planned. Six peoples pointed out deviations in the types of community facilities. For example, two cleaners and four beauty parlors were among the ten sites facing the main street of the residential area. Other opinions were based on the importance of a new way of thinking and also suspicions about the existing method to make the new town. Therefore, a new town plan should be reconsidered.

It is hard to believe that residents would approve community facilities unconditionally because community facilities would cause worries not only with residents who would not approve them but also with ones who would approve them. Then, it is necessary to grasp the merits and demerits that residents feel and also to clarify the demerits in order to plan them. 90.8% of the replies answered that their location has demerits while 82.4% of replies answered that it has merits. The results indicate that residents are anxious for the shops even if they clearly permit mixed-use. 88.3% of residents regarded the shops as facilities that improved the convenience of life, while a few people regarded them as facilities that created vigor and friendship between the towns. As a fault, problems such as increased parking on the street was pointed out in 77.9% of the answers and over 30% of the replies pointed out the noise or bad smell of the shops as demerits. Many people worried about gathering of young men in front of the shops at late night and also an increase of garbage around ones with which people usually imagine as a convenience store.

Residents over 70 years old pointed out the vigor of the town, friendship and crime preventions as their merits. Ages over 40 years old pointed out an opportunity to make friendships with other residents would increase the shop developments. On the other hand, almost all of the younger aged people pointed out the shops' disadvantages. Moreover, it is found that many 20 and 30 years olds worried about security, many 50 years olds worried about view, and many people over 30 years old worried about illegal parking on the streets.

### **Images for the current and future New Town of Seishin-Minami**

The questionnaire had three questions composed by pair wise which concerned the current and future image of the new town; 1) artificial vs. natural, 2) orderly vs. disorderly, 3) municipal oriented vs. residents oriented. The results showed that they evaluated the current town as an artificial one, while the future town was evaluated as a natural town. In particular, it was interesting that people older than 30 years of age had a tendency to like towns that have naturally grown. They have also desired a change in leadership from a municipal office to residents in the developing town. The desire of residents living in the low-rise multi-dwelling houses, detached houses and high-rise multi-dwelling houses were strong based on the decreasing number of replies.

### **Conclusion**

The results of this research are as follows:

#### **a) Actual distribution of community facilities**

The analysis on the distributions of community facilities in Onohara, Seishin-Minami New Town shows that the features of the development of community facilities are different from each other due to land development methods which are the land readjustment method (the unplanned development), the new residential town project (the planned development) and the district planning (the reservation of sites for developing shops through deregulation).

#### **b) Evaluations by residents for each number of community facilities**

The Onohara District relatively offers a large number of facilities. The residents have evaluated the environment of facility developments as suitable for them except convenience-store. Some differences are found according to age for example, a young age prefer many facilities and old ages dislike such a developed environment.

c) Opinions for mixed-use in a residential zone

From the results in the allowance of mix-use in residential areas by residents in terms of age and housing, it was shown that, basically, residents were divided into two types; For and against mixed-use. Most of the residents over 50 years old living in detached houses, who intended to live permanently were against mixed-use, while the residents of 30 years old living in condominiums, who intended to move to other places in the future were for mixed-use in residential areas.

d) Free answers for the location of community facilities

Most of the opinions about the town view and atmosphere were that the new town is not as diverse as the existing towns because its structure is too planned. There were also opinions about the importance of a new way of thinking and also suspicions about the existing methods to make a new town. Therefore, a new town plan should be reconsidered.

e) Relationship between mixed-use and the image of the actual and future new town

It is interesting that people older than 30 years of age has a tendency to like towns which have been naturally grown. They have also desired a change in leadership from a municipal office to residents in the developing town. The desires of residents living in low-rise multi-dwelling houses, detached houses and high-rise multi-dwelling houses were strong based on the decreasing number of replies.

### Acknowledgments

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Anglo-Japanese Exchanges in Town Planning  
-The Case of Tama New Town in the 1960s and William A. Robson -

Tatsuya Tsubaki  
Dept of Economics  
Chukyo University (Nagoya, Japan)  
101-2 Yagoto-honmachi, Showa-ku  
Nagoya 466-8666, Japan  
E-mail: [tsubaki@mecl.chukyo-u.ac.jp](mailto:tsubaki@mecl.chukyo-u.ac.jp)

## Abstract

The new towns idea originated in Britain but has since been taken up by governments and planning authorities around the world. The post-war planning in Tokyo provides a case in point. Its planners looked to Britain for a lead in their early effort to relieve problems of population growth and urban congestion in the Tokyo metropolitan region. Patrick Abercrombie's *Greater London Plan* (1945) in particular acted as a major influence. Out of this interest in British planning came Tama New Town, which was begun in the early 1960s and promoted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG). Situated some 20 miles south-west of Tokyo, with a proposed area of 3,000 hectares and a population target of 300,000, it became Japan's largest public development project. Yet initially Tama was to be a largely dormitory town.

William A. Robson, professor of public administration at the London School of Economics between 1947 and 1962 and a lifelong Fabian, was a leading expert on London and metropolitan government. His Japanese students included several from the TMG who went on to executive positions in the administration. The Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, which had a close relation with the TMG, was a longstanding think-tank focused on planning and local government issues. As such, it took great interest in Robson's work, having published a Japanese version of his *Great Cities of the World*. These links led him to act as consultant to the TMG on Tokyo government in the late 1960s, just as the Tama project was getting underway.

This paper examines Robson's involvement in the planning of Tama New Town and suggests how his views may have intersected with the intentions of Japanese planners. On his second visit to the capital in 1969, Robson undertook a review of Tama at the specific request of the new socialist governor of Tokyo. His report took a very critical view, calling it 'a fundamentally misconceived project' and recommending changes in the arrangements and policies surrounding the planning of Tama. The planners in Tokyo were thus confronted with the British idea of new towns in which self-sufficiency was a key factor and had to reflect on the decisions taken to develop Tama as 'a mainly residential town for commuters'. The episode was widely reported in the press at the time and brought into sharp relief the divergent ideas informing the planning of new towns in the two countries.

## **Introduction**

The new towns idea, drawing on the earlier garden city ideal, originated in Britain. It has since been taken up by governments and planning authorities around the world. Japan was no exception. After 1945 its civil servants and town planners avidly followed the pioneering development of British new towns. Patrick Abercrombie's *Greater London Plan* (1945) provided the main model in an early effort to relieve problems of population growth and urban congestion in the Tokyo metropolitan region. Tama New Town, which grew out of this interest in British town planning, was started in the early 1960s by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG), the governing body of the capital city, and the government-sponsored Japan Housing Corporation. Situated some 20 miles south-west of Tokyo, with a proposed area of 3,000 hectares and a population target of 300,000, it became Japan's largest public development project. Yet initially Tama was to be a largely dormitory town.

William A. Robson, professor of public administration at the London School of Economics between 1947 and 1962, may have seemed an unlikely protagonist in the new town movement, but it took his involvement in Japan to publicly question the basic premise of the project. This paper explores this important but somewhat forgotten episode in the early planning of Tama New Town. It will look briefly at the origins of Tama New Town and its early planning, the circumstances which led to William Robson's involvement, and how his views may have intersected with the intentions of the planners in Tokyo. The episode offers an interesting case study in the evolution and adaptation of the new towns idea in Japan.

## **The background and origins: British influences on the post-war planning of Tokyo**

The origins of Tama New Town lay in planners' reactions to the failure of post-1945 planning in the Tokyo metropolitan region. The course of post-war planning in Tokyo showed an underlying influence of the British garden city tradition stretching back to the early part of the century when the idea was first introduced to Japan.<sup>1</sup> Its devotees included Issei Inuma, the doyen of Japanese town planning and a longstanding president of the City Planning Association of Japan.<sup>2</sup> Eiyo Ishikawa, a leading planner of the time who was responsible for the war damage rehabilitation plan for Tokyo (1946), had long championed the idea of planned decentralisation. And when Japanese planners and government officials, as yet small in number, started to travel abroad in the period after 1945 to study latest developments in planning, Britain and her new towns figured prominently on their itinerary. Often they established contacts with the Town and

Country Planning Association (TCPA) through their visits to Letchworth and Welwyn.<sup>3</sup> Journals such as *Shintoshi* [New City] (published by the City Planning Association of Japan) and *Toshimondai* [Urban Problems] (published by the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research) diligently followed planning developments in Britain. The City Planning Institute of Japan was established in 1950 as a professional body representing the planning profession. The inaugural issue of its journal, *Toshikeikaku* [Planning Review], carried notes on the British new towns and Patrick Abercrombie's *Greater London Plan*.<sup>4</sup>

Of all the cities in Japan, Tokyo suffered most from enemy bombing in the Second World War: approximately 100,000 people killed, a further 130,000 injured and 712,000 housing units destroyed. Its population was 3.5 million in 1945, down from the pre-war peak of 7.8 million. Following the British example, restraining urban growth and planned distribution of industrial population became the basic tenet of planning.<sup>5</sup> Thus the war damage rehabilitation plan for Tokyo called for a permanent reduction of population in built-up areas, to be surrounded by a green belt. Actual rebuilding plans included an impressive network of roads and involved extensive land readjustment projects. The bold Tokyo plan, however, fell victim to the government's financial retrenchment policy in the aftermath of the war.

The 1950s saw a strong recovery of the Japanese economy. With Tokyo attracting an increasing proportion of the country's commerce and industry, its population had exceeded the pre-war peak in 1955 and continued to grow rapidly. The limitations of earlier reconstruction planning and the scale of urban growth led to the establishment of the Capital Region Development Commission in 1956 –an official planning machinery for the Tokyo metropolitan region (extending up to 60 miles radius from the city centre, with a population of almost 20 million in 1955) with national government involvement. Again metropolitan planning in London acted as a major influence and the *Greater London Plan* became the commission's main model. The Capital Region Development Plan made in 1958 divided the region into three concentric zones: the inner urban area, the suburban area, largely preserved as green belts extending 6 miles in width, and the peripheral area. The plan envisaged a large-scale programme of industrial satellites based on selected existing towns, to be designated in the peripheral area. Out of the projected population for the capital region of 26,000,000 in 1975, it was proposed that no fewer than 2,700,000 persons would be accommodated in the planned satellite developments.<sup>6</sup>

### **Origins of Tama New Town**

Although some progress was made in designating and developing these satellite towns, the ambitious Capital Region Development Plan failed to cope with the pressures of unprecedented growth. Tokyo's population was growing at an annual rate of 300,000 by the end of the 1950s: an increase described by *Japan Architect* at the time as an 'annual addition of what amounts to the entire population of Providence, Rhode Island, or Newcastle-upon-Tyne'.<sup>7</sup> The projected 1975 population for the whole capital region had been surpassed by 1965. The huge influx of new people aggravated the housing shortage. And lacking effective control over land use, private landowners and several local authorities in the proposed green belt areas defied restrictions, and relentless building activity proceeded in the suburbs. As a result, more than half of the area of 110,000 hectares initially earmarked for green belts had already been lost to housing by 1965, when the green belt concept was eventually abandoned.<sup>8</sup>

In the face of this rapid urbanisation, meeting the housing shortage while avoiding the worst of the urban sprawl increasingly became a priority of official planning policy. The semi-governmental Japan Housing Corporation (set up in 1955, to provide housing for middle-income families living in major urban centres) was actively engaged in planning and developing housing estates in suburban locations around Tokyo. The idea of a new town in the Tama district of Tokyo, part of the ill-fated green belt area, was first mooted by the TMG in 1960. The main aim was to relieve the acute housing shortage in Tokyo. By providing a large-scale planned residential community, it was also hoped to stem the spread of scattered development affecting the area. The project took shape under the New Residential Town Development Act (1963) which empowered public authorities to acquire and develop extensive areas for housing purposes.

Tama New Town on the south-western edge of Tokyo, some 20 miles from the centre, was designated in 1965. It was undertaken by the TMG and two public corporations, namely, the Tokyo Metropolitan Housing Supply Corporation and the Japan Housing Corporation. The master plan, commissioned by the TMG, was drawn up by a special committee of the City Planning Institute of Japan.<sup>9</sup> It provided for an ultimate population of 300,000 on a 3,000-hectare site, measuring 9 miles from east to west and 1.5 to 3.5 miles from north to south, and covering parts of four local authorities. The majority of the new residents would be commuters and their families moving from the overcrowded central areas of Tokyo. The neighbourhood unit was the organising principle. Thus the new town would be divided into 23 neighbourhood units, each with a population of about 12,000 people and its own social and community facilities. Several of these neighbourhoods combined to form a district served by a district centre, containing more facilities and services, while there would be a new town centre

with offices, banks, libraries and department stores. Housing provided would be mostly in the form of low- to medium-rise flats. Two private railway companies would build extensions to the site, linking the new town with central Tokyo.<sup>10</sup> Though provision was made subsequently to attract certain types of employment, Tama was to be a largely dormitory town.

### **William A. Robson and the new town movement**

As a pioneer in the study of public administration in Britain, Robson taught at the London School of Economics almost uninterruptedly from 1926 to 1980, during which time he was the first professor of public administration between 1947 and 1962.<sup>11</sup> His contribution was to show that administrative law and tribunals, far from being a danger to individual liberty, were an effective way of getting public control over government. Robson also co-founded an influential journal, *Political Quarterly*, in 1930 and remained its joint editor until 1975.

He was also a strong believer in local self-government. Influenced by the Webbs and himself a lifelong Fabian Society member, Robson became interested in the study of local government, especially the government and planning of large cities. London was his special concern. In his *Government and Misgovernment of London* (1939), Robson showed how London's growth had exposed the shortcomings of existing local authorities and argued the case for a Greater London government, a single elective authority to provide certain services more effectively for the whole of the London metropolitan region. He later formed the Greater London Group whose influential evidence to the Royal Commission on Government in Greater London (1957-60) led to the creation of the Greater London Council (1963).

Robson's reformist outlook also led him to take a particular interest in town and country planning. For Robson, town planning, which was given a huge boost in the Second World War, was a new problem of government, and he emphasised the need for the proper organisation of planning authorities at various levels.<sup>12</sup> But above all, he saw it as a way of improving people's lives, by providing an attractive setting in which they would live and work. He may have had disagreements with Frederic .J. Osborn of the TCPA over, for instance, the promoting authority of satellite towns and the planning of large cities, but Robson also undertook to write a planning tract during the war in which he endorsed the idea of planned decentralisation and the development of new towns.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, he had high praise for the *Greater London Plan* with its green belt concept and proposal for new towns.<sup>14</sup> Robson was a member of the TCPA ,and after 1945 he served on its council for many years.

## **Robson and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government**

Robson's links with Tokyo were first established in the 1950s. His edited volume on the *Great Cities of the World* (1954) had a considerable impact on Japanese academics studying problems of metropolitan government. One such figure was Masamichi Royama, a respected professor of public administration at Ochanomizu University (a foremost women's state university). He met Robson at the international conference of political science in 1955 and discussed the possibility of including Japanese cities in a future edition.<sup>15</sup> This duly came about in 1957 when the second edition was published, with a chapter on Tokyo and Osaka by Royama.<sup>16</sup> He was also very much instrumental in getting its Japanese translation published the following year.

In both instances, Royama could draw on the able assistance of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research. The institute was founded in 1922 to promote, in particular, the development of municipal government in Tokyo and modeled itself on the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, a similar body in the United States of America. The institute had since become a well-established think-tank focused on planning and local government issues, whose members were familiar with Robson's pre-war work on London government.<sup>17</sup> The institute, as such, had a particularly close relation with the TMG. For its part, the TMG operated an overseas training programme from 1957 enabling a small number of its officers to spend some time at the LSE and study various aspects of local government administration.<sup>18</sup> In addition, an increasing number of them went on short visits to Britain. Robson naturally became a main recipient of these officials sent over by the TMG, assisting in any way he could by giving them academic guidance or providing them with introductions. A number of them went on to assume executive positions in the TMG.<sup>19</sup>

Through these links came Robson's two visits to Tokyo in the 1960s, just as the Tama New Town project was getting off the ground.<sup>20</sup> The first of these visits, sponsored by the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research and the TMG, took place in the spring of 1967 over a period of six weeks (16 April-29 May). For those who had studied with Robson or had personal contact with him, the invitation was a way of showing gratitude for the help they received. Moreover, it afforded an occasion for the hosts to obtain his expert observations on Tokyo government. Robson himself was most eager to accept the invitation and to study at first hand the city that had rapidly become a major metropolis with all the attendant problems of congestion, housing shortage and urban sprawl. He would thus act as consultant to the TMG.<sup>21</sup> The visit also coincided with the election in 1967 of a new left-wing governor of Tokyo. Ryokichi Minobe was

an outspoken critic of the government policy that prioritised industrial growth at the expense of social development. Himself a professor of economics, Minobe warmed to Robson and his reformist views, and they at once established a close rapport.<sup>22</sup>

The outcome was his first report to the TMG on its organisation, planning and administration.<sup>23</sup> It concluded that the structure of TMG had become obsolete. Robson proposed the formation of a joint council with representatives from the TMG and other prefectures making up the capital region, to coordinate policies on housing, public transport and roads. Specific remedies included a system of development charge to curb land prices and to provide funds for the public acquisition of land, the reform and rationalisation of lower-tier authorities, and the creation of a public corporation to take over the capital's transport operations. He also felt that not enough was being done in terms of popular housing provision and was also critical of the barrack-like feature of much that had been provided. Though none of the points made by Robson in the report were entirely new, it was the incisive analysis and the boldness of tone that impressed the Japanese commentators.<sup>24</sup> Newspapers carried summaries on their front pages, widely establishing Robson's reputation in Japan as a leading expert on metropolitan government.<sup>25</sup>

### **Robson on Tama New Town**

The general acclamation surrounding Robson's first report led to his second visit to Tokyo in 1969. It came about as a result of an invitation from the International Christian University in Tokyo to spend a term at their graduate school as visiting professor.<sup>26</sup> It also provided a welcome opportunity for the TMG, in conjunction with the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research, to request further research from Robson on Tokyo. Minobe lost no time in inviting Robson to review some of the pressing problems affecting his administration, among others the question of Tama New Town. The Tama project was a huge commitment for the TMG and its officials were particularly anxious to find out how it was perceived by a British expert.<sup>27</sup> During his three months' visit (8 January-30 March), Robson spent the time allocated for research in obtaining information from and discussing problems with the officials of TMG and other public authorities, on visits to various parts of the metropolis including the new town site, and in conference with Japanese scholars.<sup>28</sup> Upon his return, he produced his second report to the TMG.<sup>29</sup>

Robson devoted the first chapter, the largest section in the report, to new towns and the examination of Tama. Robson starts with a review of the new town movement in Britain culminating above all in the building of London new towns outside the green belt by



development corporations, with a large measure of employment and forming an integral part of the policy of decentralisation. In Japan by comparison, he noted, there was 'a tendency to regard suburban residential communities or large-scale housing estates as new towns'<sup>30</sup>, and was blunt in his verdict:

In my opinion the Tama New Town project is fundamentally misconceived. It should never have been planned as a mainly residential town for commuters.<sup>31</sup>

The Tama project, in Robson's view, was unsatisfactory in several respects. Its location was not far enough from central Tokyo for a proper satellite and was not near enough to achieve short journeys to work. In view of the relatively high price of land in and around the new town site, it was unlikely that much industry would be attracted to Tama. It was also unlikely that the research centres or universities which it was hoped to attract would provide enough local employment. Hence the Tama project would only intensify the commuting problem in Tokyo. Responsibility for the new town was divided between the Japan Housing Corporation, the TMG, the Tokyo Metropolitan Housing Supply Corporation, four local authorities and a consortium to build and manage the town centre. There was further division of authority at the national level between the ministries responsible for particular components of the plan. The involvement of so many bodies was likely to result in lack of coordination and unity, and slow progress. It led to complicated financial arrangements making it extremely difficult to distinguish the distribution of costs among these bodies. Another adverse factor was the division of the new town among four local authorities. It produced differences in social service provision and was detrimental to the development of civic identity among its residents.<sup>32</sup>

Robson's misgivings embraced other Japanese new towns too. Senri New Town in Osaka, developed by the Osaka Prefecture Government and the Japan Housing Corporation, was similar in concept to Tama. It was 'essentially a mammoth housing estate equipped with municipal services and shopping facilities for its residents'. Likewise the Osaka Prefecture Government was planning Senboku New Town on similar lines as 'a large-scale housing estate for commuters'. Robson did see some sense in developing what became Tsukuba Science City, a new town being planned some 40 miles north-west of Tokyo for universities and research institutes relocating from the metropolis.<sup>33</sup>

On the basis of his review of Tama, Robson's main advice to the TMG was a rather chastening one:

In my opinion the whole financial and political responsibility for constructing new towns should be borne by the central government and administrative responsibility be delegated to a development corporation. But if T. M. G. is to participate in the construction of new

towns it should at least have a more significant role which reflects its status as the governing body of the capital city and of the prefecture.<sup>34</sup>

At the same time,

the lessons of Tama New Town should be learnt thoroughly, and nothing of a similar kind should be accepted or supported in the future.<sup>35</sup>

### **Reactions: Japanese idea and approach to new towns**

Robson's forthright views on Tama inevitably attracted attention of the media and were widely reported in the press. *Mainichi Shimbun*, for instance, typically captured the Robsonian tone with its headline which read 'Tama New Town Misconceived. Housing estates storing up double trouble'. On the other hand, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* wondered whether some of his points had much relevance on the future of Tama once it had been planned as a dormitory town.<sup>36</sup> Governor Minobe, who publicly shared Robson's views on the need for greater self-sufficiency, did endeavour to get the TMG to assume the initiative in the planning of Tama.<sup>37</sup>

Robson's review of Tama brought two practical results, one immediate and the other more long-term. Towards the end of 1969, an agreement had been reached between the authorities concerned to set up a Tama New Town development liaison council. The TMG would then take the initiative on the council to coordinate activities in developing the new town.<sup>38</sup> It went some way to meeting Robson's criticism on the lack of unified responsibility. The TMG also took the lead from the early 1970s to develop Tama New Town as part of a cluster of four cities which between them would plan for self-sufficiency with their own shopping, services and industry. Tama in this overall scheme would attract universities and research centres relocating from central Tokyo as well as provide much needed housing in a planned setting.<sup>39</sup>

Despite these developments, the fact remained that Japanese new towns were, on the whole, dormitory towns and were intended and planned as such from the start. What accounts for this outcome? What was divergent about Japanese ideas and approach to town planning?

The publication of Robson's report did not bring about any debate on the nature of Tama New Town by Japanese planners. But it is instructive to return to the course of post-war town planning in Tokyo. Japanese planners looked to Britain for ideas in their effort to relieve problems of population growth and urban congestion. The Capital Region Development Plan modeled on the *Greater London Plan* was their answer. But from the late 1950s an influential line of thinking emanated from planners of the Building Research Institute at the Ministry of Construction. Led by Tadashi Higasa, they argued that, though ideal, neither inner city

redevelopment nor the building of self-contained satellites, both essential components of metropolitan planning in London, had any chance of success in containing the unprecedented growth of cities in post-war Japan. Instead, they actively promoted the idea of a 'new residential town', well connected to the city centre on which it was dependent for jobs and more sophisticated services.<sup>40</sup> The New Residential Town Development Act of 1963, sponsored by the Ministry of Construction, had the explicit aim of facilitating the building of these planned residential communities. The Japan Housing Corporation, along with large metropolitan authorities, proved to be the main instrument for carrying out this policy. So in the case of Tokyo, the line of reasoning was that the *Greater London Plan* with its self-contained new towns was an ideal that could not be sustained in the face of rapid urbanisation. Masao Yamada, director of the bureau of planning at the TMG, who was instrumental in abandoning the green belt concept and giving the go-ahead to Tama New Town, expressed it in its most extreme form. For him, the Capital Region Development Plan was an unmitigated disaster because it tied the hands of planning authorities while unplanned building proceeded in the designated green belt areas:

The green belt proposal in Tokyo is denounced as lacking in an understanding of the potential of growth of the giant city like Tokyo. Even around London where the so-called population pressure is much weaker than in Tokyo, the London conurbation has been growing beyond the green belt ring...

In this sense, it is a tragedy that the planning technique of the Greater London Plan was adopted for the regional plan of Tokyo and its environs...

At any rate, a mere static town planning is quite inefficient and ineffective in dealing with the growing challenges of "exploding city" like Tokyo.<sup>41</sup>

It is still a moot point whether the green belt concept in Japan broke down under the pressure of population growth or because of a lack of legislative support.<sup>42</sup> Asked to comment on the Robson verdict, another senior planning officer of the TMG said:

The choice is, do you leave the families in Tokyo to rot, whilst you build an ideal new town, or do you find them somewhere reasonable to live and solve what you can at the end.<sup>43</sup>

Robson measured Tama New Town against the British idea of new towns as places of work as well as living and was disappointed by what he saw as a huge dormitory town for commuters. But planners in many countries in the post-war period came to the view that 'the British solution of self-contained new towns was, if not unique, certainly extraordinarily difficult to replicate elsewhere'.<sup>44</sup> In Japan, a conscious decision was taken by planners to build planned suburban residential communities in place of self-contained new towns. This idea influenced the planning

of a whole generation of Japanese new towns starting with Senri in Osaka which was begun in 1958.<sup>45</sup> We still need to explore whether there were other models or examples informing the work of Japanese planners in their quest to evolve and adapt a new town suited to Japan.

#### Notes

1. See, for example, Ishida, Y. 1987, *Nihon kindai toshikeikakushi kenkyu* [A Historical Study of Modern Town Planning in Japan], Kashiwa shobo, Tokyo, chs. 8 and 9; Watanabe, Shunichi. 1980, 'Garden city Japanese style: the case of Den-en Toshi Company Ltd., 1918-28', in *Shaping an Urban World*, ed. G. E. Cherry, Mansell, London, pp. 129-143; Koshizawa, A. 1991, *Tokyo no toshikeikaku* [Town Planning in Tokyo], Iwanami shoten, Tokyo, chs. 3, 4 and 5.
2. The City Planning Association of Japan was a semi-governmental body set up in 1946, to undertake research and promote good practice in planning, and counted local authorities and their planning officials among its main membership. Inuma, whose international contacts included F. J. Osborn of the Town and Country Planning Association, was instrumental in hosting the Tokyo Congress of the International Federation for Housing and Planning in 1966. See correspondence between Inuma and Osborn in, Sir Frederic Osborn Archive, Central Library, Welwyn Garden City [henceforward FOA]: B2 Miscellaneous correspondence I-Iz 1943-1978.
3. Takashi Inouye was another leading figure in post-war Japanese town planning, an ardent advocate of the land readjustment method, whose early visits also led to a long association with Osborn and British town planning. See correspondence between Inouye and Osborn in, FOA: B2 Miscellaneous correspondence I-Iz 1943-1978.
4. 'Igirisu no shintoshu kensetsu' [The Construction of New Towns in England] and '1944nen dairondon keikaku' [Greater London Plan 1944], 1952, *Toshikeikaku* [Planning Review], no. 1, pp. 40-42.
5. On the course of post-war planning in Tokyo, see Ishida, *Nihon kindai toshikeikakushi kenkyu*, ch. 11; Ishizuka, H. & Ishida, Y. (eds) 1988, *Tokyo: Urban Growth and Planning 1868-1988*, Centre for Urban Studies, Tokyo Metropolitan University, Tokyo, pp. 24-35, 54-68; Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) 1983, *City Planning of Tokyo*, TMG, Tokyo, passim. For a most detailed and comprehensive account of post-war reconstruction, see chapters dealing with Japan in, Tiratsoo, N., Hasegawa, J., Mason, T. & Matsumura, T. 2002, *Urban Reconstruction in Britain and Japan, 1945-1955: Dreams, Plans and Realities*, University of Luton Press, Luton.

6. Roberts, A. H. 1958, 'Tokyo, 1958', *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, vol. 44, no. 9, pp. 254-258; Myles Wright, H. & Yamamoto, K. 1962, 'Towards a Plan for Tokyo', *Town and Country Planning*, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 144-150.
7. 'Planning in Tokyo' 1959, *Japan Architect*, Oct., p. 6.
8. *Asahi shimbun*, 1 March 1965 and 14 Oct. 1965.
9. The committee included as its leading member, Eika Takayama, professor of city planning at Tokyo University and an influential figure in Japanese post-war planning. At the time, he was also involved in the planning of Kozoji New Town outside Nagoya, Japan's third largest city. Essentially this was another residential satellite, dependent on the central city for jobs and more sophisticated services. See *Kozoji nyu taun kaihatsu kihon keikaku* [Kozoji New Town Master plan], 1961, Nihon jutaku kodan, Tokyo. On Japanese new towns in general, see Watanabe, Seiichi. 1973, *Nyu taun: Ningen toshi o do kizuku* [New Towns: How to Build a Humane City], Nihon keizai shimbunsha, Tokyo.
10. Nihon toshikeikaku gakkai (ed.) 1966, *Tama nyu taun kaihatsu keikaku 1965 – holkokusho* [Tama New Town Master Plan 1965 – Report], Nihon jutaku kodan shutoken takuchi kaihatsu honbu, Tokyo, passim. The report argued that a substantial population base was required to support a wide range of service provision and the new railway facilities. Hence the relatively high density by European standards of 100 persons per hectare. The initial population target was raised to 410,000 in the late 1960s, to provide for a greater number of overspill, but has since been revised downwards to 360,000 owing to changes in economic and social conditions in the 1980s. The population in 1993 was just under 180,000. See also Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) 1995, *Tama nyu taun 30 nen no ayumi* [Tama New Town. 30 years of Progress], Tokyo to tama toshi seibi honbu, Tokyo, 1995. For a full technical study on the evolution of Tama New Town, see Takahashi, K. 1998, *Rengo toshiken no keikakugaku: Nyu taun kaihatsu to koiki renkei* [Planning the Interlinking City Region: New Town Development and Regional Cooperation], Kajima shuppankai, Tokyo.
11. Biographical information on William A. Robson gleaned from 'Obituary', *Times*, 15 May 1980; *Dictionary of National Biography 1971-1980*, 1986, Oxford University Press, Oxford; Hill, C. E. (comp.) 1986, *A Bibliography of the Writings of W. A. Robson*, London School of Economics and Political Science, London.
12. Robson, W. A. 1952, 'Town Planning as a Problem of Government', *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, vol. 38, no. 9, pp. 216-223.
13. See, for example, correspondence between Robson and Osborn in 1938 and 1942 in,

- FOA: B125, W. A. Robson; Robson, W. A. 1941, *The War and the Planning Outlook*, Faber and Faber, London, pp. 10-11.
14. Robson, W. A. 1946, 'The Greater London Plan', in *Planning and Reconstruction 1946*, ed. F. J. Osborn, Todd, London, pp. 152-158. For all his advocacy of new towns in Britain and Japan, however, Robson's heart was in big cities, above all London. In an interview towards the end of his life, he said: 'I love London. I know its history. There are certain things of which as a Londoner I'm very proud of – two things in particular. One is the Barbican development and the other the arts complex on the South Bank – the Festival Hall, National Theatre and National Film Theatre.' See 'Fight central power, says 'father' of public admin', 1979, *Local Government Chronicle*, No. 5847, 11 May, p. 499.
  15. Royama, M. 1956, 'W. A. Robuson no daitoshi mondai no kenkyu ni tsuite' [On W. A. Robson's study of Metropolitan Problems], *Toshimondai* [Urban Problems], vol. 47, no. 2, pp. 101-107
  16. Robson, W. A. (ed.) 1957, *Great Cities of the World: Their Government, Politics and Planning*, Second Edition, George Allen and Unwin, London.
  17. See Tokyo shisei chosakai (ed.) 1982, *Tokyo shisei chosakai 60 nen shi* [Sixty Years of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research], Tokyo shisei chosakai, Tokyo.
  18. Nomura, S. 1980, 'Robuson kyoju to Tokyo to' [Professor Robson and Tokyo], *Toshimondai*, vol. 71, no. 9, pp. 82-83.
  19. For instance, Hitoshi Ihara, who went on the programme to study the London new towns and green belt policy in 1959, became chief of administration section in the planning department in the late 1960s, and was very much in the front line of assisting Robson in his work on Tokyo. Likewise Shinichi Nomura, who studied local government finance under Robson in 1962, went on to become vice-governor in the 1970s. Both men were responsible for writing the original Japanese draft which became Royama's chapter in Robson's *Great Cities of the World*. William A. Robson Papers, Archives Division, London School of Economics, London [henceforward WAR]: 23, Tsuji to Robson, 11 Sept. 1961. Kiyooki Tsuji, professor of public administration at Tokyo University, was another Japanese academic who knew Robson well, having spent some time at the LSE.
  20. On both occasions, Robson was accompanied by his wife, Juliette Alvin, an accomplished cellist and a pioneer of music therapy for children with learning difficulties.
  21. WAR: 334, Tajima to Robson, 20 Sept. 1965; Robson to Tajima, 14 Oct. 1965; Onogi to Robson, 6 Dec. 1966; Robson to Onogi, 21 Dec. 1966. Michiji Tajima and Katsuhiko Onogi were respectively President and Managing Director of the Tokyo Institute for Municipal

Research. It was Tsuji, at the time staying in London, who first suggested the idea of inviting Robson to Tokyo.

22. Minobe served three terms as governor from 1967 to 1979, during which period he was mainly supported by the socialists and the communists on the Tokyo Metropolitan Council. See Mikuriya, T. (ed.) 1994, *Tosei no 50 nen* [50 Years of Tokyo Government], Toshi shuppan, Tokyo, pp. 57-73, 127-136.

Admiration was mutual. Robson writes admirably of Minobe's policy in 'The Other Tokyo', *New Society*, vol. 15, no. 395, 23 Apr. 1970, pp. 682-684. See also Robson's affectionate letter to Minobe on his retirement as governor in, WAR: 313, Robson to Minobe, 10 Apr. 1979.

23. Robson, W. A. 1968, *Report on Tokyo Metropolitan Government*, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Tokyo.
24. See, for example, Tsuji, K. , 'Tosei kochokuka ni kichona teigen' [Invaluable Advice for overcoming the Metropolitan Impasse], *Mainichi Shimbun*, 17 Dec. 1967; Editorial, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 19 Dec. 1967.
25. *Asahi Shimbun*, *Mainichi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 17 Dec. 1967.
26. The offer was supported by a Ford Foundation grant. See WAR: 333, Ichinose to Robson, 22 Nov. 1967; Inomata to Robson, 20 Feb. 1968. Tomoji Ichinose and Koichi Inomata were both members of staff at the Graduate School of Public Administration, International Christian University.
27. See, for example, WAR: 333, Onogi to Robson, 3 Oct. 1968; Robson to Onogi, 17 Oct. 1968; Ihara to Robson, 20 Nov. 1968; Minobe to Robson, 30 Nov. 1968. The arrangement was that Robson would devote half of his working time in Japan on research for the TMG.
28. See, for example, *Asahi Shimbun* (Evening Edition), 31 Jan. 1969; *Asahi Shimbun*, 16 Feb. 1969 and 6 Mar. 1969; *Mainichi Shimbun*, 24 Jan. 1969; *Yomiuri Shimbun* (Tama Edition), 8 Feb. 1969.
29. Robson, W. A. 1969, *Second Report on Tokyo Metropolitan Government*, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Tokyo. In addition to new towns, it also dealt with urban renewal and transport problems.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36, 39-41, 43-45.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 46-50. For these new towns, see, for example, Witherick, M. E. 1972, 'Senri and Senboku two new towns for Osaka', *Town and Country Planning*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 31-35;

- Allen, L. A. 1983, 'Japan tries the new town path', *Town and Country Planning*, vol. 52, no. 11, pp. 309-311.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
36. *Mainichi Shimbun* and *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, 1 Oct. 1969. Also reported in, *Asahi Shimbun*, 25 Sept. 1969; *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 1 Oct. 1969.
37. *Mainichi Shimbun*, 9 Aug. 1969; *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, 4 Oct. 1969; WAR: 333, Ihara to Robson, 14 Oct. 1969; Minobe to Robson, 24 Oct. 1969.
38. *Asahi Shimbun*, 25 Dec. 1969; WAR: Box B6, Ihara to Robson, 29 Jan. 1970.
39. See Nihon chiiki kaihatu senta/Tokyo shuto seibi kyoku (eds) 1972, *Tama renkantoshi kihon keikaku an – gaiyo –* [Tama Cluster City Preliminary Plan: A Summary], Tokyo to shuto seibi kyoku, Tokyo; WAR: 423, General Planning Coordination Bureau, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 'Measures taken by the T. M. G. in response to Professor William A. Robson's "Second Report on Tokyo Metropolitan Government"', 20 Apr. 1973.
40. See Higasa, T. 1958, 'Jutakuchi kaihatu no mondai to shorai no hoko – Tokyo to oyobi sono shuhen chiiki o rei to shite – ' [Problems and Future Trends in Residential Development: With particular reference to Tokyo and its Environs], *Kenchiku Zasshi* [Architectural Review], vol. 73, no. 854, pp. 24-29; Higasa, T., Irisawa, H. & Ishiwara, S. 1960, 'Shin jutaku toshi no keikaku kijun ni kansuru kenkyu' [Planning Standard of New Residential Towns], *Toshikeikaku*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 12-29. Tadashi Higasa later became professor of city planning at Tokyo University in the 1960s.
41. FOA: Box H13, folder entitled 'Tokyo 1966', Yamada, M., 'The Planning for the Tokyo Metropolitan Region', paper given at the 28<sup>th</sup> World Congress of the International Federation of Housing and Planning (Tokyo), 10 May, 1966, pp. 17-18.
42. See Sandai toshiken seisaku keiseishi henshu iinkai (ed.) 2000, *Sandai toshiken seisaku keiseishi: Shogen shutoken kinkiken chubuken* [Planning the Three Major City Regions: Oral Testimony; Tokyo, Kinki and Chubu Metropolitan Regions], Gyosei, Tokyo, pp. 242-287.
43. 'Tama 'nyu taun' no namae o torikesu mukeikaku' [Tama New Town: A Misnomer and Lacking in Plan], 1969, *Shukan Shincho* [Shincho Weekly], no. 42, 18 Oct., p. 37.
44. Ward, S. V. 2002, *Planning the Twentieth-Century City: The Advanced Capitalist World*, John Wiley, Chichester, West Sussex, p. 205.
45. See Katayose, T. 1981, *Jikken toshi: Senri nyu taun wa ikani tsukuraretaka* [Experimental City: How Senri New Town was Built], Shakai shiso sha, Tokyo.



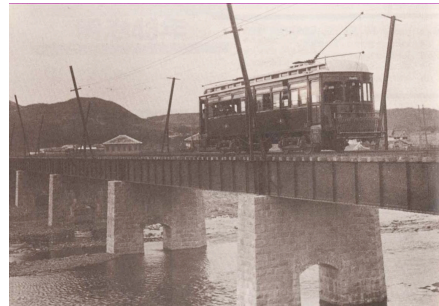
## New Town Development in Japan

Tokuro Nakamura

President of Hankyu Saito Co., Ltd., 1-16-1, Shibata, Kita-ku, Osaka, Japan

### 20<sup>th</sup> Century Japan's First Model Residential Area

Mino-o Arima Electric Railway – the forerunner of today's Hankyu Corp. – was established in Osaka in 1906 by Ichizo Kobayashi in pursuit of his dream of promoting Japan's further modernisation. Industrial development was in full flood at that time, and tremendous changes were being seen in both the economy and society. These changes had begun to impinge on people's private lives. Notably, the citizens of Osaka had seen the image of their city change from "the Venice of Japan" to "the Manchester of Japan," as clouds of industrial smoke blotted out the light. Such was the deterioration in living conditions that records from the time show 11 deaths recorded for every 10 births. It was against this background that in 1910 Mr. Kobayashi, impressed by the Garden City ideals of the Englishman Ebenezer Howard, organised a conglomerate which designed and constructed the Ikeda-Muromachi Housing Development, located about 15 kilometres from central Osaka, as a model residential area, or "bedroom town."



Not content with simple housing development, Mr. Kobayashi set about creating elements that would give residential areas served by the railway lines his company operated more appeal to potential home buyers. To this end, he arranged for the construction of such attractions as a zoo, a hot-spring resort, and the famous Takarazuka all-female musical revue theatre. In this way, Ichizo Kobayashi made great contributions to developing new lifestyles for Japanese citizens in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The shining example of entrepreneurial spirit presented by Mr. Kobayashi became a model for Japan's

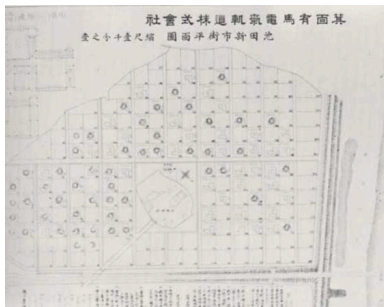
private-sector railway companies, and even today, the Hankyu Group remains committed to the realisation of his ideals.

## **The Ikeda-Muromachi Housing Development –**

### **Past and Present**

#### An Attractive Modern Residential Area

People who moved to the Ikeda-Muromachi Housing Development in 1910 were able to enjoy a pleasant life in modern houses on plots of around 350 square metres, giving plenty of room for planting fruit trees and tending vegetable gardens. There was much socialising among the



residents, with whole families often going on trips to the attractions, provided by Mr. Kobayashi's company, close to stations along the railway line. With a river, parks, and hot-spring spas nearby, the housing development offered residents a very pleasant and healthy living environment. As

a result, the Ikeda Muromachi Housing Development came to include among its residents many members of the new middle classes, such as doctors and employees of newspapers and trading companies, as well as people from the artistic community such as composers and poets. In time, the housing development became known as a shining example of cultured living.

#### Beautiful Natural Environment

Many of the residents of the Ikeda Muromachi Housing Development had previously been used to more urban surroundings. To them, the seasonally changing rural environment of their new



environment. In January, the wind blows off the mountains, providing ideal conditions for the nearby hillsides and riverbanks. From February through March, the greenery heralds the coming of spring, while the slopes of the hills are covered in clover. April is the cherry blossom season, when the hillsides and riverbanks are awash with the pale-pink blossom. In May, rice planting begins, and the croaking of the frogs starts to resound

across the paddy fields. The cicadas on the trees in people's gardens are in full chorus in July and August. In those days, children carrying nets on cicada-hunting exhibitions could often be seen in the country lanes. When the summer festival came round, all the family enjoyed themselves in their *yukata* (lightweight summer kimonos). In autumn, the residents could enjoy hunting for *matsutake* mushrooms and picking chestnuts in the hills, and the nights would be filled with the sound of crickets and other insects. The uniqueness of the Ikeda-Muromachi Housing Development -- one of Japan's first garden city-type residential areas -- manifested itself in these heartwarming aspects of life.

### The Muromachi Club

Mr. Kobayashi had the idea of building a community centre, called the Muromachi Club, in the middle of the housing development. Here, in a two-storey structure, adults played billiards on the ground floor, while upstairs was a large hall suitable for holding a variety of events, such as ladies' get-togethers and sessions of traditional arts. To this day, the Muromachi Club is still used as a meeting venue for the local community, as well as for lessons in such cultural hobbies as the tea ceremony, calligraphy, flower arranging, handicrafts, and English conversation.



### Community Places Growing Importance on Local Government Activities and Education

The Ikeda Muromachi Housing Development shows an original turn of thought not only in the field of leisure activities, but also in the more serious business of daily life and education. When



the development was first built in the midst of the almost empty countryside, there was a spate of robberies. In response, the citizens petitioned the local authority to build a small police station in the development. Another unique idea was the establishment by the Hankyu Electric Railway of a cooperative purchasing association to supply goods to the households and thereby make up for the lack of local shops. In the field of education, in 1922, an employee of a newspaper

set up an “open air kindergarten,” based on theories then common in Europe and America concerning the desirability of keeping children out in the fresh air as much as possible. This proved to be a pioneering enterprise in the history of Japanese kindergarten education, and many residents of the community have passed through it since that time. It is now an official educational institution, the Muromachi Kindergarten.

#### Ikeda Muromachi Housing Development – Where the Old and the New Live Side by Side

As time passes and one generation gives way to the next, the face of the town changes little by little. Many of the original house plots have been split up due to division among the children of deceased owners, while here and there one sees modern houses that have replaced the former old-style residences.

But the feeling of the old town remains in spite of the changes. Old elements such as wooden fences, stone walls, traditional storehouses, and old trees mingle with the



new. The present generation of young people maintain the town’s traditional interest in local government and their enthusiasm for education.

#### **The Hankyu Railway Group**

Since its predecessor started railway operations in 1910, the Hankyu Group has conducted a wide range of business activities that have become an essential part of the daily life of the public in the Osaka region. These activities have encompassed passenger transportation, real estate development, and leisure services.

In the transportation field, the Hankyu Group operates a network of train services with railway lines totaling approximately 244 kilometres, centred on Osaka but extending as far as Kyoto and Kobe. We also operate bus and taxi services.

In real estate, we build housing developments near stations served by our trains, and

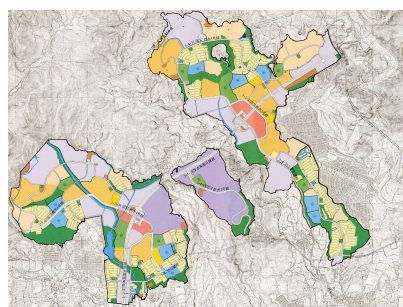
these now cover a total area of 15 square kilometres. We



also own and operate office buildings and other commercial properties in the Osaka area. Particularly notable among these is the Hankyu Sanbangai shopping arcade, which is famous for the river flowing through the basement level, as well as the HEP FIVE building, which houses specialist fashion retailers and features a giant Ferris wheel. In leisure services, the Hankyu Group operates department stores, cinemas, theatres, amusement parks, hotels, and travel agencies. Through cooperation among these various types of leisure-related business, the Hankyu Group caters to the changing tastes of the public, always remaining abreast of trends and making a valuable contribution to society.

### **The “Saito” New Town**

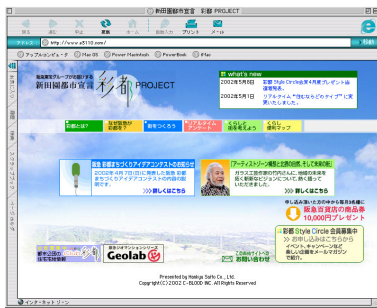
“Saito” (International Culture Park), a new town project jointly promoted by local governments in the Osaka area, private-sector companies, and academic institutions, is scheduled to open in the spring of 2004, and the Hankyu Group is playing an active part in its construction. Located in the hilly region to the north of Osaka, the town is envisaged as an environment that smoothly harmonizes natural surroundings with a wealth of urban amenities; as a multifunctional town appropriate to the needs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The basic concept behind Saito is to serve as a base for research and development activities in the life sciences and as a centre of international academic and cultural exchange. It is hoped that the new town will contribute to Japan’s attempts to meet the rising issues of globalisation, the increasing average age of the population, and the full-scale advent of the information society. Particularly against the background of today’s social conditions, in which people’s lifestyles, and even their values, are undergoing substantial change, it is no use simply constructing residences: we must also create the sort of conditions in which people can live happy, fulfilling lives. In other words, a new town must be able to support a variety of different lifestyles, and should provide an environment that allows residents to easily make friends and acquaintances and to feel part of a community with a human touch. With these aims in mind, the Hankyu Group will offer the



residents of Saito a wide range of life support services that will enable them to live in harmony with the natural environment, foster a true sense of community, and provide them with safety and peace of mind.

These services will start from the moment the residents of the new town move in, but to prepare the way, we have already started a “Saito Project (e3110.com)” website. We hope that, in the future, this website will serve as a valuable input channel for residents’ opinions, which will be reflected in the further development of the town.

In this way, we are pushing ahead with the construction of “Saito,” which will be one of the first new towns of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, employing information technology to incorporate the



desires of home buyers in the design of this new welcoming community environment. Despite the high-tech gloss on this project, we believe that the essence of an enjoyable community for which we are striving remains fundamentally the same as in previous generations. We believe it is

important to learn from the theories of community creation espoused by Ebenezer Howard and practised by the builders of the Ikeda Muromachi Housing Development a century ago, and to approach our task in the same spirit.



# **The Methodologies of Metabolism in the 1960s: Organic City in Japan**

## **Megastructure**

TOMOKO KURODA

Assistant Professor

Department of Human Environmental Sciences

Mukogawa Women's University

Address: 6-46 Ikebirakicho, Nishinomiya, Hyogo 633-8558 JAPAN

Phone: ++81(0)798-47-1212\*

Fax: ++81(0)798-45-3566

E-mail: [tomokokr@mwu.mukogawa-u.ac.jp](mailto:tomokokr@mwu.mukogawa-u.ac.jp)

### **Abstract**

Organic city is an ideal city model presented as the common concept of Metabolism, which was Japanese avant-garde movement in the 1960s, in order to respond flexibly to city needs which were changing swiftly and rapidly. In this thesis, I will divide methodologies, proposed by Metabolists for the purpose of realizing an organic city, into two groups and call each of them megastructure and group form. The Metabolists developed megastructure to realize the order of city space from an architectural to gigantic scale. In megastructure, they dealt with an architecturally composing scale or factor as a subject of their design: those scales or factors included for instance, architecture, city, and sometimes even country. The Metabolists explained the effectuality and possibility of megastructure by using an analogy of the growth and transformation of an individual cell division. I will examine the organism of megastructure by focusing on a living thing, which grows and transforms, and organic relations of a whole and part in the light of function and morphology.

## 1. Introduction

Metabolism was Japanese avant-garde architectural movement and developed as a proposal on a city in the 1960s. Their objective was to solve city issues in Japan: the best example of this is Tokyo, which was in a critical condition because of the expansion of its city population to 10 million without having an organized city planning. Metabolists shared the concept of organic city, and each of them developed his own methodology. Organic city is an ideal city model, featured for its grandness and inclusiveness: a city and architecture, which consists of the city, flexibly respond to the variable and complex city needs by transforming or growing their scales and morphologies. At the same time, metabolists set a goal that by embodying architecture based on the model they would start solving a city issue from the scale of architecture and a city in order and give desirable order to the city which was in the state of confusion and paralysis. Taking into consideration the world circumstance then, when static, modern city planning and master plan were under the criticism of not effectively contributing to the creation of a city in reality, the concept of organic city was flexible and original.<sup>1</sup>

The Metabolists proposed the methodologies of Metabolism in order to realize an organic city. They explored their methodologies by the means of not only discussions among themselves but also participation in CIAM and exchange of their views with TeamX. Nevertheless, even at a scale of architecture, not to mention that of a city, the organic city was hardly embodied.

The ultimate goal of this study is to examine and clarify why organic city was not realized in terms of metabolism by analyzing centering on metabolists' arguments and works. For this reason, my objective of this thesis is to organize the feature of the methodologies of Metabolism, especially in which a method to embody the concept is presented. Although the metabolists also aimed at to share a methodology, it was not realized. Besides, it was only Kisho Kurokawa who wrote about and presented a systematic methodology of Metabolism. Contrary to the inclusive concept of organic city, each of the Metabolists' methodologies has its own direction. Each of the methodologies has a differing interpretation of organism, use of technology and ideological value.

In this thesis, I will divide the methodologies of Metabolism into two groups. One weighed heavily the exploration of spatial order from an architectural scale to gigantic one: Kiyonori Kikutake, Kenzo Tange and Kurokawa presented such methodologies. The other weighed heavily the exploration of an architectural language in which each of the individual architectures has maximum freedom and form a cohesive group: Otaka and Fumihiko Maki did so. Here I will call the former megastructure, and the latter group form. The word "megastructure," has been already used by Maki and Reyner Banham in explaining the concepts of a gigantic structure in the same time of Metabolism.<sup>2</sup> However, in this thesis I do not intend to share their concepts. While the word "group form" was used by Otaka and Maki as a name for their methodologies,<sup>3</sup> and I will share their usage here. In this thesis, I will analyze and examine the organism of the megastructure in the light of both function and morphology.

## 2. The organism of the megastructure

Megastructure aimed at the realization of the order of city space from an architectural to gigantic scale. Megastructure deals with each of the architecturally composing factors/scales such as architecture, city, or sometimes even country as a subject of their design. The advocates of megastructure include Kikutake, Kurokawa, Tange, and Noboru Kawazoe who is the only

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<sup>1</sup> In terms of the feature of organic city, I have reviewed corresponding to city issues at the time. Kuroda, T. (2002). The addressed city issues in Metabolism. in: Transfer Nr. 9. Zürich: Departement Architektur der ETH Zürich.

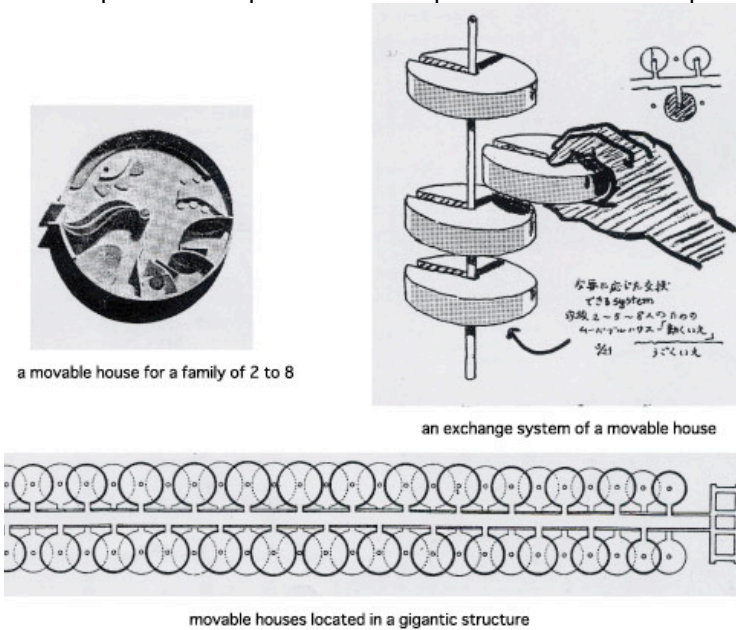
<sup>2</sup> See Maki, F. (1964). Investigation in Collective Form. St Louis: Washinton University. Also Banham, L. (1976). Megastructure: Urban futures of the recent past. London: Thames and Hudson.

<sup>3</sup> See Maki, F. Ibid. [2].



architectural critic. They explain the effectuality and possibility of their methodologies by using an analogy of the growth and transformation of an individual cell division. Therefore, in undertaking verification of organism, I will compare to the analogy.

Prior to the group formation of Metabolism, the Metabolists practiced the analogy of the defined meaning of metabolism, also used to name movement, in proposing a scale of housing or architecture or designing an actual work: They planned an architectural design of rebuilding or facility replacement depending on durability, an architectural element. This idea was seen in Kikutake's proposal of a dwelling unit in his "Ocean City," which was one of the Metabolism's first proposals (Figure 1). A cell is metabolized: in other words, the cell maintains itself by taking nourishment and eliminating waste matter, and thus an old cell of the living thing is replaced by a new one. Likewise, in each of the dwelling units a change is made to suit to a resident's lifecycle and life-stage in terms of storage, partition, kitchen or sanitary facility, etc., and furthermore, dwelling unit itself. For this reason, these facilities and the dwelling units are massively produced as industrial products whose durability is predetermined. These dwelling units like leaves on a branch of a tree are located in a gigantic structure whose durability is much longer than the units. Such idea bore fruit in Capsule Concept in 1969<sup>4</sup> and pavilions in Osaka Expo'70 in 1970.



**Figure 1 A dwelling unit**

However, megastructure considers the analogy of not only individual metabolism but also individual growth and transformation, in which the metabolism is included. This means to answer the following two propositions. The first proposition is directly related to an analogy of a living thing which grows and transforms. That is to say, it is about how to change a scale and morphology of architecture and city in order to respond to a variety of variable city needs. The second analogy is related to the analogy of organic relationship between a whole and part of a living thing. That is to say, the second proposition is about how to realize necessarily functional or morphological relationship between the different scales of city and architecture, country and city, etc. In the natural world, replacement is made by neither a concept nor a number or no formative intention and a perfect answer to maintain, grow and transform a life is realized in a living thing itself. How did Metabolists respond to these two propositions by referring to such

<sup>4</sup> Kawazoe, N. , Kurokawa, K. (N. ) , Maki, F. and three others, Extention of the concept of capsule. in: Space Design. no.52, Mar. , pp. 54-60. Tokyo: Kashimashuppankai. ( Japanese with English abstract).

features of the living thing in terms of cell division? I will examine each of the propositions related to the Metabolists' methodologies and proposals in the light of function and morphology below.

### **3. A living thing, which grows and transforms**

In order to respond to a variety of variable city needs, how we must change the scale and morphology of architecture and a city. This proposition can be replaced by the following propositions: In terms of a functional aspect, how to comprehend the city needs which are complex and intertwined; and in terms of a morphologic one, what is an appropriate morphology, which can respond flexibly to the city needs.

In terms of the functional aspect, the Metabolists took the following two-steps procedure. First, they focus on one of the city issues and solve it step-by-step. In this process, they also solve other city issues, which were related to the focused one, in order.

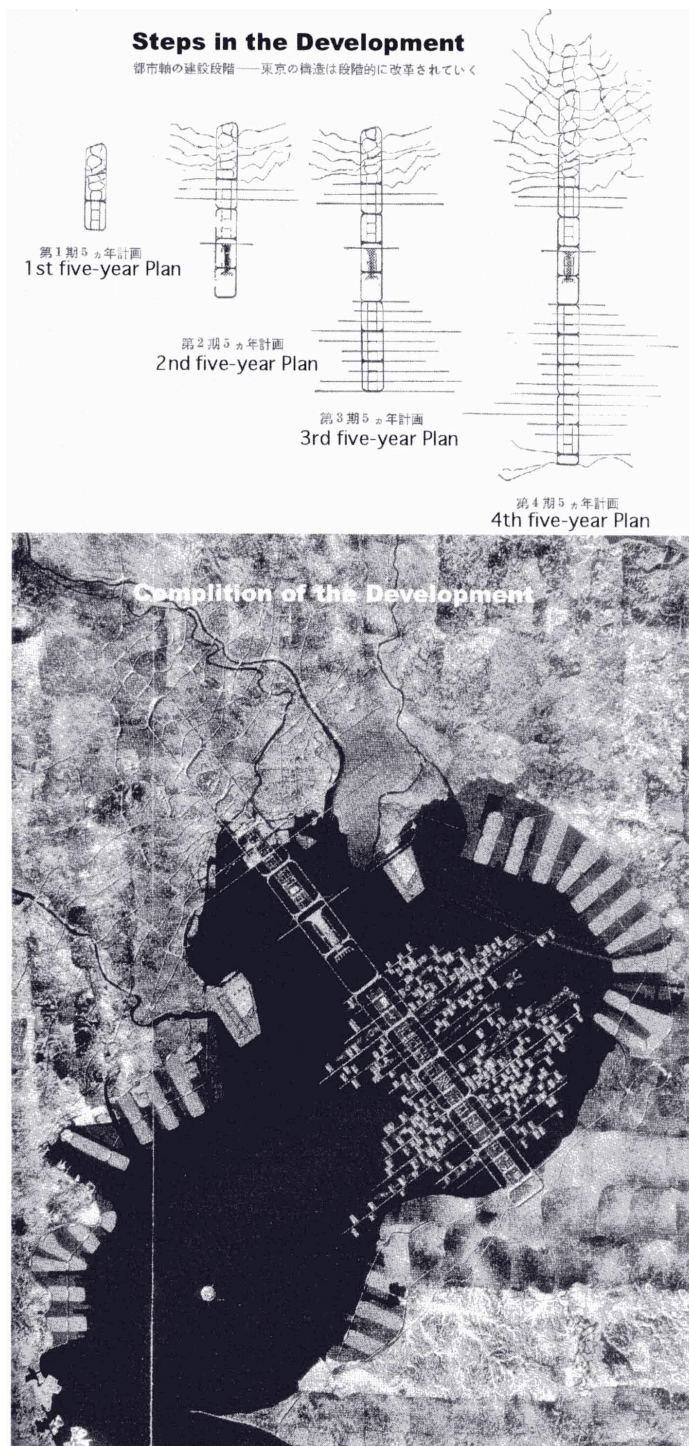
Tange's Tokyo Plan is the most completed and practical plan among megastructure. The first noticeable thing in terms of the functional aspect is his solution to traffic congestion and response to increasing traffic. He predicted that Tokyo, which had a population of 10 million in 1960 and a mobile population of 2.5 million, would have a population of 25 million and a mobile population of from 5-6 million twenty years later.<sup>5</sup> Based on these numbers, a gigantic twenty-year city construction program, which consists of the four sets of five-year projects, was made. Such method is fundamentally similar to master plans of modern city planning prior to Tange.

Tange's response to population increase, which flowed dynamically, is based on his approvable to further concentration of population into Tokyo due to people seeking information. Furthermore, he considers this traffic, which is synergetic information flow, as a human's nervous or blood system. City function related to traffic is equivalent to cell function, which is located in the tip of these systems. The city function has the followings in order: polity, economy and cultural activity as a capital center, and then residence.

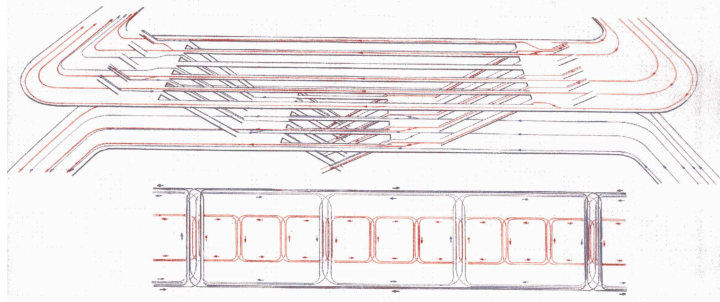
In terms of the morphologic aspect, giving a pattern of spatial formation to each of the city activities and also giving hierarchy in the order of examined city functions, Tange proposed to extend a building step-by-step according to a scale and a need. In his Tokyo Plan, a linear city which has a unique cycle transportation system would be built over the Tokyo Bay in twenty years using the five-year projects as a response to the increase of the mobile population of Tokyo (Figure 2). This three-level cycle transportation system are expressways with ten lines, whose sectional traffic capacity is 0.2 million vehicles per hour (Figure 3), and along the expressways, office buildings, central government offices, stations, recreational facilities, etc. would be constructed. Furthermore, roads stretched in parallel from the right-angled expressways and a residential area was planned along the roads (Figure 4). Since the transportation system is located on the sea, it was possible to expand the system in various directions. Besides, by constructing a man-made island, we could avoid pollution attributable to reclamation and solve a sudden rise of a land price and scarcity of land. Moreover, a closer distance between a work place and home and solution of traffic congestion solve commuting hell.

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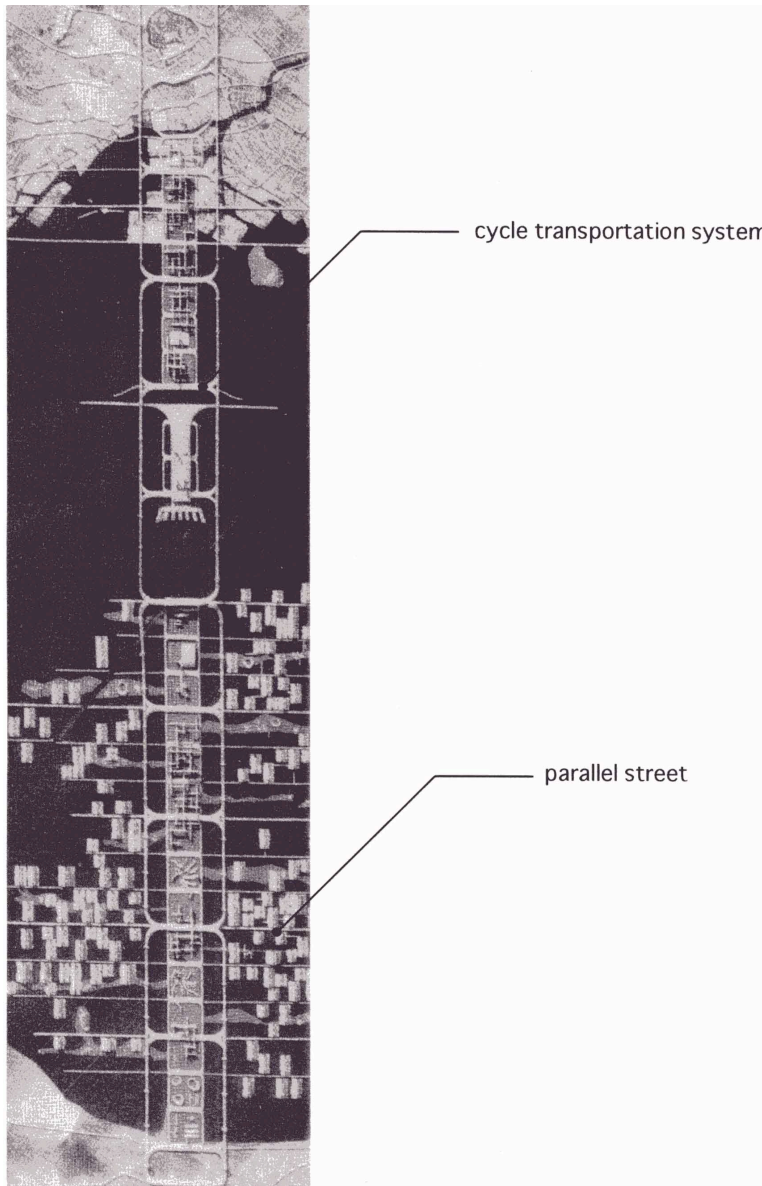
<sup>5</sup> Tange, K. (1961). Tokyokeikaku(A plan for Tokyo: 1960). in: Shinkenchiku, vol. 36, Mar. , p.99. Tokyo: Shinkenchikusha. (Japanese and English).



**Figure 2 Steps in the development of civic axis – structure of Tokyo will be reformed step-by-step**



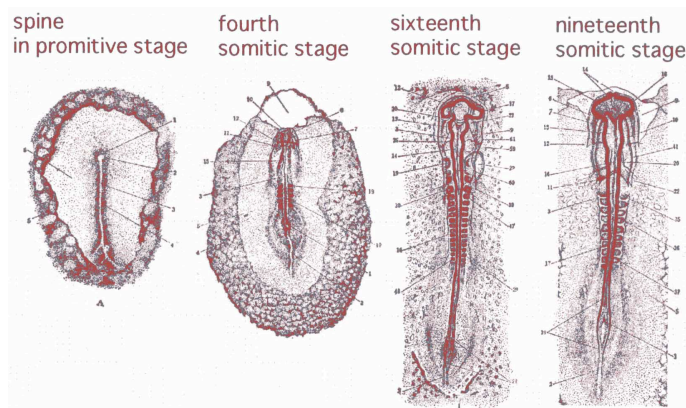
**Figure 3 Cycle transportation system**



**Figure 4 Cycle transportation system and parallel street**

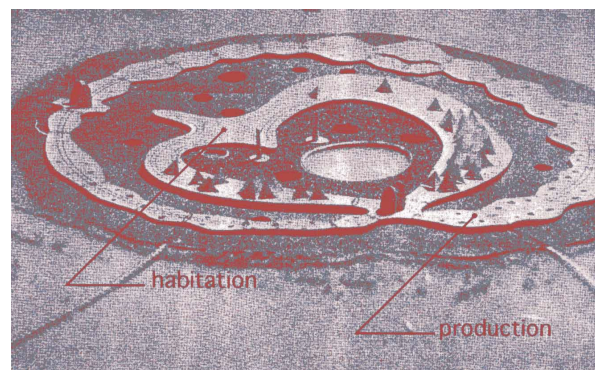


Tange explained the construction process of his linear city by using the analogy of the emergence of spinal and arterial axes and the process of functional differentiation in a vertebrate. His explanation was based on his view that a plan, which was radiant and centripetal since the Middle Ages, had a limitation in Tokyo, whose population was 10 million and where growth of information continued in terms of the high level of functional differentiation similar to an ameba's cell division (Figure 5). Morphology, which grows and transforms, is realized by giving a patterned system of repeated and multiplied spatial composition to each of traffic, labor, residence, etc. and overlapping them. Freedom and openness in terms of the growth and transformation are based on the assumption of construction on the sea which had less restrictions comparing to on the land. Contrast to morphology of existed transportation systems or natural landscape, visual expression with a grid was striking for its homogeneous freedom without a given condition on the sea.

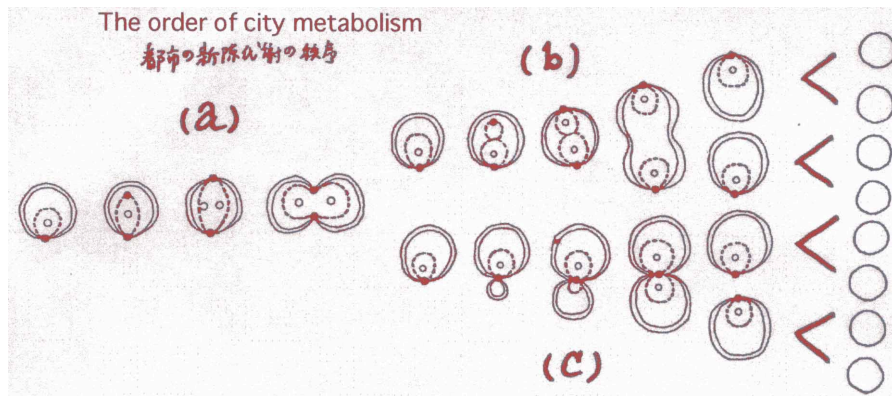


**Figure 5 The process of functional differentiation in a vertebrate**

In his Ocean City (Figure 6), Kikutake paid close attention firstly to residence and production as city functions, and then, calculated sizes of the residential population based on the temporal axis and the recovery period of equipment investment. He gave a spatial pattern to each of the city functions whose scale varied from architecture to a city and proposed systems of extension and reconstruction of buildings with the analogy of metabolism and cell division. When this response reached the limitation of a scale, Ocean City would be divided into two similar to cell division (Figure 7), and each of the two would function as cities. These cities would take a role of city function on the sea by repeatedly being divided and multiplied, and a highway across the sea would take the role of transportation. In this way, the entire Japanese archipelago would be given an opportunity to solve confusion and paralysis, and eventually recovered its spatial-order.



**Figure 6 The model of Ocean City**



**Figure 7 The process of differentiation and multiplication of Ocean City**

Kurokawa argued that a whole concept of a city was essential for an architect's proposal on the city. His position was that since an analysis to grasp city needs would progress more and more by using a computer analysis, an architect would need to propose future city image based on a worldview in a similarly strong degree with the analysis.<sup>6</sup> Kurokawa hypothesized what a near future family, lifestyle, labor hour, etc. would be looked like.<sup>7</sup> Yet his method for grasping city function did not have a notable feature comparing to that of Tange or Kikutake and was weighed heavily in terms of a variety of the variation patterns of spatial concept.

#### **4. Organic relations of a whole and part**

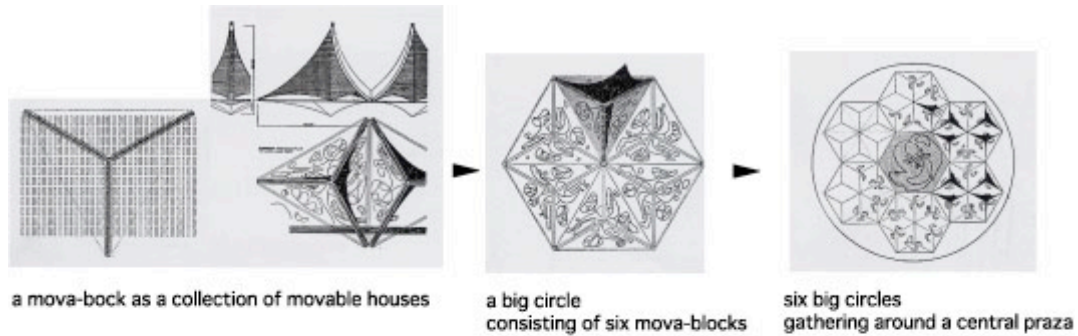
Given different scales, for example a city and architecture, a country and a city, etc., how can we realize functionally and morphologically necessary relations? As we have already seen, the patterns of spatial concept proposed in megastructure were divided into one of the following two systems: one was being divided similar to trees or nerve cells; and the other was named a whole, which was a general form consisted of parts similar to cells formed an individual.

Each of these patterns of spatial concept formed a system according to city functions such as traffic and residential systems, etc. and superimposed each other. As a result, a city order, which responded to a variety of city needs, was made. Therefore, in a case of megastructure, we need to observe in the light of relations or a system and a system between part and a whole in each of the city function systems from a functional and morphological point of view, not regarding scales including architecture and city.

In the system of residential space in Kikutake's Ocean City, he repeatedly used the pattern of a whole, which was a general form consisted of parts. (Figure 1, 8). A residential unit, which is a collection of round, dwelling units, stood in an equilateral triangle shaped plane with structure similar to a sail. The morphology of the residential space consisted of residential units, which were under the influence of the residential unit of sixty degrees, which was an angle of the equilateral triangle. A morphological proposal in each of the scales was weighed heavily, and relationship between the scales was dependent on morphological and geometrical coordination. Beyond this, no noteworthy organism was found.

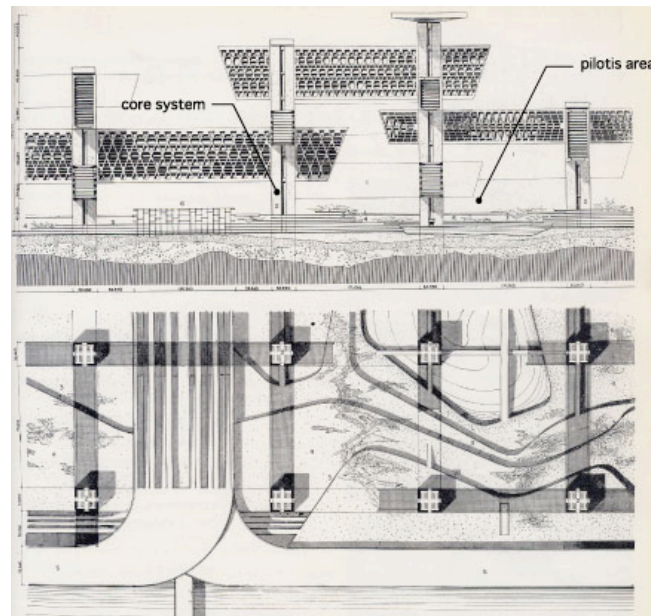
<sup>6</sup> Kurokawa, N. (K.) (1960). *Metabolizumuhouron*(A method of Metabolism). in: *Kindaikenchiku*, vol. 14, no. 13, Nov. p. 50. Tokyo: Kindaikenchikusha.

<sup>7</sup> Kurokawa, N. (K.) (1960). *Kukantoshi*(Space City). in: *Metaborizumu 1960*(Metabolism: The Proposals for new urbanism ), pp. 74, 77, 84. Tokyo: Bijyutushuppansha. (Japanese and English).



**Figure 8 The residential system of Ocean City**

Tange proposed the unification of the methods of the pilotis and the core system as the way to organically link architecture, city and traffic. The method of the pilotis is to release ground space with columns, and was proposed by Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius who were forerunners of the modern architects. Tange recognized that the method of the pilotis would divide the surface ground into four spatial kinds according to an architectural element: the mobile space with busy traffic, social, static for work or living and private and at the same time, would provide space for horizontal movement on the ground as a city element and promote it. Tange combined the method of the pilotis with that of the core system—the core system meant space with an elevator and stairs for vertical movement in a high-rise building. By giving not only the vertical movement inside the building to the core system but also function of a gigantic column, which supported a gigantic span, instead of the pilotis, he linked horizontal and vertical movements. At the same time, with the large pilotis without a column, he presented a system which would further release the surface ground for a city scale traffic<sup>8</sup> (Figure 9). Tange proposed this system as the organic unification of a city, traffic and architecture. Kurokawa named this system, which extended from architecture to a city, an extensive method, and argued that the system would be essential for an architect in presenting a proposal on a city.<sup>9</sup>



**Figure 9 The unification of pilotis and core system**

<sup>8</sup> Tange, K. Op. cit. [5], p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Kurokawa, N. (K. ) Op. cit. [6], p. 51.



It is noteworthy that Tange presented two directions in his proposal on residential space: one sought freedom in spatial system, which had order; and the other formed order by combining free space.<sup>10</sup> The former set the direction of megastructure and the latter set that of group form by Otaka and Maki.

Kurokawa's connector (Figure 10) is a spatial model for a purpose to connect two different systems or part of a system and a larger system. With the model, he made an attempt to organically connect a city function system and other outside one or the systems of different living activities such as residential space and labor one. Thus, likewise Tange, in connector Kurokawa focused on traffic and connected, made flow, and accumulated human and material between a variety of systems. Although Kurokawa applied the analogy of metabolism, in which human was replaced by life and material by energy, and that of morphology using biological terms, to be concrete he used a dot, line and aspect as a model, and weighed heavily indicating a large variation due to combinations.<sup>11</sup> Kurokawa named a proposal on a system, which was similar to connector, an inclusive method and treated as dispensable in presenting a city proposal, which came close to an architectural scale along with the already mentioned extensive method.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the proposal of connector uses visual expression which implies a vegetable cell or organic, molecular structure. (Figure 11).

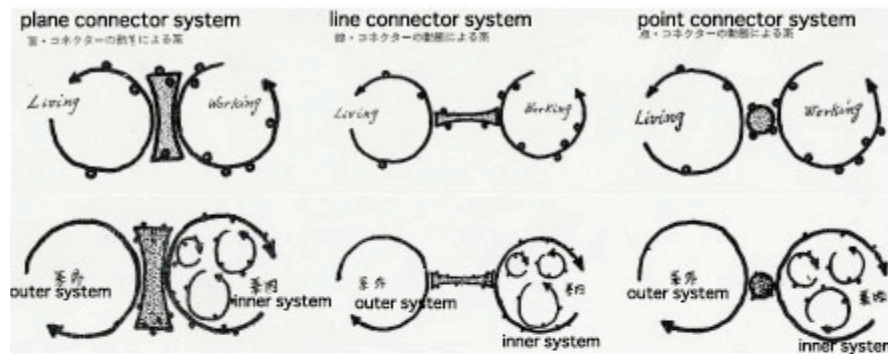


Figure 10 Connector system

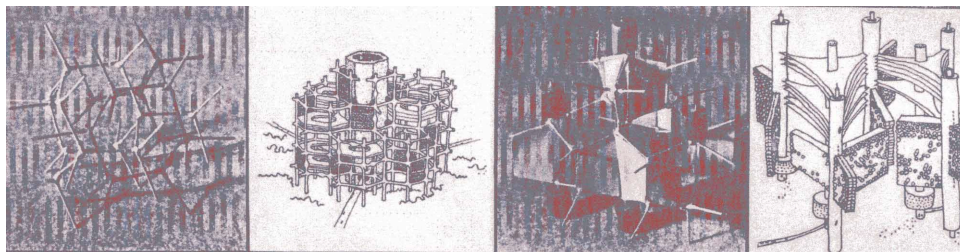


Figure 11 Examples of the applied connector systems

<sup>10</sup> Tange K. Op. cit. [5], pp. 114-115.

<sup>11</sup> Kurokawa, N. (K.) Op. cit. [6], p. 60.

<sup>12</sup> Kurokawa, N. (K.) Ibid., p. 51.



## 5. Conclusion

I have examined the organism of megastructure by focusing on “a living thing, which grows and transforms” and “organic relations of a whole and part” in the light of function and morphology. From the examination I will draw the following conclusion.

In terms of functional aspects, in megastructure, one of the city activities including traffic, residence, production, etc., was selected, circulated its size against the temporal axis, and made an entire program based on it, in order. Thus the essential feature of megastructure in terms of the functional aspect was based on a numerical hypothesis in the light of a city activity and was a plain summary of a master plan, which had been used as a modern city planning. Whether megastructure was a worthy methodology to practice was dependent on trustworthiness of this numerical hypothesis. Nevertheless, in this hypothesis, if the hypothesis crumbled halfway due to a social, conditional change, a direction for revision was not shown at all. In other words, if a given condition for growth and transformation lead from the hypothesis changed halfway, a degree of effectiveness as a ongoing plan was not shown at all. Here, we can see the limitation of megastructure’s flexibility.

In megastructure, a morphological aspect consists of some superimposing systems, which had a variety of scales constructed with spatial patterns corresponding to city functions. The hierarchy of the superimposing systems was dependent upon the importance of a city function under consideration. The order of an entire city was dependent upon this structure; city growth and transformation, similar to a living thing, were dependent upon a scale of a system due to the extension of a building and enlargement of a size. However, in one system or between two systems, it is hard to find organic relations which described a whole as more than just the total of parts. Tange’s unification of the methods of the pilotis and the core system and Kurokawa’s connector can be said as exceptional attempts aiming at organism. Here, we can see the limitation of megastructure’s organism.

In megastructure, metabolists weighed heavily to maintain wholeness in the process of city transformation and development similar to the process of growth and transformation of an individual living thing. At the same time, they spared no effort to present the newness and variety of morphological variation of their proposals. Tange spent almost half of his explanation in his Tokyo Plan in order to present the logical necessity of his linear city. However, the metabolists hardly considered newness and variety of individuals’ livings which keep his/her wholeness. City functions possessed by a patterned system of spatial concept are the very human activities: for example residence, labor, recreation, traffic, etc. The metabolists combined these systems and treated as the wholeness of a city. Yet we cannot find attitude among the metabolists to consider the entire picture of a city dweller’s life by reflecting the dweller’s living activities corresponding to a system. The metabolists made attempts to propose what sort of architecture is significant enough to construct currently in the light of an entire concept for a future city. The metabolists used their imagination for humans’ future lifestyle or lifecycle, however, never simulated a day or 24 hours of a city dweller. In megastructure’s wholeness of city order, actual living condition of a city dweller was only fragmentally considered.

Based on the above, I will examine the group form, the other methodology of Metabolism, and then, evaluate metabolists’ actual works.

**When an Englishman asks: 'How do you house your people'**

**Finnish architect Otto-I. Meurman visiting English garden cities in 1920**

Ulla Salmela

MA, PhD Candidate, University of Jyväskylä

address: Untamontie 9 E 35, 00610 Helsinki, Finland

tel. +358 9 7247 930, +358 41 432 9950

email: [ulla.salmela@cc.jyu.fi](mailto:ulla.salmela@cc.jyu.fi)

Abstract

**When an Englishman asks: 'How do you house your people'**

**Finnish architect Otto-I. Meurman visiting English garden cities in 1920**

"... but when an Englishman asks: 'How do you house your people', it is a sign of the fact that a Westerner does not regard armed force as a happy guarantee of domestic peace. Something else is required as well." (Urho Toivola 1920 on the 1920 London conference)

The inter-allied housing conference in London in 1920 was a significant turning point for the Finnish town planning: it underlined the social nature of planning activity. In a newly independent country that had recently experienced a civil war, peaceful measures to ensure domestic peace were valuable. For the Finnish social authorities, town planning as a means to relieve and solve social problems was a novel idea. Also, putting the social task of town planning ahead of artistic qualities was new to the Finnish architect-delegates. Finns were susceptible to the ethos of the conference: the creation of a peaceful society and a strong and vigorous nation by higher housing standards combined with appropriate town-planning.

This paper discusses the 1920 London housing conference focusing on its significance for a Finnish town planner Otto-I. Meurman (1890—1994), who later became one of the most influential figures of Finnish town-planning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He represented the second generation of Finnish planners, seeking their education both from their older colleagues and from the international scene, which included town-planning conferences. For Meurman, the most significant period of learning in his early career was the time he worked in the office of Eliel Saarinen in 1914—1915. Saarinen, a Finnish pioneer in the field, was from the start a cosmopolitan planner. Although Meurman operated mostly on the local or domestic level, study trips and congresses played a notable part in his efforts to follow innovations and ideas in the planning field.

Garden city ideas had been introduced in Finland at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century through professional literature and architects' visits. The 1920 international housing conference in London included a comprehensive field trip programme, which consisted of the latest housing developments and a selection of earlier ones, among them Bournville, the garden city of Letchworth and Hampstead garden suburb. In addition to making on-site visits to these for the very first time, Meurman saw the still empty site of the future Welwyn garden city. These field trips to English garden cities and suburbs gave concrete models for the planning of suburban areas in Finland.

## When an Englishman asks: 'How do you house your people'

### Finnish architect Otto-I. Meurman visiting English garden cities in 1920

This paper discusses an event that was crucial to the awakening of social responsibility among Finnish urban planners: the inter-allied housing and town-planning congress held in London in 1920. It has been pointed out earlier that it was at this congress that Finnish architects encountered urban planning from a purely social point of view.<sup>i</sup> This paper reviews the historical and political conditions and consequences of this encounter. The paper is part of a doctoral thesis investigating the early career of Otto-Iivari Meurman, one of the most influential Finnish planners of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The sources include the travel reports of the Finnish delegates to the congress (Meurman's in particular); other travel accounts such as articles in professional journals; publications delivered at the conference; architects' published recollections; the publications of two national housing congresses.



Museum of Finnish Architecture: Participants of the 1920 Inter-allied housing and town planning congress in London. Finnish town planner Otto-I. Meurman and his wife Toini in the second row on the right.

### The inter-allied housing and town-planning congress 1920

The 1920 housing congress in London, organised by the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association and the National Housing and Town Planning Council, was the biggest event arranged in the field after the end of the First World War.<sup>ii</sup> The participant list included 23 nationalities. Finland, with some 30 delegates, took part in an international housing congress for the first time as an independent state.<sup>iii</sup>

Because of the recent hostilities, the conference was restricted to the inter-allied and neutral countries of the war, with Finland among the latter ones. In deference to French and Belgian demands, Germany and its allies were not included. This exclusion aroused discussion in German-sympathising Finland, where it was interpreted as retaliation. In a prior notification about the congress, one of the Finnish delegates, Urho Toivola<sup>iv</sup>, explained the situation to his Finnish colleagues and concluded with the subservience of a newcomer: "The structure of the Western mind is different from ours; we are not entitled to judge those nations by our dwarfed standards."<sup>v</sup> The Finns felt that they had had to be especially active in order to be considered worthy of an invitation to the event.<sup>vi</sup> In any case, there was

lively interest in the congress among Finnish architects, planners and master builders, as it was one of the first occasions to meet foreign colleagues after wartime isolation.

The congress was held in Central Hall, Westminster, in June 1920. The first two days were reserved for presentations and discussions, and a whole week for on-site excursions to locations of interest from the point of view of housing and planning solutions. The delegates included representatives of national governments, municipal authorities, representatives of national organisations operating in the field of housing and town planning and individual housing activists and town planners.<sup>vii</sup>

### **Otto-I. Meurman**

Town planner Otto-Iivari Meurman (1890—1994), who later became one of the most influential figures of Finnish town-planning in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, was among the Finnish delegates. Meurman represented the second generation of Finnish planners, seeking their education both from their older colleagues and from the international scene, which included town-planning conferences. For Meurman, the most significant period of learning in his early career was the time he worked in the office of Eliel Saarinen in 1914—1915. Saarinen, a Finnish pioneer in the field, was from the start a cosmopolitan planner. Although Meurman operated mostly on the local or domestic level, study trips and congresses played a notable part in his efforts to follow innovations and ideas in the planning field.

Meurman participated in the inter-allied housing conference as a representative of the town of Viipuri (after 1945 Vyborg, Russia), where he had held the office of municipal town-planning architect since 1918. At the time, the eastern border town had vast suburban areas, and as they gradually became part of the town, Meurman's task was to draw up town plans for them. After the trip, Meurman wrote a report on his travels for the town of Viipuri. Also, at the request of the Finnish Ministry of Social Services, he wrote a paper on recent developments in town planning in Finland.<sup>viii</sup>

Meurman's detailed travel report tells us that he left for England by boat on the 29<sup>th</sup> of May, as did most of the Finnish delegates. It was their misfortune to arrive as late as the 4<sup>th</sup> of June, almost too late to participate in the actual congress. A number of Finnish delegates, however, were present from the opening ceremonies to the end of the event, and all attended the field trips.<sup>ix</sup> Meurman knew the content of the discussions and also received the congress publications.

For Meurman, the congress was part of longer tour to England and later on to Paris. This tour also had a very personal significance for him: he had married Toini Westerling in January, and this was the newlyweds' very first trip.<sup>x</sup> From London the Meurmans first left for Oxford and then headed for Paris.<sup>xi</sup> There, through Henry Aldridge, Meurman was aided by Henri Sellier and A. Bruggeman in his efforts to see the results of a recent town planning competition, which were on display at the Parisian Institut d'Histoire, de Géographie et d'Économie urbaines. He also became acquainted with a few recent housing projects in the Seine area.<sup>xii</sup> Difficulties with passports and traffic communications prevented Meurman from ending the tour with visits to the Netherlands and Belgium, so he extended his stay in Paris, and was thus able to tour thoroughly. He called Paris the most beautiful city in the world in terms of city planning, but preferred the English residential areas, especially the garden cities, and

admired the garden of Hampton Court more than Versailles.<sup>xiii</sup> On their way home the Meurmans passed through Germany.<sup>xiv</sup>

### **The political situation and housing shortage in Finland**

In 1920, Finland was still a young state: it had gained its independence during the Russian Revolution in 1917. In its early years, Finland sought both internal and external stability. Internal, as the country had experienced a civil war in 1918<sup>xv</sup>, and external as the new state wished to gain international recognition and establish foreign relations. In 1917, after the imperial Russia had collapsed, Finland experienced a breakdown in law and order. This coincided with the scarcity of food and mass unemployment caused by the on-going World War.<sup>xvi</sup> The social and political gulf between the labour movement and the bourgeoisie resulted in violent clashes and conflicts, which eventually, in January 1918, led to a struggle for power between the Reds and the Whites; the Reds consisted of the labour movement and representatives of the landless population, while the Whites represented government forces, and consisted mainly of the bourgeoisie and the landowning peasants. The Russians who still remained in Finland joined the Red troops, whereas the Whites were strengthened by Finns trained as soldiers in Germany and a number of German soldiers.

The newly independent Finns killed over 30 000 fellow-citizens in the short but bloody war and its aftermath. Both sides were guilty of atrocities and terror during the war, and the victors of vengeance and brutal treatment of prisoners after the war. Images and experiences of Finns killing each other left their imprint on the people. The war divided the Finnish people into the victors and the defeated, not only politically but also socially, culturally and ideologically. The civil war had wide ranging effects in most fields of social life during the next decades.<sup>xvii</sup>

Architects and planners had not been neutral in the actual war either: several fought in the war, mostly on the White side; they had killed and been killed. Many of them had participated in the White Civil Guards before, during and after the Civil War. Riitta Nikula has stated that the early days of independent Finland were a time of social awakening for Finnish architects.<sup>xviii</sup> This recognition of social responsibility was pointed out by contemporary architects themselves.<sup>xix</sup> The Civil War, however, complicated the architects' relation to social questions. They felt (as did most of the educated classes) deceived by the people, "the nation", of which they had created an idealised image to serve the national identity. The Civil War led to a reconsideration of the national self-portrait: the independent farmer rose in status as an idealised figure, whereas the workers were to bear the imprint of untrustworthiness.<sup>xx</sup> Mistrust was also directed towards the Russians, who were labelled as agitators, guilty of misleading the Finns on the Red side. The Civil War brought to the fore the position of Finland between east and west, between two cultural – and now also political – spheres. The rhetoric of the "eastern threat" became prevalent, also in architectural discourse. These ideologies and attitudes were present in the newly independent state's official policy to promote social harmony and order and to re-integrate the nation, and they can also be seen in the discourse and activities in the architectural field.

The World War had disrupted international contacts in the field of housing and planning, which made national meetings especially valuable. Finnish architects and social planners had organised the first

national housing congress in 1917, only three months before the Civil War broke out. Meurman acted as the commissioner of the housing exhibition organised as part of this congress. The main discussions concerned the housing shortage and its remedies. The participants acknowledged the "social discontent", and regarded it as a serious threat to both general security and individual homes. Poor dwellings and the lack of "proper homes" could instigate activities against the society. By improving the housing situation, the nation would experience "a better social order and happier times". In addition to the political instability, economic questions held a central place in the discussions. Discussion on housing as such was considered valuable, as neither those in power nor the general population were conscious enough of its importance. "We must finally become aware of the fact that the question of improving the housing conditions of people of modest means is both vital for the nation as well as a cultural question... the cultural history of nations could be called the history of the housing of nations."<sup>xxi</sup> One room with a kitchen was regarded as an unsuitable dwelling. Such a dwelling would satisfy only "primitive needs", whereas the ideal standard should reach higher goals morally and aesthetically. A dwelling of two to three bedrooms, a living room and a kitchen was presented at the congress as the minimal size for the dwelling of a working family. In addition, each dwelling should have an entrance of its own and a small garden, with common laundries and saunas in the inner courtyards.<sup>xxii</sup>

The recommendations of the 1917 housing congress were met with criticism at the first national Building Fair in 1919. They were regarded as complicated and expensive.<sup>xxiii</sup> A dwelling of two rooms and a separate kitchen was taken as a long-term goal, but one room and a separate kitchen were regarded as a realistic goal for the moment. This was well below the standards taken as an ideal in 1917, as well as below the standards of many other European countries. At the Fair, England was presented as a model for housing reform.<sup>xxiv</sup> Single room dwellings were condemned at the Fair, because they would not represent benefits equalling the contributions of society. According to architect Akseli Toivonen, the situation should be estimated in view of the prevalent rebellious atmosphere: "The hapless and homeless will move from their cellars to one-room dwellings, but will they feel like full members of society in them?"<sup>xxv</sup> Conveniences proposed for the minimum dwelling were few and mostly communal; for instance facilities such as drains and running water were regarded as too expensive for a working-class dwelling.<sup>xxvi</sup> It was stated that the housing shortage no longer concerned only those with the smallest means but also the middle-class.<sup>xxvii</sup> The production of small dwellings should be regarded as a national task, as something the well-being of a nation depended on. One of the speakers cited Hindenburg "... [on the] number of productive, independent, and home-loving members of society, who produce for society what it needs the most: people with healthy bodies and souls".<sup>xxviii</sup> Poor housing was seen as a threat both to the vitality of the nation and to the economic development and urban culture of the country. Decent housing was considered to be in the interests of the whole nation, not only of those in acute need of a dwelling.<sup>xxix</sup>

## The themes of the London housing congress

"... but when an Englishman asks: 'How do you house your people', it is a sign of the fact that a Westerner does not regard armed force as a satisfactory guarantee of domestic peace. Something else is required as well."<sup>xxx</sup>

Two major themes of early 20<sup>th</sup> century town planning were intertwined at the 1920 congress: garden city ideas and the social aspects of town building. The garden city idea provided an especially fruitful common ground. It already had a long international tradition and it had proved that its strongly idealistic character tolerated national variations in practical policies. The garden city idea had also invigorated the whole international housing reform movement from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>xxxi</sup> When compared, for instance, to the Town planning conference organised by RIBA in London in 1910, the London 1920 housing and town planning congress put significantly more emphasis on social issues. In 1910, questions of hygiene, housing of the poor, administration, and traffic were regarded as being outside the scope of the conference, and town planning was considered primarily an art.<sup>xxxii</sup>

During the first two days of the congress the delegates discussed five themes: the post-war housing and town planning policies of the countries participating, the preparation and execution of national housing programmes, the definition of minimum requirements for a family dwelling, new building techniques and materials, and recent developments in the planning of urban and rural areas. The participating countries delivered reports on each theme.

One of the resolutions of the congress was the unconditional right of every family to a certain standard of housing regarded necessary for a "happy family life". This minimum standard included separate bedrooms for the parents and children and preferably separate ones for each sex, a lavatory for each family and bathing possibilities. Finns were active in the formulation of this resolution. At their suggestion, the exact minimum number of rooms was left undefined, and the detailed requirements were left for each country to determine according to their preconditions. The Finns were able to attain approval for replacing the bathroom with a common sauna. In the papers prepared for the congress, the Finns presented as their minimum dwelling a flat consisting of a room and a kitchen, which conformed to the standards introduced at the 1919 national Building Fair. They correctly estimated that this was below the standard of most European countries, and explained the difference by the high costs of building in a cold climate. Only the minimum room height was above the average.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

The congress programme emphasised the role of the public authorities in organising and building housing. The goal was to have the governments of each country prepare a national housing programme, which within two decades would ensure a proper dwelling with pleasant surroundings for every family.<sup>xxxiv</sup> The Finns did not think it possible for them to prepare such a long-term scheme because of the unstable economic situation. Trade with Russia had ceased after the Russian revolution, and caused serious problems for the industry of the newly independent state. The lack of capital was considered a severe hindrance to fulfilling the estimated shortage of 50 000 dwellings.<sup>xxxv</sup>

The Russian revolution and the consequences of the war caused wide concern for social stability. The improvement of housing conditions was presented at the congress as a means to guarantee a stable



social order. The English organisers emphasised that safeguarding their own country from social unrest did not suffice: encouraging neighbouring European countries to solve their housing problems was the only way to secure stable development. The trauma of the World War affected British foreign policy; the creation of sustainable conditions for the maintenance of peace in Europe dominated inter-war British thinking.<sup>xxxvi</sup> Social peace was to be attained by, rhetorically, waging war: England declared "a twenty-year world war against poor housing conditions in order to rescue Western Europe from imminent destruction".<sup>xxxvii</sup> Britain considered itself in its relationship to the Continent as an outsider, who could, when necessary, solve European problems. The phrase "world war" also reflects the fact that the British saw their interests within the framework of a global empire.<sup>xxxviii</sup> The true enemy of "the war", they declared, was Bolshevism, and the "social order" striven for at the congress represented its counter force. Finnish conference delegates emphasised Finland's role in resisting Bolshevism. The recent civil war was presented, according to the official "white" interpretation, as "the bloody battle of the Finnish nation as the Northern outpost of Europe guarding against Russian Bolshevism".<sup>xxxix</sup>

External threats were generally averted by reinforcing the armed forces. The London congress supported the view that there were other means available for diminishing internal threats and the probability of new disturbances. For the Finnish participants, the Englishman's question, "How do you house your people?", meant the insight that building and promoting housing could have an important impact on wider social issues and social stability. The armed Civil Guards would not suffice.<sup>xl</sup> This social approach to inner threats was effectively underlined by persuasive anecdotes, such as the one Yrjö Similä cited in his article on the congress: When the Finns had suspected that the building technique used for English small houses was too expensive, the Englishmen had responded: "a revolution would cost more!"<sup>xli</sup> Similar rhetoric was used at the governmental level, where the money spent on housing was called as insurance against Bolshevism and revolution.<sup>xlii</sup>

A comparative foundation was laid for post-congress field trips by each country's report on recent developments in the planning of their urban and rural areas in each country. Meurman wrote the Finnish report. His report was a chronological presentation of town planning in Finnish towns in the past hundred years. Only when commenting on Viipuri, where he was the head of planning, did he refer to the political conditions; he complained that the Russians were keeping in their possession vast areas of land and that the town was thus suffering from this "Russian military arbitrariness".<sup>xliii</sup> This side remark reflects the strained relations between the Finns and Russians after the political civil war in Finland. Also, the official relations of the two countries, including the eastern border of Finland not far from Viipuri, were not normalised until October 1920, when a peace treaty was signed by both parties at Tartu, Estonia.

Participation in international congresses as an independent state was significant to Finns. Great Britain had officially recognised Finland's independence in 1919, two years after the independence declaration. The peace process being uncompleted, gaining international recognition was still an important issue. The Finnish delegates felt that they were especially well received and even honoured by being granted the very first address in the official congress discussions, as well as being given the

opportunity to deliver a special thank you speech at the congress dinner. After the congress, two representatives of the Finns were included in the royal audience with the King.<sup>xliv</sup>

International contacts were also important to planners, who were interested in organising official contacts with international associations, such as the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association.<sup>xlv</sup> In the final resolutions of the congress, the professional status of the town planners and the comprehensiveness of their work were enhanced by the demand for a general survey to be conducted in all the countries as a basis for better organised and more scientific town planning. Other resolutions on town planning demanded setting national maximum housing densities, the promotion of decentralisation of both residential areas and industry, and the organisation of traffic connections under the supervision of the state and municipalities.<sup>xlvi</sup>

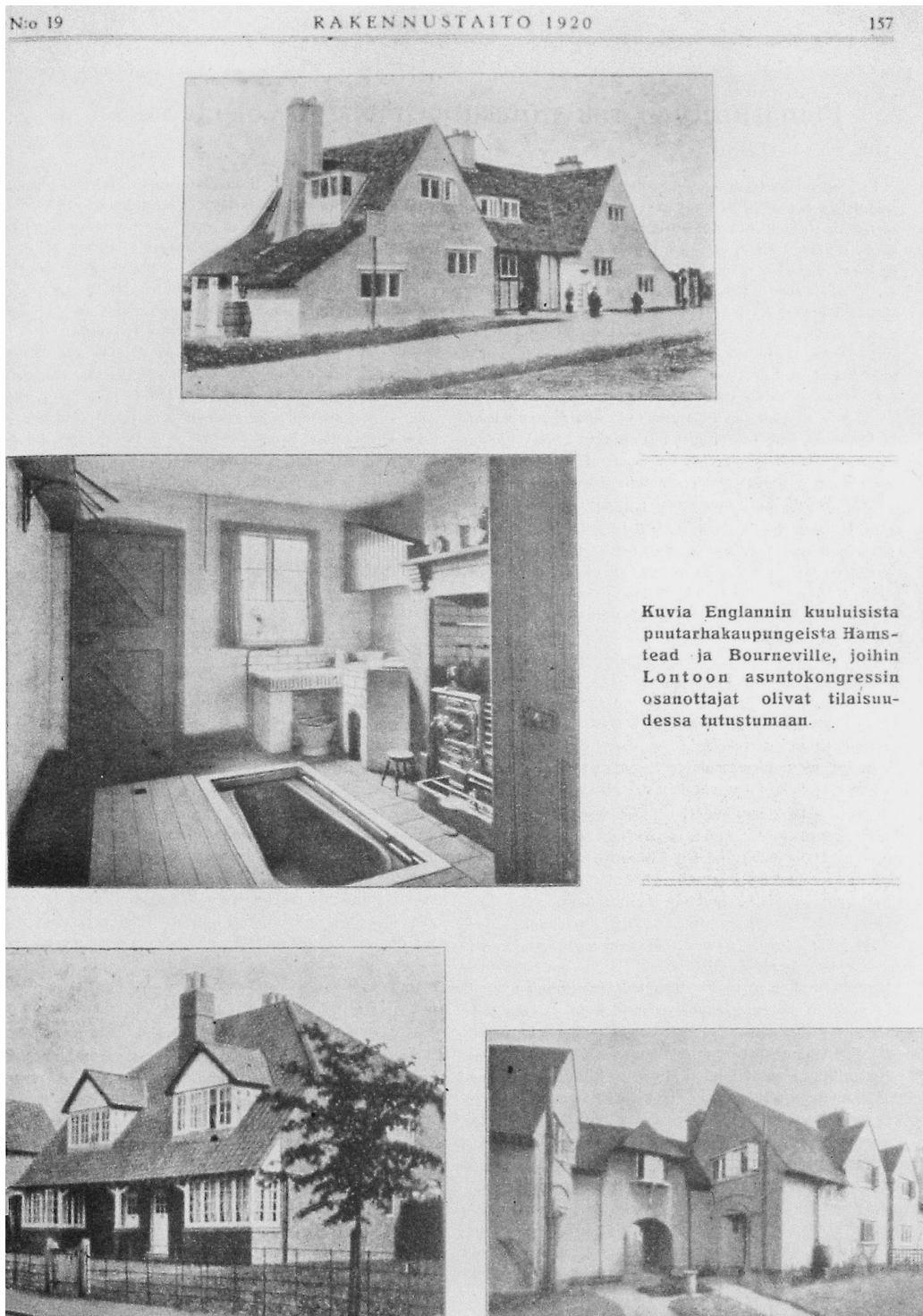
### **Field trips**

Garden city ideas had been introduced in Finland at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century through professional literature and architects' visits. They were discussed at both the first Finnish housing congress in 1917 and the Building Fair of 1919. The 1920 international housing conference in London included a six-day field trip programme, which consisted of visits to the latest housing developments and a selection of earlier ones, among them Bourneville, the garden city of Letchworth and the Hampstead garden suburb. In addition to making on-site visits to these for the very first time, Meurman and several other Finnish architects saw the still empty site of the future Welwyn garden city. These field trips to English garden cities and suburbs gave concrete models for the planning of suburban areas in Finland.<sup>xlvii</sup> The travel arrangements were met with contentment; architect Birger Brunila recalled that the delegates travelled by bus or train; the trains were equipped with a large number of dining cars, making them especially comfortable and conducive to discussions.<sup>xlviii</sup>

The congress delegates spent the first on-site day in Bristol viewing its new housing developments, Fishpond and Sea Mills. Another day was reserved for visiting working-class housing areas in western London, the villa community of Ruislip-Northwood and the site reserved for Welwyn Garden City. Stops were made also at Watford, St. Albans and Hatfield. In their visits to Birmingham and Bournville, the congress delegates were able to personally meet factory owner George Cadbury.<sup>xlix</sup> The garden cities and suburbs made an impression on the Finnish delegates, who passed on the well-known anecdotes about them in their accounts of the congress; these included the claim that the children of garden cities grew taller than their age-mates in ordinary tenement-house towns.<sup>i</sup> Meurman was equally impressed, and reserved in his travel report the greatest space for Bournville, Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb.

The delegates received a number of publications on the individual housing developments they visited, a manual on the preparation of state-aided housing schemes and also publications prepared by other participating countries on their housing conditions.<sup>ii</sup> From the booklet on Letchworth, the delegates received detailed information on its history and present conditions. The booklet included an introduction to the idea and concept of the garden city and its realisation by Ebenezer Howard.<sup>iii</sup> In addition to these, Meurman brought home other significant publications, one that refreshed his

knowledge of the housing question in Sweden and another more famous one, Raymond Unwin's *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding*.<sup>liii</sup>



### The trips' significance to Meurman

In the working-class housing developments in Bristol and Watford, St. Albans and Hatfield, Meurman focused on the economy of street building as well as on low residential densities. He marvelled at the number of the rooms per dwelling, their furnishings, and the healthy life brought about by modern conveniences, whereas he noted that the room heights and sizes were smaller than in Finland. During

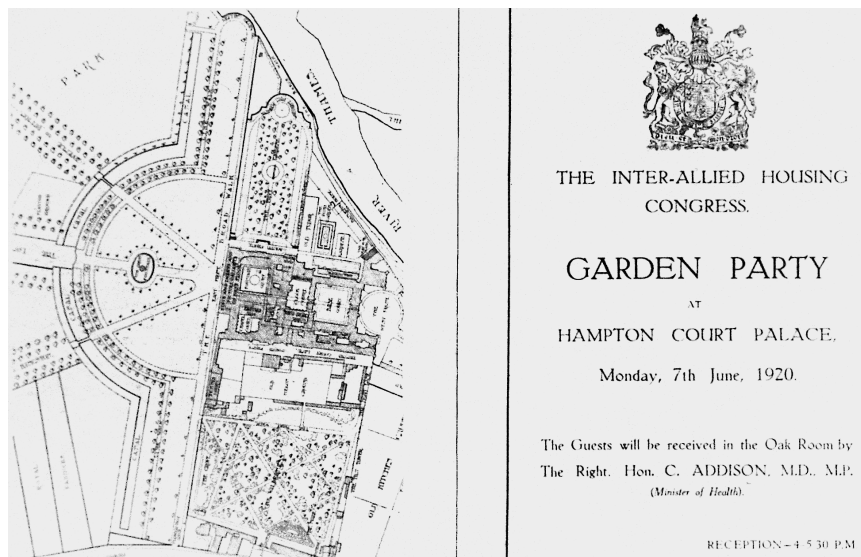
these tours Meurman became acquainted with the co-operation between towns and the state in building new housing.<sup>liv</sup>

Meurman was especially interested in the garden cities he previously knew only by reputation and through publications. He was not disappointed. Though the town plan of Bournville seemed old-fashioned to Meurman, he admired the green areas, sports facilities, beautiful street perspectives, gardens and "clean homes".<sup>lv</sup> Meurman observed that both Letchworth and Hampstead were populated by the wealthy middle-class. In Letchworth he admired front gardens and allotments, as well as streets with their grass strips and flower arrangements. Meurman praised Hampstead's streetscapes for their artistic value and unity, and reported that the reality corresponded to his earlier positive conceptions of Hampstead.<sup>lvi</sup> However, Meurman was critical of the direct applicability of English ideas to Finnish conditions.<sup>lvii</sup>

Two events organised in connection with the congress seem to have especially impressed the Finnish delegates: the first one was a royal garden party at the historic Hampton Court by the Thames, and the second a tea-party at one of the first Finnish legations in a foreign country.<sup>lviii</sup> The first mentioned seemed to be particularly important for establishing new professional contacts with foreign colleagues. Meurman reported later having met "many famous masters in town-planning", mentioning especially the Norwegian town planners, among them Sverre Pedersen, the town planning architect of Trondheim. He also made the personal acquaintance of the congress secretary, Henry R. Aldridge.<sup>lix</sup>

### **The significance of the London housing congress to the Finnish delegates**

The congress aroused wide interest among Finnish architects and social planners. Finnish architects were impressed by the emphasis on social issues. Likewise, the experts on housing and social services took note of the emphasis on town planning as an important measure of solving current social problems, especially the housing shortage.



Museum of Finnish Architecture: The 1920 housing congress was one of the first occasions to meet foreign colleagues after wartime isolation. For the Finnish participants it held a special place as it was the field's first international meeting that the Finns attended as an independent nation.

The conference was well covered in Finnish professional journals<sup>lx</sup>, and the ideas were included in the subsequent writings of many participants and disseminated further. For example, Yrjö Similä<sup>lxi</sup>, the editor of *Rakennustaito*, the professional journal of the Finnish Builders' Association, attended the congress himself, and wrote on it and referred to it on several occasions. In 1920, after the London conference, he published a book called *Asunto-olot ja yhteiskunta* (Housing conditions and society), in which he discussed the congress and its remedies for the housing question. According to Similä, the congress had clearly shown that the housing shortage was among the reasons for the prevailing unrest in European countries. The main content of the book was to underline the importance of housing to society, and to enhance its position within social policy.<sup>lxii</sup>

The 1920 inter-allied housing conference in London was a significant turning point for Finnish town planning: it underlined the social nature of the planning activity instead of seeing it solely as an art. The socio-political nature of housing had already been discussed in 1917 at the first national housing congress, where Otto-I. Meurman had applied it to urban planning as a whole. But it was only the 1920 London housing congress and the discussions that followed it in Finland that convinced social planners and architects of the social nature and significance of housing and urban planning. Attendance at an international conference assured Finnish social planners that the main measures (including town planning) used by major European countries to tackle their housing problem were also applicable to Finland. It was only some months before the London congress that Urho Toivola had doubted the need and significance of urban planning in Finnish efforts to alleviate the housing shortage, considering it a measure useful only for housing projects beyond the scale of such a small country as Finland.<sup>lxiii</sup> After the congress the attitude had, however, changed, and the significance of urban planning was fully recognised.

An example of the recognition town planning had gained because of the congress is the above-mentioned book by Similä. In the section discussing the London congress, he stated that "the art of town planning" had earlier been more or less unknown in Finnish conditions, but that the congress had emphasised its role in solving problems concerning housing. Town planning with its "organised and scientific principles" was the remedy for "the present uneconomical and disordered development of housing". According to Similä, the study tours to English garden suburbs and areas of poor quality planning had convinced the participants of the significance of the art of town planning in solving the housing question. He compared a plan of a dwelling to a town plan: bad examples of both could be impractical, labyrinthine, dark and unpleasant, whereas both should include proper connections from one place to another and a sufficient amount of light and air, and provide a cosy environment for the dweller.<sup>lxiv</sup>

In a newly independent country that had recently experienced a civil war, peaceful measures to ensure domestic stability were valuable. On the one hand, town planning as a means to relieve and solve social problems was a novel idea for the Finnish social authorities. At a time of social tension it acquired a special appeal. On the other hand, putting the social task of town planning ahead of artistic qualities was new to the Finnish architect-delegates. The current political situation in the country made the Finns especially susceptible to the ethos of the London congress: the creation of a peaceful

society and a strong, united and vigorous nation through higher housing standards combined with appropriate town-planning. As demonstrated above, the Civil War complicated architects' relations to social questions: it added feelings of disappointment, mistrust and even guilt to their awakening social responsibility. The Civil War gave new actuality to the already existing rhetoric and project of educating the working classes through proper housing.

The London 1920 housing congress held a special place as the field's first international meeting that the Finns attended as an independent nation. They were looking for foreign models to invigorate domestic discussions. In the early post-war situation, when the traditionally strong attraction to Germany seemed less attractive, the English models gained in interest.<sup>lxv</sup> Though the main examples of English garden cities were familiar to Finnish architects from publications and photographs, the on-site visits and the material distributed at the London congress deepened their knowledge. The Finns admired the general standard of English housing, whereas on a detailed level they were more critical.<sup>lxvi</sup>

The London congress was thus in many ways an important experience for the Finnish delegates. Yrjö Similä emphasised the role of international congresses and international model policies in the creation of directives for solving national housing shortages. In addition to the more theoretical discussions, some of the Finnish delegates had wished for more practical discussions on the execution and financing of housing projects.<sup>lxvii</sup>

Otto-I. Meurman summed up the significance of the trip by saying that it had clarified several conceptions and settled his opinions and views. Although he had already spoken of the social nature of urban planning in 1917, the London congress convinced him that it was also possible to implement it in practice. Meurman also felt that the experiences of the tour were directly helpful in planning the new housing areas in Viipuri along garden city lines. Later on in his memoirs, Meurman described the tour as an important one; for the first time he saw the famous English garden cities and suburbs he had read about, and felt reassured that the planning of Viipuri's suburbs was heading in the right direction. Meurman also mentioned afterwards that seeing densely built areas during the trip convinced him of trying to avoid such mistakes (nothing gained by overcrowding!).<sup>lxviii</sup> He also brought home a number of publications, which proved to be important. Among them were several publications on the recently renewed English housing and town planning legislation, and one on the French legislation.<sup>lxix</sup>

It was stated earlier that the early days of independent Finland were a time of social awakening for Finnish architects. By examining the 1920 London town planning and housing congress and taking into account both the internal and external political situation of Finland, it has been possible to deliberate on and deepen this conception of social awakening and the reasons that lay at the root of it. The integration of urban planning with solving the housing shortage, international contacts and the diffusion of planning ideas, the World War and the Finnish Civil War, as well as the economic crisis in the building industry, all played an important role in the development of social responsibility among Finnish architects and planners, and in their awareness of the importance of the welfare of society in urban planning.

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<sup>i</sup> Nikula 1981, p. 143.

<sup>ii</sup> The early 20<sup>th</sup> century was a time of massive growth of international organisations, congresses and exhibitions. The First World War, however, disrupted active international connections, also in the field of town-planning. See Sutcliffe 1981.

<sup>iii</sup> Similä 1920a, p. 121.

<sup>iv</sup> Secretary of legation Urho Toivola had handled the participation and travel arrangements of the Finnish delegates. He worked at the Finnish legation in London.

<sup>v</sup> Toivola 1920b, p. 28. Yrjö Similä also discussed the exclusion of the Germans. Similä 1920a, p. 121.

<sup>vi</sup> Similä 1920a, p. 121.

<sup>vii</sup> Väliaikainen ohjelma interallieerattujen maiden asunto- ja asemakaavakongressia varten 1920, pp. 29-31.

<sup>viii</sup> *Kaupunki- ja maaseutuasemakaavojen myöhempi kehitys Suomessa*, Manuscripts, Meurman 1, COM, MFA; Meurman 1920.

<sup>ix</sup> Meurman's travel report, 31.12.1920, suppl. annual report 1920, PAM.

<sup>x</sup> Meurman – Huovinen 1989, p. 147.

<sup>xi</sup> Meurman – Huovinen 1989, p. 147.

<sup>xii</sup> A Swedish architect, Nils Hammarstrand, who later published an article on the competition in the journal *La Vie Urbaine*, guided Meurman in Paris. Meurman stated his general interest in the competition proposals, but did not view them as applicable to Finnish conditions. *Banlieue-jardins de Stains*. Service des Publications No 9, Paris 1920; *Cité de Suresnes-Rueil*, Service de Publication No 7, Paris 1919, COM, MFA.

<sup>xiii</sup> Meurman's travel report, PAM.

<sup>xiv</sup> Meurman – Huovinen 1989, p. 147.

<sup>xv</sup> The war of 1918 has had several names, depending on the differing interpretations of the events and different ideological connotations. The names (National War, Class War, War for Liberation, Revolution, or Rebellion) have emphasised different aspects of the events: a war between citizens, social classes, a war against the Russians in order to gain independence, a rebellion, etc. Since the 1990s, the name "Civil War" has been a central issue: The interpretation connected with it stresses the quest for power as the main issue of the war and the main participants being Finns themselves. *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 2 (1993); Ylikangas 1993; Peltonen 1996.

<sup>xvi</sup> Häkkinen 1990, p. 433.

<sup>xvii</sup> On the civil war: Jussila – Hentilä – Nevakivi 1999, pp. 101-115.

<sup>xviii</sup> Nikula 1981, p. 149.

<sup>xix</sup> Ekelund 1932, p. XI.

<sup>xx</sup> Alapuro 1993, pp. 7-8. Risto Alapuro has described the disappointment of the educated classes, as the representation of the nation they had created collapsed with the Civil War. More importantly, those



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in power had built their own self-image upon the solidarity of the nation, the subjects of power. The social discontent was not a total surprise for the educated classes; the general strike of 1905 had already shaken the image of a united nation.

<sup>xxi</sup> Suomen ensimmäinen... 1918, p. 21.

<sup>xxii</sup> Första allmänna finska bostadskongressen. Utställning vägledare 1917, pp. 6-7; Kuosmanen 1972 (DAHUT), pp. 65-66.

<sup>xxiii</sup> Härö 1981, p. 29. The Building Fair was organised by the Association of Architects, Housing Reform Association and Finnish Association of Master-Builders.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Rakennuspäivät 1919, p. 221.

<sup>xxv</sup> Rakennuspäivät 1919, p. 261.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Rakennuspäivät 1919, pp. 265-266.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Rakennuspäivät 1919, p. 220.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Rakennuspäivät 1919, p. 270.

<sup>xxix</sup> Rakennuspäivät 1919, p. 282.

<sup>xxx</sup> Toivola 1920b, p. 27.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Sutcliffe 1981, p. 168.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Sutcliffe 1981, p. 172.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Toivonen 1920, p. 41; Similä 1920a, p. 124; Similä 1920c, pp. 82-83.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Väliaikainen ohjelma interallieerattujen...1920, p. 29.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Harvia 1920, pp. 39-40. As director of the municipal central bureau, Yrjö Harvia was an active person in the field of housing policies and the editor of Suomen Kunnallislehti in the 1910s and 1920s.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Matikainen 2002, pp. 213-214.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Toivola 1920b, p. 27; Similä 1920a, p. 122. Metaphors of war and world peace or direct references to social peace were not new in housing or planning discourse. Urban planning had been connected with the international peace movement at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when world peace and domestic harmony appeared as themes of the planning discourse. In France, there existed close ties between the peace and garden city movements – Georges Benoit-Lévy had in 1904 united them in the expression "garden cities of social peace". Sutcliffe 1981, pp. 166-169.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Matikainen 2002, p. 216.

<sup>xxxix</sup> Harvia 1920, p. 33.

<sup>xl</sup> Toivola 1920b, p. 27.

<sup>xli</sup> Similä 1920a, p. 126.

<sup>xlii</sup> Hall 1988, p. 71. The British Prime Minister Lloyd George, who was the honorary president of the London congress, had also spoken of the cost of social reform as an insurance for the stability of the State against the spreading Bolshevism.

<sup>xliii</sup> Meurman 1920, p. 46.

<sup>xliiv</sup> Meurman's travel report, PAM; Similä 1920a, p. 121.

<sup>xliv</sup> Toivola 1920b, p. 23. Urho Toivola was the only Finnish participant in the annual meeting of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association held in London in February 1920. He suggested that the Finnish Housing Reform Association should join the international organisation as a national subdivision.

<sup>xlvi</sup> Similä 1920a, pp. 124-125.

<sup>xlvii</sup> Similä 1920a, pp. 125-128. The Finnish delegates attended most of the field trips, though the Finns made a trip of their own to Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb.

<sup>xlviii</sup> Brunila 1966, p. 157.

<sup>xlix</sup> Meurman's travel report, PAM; Similä 1920a, pp. 127-128.

<sup>l</sup> E.g. Similä 1920c, p. 81; Similä 1920a, p. 128; Meurman's travel report, PAM.

<sup>li</sup> *Housing schemes of Ruislip-Northwood, London 1920, Municipal Watford and its Housing Scheme. Souvenir presented to the Delegates of the Inter-Allied Housing and Town Planning Congress...*, Watford 1920, COM, MFA. Meurman mentions in his travel report booklets on the latest housing schemes in Bristol and on Roe Green and Hayes.

<sup>lii</sup> *Letchworth and Hitchin with their surroundings*, The Homeland Handbooks, No 79, The Homeland Association Ltd. London, COM, MFA.

<sup>liii</sup> The Housing Question in Sweden 1920; Unwin 1918 [originally published in 1912], COM, MFA.

<sup>liv</sup> In connection with co-operation between the state and the towns in building housing Meurman referred to the *Manual on the preparation of state-aided housing schemes* published in 1919. In the manual, the propositions of Raymond Unwin were transformed into national housing policy. Hall 1988; Meurman's travel report, PAM.

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- <sup>iv</sup> The same achievements were also admired by Yrjö Similä in his travel report. Similä 1920a, pp. 127-128.
- <sup>vi</sup> Meurman's travel report, PAM; *Housing schemes of Ruislip-Northwood*, London 1920, *Municipal Watford and its Housing Scheme. Souvenir presented to the Delegates of the Inter-Allied Housing and Town Planning Congress...*, Watford 1920, COM, MFA.
- <sup>vii</sup> Meurman's travel report, PAM.
- <sup>viii</sup> Brunila 1966, p. 158.
- <sup>lix</sup> Meurman's travel report, PAM. Meurman knew Aldridge's publication *The Case for Town Planning*.
- <sup>ix</sup> The professional journal of Finnish architects remained silent on the congress, as it did not appear in 1920.
- <sup>xi</sup> Master builder, magistrate Yrjö Similä was one of the central figures in the Finnish Association of Master-Builders in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. He was one of the most active writers on questions concerning housing in the late 1910s and 1920s.
- <sup>xii</sup> Similä 1920c; Y.[rjö] H.[arvia] 1921, p. 77; Similä 1920a, p. 120.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Toivola 1920a, p. 20.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Similä 1920c, pp. 75-79.
- <sup>xv</sup> Koskinen 1999, p. 89 (DAHUH).
- <sup>xvi</sup> For instance, certain construction methods were regarded conservative and unsuited for modern buildings or inappropriate for the Finnish climate. Brunila 1966, pp. 157-158.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Similä 1920c, pp. 74, 80-81; Similä 1920b, pp. 133-134; Similä 1920a, p. 128.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Meurman – Huovinen 1989, p. 147.
- <sup>ix</sup> Meurman's travel report, PAM; Publications on legislation, COM, MFA. Meurman kept some of the small booklets distributed during the field trips for some seventy years, now at MFA.

# **Multi-motivated Policy on the Use of Parkland in Japanese Colonial Taiwan—Taking the case of Yuan-Shan Park in Taipei**

Wang, Huey-Jiun    Sung, Hsiao-Wen

## **Abstract**

There were 16 premeditation park fields in Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, during Japanese colonial age (1895-1945). Among these, Yuan-Shan Park was " the First Park" assigned in the earliest of 1896. Located on the edge of Taipei basin, Yuan-Shan Park was a strategic place with the wide-range view to overlook the basin and was regarded to be a divine place in Feng-Shui. Also, the urban axis of Taipei city which linked Taiwan Government-general and Taiwan Shrine, that stood in the neighborhood of Yuan-Shan Park, made the location of the park stand for the spiritual and political issues. At the beginning of Japanese colonial age, the Japanese government observed the colonialism in Britain and other European countries and brought the ideal of modern city planning and concept of public park into colonial Taiwan. The zoo, children's playground, and gymnasium built in Yuan-Shan Park were exactly the reflex.

However, comparing with any other European parks, there were still differences in the facilities built in the park as we could find in Yuan-Shan Park. For example, Huang-widow Memory Hall was rebuilt in 1904 for placating local residents' spiritual desires of traditional beliefs, Memorial Hall for War Dead was built in 1906 for commemorating the fallen soldiers, and Rinzai Temple patronized by the governor-general was built in 1912. The constructions present the social-political motivated aspect to the decision-making in public park during Japanese colonial age. Hence, the analyzing of the process of construction and the legislative procedure of the accomplishment was established through investigations and reviews of historical documents related to the procedures of decision making, urban planning related regulations, and reconstruction of historical maps. And through the study of decision-makers' reflections and the similar situation which could be found in other modern public parks, the understanding of the multi-motivated use of parkland in Japanese colonial Taiwan was approached.

**Keywords: Park, Town, Temple, Westernization,**

Wang, Huey-Jiun, Associate Professor, Dept. of Architecture, National Taiwan University of Science and Technology, 43, Sec.4, Keelung Rd. Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C.

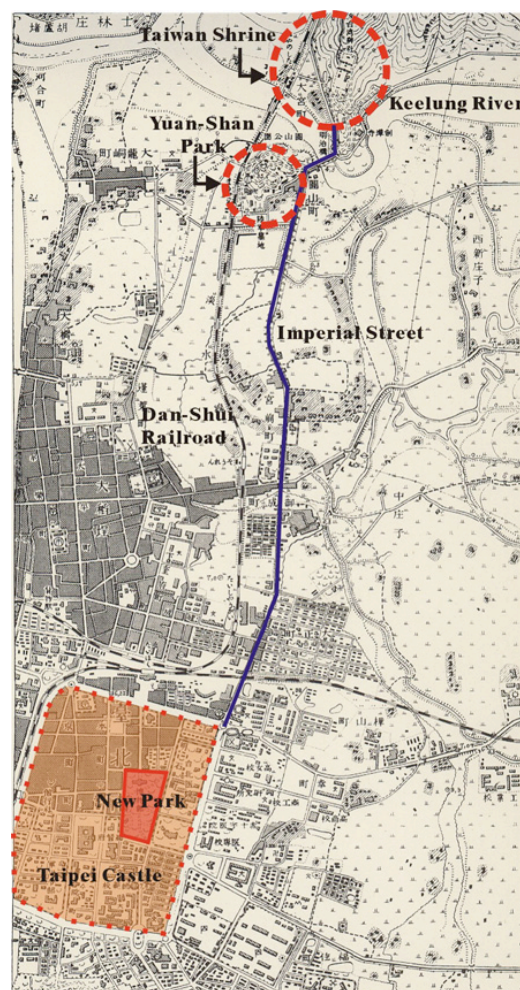
E-mail: heidiw@mail.ntust.edu.tw

## Foreword

In the past, most Chinese parklands are the private gardens of Emperor, high officials or wealthy persons. After the Chinese immigrated to Taiwan, as the same only the wealthy landowner owned private gardens. The public space, which is similar to the park, should be the suburbs scenic spot or Temple Square. The entertainments during that time were watching local drama in the front of temples or holding festival on special days. In the Meiji Restoration, Japan propelled Westernization generally. In 1895, after Taiwan was taken over, westernization was also brought into Taiwan. Public facilities such as parks were a part of it. How did park take shape in Japanese Colonial Taiwan? What did Japanese and Taiwanese think about park? This paper discusses the meaning and the function of park in Colonial city through the investigation of the development process of the first specific park in colonial capital Taipei – Yuan-Shan Park-- from its establishment till prewar period.

## The forming of Yuan-Shan Park

In Meiji 28 (1895), Japanese ruled over Taiwan till the end of World War II, 1945 and it sustained fifty years of Japanese Government period in Taiwan. Located at the North side of Taipei basin, Yuan-Shan is opposite to Chien-Tan Mountain with its North side adjoining Keelung River. In Ching Dynasty, Chen Wei-Ying, a local scholar had built a villa here, as a place for studying and health keeping and it was named Tai Ku Chao. He also inscribed a poem for it, and there were some people living there. According to the document record of Taiwan Government-general, after Japanese came to Taiwan, they immediately planned this place as the graveyard of the Army, the Navy and Department of Civil Administration. However, the use of the hill with beautiful scenery at Taipei suburbs might have been changed by the visit of Mr. Ido Hirohumi in June of 1896. From



Yuan-Shan Park and Taipei City(1925)

document record, it is shown that Mr. Ido Hirohumi was the first to contribute 500 Yen, then Mr. Saigo, who was present also contributed 500 Yen to be Yuan-Shan Park application funds; And Mr. Hashimoto, the Director of Taipei submitted the proposal of changing Yuan-Shan Collective Graveyard into Taipei Park to Taiwan Governor-General. It said that Yuan-Shan is a place of natural scenery view. Yuan-Shan was planned to be a graveyard, but if it could be changed into a park sightseeing place, surely it would conform to the hope of public, and in the proposal, it also expressed that many personage were willing to give financial assistance and also submitted workable removal location of the collective graveyard. Taiwan Governor-general approved this proposal in the same year, but additionally he also explained that the graveyard of Land Force should to be over 108,000 square feet so it had to be considered separately.

Thereupon, the first park of Taiwan, named as “Yuan-Shan Park”, was designated. The land ownership arrangement work was started immediately, and the graveyard of the Army was removed to South foothill of Yuan-Shan Park. After landowner, Chen Gen-Shu, et al received compensation for their lands; the expropriation work was completed (it then occupied 41.28% of the parkland). But the prices for the land of Zhang Shui et al was lower because it was located on the slopes, they were not willing to accept the compensation so it was unavailable for application. Till Meiji 37 (1904), according to the “Taiwan Land Expropriation Regulation” issued by Taiwan Government-general in Meiji 34 (1901), the land expropriation of Zhang Shui et al was accomplished by purchasing the land and trees at the same time. The amount of money to purchase trees supplemented the lower price (occupied 58.71%). In Meiji 38, it was found that a small part of park (42,249.6 square feet) belonged to Lin Hsiung-Kuang. The Lin family was a wealthy landlord and they contributed the land to be the parkland, and now the land of Yuan-Shan Park totals to 650,628 square feet.

On the other hand, park construction was started simultaneously. From Meiji 29 till Meiji 31, Taipei City Hall proceeded to construct the park roadway (1980 meter in length, and 5.4 meter in width) with 10,060 Yen. Among which in Meiji 30, the remaining 1,000 Yen of Cantonal Hall Establishment Celebration held by Taipei County also was contributed to be the Park Fund. Then, on January 18<sup>th</sup> of Meiji 31, the colleagues of Civil Administration and Bureau of Finance of Taiwan Government-general held volunteer activity of planting trees in Yuan-Shan Park. Participants, 53 persons gathered at small South Gate of Taipei Castle bringing saplings from nursery garden and went to Yuan-Shan Park on foot to plant them. On that day, 150 cherry trees, camphor trees, pine trees, Chinese fir etc. were planted.

At the time, it was also the period when the development of Taipei and the entire

Taiwan was fully taking place. In Taipei first town plan issued in 1900, parkland had been planned in the center of former Taipei city, since it was after Yuan-Shan Park so it was called “New Park”. After town plan revision in Meiji 38 (1905), park was expanded and formally preceded and planned, and readjusting the land, trees planting and expropriation work were preceded at the same time. The town planning in between 1900-1911 also included Taichung (1900), Hsinchu (1905), Zhang-hua (1906), Keelung (1907), Kaoshiung (1908), Tainan (1911) etc.; and in all those towns, parklands were delimited. But Hsinchu Park, Taichung Park, Chiayi Park and Tainan Park there among were all like Taipei Park, which was designated in the town plan. While Keelung Park that was located on a hill was established to be a sightseeing park to celebrate Prince Royal Marriage in Meiji 33 (1899) and it can overlook Keelung port. Then after town plan, its surrounding land was also included and it was named as Takasa Park, established in 1911. In 1912 Takasa Park construction got subvention as much as 14875 Yen. Zhang-Hua Park was also the park constructed on the scenery spot at the foothill of Ba-Gua Mountain before the town plan. Either was Gu-Shan Park, originally it was the graveyard of local native but since its scenery view was comparable with Gu-Shan of Amoy and its shape was also like drum so it was named Gu-Shan. Then the graveyard was removed and was established park<sup>1</sup> in Meiji 39 (1906). Thus it can be seen, urban parks in the early age were divided into two kinds, the first kind was like Yuan-Shan Park, it was located on urban scenery spot and was established before town plan. The second were the parks established on the adequate spots of town plan. The former was designated because of natural scenery view while the latter was located on account of adequate location and the park landscape was made artificially.

Tokyo, the capital of Japan had also established park construction in Meiji 6 (1873) long before the town planning (1888). Public sightseeing place in E-do period, such as Asakusa Temple, Kan-ei Temple (Ueno Park afterwards), Yasaka Shrine, Kiyomizu Temple and Arashi Hill etc were established to be parkland; although “Park” was coming from the concept of Westernization, actually it was continuing the past system in E-do period. But then in the town planning, Hibiya Park that was located downtown area was also designated, and it was the new park constructed artificially. Hence, we understand that the formation background of parks in Taiwan during Japanese governing period was similar to Japan.

Regarding park management, Taipei Park Management Regulation issued by Taiwan Government-general in Meiji 40 provided that parks were administered by the Director of Taipei. The application for the use of parkland or if construct was to be built in the park has to be submitted to Director. Hire had to be paid for the use of

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<sup>1</sup> Taiwan Ancient Scenic spot Record, Taisyo 5, edited by Sukiya Yasumori

parkland except for public welfare, its application term was 5 years and application had to be resubmitted for the successive use after the valid term expired. The use will be suspended if authorities need it or if it endangers public welfare. In the main, the issue or revision of Park Management Regulation was developing accordingly.

### **Shrine, Temple and Mausoleum in and by the park**

In Meiji 29, Empire parliament agreed to build Shrine for Prince Kitasirakawa, who died during conquering Taiwan. In the second year, preparatory committee was organized to make preparation for the construction formally. Except to worship Prince Kitasirakawa, in fact the shrine construction also had the symbolic meaning in colonial governing. From the process of site choosing, Keelung, the landing place of Prince Kitasirakawa was the first to be listed, then Tainan, the place where he died and Capital Taipei. Finally, Taipei was chosen and this showed that it had more in symbolic meaning than in its function. Then the Middle West side of Yuan-Shan was chosen, the reasons were: 1.spacious 2. Scenic spot with river and mountain . Convenient to visit, and emphasized that it would be very convenient for public to visit if the shrine, which might maintain the sacredness of the park could be built in Yuan-Shan Park. Since the properties of park and shrine were the same, so it would be suitable for the shrine<sup>2</sup>. This was happened in the second year after Yuan-Shan Park was established. Then, even though the shrine construction estimation and design had started, but in Meiji 31 (1898) Kotama Gentaro served as Taiwan Governor-general, he and the newly appointed officer of Civil Administration, Goto Shinpei inspected the site. They changed the shrine construction site to Chien-Tan Mountain, which is larger in scale and overlooks Taipei. It was opposite to Yuan-Shan. From 1900 till the next year, it was built with the funds that was about ten or twenty percent of building budget of Taiwan Government-general. It was completed and was enshrined in 1901. Later on, Taiwan shrine was enlarged several times; it had the crowning position during Japanese Colonial Period.

Yuan-Shan Park did not become the shrine place, but it was located opposite to the shrine so the scene of Yuan-Shan Park had to be considered carefully. The lands, which were not purchased before, were bought through buying trees in Meiji 34 (1904), and it was mentioned that since the park was opposite to shrine, the scene would be very important and trees had to be kept so they had to be bought at the same time. Therewith the shrine construction, the importance of Yuan-Shan Park was also promoted.

Furthermore, the visiting roadway from Taipei East Gate of Taipei Castle to the Taiwan Shrine through Meiji Bridge was also constructing with the subvention of

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<sup>2</sup> Taiwan Shrine Constructing Record, Taiwan Jih-Jih Hsin News, October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1901

treasury of Taipei County. The construction was finished in July of 1901 and was enshrined in October; afterwards, it was called Imperial Street. Because of the shrine, Yuan-Shan Park was becoming the urban axis park. For goods and material delivery demand, Dan-Shui railroad that connects Yuan-Shan, Zhi Shan Yan, and Pei Tou etc was finished and opened in 1900. Yuan-Shan station was established by Yuan-Shan Park, and Yuan-Shan Park had better conditions to be Taipei City Park.

At the same time, in Meiji 29 (1896) Zyodo Sect, who did missionary work, set mission in Taipei. In Meiji 30, Sohu, who was from Osaka, got the approval of Osaka Government to submit the construction fundraising for Memorial hall for War Dead. He applied for the construction of Memorial for War Dead to Taiwan Government-general in Meiji 33 (1900) and 34. It said that the memorial hall was to worship Japanese soldiers and officers who were died in the war, and the location was at the South foothill of Yuan-Shan, which was at the Northeast side of the aforesaid graveyard of the Army. Taiwan Government-general inquired for the ownership of the land, from the returned document, it was known that the landowner was Mochisaka. Land ownership arrangement for graveyard of the Army were mainly executed in Meiji 34, and between Yuan-Shan Park and the graveyard of the Army, Memorial hall for War Dead had obtained the ownership of the land at that time. Memorial hall for War Dead gained the approval in Meiji 35 and the construction was half-finished. In Meiji 40 (1907), the chief priest's living quarters and priest's living quarters had completed but they were facing fundraising difficulties and the main hall had not been built, so Taiwan Government-general impeached that the actual construction did not conform to the application drawing.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, in Meiji 30 (1897) later than Zyodo Sect, Myoshin Temple belonging to Rinzai of Zen Sect, got the financial assistance from Matsumoto Muzyu to do missionary work in Taiwan. The next year, they came to Taiwan again, and then went to the south of China. Then they submitted to Taiwan Government-general to preach Buddhism to the south part of China with Taiwan as their starting point. Hence Kotama hoped that more priests could come to Taiwan, so in Meiji 32 (1899) Umeyama led 10 priests to Taiwan and set mission in Chien-Tan. But some of the priests were sick because of bad hygiene condition in Chien-Tan Temple. Kotama discussed the matter of building new temple with Matsumoto. Matsumoto found Lin, Hsiung-Kuang's land that was located on the west side of Yuan-Shan Park. Since it overlooks Taipei city and those who were dead and loyal were buried there, so it was a spiritual location. With Taiwan Government-general approval, the Lin's family also agreed to contribute this land. This Lin, Hsiung-Kuang was also the landowner, who contributed Yuan-Shan Parkland in Meiji 38. In Meiji 33(1900), Umeyama submitted

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<sup>3</sup> According to the document data of Taiwan Government-general



application to build the temple, and Kotama contributed 1449,82 Yen to construct Yuan-Shan Vihara at the same year. The construction including altar and living quarters (1192.5 square feet) was finished in August and some land was left for the future construction of main hall. Kotama always encouraged Umeyama to build main hall to complete the temple, but Kotama died unexpectedly in Meiji 39(1906) and his funeral service was held in Yuan-Shan Vihara. To accomplish Kotama's unfulfilled wish, they decided to build a formal Buddhist Temple. Umeyama submitted fundraising application in Meiji 41 and was approved, fundraising subject included the chief of each area of Taipei city hall, who were Taiwanese. First, the priest's living quarters (Ku-Li) was completed in Meiji 43, and then the main hall and Toyogawakaku were completed in Meiji 44. Buddhist rites for inauguration and Kotama's seventh year memorial were held in Meiji 45. <sup>4</sup>Yuan-Shan Vihara was reconstructed into a grand Rinzaï Temple.

Except for Japanese temples, Huang-widow Memory Hall that was located at East Gate Street was facing the fate of being wrecked because it was delimited as the residence of Secretariat of Taiwan Government-general in the town plan. In Meiji 34(1901), a Taiwanese, Wang Chuen-Chin submitted to Taipei City Hall, hope to increase reconstruction subvention of Huang-widow Memory Hall and used City Park as its reconstruction site. The answer was that the Memorial Hall reconstruction was related to the feelings of citizenry so 700 Yen was withdrawn from officers' residence construction funds to relocate it. And there was no budget for the fund increment application, but it could be withdrawn from Public Expense of the year. But, the proposal of removing the memorial hall into Taipei City Park was not approved because Taipei Park was too small. So if Huang-widow Memory Hall was relocated in it, the Mausoleum might influence the landscape of the park. In Meiji 36(1903) Wang Chuen-Chin once again submitted the reconstruction of Huang-widow Memory Hall in Yuan-Shan Park to Taiwan Government-general, and Taipei City Hall also submitted to Taiwan Government-general saying the difficulties in finding new site for Huang-widow Memory Hall. Civil administration officer decided to choose suitable location at Yuan-Shan Park for the reconstruction of Huang-widow Memory Hall. After investigation, Taipei City hall submitted a suitable spot, and in the same year Taiwan Government-general approved Wang Chuen-Chin's application of borrowing the land. Additionally, Taiwan Government-general requested that its coverage was within 3600 square feet on the specific site, but trees and sacred gate were not included and design drawings had to be submitted before construction<sup>5</sup>. From the design drawings submitted, Huang-widow Memory Hall was built according

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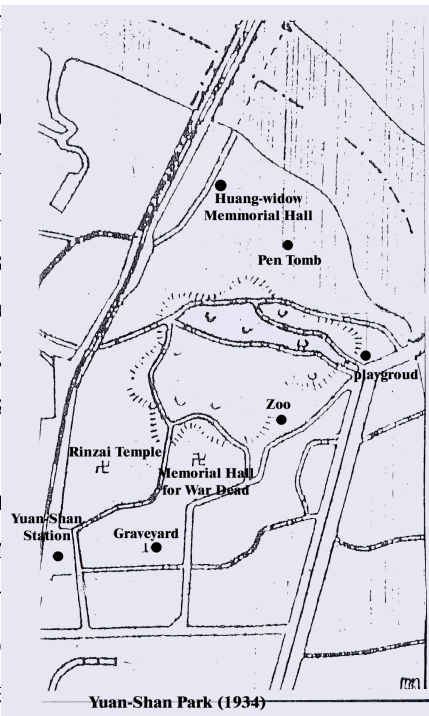
<sup>4</sup> According to the document of Taiwan Government-general and Chen-Nan Memorial Invitation card (1913, edited Huang Kouyo Syuzo)

<sup>5</sup> According to the document data of Taiwan Government-general

to Taiwanese Architectural style. It was considerable that the New Park was half the area of the parkland nowadays at that time, so the mausoleum with traditional architectural style might be compared with the European Style. Then the Memorial Hall of Yuan-Shan Park

Besides, in Taisyo 7 (1907), the Memorial Hall submitted application to borrow the parkland on the east side of Rinzai for building B. Reportedly, it was to intake some of the graves were dug out during construction of the Railway and now it is reconstructed and called Di-Cang Mausoleum.

From this, it is perceived that the purpose to promote the status of park, which was to provide the shrine a good environment. Except Yuan-Shan Park, there were no shrines located in park or near



Temple submitted

Japanese Colonial Period. While Taiwan's original temples were actually the place of public space, so Taiwanese would also submitted the application of reconstructing mausoleum in the park. On the other hand, the location of Yuan-Shan scenic spot and graveyard of the Army was the reason why Memorial Hall for War Dead and Rinzai Temple were constructed here. During the early day of Yuan-Shan Park establishment, this condition let the main construction in and surrounding Yuan-Shan Park were all shrines, mausoleums and Buddhist temples. This result was similar to the early day of Japanese parks. The park that Japanese first designated was to continue the place where public gathered for sightseeing during E-do period, and that was the parkland within Buddhist temple and shrine area; while the temples in Taiwan cities during Ching Dynasty also played the role as public center. The temples at suburbs area, especially on the mountain, were often public sightseeing place, too. As a matter of fact, in the town planning of Taipei in 1905, the front square of Lung-Shan Temple, which was the center of Taiwanese residence area, was designated into Lung-Shan Temple Park. On the cognizance of Japanese and Taiwanese, park and temple originally had common relationship so that is why Memorial Hall for War Dead and Rinzai Temple could be built in the park. During parkland ownership arrangement, the two temples were not purchased and were

<sup>6</sup> According to the report submitted by Taipei city hall to Taiwan Government-general

approved to construct, and were developed synchronously with the park. The construction of the latter was even supported by Taiwan Government-general himself.

It was the same in Ueno Park but the graveyard was removed as soon as possible; another scenic spot of Taiwan during Japanese governing period was Gu-Shan Park, it also had graveyard. After the graveyard was moved, Gu-Shan Park was formally constructed. This shows that graveyard and park were located separately was the main consideration during Japanese Colonial Period. After Yuan-Shan Park was established, the graveyard of the Army that had to be kept was moved to the south side. Japanese reconstructed the graveyard into park starting from Taisyo 14 (1925), the design of Tama graveyard of Tokyo referred to German and American parkland graveyard and also Japanese traditional graveyard<sup>7</sup>. And because of this changes, the graveyard of the Army, which was not included in the park area, was included in Taipei Urban Plan of 1932 along with Memorial Hall for War Dead and Rinzai Temple. It seemed to show that graveyard was considered the same as temple and was compatible with the park.

### **From the zoo to the sports stadium –Steps of westernization**

Except for the aforesaid park roadway construction and trees planting during Meiji period, there was also Taipei Chief Executive, Murakami Yoshio who constructed “Loyalty Monument for Police Officers of Taipei County” in Meiji 32 for the police officer of Taipei County who were dead in the course of performing duty or sickness during those three years. After Meiji 36 (1903), Goto Shinpei built brass image for the first Civil Administrator, Mizuno. In Taisyo 3(1914), Taiwan Jih Jih Hsin Newspaper originated in burying the writing instruments of former news workers and the scholars, who were related to the newspaper in the North side of the park and built a pen tomb that was made of natural stone monument on the location. It was similar to Chinese thought of word cherishing; it was originated from Japanese who prized the things they had in the past. They cautiously buried the things that were unable to put to use and built tombs for them<sup>8</sup>.

At the same time, after the death of Kotama in Meiji 39 (1906), the image of Kotama was built in New Park and the image of Goto Shinpei was built in Meiji 44 (1911). Although these monuments and images had their political meaning, but it also showed that Western way of building images in park was also brought into the park of Taiwan. The tomb of pen was representing Japanese traditional custom and the use of natural stone was close to the style of Japanese traditional gardens as well.

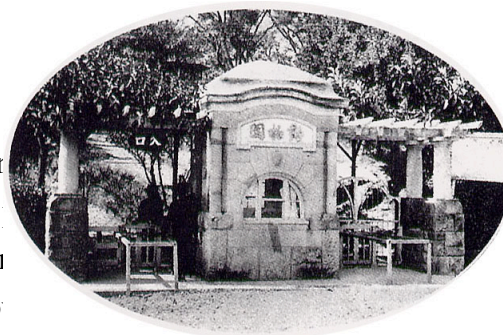
In Taisyo 3 (1914) Mr. O-e performed circus and acrobatic entertainments with

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<sup>7</sup> The history and culture of park construction, Landscape garden Laboratory of Kyoto University, 1986

<sup>8</sup> According to the document data of Taiwan Government-general

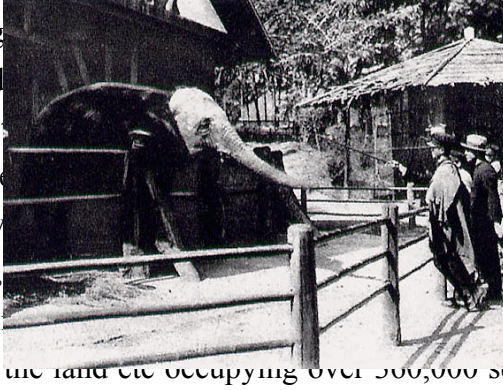
the name of zoo. Then in  
City Hall took over and  
those were kept in botan  
application and got appro



ent of Taisyo, Taipei  
removed the animals  
submitted fundraising  
ie same year. Except

the personage who was willing to contribute, fundraising subjects were including  
Taiwanese with assets over 25000 Yen and Japanese whose annual tax amount was

over ten Yen. Fundraising  
was about forty thousand  
thousands Yen was for  
Taiwan respected familie  
fundraising representativ  
animals room, bird room,  
guard room, water pipi



ndraising estimation  
for the zoo and ten  
t. Besides Japanese,  
Shou etc were also  
vided picket fences,  
om, crocodiles pool,  
onstruction, animals

purchase and readjusting the land etc occupying over 500,000 square feet of land. At  
that time, it became the only zoo in Taiwan and was one of five big zoos of Japan.

While the new aquarium construction in Takasa Park was about 1,080 square feet,  
and donation was used to buy electrical equipment and aquarium etc.

Pei-Tou Park was established in  
Taisyo 1(1912), while in Taisyo 2  
non-governmental circles launched the  
construction of public bathing place and  
finished in the same year. Between  
Taisyo 2 – Taisyo 5 (1913-1915),  
Kotama and Goto Shinpei's memorial  
hall, which is the museum afterwards,  
was constructed within the New Park.

There was income regulation of  
park-affiliated zoo and aquarium  
sightseeing in the government  
newspaper in Taisyo 6(1917) and this  
also showed that the business was  
formally operated. After the  
administrative adjustment was executed  
in Taisyo 9 (1920), parks were  
administered by Taipei City. According  
to the record of Taipei City Newspaper,  
the Taipei City Zoo Management Regulation that was issued in May of Taisyo 10  
provided that school teacher who were bringing over 30 students could visit the zoo

freely. From the record of Taipei City Newspaper, the visiting children were 977 persons in April and 514 persons in May, the number increased to 5767 persons in October and 2695 persons in November. There were over two thousands children, who could visit the zoo freely.

In Taisyō 12, Syōwa Prince came to Taiwan to hold Schools Joint Athletic Meeting of Taiwan. For this reason, more than 98 thousands Yen was spent on the South side of Yuan-Shan Park to construct Yuan-Shan Stadium with newly constructed area 781,056 square feet; then in the announcement of the map of Taipei State Yuan-Shan Park in Taisyō 15, the stadium had once be planned into Park expansion area. At the same year, new municipal swimming pool was built in East Gate Street.

From this, it was known that except monument and image, there was construction in large for the facilities within the park during Taisyō period, and the new construction in Yuan-Shan Park was the zoo. Its opportunity was private animal circus performance, which was taken over and reconstructed by government after it was closed. There were also aquariums, public bathing places and museums etc. in the construction of other parks. Zoo, aquarium and museum were also educational institution, while public bathing place is to provide public use because Pei-Tou has hot spring. Then sports stadium was constructed on the South side of Yuan-Shan Park and public swimming pool was constructed in Taipei city in the same year. It also showed that the park was changing from appreciating natural scenery and shrines scene into the zoo, museum, aquarium, and stadium of Western culture. And the park function was also expanded from traditional sightseeing to education and sports. This also meant the better understanding towards Western park concept.

And Ueno Park in Japan started installing Western fountain in Meiji 14 (1881) and established museum and zoo in Meiji 15. At the time, building Memorial brass image and monument in the park had become popular and they even appeared in shrines and Buddhist Temples, parks had become the characterization of new era and new culture<sup>9</sup>; stadium was constructed in the park during Taisyō period. Thereof, facilities development within Taiwan parks could be seen. Although there were all sorts of opportunities but basically, it still followed the Westernization steps of Japan.

There among, the role of public had to be noticed, too. In the aforesaid administration rule, it mentioned the regulation of renting and that people could borrow it. As long as it belonged to public users, public was encouraged to invest the construction; except for the tomb of pen, which was started by public, the zoo was taken over from original private manager and the reconstruction funds afterwards

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<sup>9</sup> The history and culture of park construction, edited by Landscape garden Laboratory of Kyoto University, 1986

were also coming from the public. And we learnt that private strength and tendency had rather big influence over park construction.

### **Amusement Park and City Entertainments**

During Syowa Period, the team leader of Second Generation Taipei Fire Control, Hunakoshi Kurayosi's bust was added to Yuan-Shan Park in Syowa 8 (1933). In the same year, Taipei City Newspaper published about indiscriminate construction of monuments or images, and more consideration for its necessity had to be taken. From this, we could see the popularity of monuments and images, which were even overused, and this needed to be prohibited through newspaper.

Number of visitors visiting zoo was over 150 thousands persons in Syowa 4 (1925), the population of Taipei city was about 230 thousands at that time. In Syowa 14 (1939), the population of Taipei city had increased to 340 thousands and the number of visitors visiting the zoo was over 300 thousands persons. As a matter of fact, the zoo-closed time was between 4 PM to 5 PM in Syowa 4, but starting from Syowa 8, the zoo closed time during summer holidays had been prolonged to 10 PM. In Syowa 12 (1937), there were activities such as movies, Japanese drama, Taiwanese drama, fireworks performance etc during night opening time of the zoo and they even used two thundering signals to notify public of the performance day. In the same year, fifty thousands Yen had been raised from the public and in the October, 216,000 square feet of land had been built into playground with the funds 68565 Yen. It was finished in July of Syowa 13 and its facilities included fountain, flowerbeds, waterfalls, water-playing pool, battlefield and sports appliances, then its area was expanded to 531867.6 square feet and its fee collecting facilities included electric cars, planes, merry-go-round etc., and also interior entertainments items included animal shooting, balloon throwing and attacking. Number of visitors in Syowa 13, Syowa 14, Syowa 15 were about 120 or 130 thousands persons per year, the number was even over 180 thousands persons in Syowa 16. Starting from Syowa 14, the opening time was prolonged to 10 PM in summer.<sup>10</sup>

In 1920, there were 170 thousands of farming folk in Taipei city population, which were over 170 thousands persons, in 1930 the population increased to 240 thousands but the farming population reduced to 120 thousands persons<sup>11</sup>. Along with the changes of city industry, Taipei agricultural society was gradually transforming into industry and commerce society, the economic ability of its residents had improved progressively. Public gradually accepted the consumptive park facilities, and the drama that was played in temple yard or theaters and movies had been

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<sup>10</sup> According to Taipei city Newspaper and Taipei Statistics, Labor service of Taipei city

<sup>11</sup> General situation and Administrative affairs summary within Taipei State, edited by Labor service of Taipei State

removed into park, and also novel entertainments, such as fireworks, amusement facilities were also included. Park was not merely the place of natural scene any more; it had become the superficial characteristics of city life in the new era.

## **Conclusion**

Regarding the establishment of City Park, since Taipei was in the transition process from agricultural society to industry and commerce society during Meiji period, it was different from the West, whose city population was centralized, environment deterioration caused by industries development. And it had different starting point from the West, whose starting point was to improve city space quality and for the health of city residents. Thou “park” was the concept coming from the West, but Japanese and Taiwanese in the early days regarded it as the existed cognition of public sightseeing space.

According to the historical review of Yuan-Shan Park, we generalize the following characteristics from the park formation and development process of Taiwan during Japanese governing period. These characteristics will help us have better understanding of the society background of Colonial Taiwan city westernization process at that time.

1. Tradition and westernization existed simultaneously – although in Japan, the term of “park” was coming from the West, but as a matter of fact, the earliest park that was established, was the sightseeing place chosen at the scenic spot within temples area during E-do period; and this let people have the traditional cognition that religious facilities and park have similarity or compatibility. But on the other hand, the introduction of park into city was also wished to be the characterization of new era and new culture, so that was why Western design method and westernization facilities were appearing rapidly in the park and let traditional and westernization exist simultaneously in the park.
2. The compromise between needs and cognizance – Since park use land had to be acquired from the existed city land, but as a matter of fact, the needs had to be satisfied, too. Therefore, even though their function was not compatible, but they could reach a compromise within the acceptable range of the existed cognizance. Such as the compromise method of moving the graveyard of the Army to the south side of the park and the compromise way of removing Huang-widow Memory Hall from the small New Park to the slope of Yuan-Shan Park with bigger area.
3. Multi-use and multi-character of the park – under the background of the above said characteristics, City Park presented multi-character because of its

multi-use.

4. Incidental and policy on the park – The reason why Yuan-Shan turned into park or once it was the reserved land for Taiwan shrine, and then actually become the important place opposite to the shrine. The removal of Huang-widow Memory Hall, zoo, amusement park facilities etc could be said as a succession of incidental but actually, each time it was given judicious guidance through the application procedure of Taiwan Government-general and the assistance of powerful personage and it was developed under the guidance and control of policy.
5. Accomplished the urban plan with flexible technique – through contribution, land purchasing, even trees purchasing way let the transference of land ownership could be smoothly proceeded; then with the city expansion, the shrine and graveyard, which were similar to Yuan-Shan Park in cognizance were designated into the planned parkland of urban structure. The flexible way in fulfilling modernization urban plan could be seen.
6. The sociality meaning characterization of the park –in the early day of park establishment, the park management regulation issued provided that people could borrow the parkland with rent under condition that the use was not endangering public welfare and if it was for the use of public welfare, it even could be used freely. As a matter of fact, the way of encouraging public to participate in public works was taken, and park construction funds was raised through combining the fundraising of powerful personage. This let public had the channel to participate in construction or to submit proposal, and this even revealed the park publicity and sociality meaning.
7. Following the westernization steps of Japan – from scenic area to zoo, amusement park, stadium, the construction process of Taiwan First Park was slightly behind Japan footstep. This exactly explained that the development trend of Taiwan City Park was following the development of Japanese local parks.



**URBAN REVIVAL AND THE PUBLIC UNIVERSITY:  
THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON TACOMA**

Dr. William Richardson

Interdisciplinary Arts and Sciences  
University of Washington Tacoma  
1900 Commerce Street  
Tacoma, WA 98335, USA  
(253) 692-4455; [wr@u.washington.edu](mailto:wr@u.washington.edu)

## Abstract

Over the last decade, Tacoma, Washington has been undergoing an extensive transformation. An old industrial city on the northwestern coast of the United States is constructing and expanding cultural and educational institutions, restoring and reusing historic buildings and districts, and building a new transportation infrastructure. As a result, the city is taking on a new look, but one that respects its historic legacy of architectural built form and its rich heritage of urban experience. By the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century one of the city's most historic districts will have been changed fundamentally, and if all goes well, it will be accomplished in ways that are sensitive to the past, responsive to the present, and imaginative about the future.

This paper focuses on the role played by the University of Washington's Tacoma campus as a catalyst in the city's development, and discusses other projects related to Tacoma's revival. The forty-six acre university site is located adjacent to a railway station adaptively reused as a court complex, a new classical-revival state history museum, two entirely new modernist art museums, new roadways and light rail systems, and a waterway redevelopment scheme associated closely with an environmental restoration project. All in all, one of Tacoma's most historic districts will become the centerpiece of the reconciliation between new urban development and historic preservation and adaptive reuse.

The paper is illustrated with slides of current and past projects as well as designs of future buildings, city plans, and maps. The author has been involved in the development of the University campus over the last decade, and has been active as a liaison with projects being undertaken in the city.

## Introduction

The revival of urban centers in the United States is following different paths in different locations. One of the most interesting of these revitalization and preservation projects is in process of taking shape in Tacoma, Washington. What was an aging industrial city with a serious regional image problem has been attempting to reinvent itself and to renew a major section of its one-time central business district through a series of important private and public projects. An essential component of this revival is the development of a campus of the University of Washington on a site adjacent to downtown in the historic warehouse district of Tacoma. It is an ambitious project with no real peer in the United States of America, one that is providing public education to an underserved community in the midst of an architectural ensemble of uncommon integrity and beauty.

## The Setting -- The City of Tacoma

Tacoma, Washington owes its origin to its selection as Pacific Coast terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad more than a century ago. Its deepwater port, on Commencement Bay, attracted the railroad and assisted Tacoma in becoming an industrial and trading center. The city's early prosperity was intimately associated with the railroad, and the area around the station became the cradle of a new urban center that grew, despite the city's "boom and bust" economic history, with the introduction of a considerable number of additional businesses, factories, and commercial enterprises.

Tacoma's industrial development brought environmental pollution on a scale typical of nineteenth-century U.S. cities, but the progress and profit symbolized by belching smokestacks were felt for decades to outweigh the poorly-understood health and environmental threats which have become of such concern in more recent times. The area of Tacoma's port, with the Puyallup River which flows through it into Commencement Bay, as well as the surrounding tidflats, were dangerously polluted and in need of environmental rehabilitation. Significant environmental remediation of some of the city's most environmentally damaged sites began only in the 1990s. The city's air quality has continued to be a problem, principally because of industries located east and south of downtown.

Tacoma's situation was not unlike that of many industrial cities throughout the U.S. suffering from suburban flight, urban crime, a deteriorating infrastructure, and increased costs for what were once taxpayer-subsidized public services. The city had a poor self-image, was perceived as always having been a distant second to Seattle in every respect, and was memorable to most people passing through the city for the "aroma of Tacoma," the smell from a pulp paper mill that seemed to wrap the area in noxious fumes. During the 1980s, some projects had been completed directed toward improving the city's prospects, its image, and its hospitality to new business, but many local observers still wrote off Tacoma, failing to see the great potential of the city's location, its population, and its economic diversity. By 1990 the city was beginning to learn from mistakes that had been made in the past, the Puget Sound region's economy was expanding at breakneck pace, a number of new major projects were being initiated, and there was enormous opportunity for the expansion of public education in the area because of the expectations that a new campus of the University of Washington would be built somewhere in or adjacent to the city. Tacoma was on the verge of fundamental change through a significant redefinition of itself.

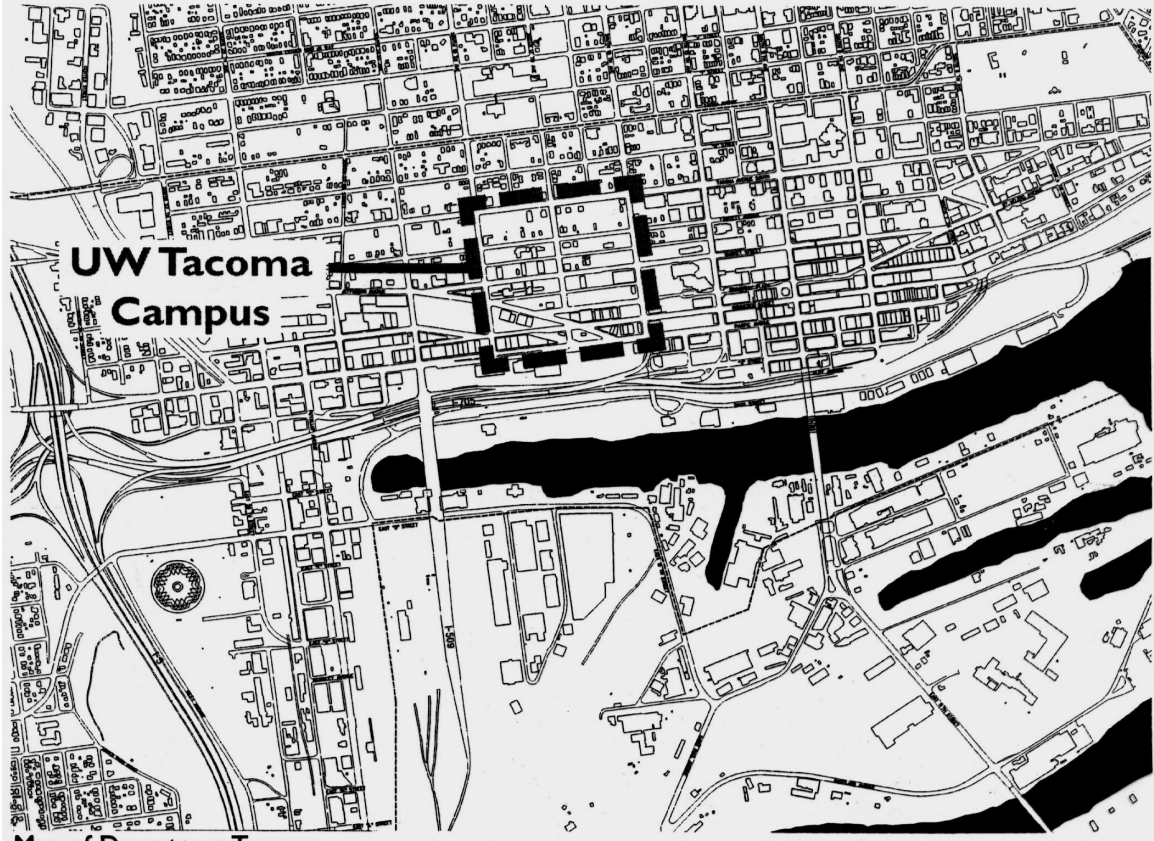
### **The Arrival of the University of Washington**

In August 1988, the University of Washington reported to the state's Higher Education Coordinating (HEC) Board on a plan to expand upper-division and graduate programs in the Puget Sound region, and concluded by recommending the establishment of two new branch campuses of the University of Washington, in the Tacoma area in the south and in the Bothell-Woodinville area in the north. In October 1990, the Tacoma campus of the University of Washington opened in temporary quarters in a remodeled office building in downtown Tacoma.

Before talk about choosing a site for the permanent campus could begin, certain planning decisions about program, scheduling, finance, and physical environment had to be made. It was determined, for example, that educational programs at the undergraduate and master's levels would be mixed and balanced (with arts and sciences, engineering, nursing, business, and teacher training predominating), that initially the target student body would be mature adults, most of whom were working, with family responsibilities, and commuting from home, and that the faculty would be hired from throughout the country, to work full-time on the new campus. Construction quality at the new campus was to equal that on the Seattle campus. There would be art on campus and in buildings, landscaping would be appropriate to a major institution, and it was decided that services provided on campus would not be intended to compete with off-campus commercial businesses. Finally, it was agreed that UWT's physical environment should be attractive, comfortable, secure, that it should support student and family needs, and that it would be non-residential, collegial, and technologically advanced. It would have a strong campus focal point, a clear "front door" and an identity in the community, a simple and direct plan for parking and circulation, and an expandable utilities infrastructure.

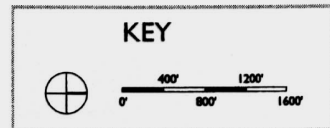
In 1989 the state legislature authorized the University to begin the search for a permanent site for the new campus. Detailed environmental reports were written and extensive public comment sessions were held about several potential locations. In November 1990 the Higher Education Coordinating Board selected parts of two sites in the historic warehouse district of Tacoma to be the permanent location of UWT.

The area chosen encompassed forty-six acres, and HEC Board instructions were clear that the University was to spread itself throughout the area, while recognizing that the focus for the campus would probably be at the intersection of Nineteenth Street and Pacific Avenue, very close to Union Station. It was a site for a new university that nonetheless had a hundred years of history associated with it because of the historic buildings that would house the first programs,



**UW Tacoma  
Campus**

**Map of Downtown Tacoma**



classrooms, and offices. The University began acquiring property almost immediately, and by 2010 is projected to own every parcel of land within the forty-six acres.

### **Other Plans for Revitalizing the City of Tacoma**

The site selected for the new campus was particularly significant for the future growth of downtown Tacoma because of a number of other major projects that had been completed in recent years, were underway, or were being planned. The city was finally making significant progress toward revitalizing its center. Some projects dated from the 1980s. The 25,000-seat Tacoma Dome, a sports and entertainment venue, had been completed in 1983 on the edge of the downtown area. The next year a twenty-five story Sheraton hotel was constructed adjacent to a major new conference facility. In 1988 the Interstate 705 spur from I-5 was completed at a cost of \$100 million dollars. That same year the Frank Russell Building, the second-largest office building downtown, was constructed with city encouragement in the form of a publicly-financed parking garage. Other projects included a theater district consisting of the Pantages, a 1200-seat performance hall converted from an old movie theater, the Rialto, a recital hall and home for the city's Youth Symphony that was also adapted from a World War I-era movie house, and an entirely-new \$7.5 million Tacoma Actors' Guild Theater, built above a \$20 million Pierce Transit bus transfer station and adjacent to a four-block long landscaped transit mall, a project which includes some significant examples of public art commemorating the varying cultural heritages of Tacoma's increasingly diverse population.

Other developments connect downtown to the site of the University campus. Projects in this area include the new headquarters for the Pierce County Medical Bureau, completed in 1995, and the regional offices of United Way and a downtown center for Tacoma Community College in an adaptively-reused early twentieth-century commercial building adjacent to Interstate 705. In 1998 this area of the city was the subject of a Regional Urban Design Assistance Team study, which led to a series of recommendations for developing further the twenty generally desolate blocks separating the downtown and the University, with one significant complex being a new convention center. There are major projects underway for development of commercial, residential, and public park spaces along the city's Foss Waterway, with the Port of Tacoma playing an important role in development of the area. A new cable-stay eight-lane bridge connects the new state route 509 limited access highway around the constantly-expanding Port to downtown at Twenty-First Street, the southern edge of the campus. A light rail system is currently being constructed along Pacific Avenue to connect Tacoma's theater district with the Tacoma Dome district and eventually with Seattle as part of the Sound Transit system. The Museum of Glass, a new complex funded through private donations and designed by the Vancouver architect Arthur Erickson, is being completed on the Foss Waterway, and will be connected to Pacific Avenue by the Chihuly Bridge of Glass.<sup>1</sup> Immediately to the south of the Glass Museum a new residential and commercial complex is being constructed that will offer apartments for rent and condominiums for purchase, though at prices only the most affluent of University employees and students can afford. Other similar residential developments along the Waterway are proposed. The Tacoma Art Museum is also constructing a new building in the area. Designed by Antoine Predock, a New Mexico architect with special interest in the "spirit of place" of his building sites, it will be the architect's first building in the Pacific Northwest. Yet another museum, housing one of America's largest collections of automobiles, is to be built adjacent to the Tacoma Dome. Finally, a new light rail system (itself a recreation of an extensive public transportation system which unified the region in pre-automobile days) is being constructed over the next decade through the downtown area and immediately adjacent to the campus, connecting the central city with the Tacoma Amtrak station and the Pierce County/Sound Transit Centers.

Two of the most significant buildings constructed downtown in recent years are adjacent to the city's historic Union Station (1911), and across Pacific Avenue from the UW campus. To the north of the station is the federal courts complex, a contextually-sensitive structure completed in 1992. Designed by the Tacoma architectural firm Merritt+Pardini, the project combined a new building with an elegant restoration of Union Station itself. The new building cost thirty-eight

million dollars, and overall the project totaled fifty-seven million, of which seven and a half million came from the city of Tacoma.

Immediately south of the station building is the second major project, the new home of the Washington State Historical Museum. In 1990 an international architectural competition was announced, and a jury of architects, planners, and city and museum officials considered the projects of four finalists (including Thomas Beeby, Arthur Erickson, and Michael Graves) who seemed to have a particular sensitivity to some aspects of the site and its significance. The winners of the competition, Charles Moore and Arthur Andersson of Austin, Texas, proposed a museum directly inspired by the lines of the adjacent station. Three arched brick facades would face Pacific Avenue (with two more to be added as the museum grew), and an open courtyard separating the museum from the station was to incorporate an amphitheater, cafe, and bookstore into the overall plan. Groundbreaking for the museum took place in 1993, and the official opening of the museum was celebrated in 1996.

All these projects suggest that the city of Tacoma is undergoing one of the most fundamental transformations of its urban structure since its founding. The University of Washington is a significant part of this change.

### **Selection of Architects and Planners for the University Campus**

In February 1991 a preliminary symposium was held at the University's Seattle campus to discuss issues related to the development of the University's two new campuses. Consisting of members of the University's architectural commission, urban planners, architects from around the country, and representatives from various university constituencies, the symposium raised a number of questions and made several comments about the development of the Tacoma campus. It was noted that non-traditional students spend time outside class studying rather than socializing, that they need convenient food services and child care facilities, and that they should be provided a sense of belonging to the campus through creation of a strong sense of place. The planners were cautioned to remember the age, family responsibilities, and gender realities of the student body (two-thirds were expected to be female), as well as the fact that part-time students take longer to complete degrees than traditional students do. The planners were urged to develop a single marketable identity for the campus, so as to distinguish it from the Seattle campus; mixed use was encouraged; a single strong unifying space was seen as necessary to provide a sense of distinctiveness for a campus that would nonetheless be part of the community surrounding it; a stress was placed on planning for transportation management; and finally, it was agreed that while the University did not envision a large resident student population, residential use of some of the campus site was desirable and inevitable for the vitality of the UWT campus, either through the construction of new housing or the renovation of existing, and frequently historic, residential structures.

In June 1991 the University called for architectural teams to submit applications to do the architectural design for new buildings to be occupied in 1995 (in fact, budget constraints delayed occupancy of the campus's first phase until 1997) and to put together a master plan for a campus of six thousand students for the year 2010. Thirty firms responded to the announcement, seven were interviewed by the UW architectural commission, and in September 1991 the Regents of the University approved the selection of the firm of Moore Ruble Yudell (MRY) of Santa Monica, California to produce the master plan for the campus as well as for its first buildings. MRY would work with the landscape architecture firm of Hanna/Olin, with Robert Hanna as principal collaborating with a local landscape architecture firm. All the members of the planning team agreed that it should be intimately associated with the communities surrounding the site, that the campus should be available not only to students and staff, but to the people of Tacoma, and that while there should be a clear definition of where the campus began and ended, it should be a university permeable by the public.

One final member of the planning team was added in January 1992 with the selection of Buster Simpson, a Seattle artist, to oversee art projects for the campus. Simpson has a particular concern for environmental issues, questions of urban art, and Native American traditions, all of which are relevant to the permanent site of UWT. Simpson's charge was to consult on the development of potential sites for future art projects, to present proposals for his own public art

projects on campus, and to create a final report on how public art could be integrated into the master plan for the future campus.

### **Designing the First Phase of UWT**

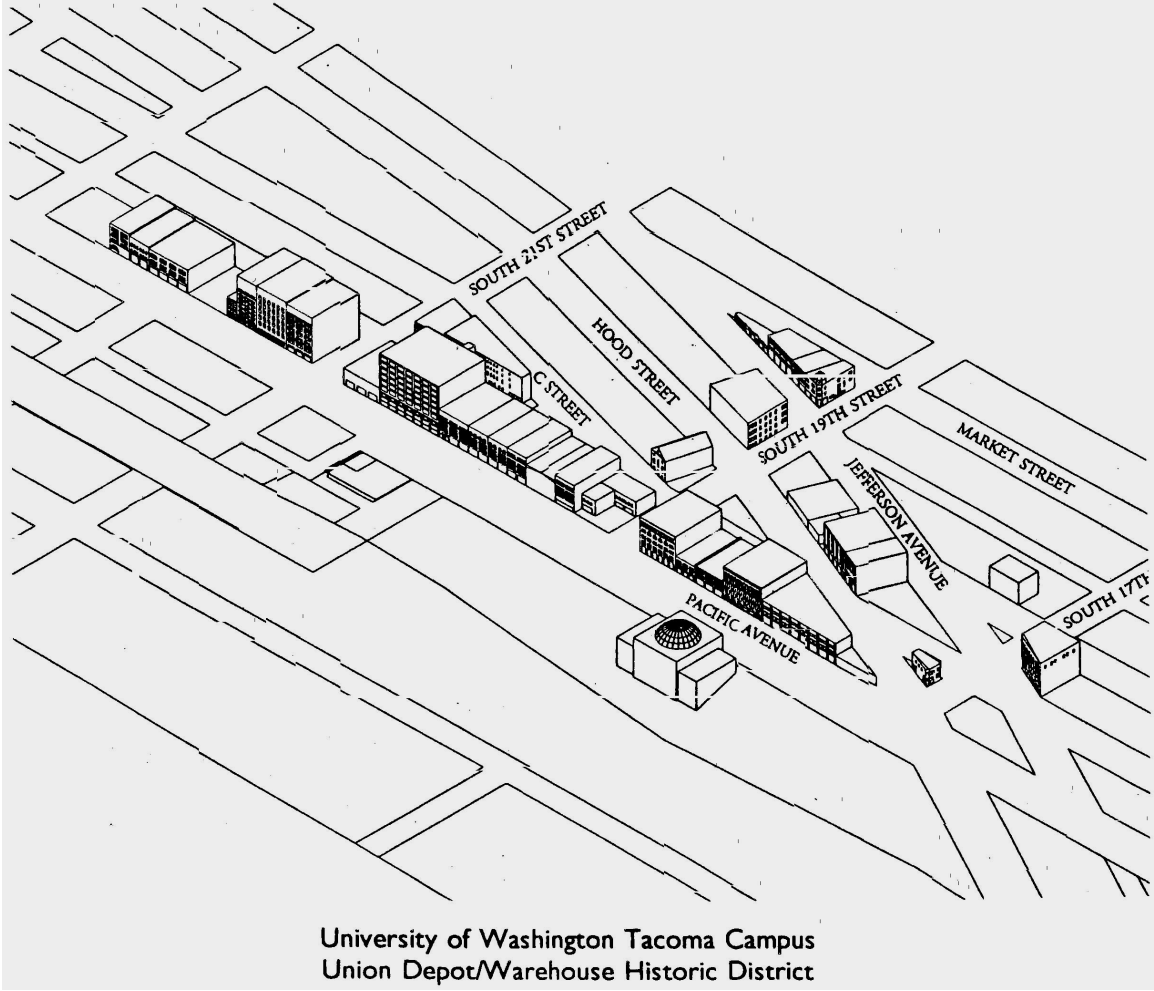
The planning goals for the new campus emphasized the need to foster a sense of tradition and to incorporate the strong character of Tacoma's existing warehouse district. The project included both new construction and adaptive reuse, though the plan stressed that the significance of the historic warehouses on the site set the direction for future architectural design. It was the historic buildings that would give the campus an immediate sense of place and identity. The brick warehouses were remodeled, with new mechanical and electrical systems being installed and offices and classrooms being designed for the spaces currently in existence, though oriented around new atrium spaces created in the center of two of the largest buildings, located along Pacific Avenue, Tacoma's main thoroughfare. Fortunately, the buildings which already existed were in most cases originally warehouses and other utilitarian commercial structures, and had continued to be used in that way, so that only minimal quantities of materials such as asbestos needed to be removed before they could be used by students, staff, and faculty. As would be expected, the buildings have exceptional floor-loading capacities, and the interior columns, floors, and roofs of heavy timber construction provide a highly substantial location for campus programs.

Some environmental considerations had to be taken into account in developing the site, with ground contamination being one of the most immediate. Underground gasoline tanks and interior and exterior air quality are all concerns for the campus, though it is believed that these problems can be adequately mitigated on a case by case basis and as part of the overall environmental improvement of the city and port area. Noise and street traffic are of equal concern, and while some streets on the campus site are to be closed, others will remain open and will need to be planned for.<sup>2</sup>

Another concern associated with the site is crime. Many long-term residents of Tacoma remember the campus area as being particularly unsavory, with bars and houses of prostitution being succeeded by areas notorious for drug dealing. While the crime rate today is actually quite low in downtown Tacoma, that has not been the perception among residents of surrounding communities, and every effort will have to be made to ensure the safety of those working, studying, or visiting in the area of the campus. Associated problems include the potential that the campus may become a desirable location for street people and the homeless, and resolving this difficult national issue continues to be discussed.

The historic buildings used on the site for the most part occupy the eastern edge and lowest part of the forty-six acres, either facing or close to Pacific Avenue. The majority are warehouses dating from the 1880s to the 1920s, and rise between three and eight stories. They are located within the city's Union Depot/Warehouse Historic District (National Register 1980), the Union Depot/Warehouse Special Review District (City of Tacoma 1983), and the Union Station Conservation District. The area is one of the oldest existing urban industrial and commercial areas in the Pacific Northwest, representing two periods of development, a first phase initiated by the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad's transcontinental line in 1887 which ended with the depression of 1893, and a second phase which followed the economic recovery after 1900 and continued until 1914. Wholesale businesses and distribution centers were located in warehouses constructed in the immediate vicinity of the station. The buildings have highly visible facades oriented to Pacific Avenue and loading docks located at the rear elevations abutting the railroad spurs.<sup>3</sup>

Other structures on the site encourage a kind of architectural and planning dialogue between the present and the past. Railroad tracks run through the campus and will continue to be used (albeit in a limited way) in future, the Longshore and Warehouse Workers hiring hall is on the site, there are remains of greengrocers' shops which still exist (albeit in other locales)<sup>4</sup>, and the area was renowned up until the 1950s as a center for gambling, liquor, and prostitution (finding a way to commemorate the area's heritage as the city's "Sporting district" will be a challenge). Finally, the western edge of what will be the campus limits was occupied up until February 1942 by Tacoma's Japanese-American community, and two Japanese churches (one





Buddhist, one Methodist) are still located within the area, as are the former Japanese Language School and a few houses once owned by local Japanese-Americans. It is recognized that all these memories of the past should somehow be incorporated into the future image and design of the campus.

In every case, the University was required to work with a variety of local governmental agencies created to preserve and protect sites of historic and cultural significance in the area of the new campus. The Tacoma Landmarks Preservation Commission, for example, was consulted repeatedly to review the plans for exterior rehabilitation, new construction, and alteration and modification of historic structures. That consultation and review resulted in designs consistent with the city's overall vision of its historic heritage yet ones that provided opportunities for the project architects and artists to express their own esthetic visions. An example of the difficult choices that were made by the Commission was the decision made to approve the demolition of the Art Deco Shaub Ellison Building. The building's historic designation had to be removed before it could be demolished, and on the recommendation of the architects, who saw the space occupied by the building as central to their design for the campus's main entrance plaza, and as being intrusive to the turn-of-the-century character of the district in general, the Commission agreed to support "de-designation."

The planners and the University agreed from the beginning that mixed use on the site was desirable. Store fronts along Pacific Avenue continue to be leased out to appropriate private commercial tenants (University Bookstore, Starbuck's, Taco del Mar, Subway), and the University and the community hope that the presence of the University will help the economic development of what one of Tacoma's previous mayors has called "the University District" (in reference to the lively business and residential neighborhood adjacent to the UW Seattle campus). Indeed, this is seen as part of the overall effort to revitalize the area and restore the busy commercial life of the district rather than merely to commemorate it as a page from times gone by. Above all, the planners were cautioned not to discourage retail activities of the sort amenable to university life through the plans they develop. Similarly, since the campus will include much space that it will not need to use in the foreseeable future, it is likely that residential use will continue, particularly in the form of artists' lofts which are already present in the area, for example.

Landscaping for the campus will stress the distinction between the lower eastern half and the higher western half of the area's existing built form. Landscaping of the lower campus enhances the high density, urban, industrial ethos of the site. New pavement materials, lighting, furnishings and plantings together with the retention, rehabilitation and recreation of historic site elements help define the dual nature of the campus's two parts, one with recurring physical reminders of the past, the other with less substantial though evocative memories of the history of this part of the city. As the campus moves up the hillside, landscaping plans mesh more intensely with the overall master plan, particularly in terms of recognizing and enhancing the natural heritage of the site. The striking view of Mt. Rainier from the campus provides an important organizational axis for the plan, one that will be emphasized through appropriate landscape architecture as much as building and street design. The central university "green" and other enclosed landscaped plazas will provide other opportunities for connections between the constructed campus and the natural environment.

Finally, the master plan stressed that a major component of development will provide for generic space, since planning for a university twenty years into the future is a notoriously imprecise activity. Some future programs, such as community outreach centers (an important mission of this campus of the University of Washington), a Pacific Rim Studies Center, an Urban Studies Center, a Center for Labor Studies, art and natural history exhibit spaces, and a fitness center for students, staff, and faculty, can be planned for, but others cannot. Generic space will make it possible for the planning process to continue to be flexible during the next two decades and beyond, and conceivably to allow this campus of the University of Washington to redefine its mission as it matures.

### **1997: Opening the New Campus's First Phase**

Those who visited the new campus after its opening in September 1997 were repeatedly struck by the architects' success in incorporating memories of the past into their design. The architectural strategy for both old and new buildings was indeed generated by the influence of the existing warehouses as well as by the condition of the sloping site. The warehouses, the most significant architectural resource the campus had from the past, have set the direction for the future architectural experience of the campus. Their character and richness gave the campus an immediate sense of place and identity, and the architects believed that, with some adaptation, they were excellently suited for the majority of anticipated university functions. As the master plan stated, "The esthetic strength of these buildings and the ease with which they can be adapted to new uses enables them to serve as a model for the new buildings that will be required for the campus."<sup>5</sup>

The exteriors of most of the buildings were changed only minimally because of the restrictions put in place by their designation as historic properties. Brickwork was cleaned and repointed, the greatly-deteriorated rear loading docks were removed and new ones incorporating a certain amount of artistic originality were installed, and new window glass and frames were installed which looked like the originals but were more suitable for climate-controlled spaces. The Walsh-Gardner, or class-laboratory building, was remodeled substantially, however, with the removal of much of the original north-facing wall (which once abutted the Shaub Ellison Building) and installation of a new entrance, a stair tower, and extensive new fenestration, all consistent with the original neo-classical design of the windows on what had been the front and rear of the building. The most significant changes took place in the centers of the two towers of the "academic building," a combination of what had been four separate buildings of varying heights. In order to provide adequate lighting and a sense of openness, two atrium spaces were created inside the two towers, with skylights inserted at the top of each to provide access to natural light. The spaces were handled in an original and dramatic way, and are often felt to be some of the most significant features of the new campus. One of the most interesting features of the spaces is the fact that the memory of the original warehouse floors and ceilings remain, and that many of the original wooden old-growth fir beams and brick arches remain visible to those walking through or working in the building. Other beams were adaptively reused for stairways throughout the buildings. Original column and floor braces were strengthened and remain in place, and where braces were removed, supporting holes in brick walls were left open as ghosts of the former support system. Industrial-style lighting was installed throughout the buildings as a way of memorializing the original use of the spaces, though bright colors were introduced for certain walls to provide greater interest and to be reminiscent of popular colors used in vernacular housing at the time the buildings were originally constructed. All in all, the buildings conveyed a strong sense of what they had been used for in the past, but were at the same time highly functional and comfortable for the students, faculty, and staff who would be using them in the future. One final memory of earlier use was to be seen in room designations: the north tower, for example, is known traditionally as the West Coast Grocery Company building, and rooms within that original structure are numbered with a "WCG" prefix, though when one moves from building to building, it is often difficult to distinguish what were once separate structures (and first-time visitors often fail to find their way to the rooms they need).

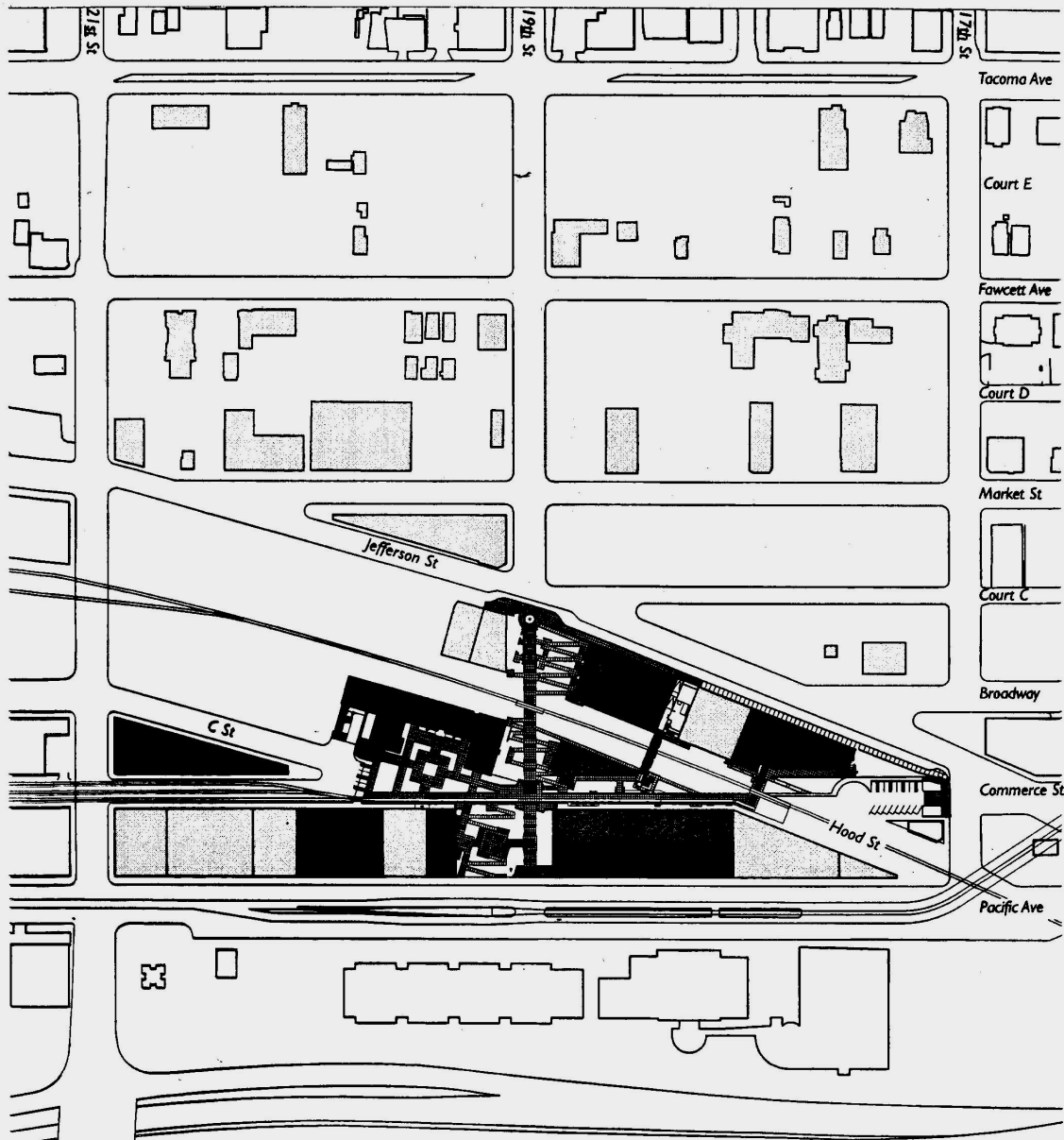
Certainly the most striking and successful architectural ensemble in the campus's first phase was the library, comprised of a new structure connected to the most impressive historic building on the campus, the former Snoqualmie Falls Power Transfer Station. There was little doubt from the beginning that the neo-classical temple of the power station would be the reading room for the library. The Snoqualmie Building was in need of significant restoration and remodeling, but while the original elegant fenestration was recreated, for example, and the Greek revival metal capitals refabricated, the original turbine crane structures were left in place, and joined with industrial lighting that reinforced the memory of the original use of the building in the minds of those using it. The new building that joined the reading room was modern and functional, but it too utilized an industrial vocabulary in its lighting fixtures, ceiling coverings (corrugated metal), and floor finishings, and walls covered with historic photographs of the campus area. The new building followed the same orientation as the power station, angled off the predominant street grid and aligned to the railroad tracks which traverse the lower, eastern section of the campus.

On the whole, the architectural team for the campus did indeed tie their work to the historic precedents of the site and its buildings. Their sensitivity and originality, executed in numerous ways throughout the campus's first phase, can be seen to be exceptional examples of what respectful adaptive reuse of older buildings can achieve. The spirits of the past inhabit the first phase of the new campus and will encourage generations of students to come to recognize their role in the continuum of life in Tacoma.

The landscaping for the first phase of the campus was typically urban and appropriate to the previously commercial and industrial use of the site. Many memories of the past remain, from overhead electrical wires to railroad tracks embedded in asphalt walkways or recreated in contrasting brick avenues. At the same time, plants, shrubs, and trees were planted that were for the most part native to the state of Washington, and while no attempt was made to return the site to its original condition before the arrival of European-American settlers, the campus landscaping is clearly reminiscent of the natural flora of the "Evergreen State" in a way that is not inconsistent with the urbanity of the new uses to which the site is being put.

The campus's first public art project, designed by Buster Simpson, was dedicated during the course of the 1997-98 academic year. Simpson had been actively involved with faculty, staff, and students of the campus since his selection as consulting artist, and his preliminary proposals created some controversy. While in the end only one of his own art projects was accepted for installation, his ideas had considerable influence on the master plan under which the campus will develop for decades to come. His insistence on the maintenance of various architectural elements and relics as references to Tacoma's working past significantly shaped the project architects' vision of the campus structures. His project for the GWP Building was a strong extension of this interest in the past and future of the city of Tacoma. Responding to requests by the Tacoma Landmarks Preservation Commission that the university restore some of the architectural signage of the GWP building (most of which had faded into ghostly shadows by the time the buildings' exteriors were cleaned and ready for occupancy), Simpson initially proposed a sign along the Pacific Avenue parapet with the word KNOWLEDGE superimposed above the word STORAGE (which had at one time been painted there). After lengthy consultation and discussion with the campus community (many of whom objected strongly to the implication that universities did little more than store knowledge), Simpson proposed a more complex project using more words on two parapets to expand his original concept. The final project is designed as a multi-faceted louvered surface whose various faces can be viewed from different vantage points on and off campus. The final words chosen were IDEA, WISDOM, GATHER, LABOR, STORAGE, UW, and TACOMA, and a series of cast iron plaques set into sidewalks at optimum viewing points for several of the parapets' words were installed so that they repeated the word and displayed texts from various cultures and traditions relating that word to Tacoma, the State of Washington, and the community. One final plaque near what will be the center of the campus includes a series of quotations and a graphic design of the overall orientation and axis of the campus.

An important part of economic development in the area of the campus has been played by the private sector. Private individuals have rehabilitated warehouse space for reuse (and no doubt resale as property values rise) as commercial space in ways that are considerate of the historical qualities of their sites. The Harmon Brewing Company occupies space on Pacific Avenue only a few doors down from the main University entrance, and has made a determined effort to design and furnish the space in a style appropriate to the historic uses of the site. The University Bookstore has remodeled its space adjacent to the campus's main entrance in an elegant and sensitive way, as have other new retail tenants in University-owned spaces. A long-time business in the area, the Old Spaghetti Factory, has found itself almost surrounded by the University, but is thriving now that the area is safer and with the large numbers of students, faculty and staff who patronize the restaurant. At the same time, with rents rising, it is difficult for the type of small independent ethnic restaurants typical of university districts to develop in the area, so that the danger is that the neighborhood will become almost instantly gentrified, to the disadvantage of its core university constituency. One business at the center of the campus site which has done more than any other to bring a broad spectrum of the community into the campus in the evenings is The Swiss, a community-style pub of a sort typical of the area in the past, though one subject to considerably less of the brawling also typical of the neighborhood in earlier



2001: Current Campus (End of phase 2B)

years. Locating their new business in the basement of the former Swiss Society Building (the Swiss Hall), the managers have remodeled the ground-floor space, sponsored local artists and musicians, and supported the moderate gentrification of the area that is consistent with University policies and the desires of students, faculty, and staff.

### **Five Years On – The Campus in 2002**

In the fall of 1999 work on the adaptive reuse of the Dougan Building was completed, and a new addition to the building was added to the historic structure. The original building was to house academic programs and classrooms, with the addition to be entirely classrooms, particularly for the sciences initially, then for studio arts as the campus grew. The original building maintained its historic character from the outside, and the addition was designed in an industrial vernacular. Both buildings helped the campus move toward its northern limit at 17<sup>th</sup> Street, and both will provide a transition to the new Convention Center as well as the new building of the Tacoma Art Museum.

Late in 2001 the campus's first building dedicated entirely to science was completed. It was accompanied by a triangular building housing a 200-person lecture hall and a teaching and learning center. Both buildings were designed by the Seattle firm, Loschky Marquart Nesholm (LMN), working with assistance from John Ruble of MRY. LMN took the lead in design on the science building, and Ruble on the triangular, or keystone building. The science building faces Jefferson Street, intended to remain open to non-university traffic for the next several years, and across the street is what will become the campus Commons, an open landscaped area to be surrounded by university buildings as the campus grows. The science building's location adjacent to what will be the center of campus was deliberate, an effort to maintain the centrality of science to UW Tacoma and a conscious rejection of an earlier proposal to relegate the science "precinct" of campus to one of the outlying edges of the site. It is assumed that as the master plan is refined, buildings dedicated primarily to science will be constructed in the central campus area, near this first building.

The Keystone Building is an attempt to reinforce the density of the central campus area. While it is original in design and execution, a mix of historicism and industrial vernacular, it does tend to obscure one of the most striking vistas of the Snoqualmie Falls Building seen from the north, however. On the other hand, pedestrians walking from the Convention Center to the campus center will be led on a journey of discovery, with the Snoqualmie Falls Building appearing only gradually as the plaza area opens up the view of the central campus.

One of the most striking new additions to the campus is the central stairway leading up from Pacific Avenue to Jefferson Street. The lower section of the stairway was completed for the campus's opening in 1997, but the new section now takes it somewhat further up to the hill, toward its ultimate destination of Tacoma Avenue. The stairway is fairly impressive in execution, though the requirements of the Americans with Disabilities Act make it one of the more over-engineered stairways constructed anywhere in Tacoma, and probably in the Puget Sound region. Extensive ramps and barriers provided for people with disabilities, combined with other barriers designed to keep people away from the railroad tracks passing through the campus, give the area a busy, confusing character that will need to be softened by extensive landscaping.

New art projects are also in progress currently. The artist Brian Goldbloom has completed a project located adjacent to the Keystone Building. A lighted sculpture between the building and the railroad tracks traversing the campus will commemorate the thousands of travelers who came to Tacoma by rail. The Moscow artist Aleksandr Brodsky is in process of designing a project for an unused open space located between the Walsh Gardner Building and the Academic Building. Brodsky's plans are only at the conceptual stage, but are likely to include recycled materials as well as some sort of living vegetation different from the general landscaping profile of the area.

In terms of current campus developments, the Japanese Language School building at the far northwestern section of the campus remains a challenge to campus planners. Since no fiscally viable proposal for adaptive reuse of the building seemed likely to succeed, Buster Simpson proposed several years ago a landscaped garden and viewing area that would look

down toward the center of the campus and on to Mt. Rainier (originally Mt. Tacoma) in the distance. While the idea of a “Takomah Grove,” a simple, quiet group of trees set in granular stone and precast concrete pavements, and linked to the University’s central green space by a diagonal walkway precisely aligned with Mt. Rainier in the distance, has been included in the designs for the master plan (the “Mt. Rainier axis”), and was seen as a priority for the campus’s first phase of development, budgetary constraints make its completion unlikely for the near future.<sup>6</sup>

2001 also saw the completion by LMN Architects, Moore Ruble Yudell, and Jones+Jones of a new draft master plan for the campus and the design of the next phase of construction. The new master plan revised the original plan somewhat, but not extensively. It restated some fundamental earlier assumptions: the campus would continue to be urban, it would maintain its street grid geometry, a hierarchy of open spaces would pull the campus together, the hillside topography would be seen as an opportunity as well as a challenge, heritage considerations would predominate in the eastern part of the campus, and flexibility would be maximized in the area west of Jefferson Street. Talk about designating certain sectors of the campus as being primarily dedicated to one educational purpose or another was not implemented because of the need to maintain flexibility in light of the uncertainty of state-provided capital investment. The plan does include the allocation of a number of spaces for student, staff, and faculty housing, constructed in most cases over parking structures, and blocked out specific locations for streets, a student union, and traffic and pedestrian circulation. The new plan also considered how to go about saving some of the buildings on the site with architectural and historic significance as well as some with purely social value. Most significant among these are the Swiss Club, the Japanese Methodist and Buddhist Churches, and the Longshoremen’s Hall. It is not yet clear how these can be used in the future, and while some proposals have been made for sensitive adaptations of at least some of them, others are expected to be demolished in order to locate other significant future buildings on their sites.

One other aspect of future campus planning has to do with collaborative programming between UW Tacoma and the new Glass Museum and the Tacoma High School of the Arts. An academic program in glass is likely to be developed, with the Glass Museum becoming in a way an adjunct space of the University. In providing a direct connection with the Museum, the University will also be able to establish something of a presence on the Foss Waterway. The University will also share academic space with the new high school through the joint use of University classrooms and high school studio spaces. All three partners expect substantial benefits from this collaboration, and combined, the three will help further enliven the life of the district.

Finally, the next phase of campus development (approximately \$40 million) will permit the University to expand to the south along Pacific Avenue into three former warehouse spaces as well as into what was once a cabinet factory building located just uphill from the three buildings. The design process is underway, with construction to begin shortly. As this phase is developed, the campus will move closer to its southern limit on 21<sup>st</sup> Street, and will extend its north-south axis at the lower edge of the site. This project will essentially be adaptive reuse, with only minor modifications of the exteriors of the buildings because of their designation as historic properties. It will provide classroom, office, and library space on its upper floors, and commercial space along Pacific Avenue. It is assumed that after this phase, campus development will shift away from the lower site and focus on development to the western, uphill area of the campus.

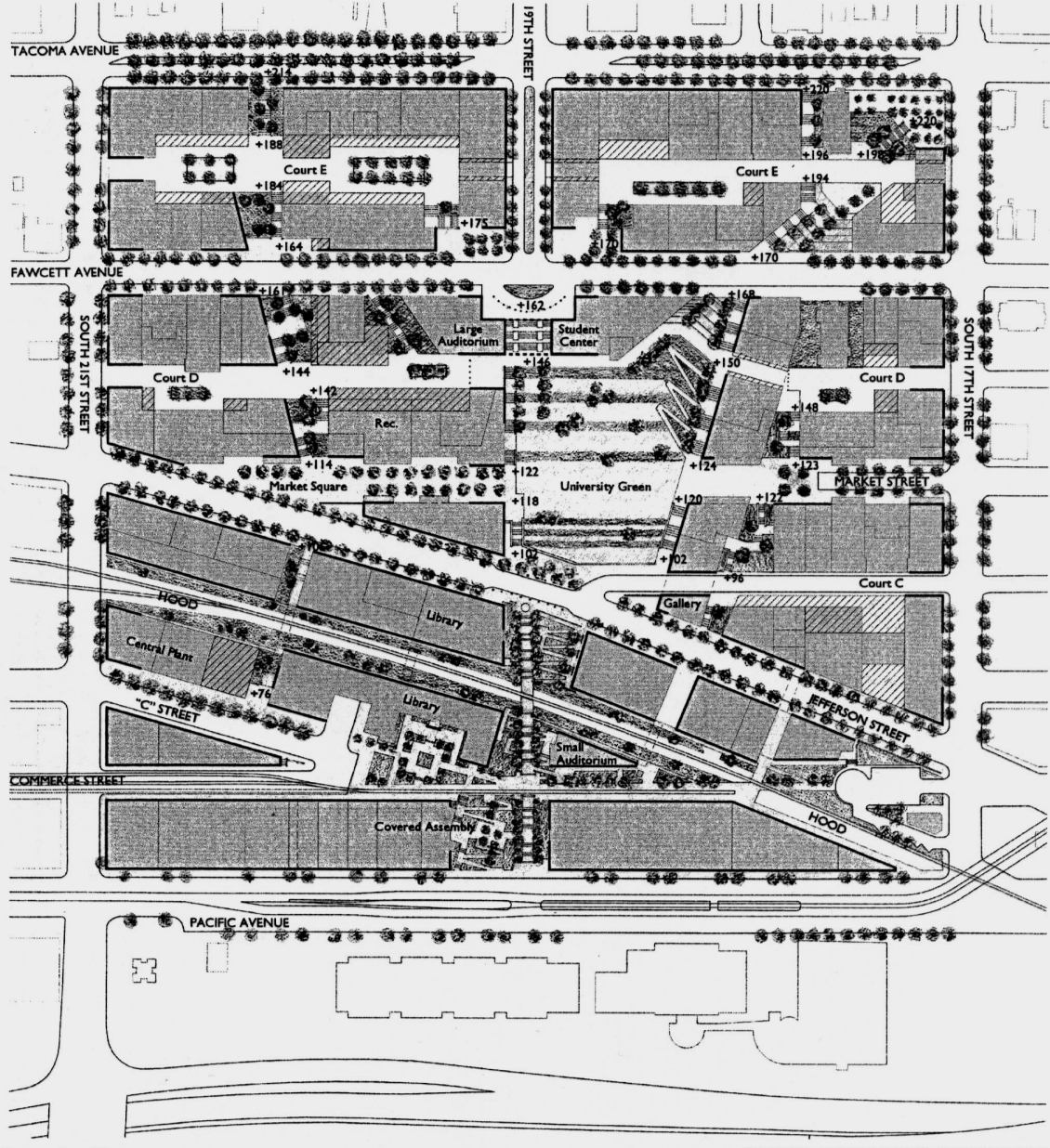
## **Conclusions and Prospects**

Other new urban university campuses have been developed in the United States in recent years, but none has been as ambitious as the University of Washington Tacoma in terms of seeing itself as a catalyst for the preservation of the historical, cultural, and natural heritage of the community it serves while being at the same time a stimulant for the decaying urban core’s economic revival. The University of Connecticut converted a downtown Bloomingdale’s department store in Stamford into a new campus, for example, but the project is considerably more limited in scope than the Tacoma project.<sup>7</sup> Other universities establishing downtown centers have preferred to lease space or to build modern complexes connected with cities’ efforts

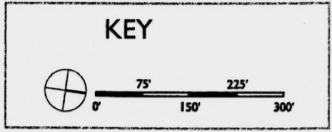
at urban renewal (which has too often meant urban destruction). In addition, few campuses have had such site-sensitive architects, planners, and artists associated with their development as has UWT. Lastly, and most importantly for the long term, few campuses have had faculty, staff, and students so committed to preserving and enhancing the historic human and natural legacy of a campus site while stimulating economic development to the extent UW Tacoma has.

While there have been a number of successes at UWT, there are failures and continuing frustrations as well. One continuing challenge has been establishing an identity for the campus different from that of the Seattle campus and more appropriate to its location in Tacoma. To a certain extent this is somewhat surprising since the campus's buildings have such a unique character of their own. Indeed, as the campus moves to the west, up the hill, it will need to exert its own separate identity from the one associated with the historic district at its downhill, eastern edge. Otherwise its safe traditional architecture, surrounded by experimental, pathbreaking buildings may say more about the University's view of itself than it might like to acknowledge. A great failure of the campus is its inability to uncover any meaningful way of commemorating the once lively and energetic Japanese-American community which existed on the campus site for so many decades. Of only slightly less importance is the campus's curious lack of success in finding ways to connect its development with the Native American cultures which flourished on the site for thousands of years before the arrival of European-American settlers in the nineteenth century. Finally, the University must recognize that the natural and ecological heritage of the site must be dealt with in some meaningful way, and that the campus needs to find a connection between itself and the natural world of the Foss Waterway near the campus, an area to a great extent cut off from the University (and indeed much of Tacoma's city center) because of the I-705 freeway.

The city of Tacoma is involved in a wholesale reevaluation of its image and is making an impressive effort to redefine itself for the twenty-first century. Part of that redefinition is the growth and development of a publicly-supported institution of higher education charged with serving the city and the south Puget Sound region. The University of Washington Tacoma is a new campus intended to provide education to both a traditional and non-traditional student body on a setting that is highly unusual. Building the campus will require commitment, wisdom, sensitivity, and imagination. It is a problem that incorporates issues of urban design, community relationships, social realities, and ecological and transportation needs and opportunities. The financial commitment made by the people of Washington will ensure that it will be a major project for the state during the next two decades. Its success or failure will be emblematic of the region's, and perhaps even of the country's as a whole. For the present, however, the University and the new museums, shops, restaurants, and businesses that have relocated into Tacoma's warehouse district have made it one of the liveliest parts of the city. Together, they are preserving Tacoma's urban heritage, restoring important sections of the city's historic center, and laying the foundations for its urban vitality in the twenty-first century.



Illustrative Plan





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<sup>1</sup>One project not likely to see fruition is the imaginative pedestrian bridge from downtown to the Foss Waterway designed by the Russian architects Alexander Brodsky and Ilya Utkin. The project would have incorporated traditional Northwest trestle construction with modern ramps to provide access to the waterway. See City of Tacoma (1991) 12<sup>th</sup> Street Bridge Project Pedestrian Walkway, Tacoma.

<sup>2</sup> These issues are addressed in University of Washington (1995) University of Washington Tacoma Campus Master Plan Draft Supplemental Environmental Impact Statement, Seattle.

<sup>3</sup>See Ibid., p. 3-20; a list of historically significant buildings on the site is given on p. xix-xx of the report.

<sup>4</sup> The Asian grocery store, Uwajimaya, now a thriving enterprise in Seattle, was started in Tacoma, and closed with Japanese-American relocation, then reopened after the Second World War in Seattle. Its original building still exists immediately adjacent to the campus site.

<sup>5</sup> See University of Washington (1993) University of Washington Tacoma Campus Master Plan, Seattle: p. 97.

<sup>6</sup> See University of Washington Tacoma Campus Master Plan, pp. 76-77.

<sup>7</sup> See their website at [www.stamford.uconn.edu](http://www.stamford.uconn.edu)

Wolfgang Sonne

## City Types around 1900

### The Context of the Garden City and the Modern Metropolis as example for today's Urbanism

What role played Ebenezer Howard's and Raymond Unwin's ideal of the Garden City at the beginning of the 20th century, and what role might it play today? Often the Garden City is considered as the starting point of modern urbanism and as most influential ideal of 20th century urbanism; and also the small suburbs of the New American Urbanism seem to refer to the picturesque arrangements of Raymond Unwin - even if mediated through John Nolen's City Beautiful plans. But was the Garden City really the only genuine development of modern urbanism, and might not other ideals be more valuable today?

Modern City Planning did not start from one point and has not been restricted to one single ideal. There were different types of city ideals which emerged around 1900 and guided modern city planning. Many of the new planning ideals started from criticizing the ugliness of the industrial city. Therefore they all formulated - while also developing ideas for the economical, political or social improvement - new ideals of urban beauty. In the early 20th century we can distinguish five different aesthetic types of city planning which also had different economical, political and social implications.

A first type was the Garden City which tried to substitute the existing historical and industrial cities. Ebenezer Howard developed a mostly economical model to combine the advantages of town and country. Then Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker filled this economical ideal with architectural images coming from the Arts and Crafts Movement: cottages embedded in gardens, old english styled if possible, and also new combinations of terrace houses in courts and closes - but all interwoven by a more or less rural ideal for the future town.<sup>1</sup> This did not only meet the picturesque and country tradition in Great Britain, but was also followed in continental Europe: For example, the Garden Cities in Germany by architects like Richard Riemerschmid, Georg Metzendorf or Paul Schmitthenner used also the image of the village to design their Garden Cities like Hellerau, Margarethenhöhe or Staaken.<sup>2</sup>

Second there was the ideal of the Picturesque City which used the city images of historical small towns in order to introduce spaces of human scale into modern cities. It was initiated primarily by Camillo Sitte, but also spread by Charles Buls or Unwin.<sup>3</sup> Although starting as an artistic approach to city planning, it quickly included economical and social considerations: So it was seen as an appropriate model to respect the existing estates. And especially in Germany it was

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<sup>1</sup> Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow. A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, London 1898; 2nd edition: *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, London 1902. Raymond Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice. An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs*, London 1909. Stephen V. Ward (ed.), *The Garden City. Past, Present and Future*, London 1992.

<sup>2</sup> Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *Richard Riemerschmid. Vom Jugendstil zum Werkbund. Werke und Dokumente*, München 1982. Rainer Metzendorf, *Georg Metzendorf 1874-1934. Siedlungen und Bauten*, Darmstadt 1994. Karl Kiem, *Die Gartenstadt Staaken 1914-1917. Typen, Gruppen, Varianten*, Berlin 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, Wien 1889. Charles Buls, *Esthétique des villes*, Brüssel 1893. George R. Collins und Christiane Craseman Collins, *Camillo Sitte. The Birth of Modern City Planning*, New York 1986. Guido Zucconi (ed.), *Camillo Sitte e suoi interpreti*, Mailand 1992.

postulated as an "organic" and "germanic" ideal of town planning against the "mechanic" and "romanic" ideal of geometric plans.<sup>4</sup>

The Beaux-Arts City may be classified as a third category. This term might seem to be a contradictio in adjecto, because city planning has not been taught at the École de Beaux-Arts in Paris.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the widespread ideal of classical monumental buildings within a geometrical layout was used there since the 18th century. It became an important planning ideal around 1900 not only for World Exhibitions (like the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago 1893) and university campuses (like in the Berkeley competition 1899), but also for capital plans like Washington 1902 and New Delhi 1913.<sup>6</sup>

Also the ideal of the Skyscraper City found its first formulations at the same time. Louis Henry Sullivan reflected on set back skyscrapers forming a new kind of city already in 1891.<sup>7</sup> Ernest Flagg composed picturesque views of skyscraper skylines of New York and Antonio Sant'Elia used the highrise building to design his futurist city in 1914.<sup>8</sup> But only in the Twenties it got its fascinating form through Hugh Ferriss' design of the "Metropolis of Tomorrow", oscillating between Jerusalem and Babylon.<sup>9</sup>

And finally there was the ideal of the Grossstadt or Metropolis on which we will focus here. This modern Metropolis should be homogenous and consisting of large uniform blocks with restricted heights. Some interesting ideas to reform the dense city block were developed and fascinating city images were designed. And over all, this city type was considered as fitting best to the international economical conditions and the needs of modern democracy, as we will see.

To bring light, air and green into the urban block by not destroying the clear space of streets and places was one of the central features of urban reform. Some important steps were done in Paris: The competition of the Rothschild Foundation for a social housing block in 1905 brought interesting solutions: The main strategies were to open the block to the street or to create a green interior space. A mixture of both was chosen by the winner Adolphe Auguste Rey, who tried to

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<sup>4</sup> Karl Henrici, *Beiträge zur praktischen Ästhetik im Städtebau. Eine Sammlung von Vorträgen und Aufsätzen*, München 1904. Georg Simmel, "Die Grossstädte und das Geistesleben", in: *Die Grossstadt. Vorträge und Aufsätze zur Städteausstellung*, Jahrbuch der Gehe-Stiftung zu Dresden, vol. 9, 1903, pp. 185-206. Gerhard Fehl, *Kleinstadt, Steildach, Volksgemeinschaft. Zum 'reaktionären Modernismus' in Bau- und Stadtbaukunst*, Braunschweig and Wiesbaden 1995.

<sup>5</sup> Julien Guadet, *Éléments et théorie de l'architecture*, vol. 4, 2nd edition, Paris 1905, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Erik Mattie, *Weltausstellungen*, Stuttgart and Zürich 1998. Charles Moore (ed.), *The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia. I. - Report of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia. II. - Report of the Park Commission*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Report No. 166, Washington 1902. Richard Longstreth (ed.), *The Mall in Washington 1791-1991*, Hanover und London 1991. George S. C. Swinton, John A. Brodie und Edwin L. Lutyens, *Final Report of the Delhi Town Planning Committee on the Town Planning of the New Imperial Capital*, Delhi 1913. Robert Grant Irving, *Indian Summer. Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi*, New Haven and London 1981.

<sup>7</sup> Louis Sullivan, "The High Building Question", in: *The Graphic*, no. 5, 19th Dec. 1891, p. 405.

<sup>8</sup> Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (ed.), *Antonio Sant'Elia. Gezeichnete Architektur*, München 1992.

<sup>9</sup> Hugh Ferriss, *The Metropolis of Tomorrow*, New York 1929. Manfred Tafuri, "The Disenchanted Mountain. The Skyscraper and the City", in: Giorgio Ciucci, Francesco dal Co, Mario Manieri-Elia and Manfredo Tafuri, *The American City*, Cambridge 1979, pp. 389-528. Thomas A. P. van Leeuwen, *The Skyward Trend of Thought. Five Essays on the Metaphysics of the American Skyscraper*, Den Haag 1986.

justify his design by scientific diagrams showing the movement of the air.<sup>10</sup> A special solution for a new urban block was developed by Henri Sauvage since 1909: his set back blocks remained a personal obsession and never became a model for a new metropolis.<sup>11</sup>

It was in Berlin, that these attempts for a reform of a single block were combined to a new image of the whole big city. Several author's of the Greater Berlin competition in 1910 created innovative ideas for reformed urban blocks.<sup>12</sup> Generally, they voted for a clearing of the interior of the blocks and the creation of a planted courtyard. The most impressive drawings showing a development of this kind were submitted by Hermann Jansen who was also planning a development of the western parts of the Tempelhofer Feld at the time. He envisioned an urban block perimeter with green courtyards to provide daylight and fresh air; these courtyards would also be accessible from the streets through generously dimensioned openings. He not only focussed on the single block, but tried to create a new aesthetic of the big city. His first aim was to achieve city images. For this he demanded (and designed) simple and uniform facades which constitute "long walls". The streets should be "slightly curved" to accomplish the "creation of interesting architectural street images".<sup>13</sup>

These ideas for a new metropolis were not an invention by Jansen. There was a broad discussion in Berlin about uniform street walls as an appropriate expression of democracy and the equality of people's needs in the Metropolis. The leading theorist was Karl Scheffler who already in 1903 developed a social argumentation for uniform housing blocks: the equal needs and the constant fluctuation of the metropolis inhabitants were calling for uniform floor plans which would automatically lead to uniform facades.<sup>14</sup> So he asked for a "uniformation of the street-walls"<sup>15</sup> which would be a direct consequence of the social conditions: "We have to get used to the idea that the architecture of the future [...] will above all be a metropolitan art, that its fate must coincide with that of urban development, that it can only be middle-class or upper middle-class and a product of democratic culture."<sup>16</sup> In addition, Scheffler also noted that under the present

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<sup>10</sup> Marie-Jeanne Dumont, *Le logement social à Paris 1850-1930. Les habitations à bon marché*, Liège 1991, pp. 31ff.; Nicholas Bullock and James Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France 1840-1914*, Cambridge 1985, pp. 403-407.

<sup>11</sup> François Loyer et al., *Henri Sauvage. Les immeubles à gradins*, Liège 1987.

<sup>12</sup> For the Greater Berlin competition a real monography is not yet existing; see: Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur. Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II.*, Munich 1979; Erich Konter, "Verheissungen einer Weltstadtcity. Vorschläge zum Umbau "Alt-Berlins" in den preisgekrönten Entwürfen des Wettbewerbs Gross-Berlin von 1910", in: Gerhard Fehl and Juan Rodriguez-Lores (eds.), *Stadt-Umbau. Die planmässige Erneuerung europäischer Grossstädte zwischen Wiener Kongress und Weimarer Republik*, Basel, Berlin and Boston 1995, pp. 249-272. Wolfgang Sonne, "Ideas for a Metropolis. The Competition for Greater Berlin 1910", in: Paul Kahlfeldt, Josef Paul Kleihues and Thorsten Scheer (eds.), *City of Architecture. Architecture of the City Stadt. Berlin 1900-2000*, Berlin 2000, pp. 66-77 (includes archival references and the list of participants).

<sup>13</sup> "lange Wandungen", "leicht geschweift", "Schaffung interessanter, architektonischer Strassenbilder", Hermann Jansen, in: *Wettbewerb Gross-Berlin 1910. Die preisgekrönten Entwürfe mit Erläuterungsberichten*, Berlin 1911, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Karl Scheffler, "Ein Weg zum Stil", in: *Berliner Architekturwelt*, vol. 5, 1903, pp. 291-295. Karl Scheffler, *Berlin. Ein Stadtschicksal*, Berlin 1910, pp. 250-253.

<sup>15</sup> "Uniformierung der Strassenwände", Karl Scheffler, *Die Architektur der Grossstadt*, Berlin 1913, p. 16.

<sup>16</sup> "Es ist darum dem Gedanken fest ins Auge zu sehen, dass die Baukunst der Zukunft [...] eine Grossstadtkunst sein wird, dass ihr Schicksal mit dem der Stadtentwicklung zusammenfallen muss, dass sie nur bürgerlich, grossbürgerlich und ein Produkt demokratischer Kultur sein kann." Karl Scheffler, *Die Architektur der Grossstadt*, Berlin 1913, p.3. See also: Walter Curt Behrendt, *Die einheitliche Blockfront als Raumelement im Stadtbau. Ein Beitrag zur Stadtbaukunst der Gegenwart*, Berlin 1911.

conditions of the world economy, bigger and bigger building societies would come into being. These global trusts would, in turn, reinforce the trend towards increasing uniformity: "The street wall will become a single coherent facade; entire urban districts will stand in architectural harmony, and this noble uniformity will later give rise to a monumental style that will deserve to be called truly modern."<sup>17</sup> As a necessary consequence of the social and political conditions the homogeneous city could also be read as an adequate expression of these conditions: as a picture of equality and democracy in an international world economy.

This postulation of the uniform metropolis as an expression of democracy and international economy was itself an international phenomena. For example Edward Herbert Bennett and Daniel Hudson Burnham's "Plan of Chicago" 1906-09 envisioned a uniform development of the entire city centre with large 20-storey blocks which were rendered in a suggestive and abstract uniformity by Jules Guérin.<sup>18</sup> The correlation between unified urban design and democracy was established by Burnham in his lecture "A City of the Future under a Democratic Government" given at the London Town Planning Conference in 1910.<sup>19</sup>

In another lecture given at the Urban Design Conference in New York the same year, the Viennese architect Otto Wagner presented his study on the Big City.<sup>20</sup> For him, the ideal metropolitan neighbourhood consisted of uniform residential blocks interspersed with monumental public buildings arranged along a central axis of green spaces. Wagner also shared the view that the identical needs of the masses would result in a uniform townscape: "Our democracy, into which the general public is pressed with the call for inexpensive and healthy housing for a more economical lifestyle, will result in a growing uniformity of residential buildings."<sup>21</sup>

And also the impressive plans by Eliel Saarinen with its uniform cityscape can be interpreted as an expression of democracy as they were designed for democratic capitals: the Canberra plan in 1912 and Helsinki plans for Munkkiniemi-Haaga in 1915 and Pro Helsingfors in 1918.<sup>22</sup>

Also other participants of the Greater Berlin competition had interesting proposals. A rather curious block variation was devised by Bruno Möhring and Rudolf Eberstadt. They proposed a five storey perimeter block development which would have preserved the urban character of the buildings along the major streets. But the interior of the large-scale blocks was designed as a kind of low-rise two-storey housing terraces laid out like a village. With its allotment gardens it introduced a rural element into the city of blocks and thus the design may be considered as a mixture of Metropolis and Garden City ideas.<sup>23</sup> Such a development had already been developed

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<sup>17</sup> Karl Scheffler, *Die Architektur der Grossstadt*, Berlin 1913, p. 130.

<sup>18</sup> Daniel Hudson Burnham and Edward Herbert Bennett, Charles Moore (ed.), *Plan of Chicago*, Chicago 1909. John Zukowsky (ed.), *The Plan of Chicago 1909-1979*, Chicago 1979.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel Hudson Burnham, "A City of the Future under a Democratic Government", in: Royal Institute of British Architects (ed.), *Town Planning Conference. London, 10-15 October 1910. Transactions*, London 1911, pp. 368-378.

<sup>20</sup> Otto Wagner, *Die Grossstadt. Eine Studie über diese*, Wien 1911.

<sup>21</sup> Otto Antonia Graf, *Otto Wagner. Das Werk des Architekten*, 2 vol., Wien, Köln and Graz 1985, vol. 2, p. 641.

<sup>22</sup> Marika Hausen, Kirmo Mikkola, Anna-Lisa Amberg and Tytti Valto, *Eliel Saarinen. Projects 1896-1923*, Helsinki 1990. Wolfgang Sonne, *Hauptstadtplanungen 1900-1914. Die Repräsentation des Staates in der Stadt*, Dissertation ETH Zürich 2001 (<http://e-collection.ethbib.ethz.ch/cgi-bin/show.pl?type=diss&nr=14098>).

<sup>23</sup> *Wettbewerb Gross-Berlin 1910. Die preisgekrönten Entwürfe mit Erläuterungsberichten*, Berlin 1911.

in the Cité des Fleurs in Paris during the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Eberstadt himself had it already proposed in 1893 together with Thodor Goecke,<sup>25</sup> and Walter Lehweß showed for the city of Schöneberg a similar development at the big City Exhibition organised by Werner Hegemann in Berlin 1910.<sup>26</sup> Finally, Fritz Schumacher took it up for his plans for Hamburg-Horn in 1917.<sup>27</sup> Even if this combination of Metropolis and Garden City seems to be hybrid, it was able to combine the gardens of a village with the clear public spaces of a city.

A less uniform version of a modern Metropolis with reformed blocks was proposed by Albert Gessner.<sup>28</sup> He did not try to design the block as a whole, but to divide it into individual houses - nevertheless connected to one block around a green courtyard. Thus his proposal can be interpreted as a combination of the Metropolis with the Picturesque City: having the scale of common Metropolis city blocks, they were designed in the diversity of the picturesque ideal of Sitté and his followers. This picturesque reformed city block came from the first developments by Alfred Messel since 1889.<sup>29</sup> And a first synthesis was shown by Gessner himself in his book about the German Apartment House in 1909.<sup>30</sup>

All these ideas for a modern block design in the Metropolis did not remain on the paper - even if the plans of the Greater Berlin competition had not been realised. They became an important example for 1920ies urbanism in Europe. In Germany the blocks by Erwin Gutkind in Berlin or the housing quarters by Fritz Schumacher in Hamburg were such examples which show a differentiation between public and semipublic spaces by building street facades and green courts.<sup>31</sup> They may also show that the Siedlungen with their substitution of the urban space by a floating green area were not the only modern development in Germany. In Austria the superblocks of Vienna, the Wiener Höfe, also tried to combine a dense urban situation with the advantages of green spaces and social institutions.<sup>32</sup>

In the Netherlands it is mostly the development of Amsterdam South and West according to the plans by Hendrik Petrus Berlage which shows examples of the modern Metropolis: there are the more uniform architectures by Berlage himself and also the picturesque designs by the Amsterdam School members Michel de Klerk and Pieter Lodewijk Kramer who tried to invent an identity for different quarters in the big city.<sup>33</sup> Also in Rotterdam the blocks in Tusschendijken by

<sup>24</sup> Jacques Lucan (ed.), *Paris des faubourgs. Formation. Transformation*, Paris 1996, pp. 34-37.

<sup>25</sup> Juan Rodriguez-Lores and Gerhard Fehl (ed.), *Die Kleinwohnungsfrage. Zu den Ursprüngen des sozialen Wohnungsbaus in Europa*, Hamburg 1988, pp. 122-126.

<sup>26</sup> Werner Hegemann, *Der Städtebau nach den Ergebnissen der allgemeinen Städtebau-Ausstellung in Berlin nebst einem Anhang: Die internationale Städtebau-Ausstellung in Düsseldorf*, vol. 1, Berlin 1911, ill. 28.

<sup>27</sup> Jean Dethier und Alain Guiheux (eds.), *La Ville. Art et architecture en Europe 1870-1993*, Paris 1994, p. 145. As Schumacher started with the Horn development in 1917, the here mentioned date of 1911 is probably wrong.

<sup>28</sup> *Beurteilung der zum Wettbewerb 'Gross-Berlin' eingereichten 27 Entwürfe durch das Preisgericht*, Berlin 1910.

<sup>29</sup> Nicholas Bullock and James Read, *The Movement for Housing Reform in Germany and France 1840-1914*, Cambridge 1985, pp. 125-137. Juan Rodriguez-Lores and Gerhard Fehl (eds.), *Die Kleinwohnungsfrage. Zu den Ursprüngen des sozialen Wohnungsbaus in Europa*, Hamburg 1988, pp. 112-122. Julius Posener, *Berlin auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Architektur. Das Zeitalter Wilhelms II.*, Munich 1979.

<sup>30</sup> Albert Gessner, *Das deutsche Miethaus. Ein Beitrag zur Stadtekultur der Gegenwart*, Munich 1909.

<sup>31</sup> Rudolf Hierl, *Erwin Gutkind 1886-1968. Architektur als Stadtraumkunst*, Basel, Berlin and Boston 1992. Hartmut Frank (ed.), *Fritz Schumacher. Reformkultur und Moderne*, Stuttgart 1994. See also Schumacher's block design in 1913: Fritz Schumacher, *Die Kleinwohnung. Studien zur Wohnungsfrage*, Leipzig 1917, ill. 21.

<sup>32</sup> Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna 1919-1934*, Cambridge 1999.

<sup>33</sup> Nancy Stieber, *Housing Design and Society in Amsterdam. Reconfiguring Urban Order and Identity 1900-1920*, Chicago 1998.

Johannes Jacobus Pieter Oud and Michiel Brinkman must be mentioned here.<sup>34</sup> In Paris the HBM-housing at the Boulevard périphérique followed the forms which had been developed in the first competitions 20 years before.<sup>35</sup> In Milan an even more dense and urban version was developed by the architects of the Novecento Milanese, more focusing on the development of a new language for the facades than the development of new block typologies.<sup>36</sup> And also in Scandinavia blocks which often used the language of Nordic Classicism followed the ideal of the reformed Metropolis: impressive examples are Kay Fisker's blocks in Copenhagen.<sup>37</sup>

There is a broad tradition of Metropolis housing planning starting from the first examples of block reform around 1900, over the ample designs of uniform cities around 1910, up to the different realisations in the 1920ies. Thus the city type of the Metropolis can be seen as a very successful development of modern urbanism - at least as important as the Garden City.

We conclude that the Garden City has only been one of different models in the beginning of modern city planning. Other types not only existed but found also original answers for the demands of the modern city. The type of the Metropolis for example not only created very successful city quarters which are still very popular, but can also serve - as I will argue now - as an example for today's urbanism because it fits with its aesthetical values, as well as with its economical, political and social implications the challenges of a sustainable urbanism today.

First, it allows a higher density than single houses and thus may contribute to the protection of landscape resources. Second, it is able to build a real urban environment without neglecting the needs for light, air and green; an important part of this urban environment is the formation of a clear city space with a differentiation between private and public spaces. Third, as it was invented as expression of a globalised economy and democratic society it may serve adequately the same purposes today. And forth, its unity and harmony in design can be seen as base for a sustainable aesthetic of city architecture which does not have to be changed with the next fashion season.

So I hope these examples will also be fruitful for the development of a New Urbanism today. The lesson to learn from history is still valuable, but we have to choose the right examples. Without the sound of former avantgardists we may nevertheless call for less Howard and Unwin and more Jansen, Wagner, Saarinen or Berlage. Or, more precisely: less Garden City and more Reformed Metropolis.

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<sup>34</sup> Maristella Casciato, Franco Panzini and Sergio Polano, *Olanda 1870-1940. Città, casa, architettura*, Milan 1980.

<sup>35</sup> Jean Louis Cohen and André Lortie, *Des fortits au périf. Paris, les seuils de la ville*, Paris 1992.

<sup>36</sup> Annegret Burg, *Stadtarchitektur Mailand 1920-1940. Die Bewegung des "Novecento Milanese" um Giovanni Muzio und Giuseppe de Finetti*, Basel 1992.

<sup>37</sup> Tobias Faber et al., *Kay Fisker*, Copenhagen 1995.

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## **A Comparative Study of the Japanese Condominium Systems with those of U.K. Flat Management**

Prof. Fujimoto Yoshiko, Dr. of Engineering

**Kinran College**

**5-25-1 Fujishirodai**

**Suita City, Osaka 565-0873 Japan**

**Tel : +81 (0)6-6872-0673**

**Fax:+81 (0)6-6872-7728**

**E-mail: y-fujimo@kinran.ac.jp**

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### **Abstract**

#### **Purpose of this paper**

In Japan today high and medium- rise condominiums are a typical of residence in urban areas. The systems of their management and maintenance, however, have some problems left to be solved for practical efficiency.

This paper is an attempt at finding the workable measures to deal with them. by studying and comparatively analyzing the corresponding Items they have in U.K. which the writer visited for the purpose.

I want to clarify similarities and differences in the management and maintenance systems of Japanese condominium and U.K. flat as the historical aspect.

I propose the better way of condominium and flat management both countries.

#### **The method of survey**

The subjects of survey comprises the management companies, the housing managers and the local governmental officers. The main items surveyed are managed systems, management laws, manager's qualifications and etc.

The survey period covered one and half year from 2000 in U.K.

#### **The results**

In England, there is no law corresponding to Japan's law of Unit Ownership of residence. However common hold law is examined in England because of be better than leasehold. Common hold law is similar with Japanese one. We have had many serious problems in Japan. Therefore we have had a new law called a suitable condominium management law of Japan in which was included two governmental licenses as condominium manager and management chief assignment since 1<sup>st</sup> August 2001.



**What is mansion( condominium)?**

From around the beginning of the 1960's reinforced concrete multiple living units began to be constructed in the large cities of Japan. We, Japanese, call these multiple living units, 'mansion'(condominiums). Until recently Japanese have not been accustomed to living in multiple living units. Therefore many problems have occurred in coordinating the residents' interests and concerns in the daily care and maintenance of these buildings.

**What is the Japan Institute for Condominium Living?**

I am going to introduce to the Japan Institute for Condominium Living briefly.

In order to look into the various problems and ideas concerning condominium living; a research organization. The Japan Institute for Condominium Living was founded in the spring of 1992. We will be faced with an aging society in the twenty- first century and must develop a co-operative living culture as our purpose. The Japan Institute for Condominium Living is doing research on co-operative living from both the theoretical and condominiums, business people, researchers, government officials, and business enterprises.

The Japan Institute for Condominium Living is seeking members and connections with people in the world who may be facing these same kinds of problems and thinking about solutions for the future.

Now we have five branches in Japan as Tokyo, Kansai(Kyoto), Tohoku(Sendai), Chubu(Nagoya) and Kyushu(Fukuoka).

There are seven research committees and 548 members in October 2001.

**1. Introduction**

Firstly I want to say that condominium is one of the most popular forms of housing, especially in urban area in Japan. In the U.K. condominiums are rarely seen. In Hong Kong there are many condominiums.

I have researched how to maintain and manage condominiums for seventeen years in U.S. Europe (Germany, France, Italy, U.K.), Korea, Hong Kong and China.

There is the legal literature concerning management systems applied in France, Italy, Germany, U.S.A., Korea and Japan by my research. In England, there was no laws corresponding to Japan's Law of Unit Ownership of residence. Now there is the Leasehold Reform, Housing and Urban Development Act 1993 in England. Now they are studying if common hold is better than leasehold in England.

On the other hand, in Scotland, Deed of Condition exchanged between the flat manager and the owner of the real estate on the occasion of ownership transfer provides the manager's right and duty. The management company concerned represents the owner of the flat. In England, the ownership of the building is divided by Title Deed and the owner has the right to

use of the building lot. The management is regulated by the lease contract exchanged between the leaseholder and the management company. The flat management system in the U.K. is quite different from other countries.

## **2. Outline of condominiums in Japan**

In the 1950's medium-rise condominiums began to be built in Japan. The number built exceeds 3.86 million units in 2000, and continues to increase by 180,000 units each year. By 2001 the number of units will be close 4 million.

According to the Housing & Land Statistics Investigation in 1998, 10.0% of total owners' housings are condominiums and 17.5% of the three biggest areas, Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya constitute condominiums. Now the managing companies have supported condominium living of 10 million peoples.

In this presentation, condominium is defined as medium to high-rise, owner's housing containing more than two housing units located with the same building. A housing unit where the pillars, walls, floor structure, hallways or stairways and other equipment or facilities are jointed used.

In Japan high and medium-rise condominium is typical type of residence in urban areas. The management systems of the management and maintenance however have some problems left to be solved for practical efficiency. In condominium common areas, for example, assembly halls, pools, tennis courts and sport gyms, a building land site excluding living areas are managed in the condominium law.

This presentation is an attempt at introducing to Japanese Condominium Management. 84.7% of property is under entrusted management. It is a general type of management system and organization.

The members of management associations of condominiums are unit owners. The board of trustees, an executive organ, are elected by the owner residents. Decision-making is made by the assembly of the association, regardless of the manager's qualification, entrusted or autonomous. Often it is the case that the chairman of the board of trustees acts as manager.

In the relation to condominium management and maintenance, the managing company has a more important role as condominium stock is increasing. There was not a law of managing companies for protecting unit-owners from managing companies. Therefore the Japanese government was estimating and ranking the managing companies. The managing companies association has a sense of impending crisis and had settled on a vision.

However we have had recently a new law of condominium management since 1<sup>st</sup> September 2001. Now we have just had two laws so as the unit ownership and suitable management of condominium.

### 3. Condominium Stock in Japan

The situation of condominium stock, I present in five years interval of the building age from 1980 to 2000. Total stock is greatly increasing from 943,000 units in 1980 to 3,850,000 units in 2000. Increasing by a factor of four, the number of units in 2000

for buildings more than 10 years old units are the number of 2,151,000.

An increase of for units more than 20 years old the number has increased to 933,000. An increase of more than 30 years units is 122,000 and 3.2% of the stock. In 2010,

I estimate that units in excess of 30 years old will number of 100,000.

These will require a large repair, renewal, improvement and grade up.

One side, homeowner's associations, will have an important role and have to control finance and prepare for costs of construction of buildings. In future they may have to plan of rebuilding.

On the other hand, we will find a large market to maintain, repair, reform, rehabilitate and reconstruct buildings in future.

### 4. Background of Japan Society

I describe changing society and economy from five aspects in Japan.

**Firstly**, the change of population & household structure;

At the beginning of 21<sup>st</sup> century Japan population will increase in 127,780,000 and then decrease in 126,440,000. The rate of more than 65years old will be 20.7% in 2007 and 25.2% in 2015. In household structure, small family will increase still more because of late marriage, unmarried and old single. Housing demand will be changed and various services for living will required. It is showing that old people move from houses to condominiums in aim of convenience and efficiency. Building will have to be equipped handicap free, urgency call and healthy gym.

**Secondly**, the change of economical structure; The Japanese Economy is getting worse and worse. It is considered to be mature economy. Salary increases are declining. In the industry structure, we are changing from manufacturing to intelligent service industry. By type of employment, it is changing from the lifetime employment and a seniority system to results and professionalism.

**Thirdly**, the change of consumer's consensus; Consumer's need has been changing to satisfy from materials to their desires.

It means safety, security, comfortability and healthy. There are various values for people.

Recently we are interested in circumstance problems, for example, low energy, saving resources and recycle. In the case of condominiums, the developer and constructors are designing in a new way, with low energy, harmless materials, resources and symbiotic

environmental design.

On the other hand, the unit owner's living consensus is changing from temporal settlement to permanent residence in condominium.

**Fourthly**, the change of social system; We are required to regulate the relaxation, accountability, global standard, protected consumers in Japan society and economy. The reason is rapid progress in information-oriented society.

**Finally**, increasing building stocks and old ages buildings; I stated the details of the building stocks in the above.

### **5. Background of Condominium Problems**

As for the problem concerning the condominium management, the case that the complication of the relation of the right and the use which is caused by the method of the residence in the multiple living unit, and the method of the possession, the repartition possession, is increasing.

#### 1) The resident method

It is the method which a lot of family live in one building. We have not had a long history in condominium living. There are many cases that cooperation residence rule becomes unimproved.

#### 2) Decision making

The repartition owner divides a monopolization part respectively and possesses a condominium unit. It manages a common part by the decision- making having to do with an arrangement of all repartition owners.

#### 3) Composed Type of Condominium

There is a compound use-type condominium which is composed of emporium and so on and habitation part. There is a case that the interest opposition which is based on the difference of the use form between the habitation owner and the owner (containing a renter at the emporium) at the emporium and so on occurs to.

#### 4) Resorted Type of Condominium

Repartition owner himself can live at the resort condominium, too, constantly, doesn't take and it is easy that he becomes management absence.

### **7. The mechanism of the condominium management**

#### 1) The main constituent of the management -The management Association

The repartition owner who possesses a condominium composes a management association to course. This management association becomes the main constituent of the condominium management.

#### 2) The object one of management -the monopolization part and the common part of the management

The condominium (containing attachment facilities and a site) has the monopolization part where each repartition owner can do use, an account, disposal independently.

It is divided into the sharing part where repartition owner all the members compose a condominium management association and manage jointly.

It is easy for the trouble to occur when not setting a point of tact in the monopolization part and the sharing part beforehand, being clear.

For example, in the case of the leak of water of the salary drainpipe, for its purpose of the compo to the downstairs, the load for the repairing expense must be coped with.

For its purpose, the point of tact in the monopolization part and the sharing part must be made clear beforehand.

### 3) The way of managing condominium

#### 1 The management agreement

It is possible to set beforehand in the agreement about the sharing part where the management association manages, the management of the site and the attachment facilities and so on.

#### 2 General meeting

The intention of the repartition owner is confirmed in the general meeting which is held equal to or more than once per year and fixes an important management policy and so on.

#### 3 Managers

That the representative (the chief director) in the management association often becomes a manager and becomes does the work of the manager who sets to the repartition possession method.

### **8.Imortant Condominium Management**

The condominium, too, has the meaning that is important in the city planning of the area of community activity and the built-up area of view of it.

The family in the number generation is the property which can live if doing long-range crossing and doing appropriate maintenance management.

If a pride management situation is properly evaluated in the secondhand circulation market, it is possible to utilize as the high quality habitation stock that a lot of family can choose surely.

### **9.Condominium Management Subjects**

Itself is the situation which isn't matured about the way of managing a condominium, too, and the understanding of a condominium on the side of the buyer isn't total and the trouble which originates in the elementary mistaking and so on, too, aren't still improved. It produces the situation that it is difficult to do management in the renting, making an office, doing the empty becoming of the room.

As for the consciousness on the side of the tenant, the conventional condominium is changing

from so-called "temporary house" to "permanent house".

Because old buildings are increasing rapidly in the future, the actions such as the reconsideration of the legislation degree, including reconstruction, become necessary.

### **10. Legal Literature & Qualifications of Condominium Management**

#### **\*Chief Manager Assignment**

1. Managing companies have one chief manager assignment per 30 associations.
2. They must explain about important things of contacts when they have contact with homeowner's association.

#### **\*Condominium Manager**

They consult, guide and advise homeowner's association of condominium to make management smoothly.

The followings are the legal literature concerning management systems applied in the respective countries.

- 1) France: Law for unit ownership of real estate with attached buildings. 1938
- 2) Italy: General provision, joint ownership, and civil law. Clauses 1100 to 1139, 1942
- 3) Germany: Law of residence ownership & continual right of residence. 1952
- 4) The U.S.A.: Act of total joint ownership of real estate. 1977
- 5) Korea: Act of joint residence management. 1979  
Act of promotion of housing construction. 1982
- 5) Japan: The unit ownership law. 1962, 1984,  
The Condominium Management Law in 2001  
The Condominium Rebuilding Law in 2002

In England, there is not law corresponding to Japan's Law of Unit Ownership of residence. In Scotland, Deed of Condition exchanged between the flat manager and the owner of the real estate on the occasion of ownership transfer provides the manager's right and duty. The management company concerned represents the owner of the flat. In England, the ownership of the building is divided by Title Deed and the owner has right to the use of the building lot. The management is regulated by the lease contact exchanged between the leaseholder and Management Company.

### **11. Management System**

#### **1. Autonomous Management**

M a n a g e m e n t   b y   C o n d o m i n i u m   A s s o c i a t i o n

- 1) r e s i d e n t   m a n a g e m e n t
- 2) m a n a g e m e n t   o f   r e s i d e n t i a l   m a n a g e r   e m p l o y e d   b y

c o n d o m i n i u m   a s s o c i a t i o n

## 2. T r u s t   M a n a g e m e n t

M a n a g e m e n t   b y   m a n a g e r s   d i s p a t c h e d   b y   m a n a g e m e n t   c o m p a n i e s

1) C o m p r e h e n s i v e   T r u s t   M a n a g e m e n t

2) A   P a r t   o f   T r u s t   M n a g e m e n t   b y   T e c h n i c a l   C o m p a n y

Chart 2 shows management systems in the countries surveyed. The detailed analyses of management systems are given as follows classified by nationality.

<Japan> Chart 2 (1) shows the typical case of entrusted management. The members of management associations are unit owners. The owner residents elect the board of trustees, an executive organ. The assembly of the association, regardless of the manager's qualification, makes decision-making entrusted or autonomous. Often is the case the chairman of the board of trustees acts as manager.

<U.S.A.> Chart 2 (2) shows the general type of trust management in the U.S. The board of trustees is organized as in Japan. One is autonomous management; the other is managed by an agent company. In the latter case, the board of trustee's commissions is an agent company, and sometimes employs necessary attendants. The residents' assembly makes policy decision. The executive organ comprises a board of trustees, Management Company, attendants, and other contractors who are, for example, repair workers or cleaners. The board of trustees is responsible for management office with a deputy manager dispatched by a management company in most cases. This style is almost similar to that of Japan. An official, Chicago, said that the budget for the management association is decided by the board of trustees without the approval by the assembly of the management association on the condition that budget draft is informed the residents a month before the decision, or the residents have the right to expressing their opinion at the board meeting.

<Korea> Chart 2 (3) shows a common system of autonomous management, which was composed by this writer, based on the mailed questionnaires sent to Korean Housing Corporation and on the Act of Housing Complex Management. In Korea, the management organ is a council of resident representatives, which acts as a board of trustees. A Corporation official said that management companies, which dispatch a deputy executive as manager, manage 20% of the condominiums.

Three-type management systems are classified:

- 1) Autonomous management: The same type we have in Japan.
- 2) Trust management: Management by managers dispatched by management companies.
- 3) Constructors' management: Management by the construction undertakers for less than a year

after the completion of building.

The number of council members elected depends on the size of the complex. The voting right for the members is given to those with over half a year's residence period.

<Germany> Chart 2 (4) illustrates a pattern of management system in West Germany composed by the writer based on hearings on the spot. The German law of residential ownership and continual right to residence prohibits restricting a manager's office competence by management regulations. As a result, no management association is formed in condominiums. Decision-making rests with *Gemeinschaft*, a collective body of entitled residents. The manager functions as agent. The main office is as follows.

- 1) Clerical management
- 2) Employment of attendants
- 3) Rule-making and observance
- 4) Repair work and engineering maintenance

The manager can be invited from outside *Gemeinschaft*, and approved by the general meeting. The tenure is five years with re-election legalized, accompanied by job security as far as the office is properly carried out. Residents' voting may form an advisory council of three residents. But the inquiries into J., B., and G. companies showed that no such council was ever organized. Mrs. Gruss, manager replied to my questionnaire saying that she had difficulty in giving information about managerial matters due to the lack of the non-existence of an organ that represents residents such as a board of trustees. The general meeting of *Gemeinschaft* decides management policy by majority vote.

<France> Chart 2 (5) which shows a pattern of French management system was made by this writer based on hearings at L.E. and D.C os., Paris. The management association, which comprises all the part owners, aims at managing and maintaining real property. The manager is elected by the association assembly whether the elected may be an individual or legal person with three years' tenure (re-election legalized). The manager can be a part owner or an outsider. But the owner manager has no right to payment for its office. The main office is maintenance and management. Policy is as a rule made at the association assembly by majority, but the matters like changes in management fees and regulations or building extension require general consensus. The manager is required to guarantee security money of over five hundred thousand francs or the amount of money exceeding the deposits put by the residents for management expense. In case of L. Co. the amount required as security money is 340 million francs. The managing council is formed as a sub organ under the managing associations. It corresponds to an advisory council in West Germany. The function is to help the manager and supervise the work. The members' tenure is three years. In L. Co. the writer visited the council system was adopted.



<Italy> Chart 2 (6) shows an Italian pattern of management system drawn by the writer based on hearings at C. Co. and P. Co., Italy. Policy decision is by the assembly of joint owner. The same assembly with three year's tenure elects the managers. The main office is the collection of management fees and the management and maintenance of jointly owned parts. Decision-making is supported by more than two-third majority vote. In Italy, a residential building with four or more residents in it must be provided with its manager. In a house with ten or more household, the regulations for its management must be laid down. And the manager can be an owner or an outsider qualified by the ministry of commerce and industry. The manager is elected from among the resident owners or a deputy the contracted management company dispatches under the approval of the owners' assembly.

<England> A typical type of management system was surveyed by the writer by hearings at C.L.Co., London .The subject is a re-developed housing complex, which is managed by a trust management system called <Time Sharing>, classified as short-, medium-, long-term.

<Scotland> Chart 2 (7) shows a pattern of trust management at a Scottish urban residence the writer visited. The house is managed by S.P.Co. and built of stone with shopping quarters, a swimming pool on the basement, and no parking space. The residence has a committee of owner residents that comprises the chairman and other members who deal with the affairs of residents' grievances, environment, security, accounting, and sub accounting.

In conclusion, the management systems can be classified in three types as follows:

- 1) Management by the board of trustees: the U.S.A., Japan, Korea
- 2) Management by managers: Germany, France, Italy
- 3) Management by other systems than the above.

In type (1), policy is decided by the management association comprising the part owners. The board of trustees is elected by the assembly of the association.

Management is under the direct control of the residents, putting them to the task of taking care of the democratic process required.

In type (2), management is mostly executed by entrusted agents, that is managers, who guarantee large-scale repair work and other managerial office. On the other hand, there is less active residents participation with the result of insufficient communication between agents and residents.

## **12. Condominium managing business**

In brief, management companies are classified in two types by nationality.

- 1) General management: Japan, England
- 2) Consultation management: The U.S., West Germany, Scotland, France, Italy and Korea
  - a) General management Type

In this type, the management association or unit ownership residents make a contract with the

management company. The company, in turn, employs a manager or makes a subcontract with a cleaning company. The advantages this type has are that management cost is relatively low, and the office of the management company is comprehensive, but management tends to depend too much upon the management company, causing the owner residents to be less conscious of the initiative aspects they ought to take in management.

b) Consultation management Type

This type makes it possible to divide management business into specific jobs, though management cost is higher than the previous type. The main part of the business of this type consists of the financial scheme and its operation. In the U.S., West Germany, Scotland, France, and Italy management companies the writer visited for survey deal in real property, assessment, brokerage, and lease, besides condominium business.

**14.A New Trend of Condominium in Japan**

1) An Information Oriented; Multi Media

CATV, BS antenna, Internet service

2) Ecology; Low energy, Safety energy, Gardening

Insulation, Ventilation, Solar, Veranda, Planter

3) Health Care; No handicap, Nursing Care, Harmless Construction materials

4) Convenient Living Services; Living Service

Acting Shopping, Home Delivery Box, Living Information

**15. Subjects and Perspective of management association**

It is possible to say that there are four subjects, dividing into the condominium management mainly in such a situation.

Firstly, that the consultation system which can respond to the question of the understanding lack of the state of condominium living and the condominium management isn't always enough.

Secondly, the condominium of the correspondence, the degradation degrades every day but rarely has the place to have the big problem that the repair-reserved fund isn't adequate and there is not a plan about the repair.

Thirdly, the condominium of the entrusting relation between the management association and management company about 80 percent entrusts to the proprietary company in the management. There is explanation's lack in the important item. The problem with the repair reserved fund account of the proprietary company name, which is, too, is occurring.

Fourthly, at the time of the letting-out at first of the problem. at the book about the design, a book about the design isn't delivered to the management association.

At the time of the letting-out at first, a book about the design isn't delivered to the management association.

## 16. The basic direction of the proper condominium management

The outline of proper condominium management guide is the below.

- 1) As the social property, it preserves an asset value at the condominium.
- 2) The securing of comfortable resident environment

The basic direction of the proper condominium association

- The independent management of the management association
- The revision and the making of a management agreement
- The definition for the range and the administrative cost in the sharing part
- The accounting which the management association is proper for
- The settle of the long-range repair plan and its reconsidering

1) The basic direction of the proper condominium unit owner

- The recognition of the importance of the condominium management
- The aggressive participation in the management
- The deference of the resolution of the management agreement, the synod
- The duty of the occupant

2) The basic direction of management entrusting

- The independence of the management association
- The grasping of management entrusting contents
- The selection for which the management consignee is proper
- The important item explanation and utilization of the report of the management office work by management company

The spread and the utilization of the condominium manager system

- The edification of the condominium manager system given by government, local government and the Condominium management center

- The provision of the information about the condominium manager system

Support of government, local government and the Condominium management center

- Making a network for being consulted by manager of condominium association
- The fullness of the provision of the necessary information and the data
- The fullness of the consultation system which utilized a condominium management manager
- The business promotion by the condominium management center

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Yuko YOSHIKAWA, Takeshi SUZUKI, Michihiro KITA, Kunio FUNAHASHI, Bin LI  
Department of Architectural Engineering,  
Osaka University  
Yamada-Oka, Suita, Osaka 565-0871, Japan  
[yosizumi@arch.eng.osaka-u.ac.jp](mailto:yosizumi@arch.eng.osaka-u.ac.jp)

## **Study on Traditional Japanese Waterways Landscape. A Case of Common Usage System of Spring Water Resources in Shimabara City**

This study is to investigate the change of utilization pattern of spring water resource and maintenance system in Shimabara in Japan by era and by districts. It is in Shimabara that people still live with preserving and utilizing spring-water, so we could understand some common systems that lead to sustainable use of the resources. Traditional Shimabara was the castle town, at the time the samurai had the water supply system, while farmers, fishermen used the common washing places in the height density area. Then the study districts of the water usage can be divided into five parts : Clansmens · town, Ashigarus · town, Merchants · town, Farmland/Industrial town and Fishery areas. We considered the common structure of continual uses from the following three points. Firstly, the relation between a social structure of historical background and spring-water management. Secondly, the daily spring-water uses, such as the rule of use and design. Finally, the voluntary spring-water preservation activities.

### **1. Preface**

The citizens of Shimabara City have been using spring water for more than 300 hundreds years ago. Their lives have actually come down with the spring water. People efficiently used water from those plentiful springs location. While changing the usage system from time to time, they developed many typical spring water locations at rather closed proximity.

Even now, we see many washing spaces for daily life use of old days, the construction systems which coexisted with the spring water and some new types of parks having good relationship with springs waters, in Shimabara City. These facts indicate how wisely the people utilized the spring water and how systematically they maintained the water system in the past. Recently, many municipalities are recreating their towns featuring natural water resources and maintaining their water resources as the sight-seeing area. However, in Shimabara City, many spring water systems are not only serving for sightseeing purposes but also supporting citizen's daily life, which are the special features of Shimabara City. There are few cities like this nowadays. This study aims at looking into the system of spring water utilization, mutual relationship between people and water system, especially, the maintenance and control of the water system which has been handed down and some needed changes have been made over time, to the features of water system by districts, and the rules developed in each of these districts.

## 2. The outline of districts studied

The districts of the water usage can roughly be divided into five parts:

the Clansmen's town, Ashigaru's (lower class of clansmen) town, Merchant's town, Farmland/Industrial town and Fishery areas. The water system was established by the feudal lord of Shimabara lived in Shimabara Castle, in the name of Tadafusa Matsudaira, in 1669, for reconstruction of the town after the Shimabara riot which took place in 1637.

The Ashigaru's town was on a solid mountain side where located was north side of the castle. The water was taken from Kumano Shrine water source about 1 km away from the town. The system was strictly controlled and the water was dedicated for daily use of the clansmen only. In those days, people were rather rich and some merchants had their own wells in their houses. After that, Shimabara disaster took place in 1792. Mt. Mayu corrupted and many sediments buried the seashores.

This tectonic movement caused needs of new utilization of spring water. The new utilization was made at various places, which created farmland/industrial town and fishery areas (figure-1). At these districts, they used the spring water mainly to support their daily life. They also dug wells and controlled the water themselves. After that, in modernization of the country, many dye-houses and breweries were newly developed. On the other hand, at merchant towns, people constructed various new types of building in which spring water was utilized as pond in gardens, as called water house, thus developed their own culture (from the latter half of Edo era to 1935).

At present, Shimabara City has officially recognized totally 52 spring water spots, such as, 11 spring spots, 5 open wells, 23 self spouting wells, 10 pumping sites and 3 other spring spots.

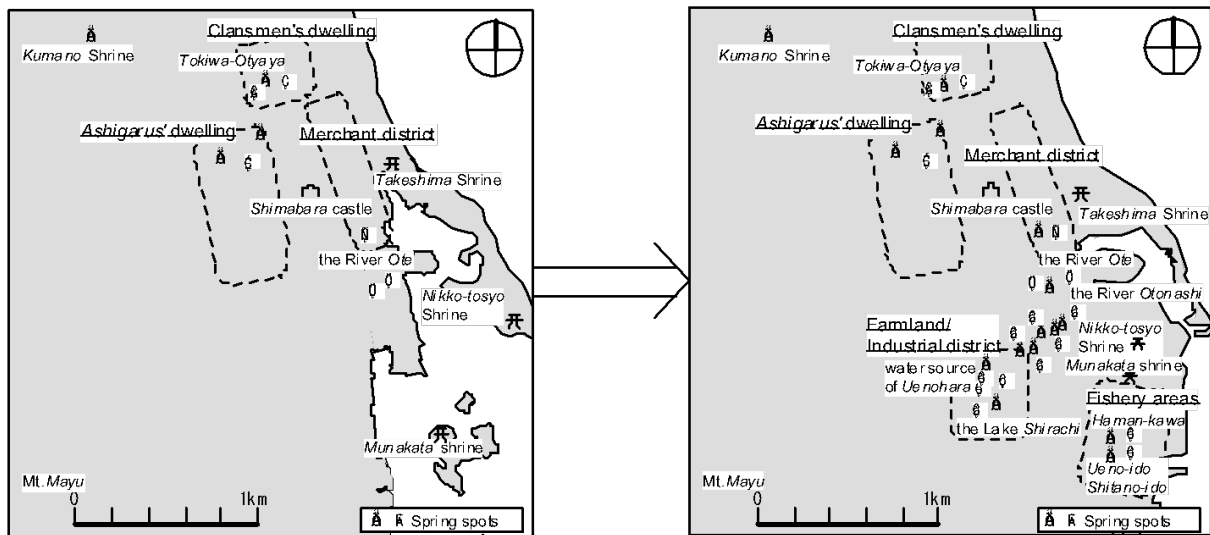


figure-1 The change of the coastline from Shimabara disaster --- before and after---

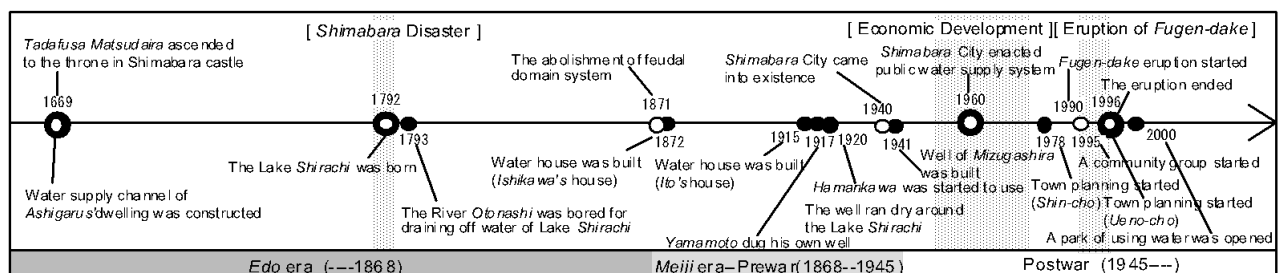


figure-2 The change of systems of spring water utilization

### **3. Study districts period and method**

As for the study period, the economic development (1955---1972) period was focused on since it well expanded maintenance and control system of two spring water resources. Particularly, after the Shimabara volcanic disaster (1792) in which the system was drastically developed and characterized. The comparisons between the period and the after was also studies (figure-2).

Four districts were selected, such as :

- 1) Clansmen's town, which were established before Ashigaru's town and Shimabara volcanic disaster. It was high class of clansmen dwelling.
- 2) Ashigaru's town, which were established by the feudal lord in 1669, for reconstruction of the town after the Shimabara riot which took place in 1637. It was lower class of clansmen armed soldier dwelling.
- 3) Farmland / Industrial town, were reclaimed after Shimabara volcanic disaster. This tecnic movement caused spring water.
- 4) Fishery areas, were established after Shimabara volcanic disaster. This district resembles with farmland/industrial town above.

Spring water spaces construction, usage condition, and maintenance and control system were investigated by interviews and some reference literature.

### **4.Utilization of spring water before Shimabara volcanic disaster (1669-1792)**

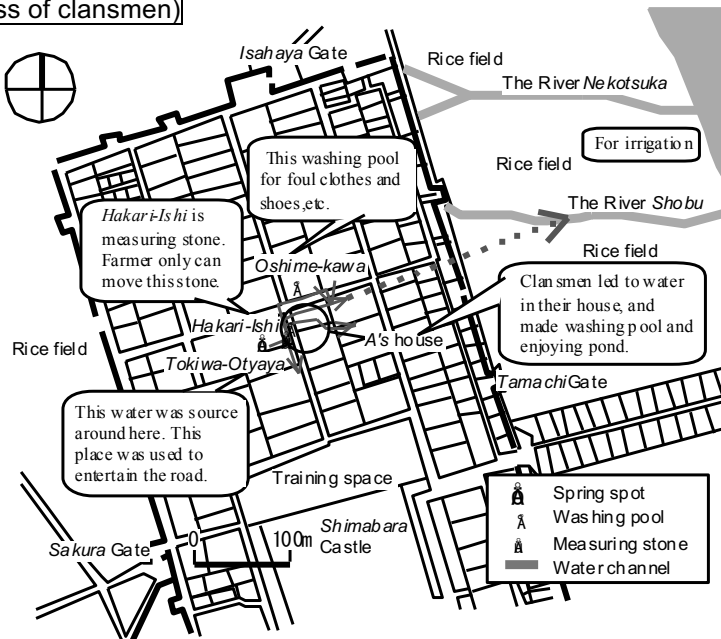
#### **(1) Clansmen's town (high class of clansmen)**

The dwellings were for clansmen of higher ranks in Japan's feudalistic era. The water system started from the water source located in Tokiwa-Ochaya from which three branched. This place was used to entertain the lord. One line was for the clansmen's houses, another was for irrigation, and the last one was for Oshimegawa (diaper's river). At each junction, there was a stone sluice called Hakari-Ishi (measuring stone). The person who was authorized to move this stone was a farmer who had a water irrigation right. Some authorized farmers cleaned the water channels. They cleaned the springs and channels mostly in June, that was before rice-planting season. Because the Tokiwa-Ochaya spring areas were closed to women, cleaning work was done by men only. The Tokiwa-Ochaya was named after a mistress to the lord, named Tokiwa Gozen. The load and his clansmen held tea ceremonies and parties on the garden stones facing the springs.

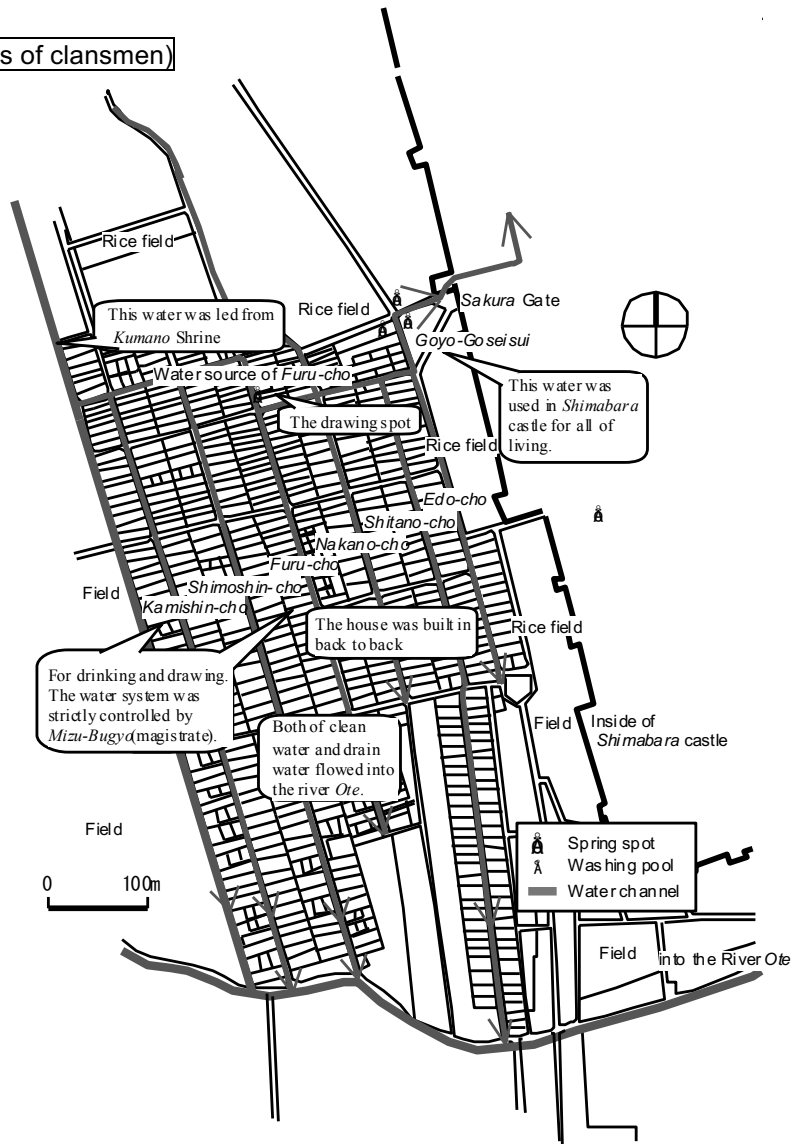
#### **(2) Ashigaru's town (lower class of clansmen)**

In the Ashigarus · dwellings , about 690 rifle men families lived in narrow areas. The water supply channel was installed in the center of each street. The water was souce the Kumano Shrine that was widely known as the Mizu-no- Gongen (the water god) and was used by soldiers for drinking. There were separate water channels for drain water and waste water. The rules for using the water were stipulated in the rule book and the control of the water system was made by the magistrate in the name of Mizu-Bugyo. The rule book strictly controlled many type of misbehavior, such as, children entering the water channels, or taking water from the channel. It also provided the rules for magistrate to manage the water easily. As for cleaning, it provides to perform on the 1st and the 15th of each month.

Clansmen's town (high class of clansmen)



Ashigaru's town (lower class of clansmen)



## **5. The utilization of spring water after the Shimabara volcanic diaster (1792-1954)**

### **(1) Farmland / Industrial town**

This district became the most benefitable area in the city. Because plenty of spring water gushed out after the Shimabara volcanic disaster, This allowed the lake Shirachi district and peripheral areas to establish washing places anew. The most popular washing place was a one-way staircase going down. The water line was used for drinking water, for food and the washing place, starting in order from the water source. Among them, the most characteristic one was the Okegawa washing place. There, the water line was divided into two so that many users could use it at the same time. There was a rule to use the upper stream for washing less contaminated items and the lower stream for washing more contaminated items. They cleaned the water channel from 8 o'clock in the morning of the 1st and the 3rd Sundays. Further, in this district, the water was used for agricultural and industrial purposes. Around lake Shirachi, there were many factories, such as, dye-houses, ice-making factories and soda pop factories. The lake was flourished as an amusement spot and people enjoyed rowing boats or swimming. The people of this district had nice time on a box type boat designed for collecting algae.

At some washing places around the lake, the water god or Jizo Bosatsu was enshrined and people took care of it. People who received benefit from the water system in this district worshiped the god and chanted the lotus sutra three times a year, on the New year's day, and in May and September. For the Koto temple that sank under the water, people spread red rice (boiled rice and red beans) on the water channel and held memorial services.

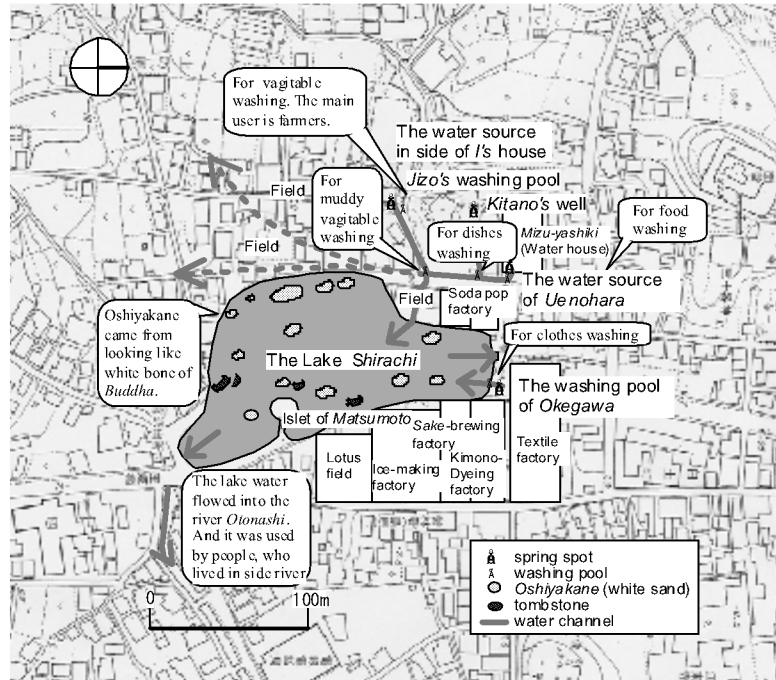
### **(2) Fishery area**

After the Shimabara volcanic disaster, this district flourished as a fisheries area on the spot where the earth and sand built up. In this district, same as the Farmland/industrial town, washing places with one-way staircases were established beside the water channel by the town's people. At this place, the washing places were divided by usage. Besides this type, they built washing places divided into several booths for use of many people at a time. There was a washing place at the Ueno-ido where the water pool was separated into three stages, another at Haman-kawa where the water pool was divided into four stages. These were possible for limited experience users to use freely by style. And three washing places along the water channel that branched from HamanKawa. This district was very crowded with dwelling houses and the households using this washing place numbered about 100. The rule book of usage stipulated that the user use the pool for fish and foodstuff washing, dishes and food rinsing, dishes and food washing and then clothes washing strictly in this order from the upper stream of the pool. It was decided not to wash baby diapers, pants and shoes at the clothes washing place. Those items had to be washed at the Oshimekawa (diaper's river) at the sea side in lower. For cleaning of the water channel, the whole town was divided into some groups and they cleaned the channel in turn on Sundays. On the third Sunday in July every year, people of the whole town gathered and washed the channel that was called Idogae. Worshipping the Water God and Jizo Bosatsu was performed periodically, on New year's day, and in May and September, the same as in farmland/industrial town. In fishery area, however, the chances of industrial development was rather small but they had many Tofu (soy-bean curd) shops, Kanzarashi (rice cake with sweet sauce) shops and pickles shops. Above all, the Silver Water the Kanzarashi shops used were popular and it was

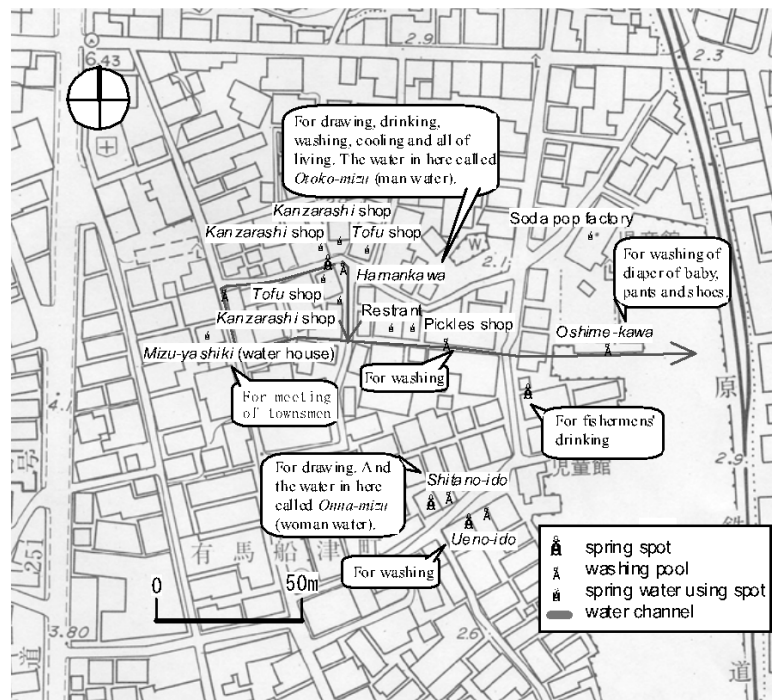


famous as a sight seeing spot.

**Farmland / Industrial town**



**Fishery area**



## **6. Comparison of spring water usage before and after the high economic development period**

### **(1) Before the high economic development period**

After the abolishment of feudal domain system in 1871, the ownership and usage as well as maintenance system for the clansmen's town and Ashigaru's town changed greatly. Even after abolishment, its maintenance and management system was not changed. Cleaning and maintenance system was performed by the farmers who held the water rights. And although the rule of prohibiting women entering the Tokiwa Ochaya was left unchanged. For Ashigaru's town the rules stipulated in the rule book were observed by the town's people and cleaning was performed on the prefixed days as before.

However, because Mizu Bugyo's (water magistrate's) management system was abolished, the quality of water in the channel decreased greatly and some epidemic diseases spread. That was the reason why each house started to dig their own well in or around 1900. The cost for digging well was very expensive at that time. Therefore, some poor people led the water from the well in their neighbors. This was the start of completely new water sharing system began.

### **(2) After the high economic development period**

The usage and management system of the washing place slightly changed from daily living purposes. Because the washing places were originally established by nearby people on some privately owned lands, there was no change of ownership. Because the citizens started to take the water from the well at no charge. Shimabara City built a public water supply system (in 1960) and the number of people who used the washing places reduced. Coincidentally, the electric washing machine was introduced and used by many people in the City (1955). These two facts overlapped to create the above tendency.

The control right of Ueno-ido and Shitano-ido in fishery area and the Lake Shirachi in farmland/industrial town changed drastically. The control right in farmland/industrial town was transferred from town to citizens and then to individual owner's gradually toward a smaller scale. Because the water supply source of the city has been installed at Ueno-hara, the springs in the peripheral area started to dry up. Some wells which have been used became unusable. This caused the industry around the springs went dull and gradually disappeared. However, some events are still celebrated on a personal level at a smaller scale. On the other hand, some new events were planned to stimulate the town. The Ueno-ido and shitano-ido in fishery area are now controlled by the city for the fire preventing water tanks. Now it is impossible for the citizens to use spring water for their personal use.

On the other hand, no supply was taken from Hamankawa, it is still alive and citizens are actively using it for their daily life. Its management and events are performed as before even today, about 75 households are using the water every day for their personal use.

The merchant districts was owned by individuals from a long time ago. And therefore, they supplied the spring water into their premises for their business and moreover water channels were offered for social use. The Mizu-yashiki (water house) offered their spring water and pond as a place of comfort and Hayame-gawa offered its spring pond at the front of their shops to the public to draw water and placed it for enjoyment. Both of them are utilized as the estate of the town and users are increasing more and more.

The eruption of Unzen Fugen-dake volcano (started in 1990) dried up the water resources. This was a big turning point for them to promote spring water maintenance activities. Under these circumstance, a

community group named Gengoro Club was started to activate the deserted town. They did many activities across the whole town, holding symposium regarding various subjects, a plan of having a spring tour, maintenance of parks associated with spring waters and making up of a map for Shimabara spring water walking road. Their activities stimulated the citizens to feel the importance of the features of spring water utilization by the district. Especially, in the new park (built in 1999), they even released fish into the water channel and planted many new plants after children collected them, thus various unique plans were made for the purpose of letting people gather at one place for enjoyment.

### 7. Summary

With this study, the authors aimed at examining the change of utilization pattern of spring water resource and maintenance system in Shimabara City by era and by districts. As the result, we could understand some common systems that led to sustainable use of the resources (figure-3).

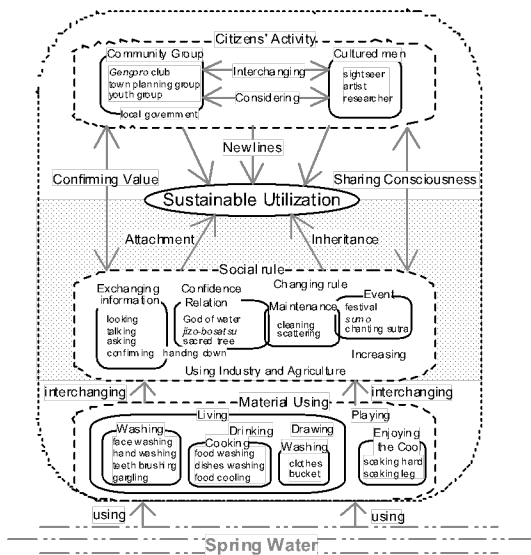


figure-3 Common systems of leading to sustainable use of the resources



Okegawa Washing pool



God of Water



Worshiping the Spirits

(1) Regarding the utilization of spring water in clansmen's town, the network of washing places and water supply were held by Tokiwa-Ochaya, and maintenance and management were conducted by the farmers who used that system. Therefore, even if the space structure changed, control system was maintained without any change.

(2) At Ashigaru's town, the spring water maintenance was held by the feudal domain, the ruler of the city and general users could share the resource only by uniting the uses. Once the domain was abolished, the maintenance and management was not carried out by anyone and left uncontrolled.

(3) At farmland/industrial town, the washing places were used in small numbers of households. They made up their rules for mutual benefit. If number of users decreases, the washing place will also be demolished. However, enshrining the gods and holding some events are now handed down. This is a positive district which tries to observe the social rules and try to actively work to create new places. Here, the spring water is maintained by the town people who use it.

(4) At fishery area, users established maintenance and control system by themselves. In that sense, this district resembles with (3)farmland/industrial town above. The feature of town's people were and are today displaying the design and the rule on a signboard by user. Because so many people gathering at one washing place, they had made up their own system to support common use. With this system, users with limited experience can also use freely and this is a very remarkable feature.

(5) The community group started in the high economic development period and after eruption of Unzen Fugen-dake volcano, started viewing the springs as the resource of the town. Owing to their activities, consciousness among citizens was shared. And they could indicate how the system should be controlled as a whole while finding the value of each spring. Their activities were not only for the maintenance of environment and enactment of new systems, but also making an unique place so that the spring water influence people and people influence the spring water places mutually.

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# Sustainability of Suburban Residential Areas in the National Capital Region

–A Case Study of Utsunomiya City, Japan–

## AUTHOR(S) CONTACT INFORMATION

Name: Yuji Jinnouchi

Address: Faculty of Education, Utsunomiya University, 350 Mine-machi,  
Utsunomiya-city, Tochigi-ken, Japan

Tel: +81-28-649-5366

Fax: +81-28-649-5366

e-mail [jin@venice.mine.utsunomiya-u.ac.jp](mailto:jin@venice.mine.utsunomiya-u.ac.jp)

## 1.Housing Aspects

### (1)Japan in comparison to Other Countries

The average lifespan of detached houses in Japan is 26 years, in contrast with 44 years and 75 years in the U.S. and the U.K., respectively. <sup>1)</sup> This is believed to be partly attributable to differences in the existing-homes market. For example, a comparison of the size of the housing market in Japan to its counterpart in the U.S. clearly shows the difference in the number of existing homes on the market. According to Table 1, the number of existing homes on the market was 3,520,000 in the U.S. and 137,000 in Japan as of 1992. In other words, the U.S. had approximately 26 times more existing homes on the market than Japan. <sup>2)</sup> The fact that many existing homes are on the market makes it easier to meet the demand of potential buyers.

**Table 1: Comparison of Size of Housing Market in Japan and the U.S.** <sup>3)</sup>

Unit: 1,000 houses

	U.S.	Japan	U.S./Japan
Housing Stock (1993)	106,611	45,879	2.3 times
Number of Existing Homes on Market (1992)	3,520	137	25.7 times
New Housing Starts (1998)	1,615	1,198	1.3 times

(Source) U.S.: US Housing Market Conditions, Japan: Housing Survey

### (2)Utsunomiya City

As for the housing situation in Utsunomiya City (population: 441,000 as of 1998), the number of houses totaled 185,400 in 1998, of which 160,690 were occupied. These occupied houses consisted of 85,950 owner-occupied houses (53%) and rented houses 68,720 (43%). On the other hand, the home ownership rate is almost 70% in Tochigi Prefecture as a whole. The high home rental rate is one of the characteristics of Utsunomiya City (Table 2).

**Table 2: Trends in the Number of Houses and Households in Utsunomiya City**

		1988	1993	1998
Number of Houses	Total Number of Houses (Houses)	149,420	166,490	185,400
	Number of Occupied Houses	132,270	146,930	160,690
	Number of Empty Houses	17,150	19,550	24,710
Number of Households	Total number of Households (Households)	132,610	147,430	161,450
Title of House	Owner-occupied House (Houses)	75,280	78,770	85,950
	Rented House (Houses)	55,180	63,090	68,720
	Council House	6,290	5,550	6,250
	House rented from Public Corporations	370	670	0
	House rented Privately	42,660	48,460	54,880
	Company House	5,860	8,410	7,590
	Unknown (Houses)	1,810	5,070	6,020

Source: Housing and Land Statistics

## 1. Research Method

We selected residential developments of detached houses in the suburbs of Utsunomiya City by development period (1965-1974, 1975-1984, 1985-1988 and 1989 onwards), and randomly chose 100 houses from each housing development based on the housing plan (400 houses in total).

Questionnaires were distributed to residents and collected by post. The survey period was November-December 2000, and the response rate was 32.5% (130 responses in number).

**Table 3: Overview of Housing Developments subject to the Survey**

Name	Development Period	Developer	Planned Number of Houses
Fujimigaoka	1963 - 1981	Private	Approx.
Tomatsuridai	1978 - 1981	Housing and Urban Development Corp.	2,000
Toyosatodai New Town	1987 - 1991	Private	510
Jyosai New Town	1993 - 1995	Private	1483
		Private	445

Source: Utsunomiya City Housing Division

Note: Housing and Urban Development Corporation was reorganized and became Urban Development Corporation in October 1999.

## 2. Overview of Scope of Survey

### (1) Attributes of Residents subject to Survey

By age, respondents in their 40s constituted the largest group (32.3%), followed by those in their 50s and 60s.

**Table 4: Response by Housing Development**

	Number of Responses	Response Rate (%)
Fujimigaoka	41	31.5
Tomatsuridai	32	24.6
Toyosatodai	41	31.5
Jyosai	16	12.3
Total	130	100.0

**Table 5: Age of Respondents**

39 or below	12	9.2%
40 – 49	42	32.3
50 – 59	35	26.9
60 – 69	29	22.3
70 or above	12	9.2
Total	130	100.0

### (2) Type of House, etc.

As for the structure of houses, approximately 56% were wooden and roughly 39% were steel (Table 6). As for the style of houses, all were detached houses, in which newly-built, owner-occupied houses accounted for about 96% (Table 7). More than 80% of the houses were built in 1985 or later (Table 8).

**Table 6: Main Structure of House**

Wooden	73	56.2%
Block	2	1.5
Reinforced concrete	2	1.5
Steel	50	38.5
Other	3	2.3
Total	130	100.0

**Table 7: Type of House (at time of acquisition)**

Owner-occupied, newly built	125	96.2%
Owner-occupied, purchased existing home	4	3.1
Owner-occupied, inherited from parents (or relatives)	1	0.8
Renting from parents (or relatives)	0	0.0
Total	130	100.0



**Table 8: Year of Construction of House**

1969 or before	2	1.6%
1970 – 1974	4	3.1
1975 – 1979	8	6.2
1980 – 1984	9	7.0
1985 – 1989	37	28.7
1990 – 1994	31	24.0
1995 or later	38	29.5
Total	129	100.0

### **3. Residential History, etc.**

Most households (73 respondents) had moved twice before moving into their current home, accounting for 55.4% of the total. As for the frequency of house sale, 86 respondents had never sold their house and 34 had sold their home once: this group constituted 120 respondents in total. Meanwhile, 7 respondents had sold their house twice and 3 respondents had sold their home three times or more. As for the method of sale, the house was either sold by “leaving everything to an agent” (33 respondents), “assigning the task to more than one agent” (3 respondents) or “finding a purchaser ourselves” (8 respondents). In practice, agents are heavily relied upon when selling a house.

### **4. Buying an Existing Home**

We asked the residents whether they have ever considered buying an existing detached house. Their response was “Yes, and have purchased an existing home” (8 respondents), “Yes, but have never purchased one” (31 respondents), and “No” (90 respondents).

Obviously, existing homes have not been under their scope of consideration when buying a house.

To the 8 respondents who answered “Yes, and have purchased an existing home,” we asked why they bought an existing home. We found that reasonable pricing and location are major factors (Table 7).

To the 121 respondents who answered “Yes, but have never purchased one” and “No”, we asked why they did not purchase an existing home. Almost 30 % of them answered “a new house is the best to own” (43 respondents), “a new house is more economical in the long run” (36

respondents), and “reluctant to live in a house where someone else has lived” (34 respondents), as shown in Table 8. They tend to believe that new houses are unconditionally superior to existing homes and categorically exclude any existing home from their scope of residence.

**Table 7: Reasons for buying Existing Home**  
(Choose all that apply)

To spend money on land, furniture, etc.	0	0.0%
Because we could see and choose the actual product	3	37.5
Because we could move in immediately	0	0.0
Because of good layout and design	0	0.0
Was attracted to good workmanship	0	0.0
Was attracted to live in a traditional house	1	12.5
Due to many natural materials used	1	12.5
Because it showed the previous owner’s love of the house	2	25.0
Because we are eventually going to rebuild it	6	75.0
Reasonable price	7	87.5
Good location	7	87.5
Other	1	12.5
Parameter	8	100.0

**Table 8: Reasons for not buying Existing Home**  
(Choose all that apply)

New house is more economical in the long run	36	30.5%
Safety is a concern in existing homes	17	14.4
The layout does not suit our current lifestyle	25	21.2
Reluctant to live in a house where someone else has lived	34	28.8
Dark and/or drafty	3	2.5
Old and/or poor facilities	26	22.0
Electricity and water capacity is unsuitable	3	2.5
Wanted a layout suitable for family	28	23.7
Poor quality	10	8.5
Because we wanted a house as a permanently residence	28	23.7
A new house is the best to own	43	36.4
Other	12	10.2
Parameter	118	100.0

We asked all respondents what their concerns are about existing homes. Many respondents (more than 70) mentioned “performance of facilities” and “safety of site and building.” Also, more than 50 respondents referred to “reliability of information” and “confidence in real estate agent,” indicating that the environment for selling and buying existing homes is underdeveloped i.e. the market is deemed unreliable (Table 9).

**Table 9: Concerns about Existing Homes (Choose all that apply)**

Safety of site and building	70	54.7%
Performance of facilities	74	57.8
Contract and loan	19	14.8
Reliability of information	52	40.6
Confidence in real estate agent	51	39.8
Other	6	4.7
No concerns	7	5.5
Parameters	128	100.0

## 5. Actions taken when buying Current Home, etc

### (1) Expected Lifespan of Current Home

We asked the residents “When you moved into the house in which you currently live, how long did you think it would last?” Most residents (47 respondents) expected it to last 30 years, followed by 50 years (30 respondents) and 20 years (19 respondents). Among the 130 respondents, 125 lived in newly-built houses. Most of those who had expected the lifespan of their respective homes to be 20 or 30 years are believed to have purchased newly-built houses. This means that even new home buyers expect detached houses to last for merely 20 or 30 years.

### (2) House Management Expenses at the time of Purchase

We asked what kind of approach the residents had taken upon purchasing the house in which they currently live. Most residents “left room for repayments based on a vague idea” (58 respondents, 45.3%), followed by “did not think about it” (45 respondents, 35.2%) and “formulated a long-term plan” (25 respondents, 19.5%). Only 20% of the respondents had planned for house management expenses in the long run. The proper management of a house requires maintenance and repairs, as a matter of course. Although the costs incurred would be small for minor repairs, they would be heavy for major repairs and refurbishing. Their preparedness for “continued residence” appears to be insufficient.

### (3) Information Gathered until deciding on Current Home, etc.

This is a question on what residents had done before deciding on their respective current homes. Results of the chi-square test indicate that among the options shown in Table 10, a significantly high proportion of Fujimigaoka and Tomatsuridai residents “consulted with architect/builder” ( $p < 0.01$ ). On the other hand, a significantly high proportion of Toyosatodai and Jyosai residents “looked into newspaper inserts and real estate papers” ( $p < 0.05$ ). Their selection of the option “went to a model room and/or exhibition site” was also a significant tendency. This is believed to be the result of the increasing number of houses for installment sale, which has diminished the need to consult with architects, builders and other specialists on construction and has led individuals to gather information on completed houses in newspapers, advertisements and model rooms. (73 houses in Fujimigaoka and Tomatsuridai were organized as residential areas developed in 1985 and earlier, and 53 houses in Toyosatodai and Jyosai in 1985 and later.)

**Table 10: Method of Information Gathering before Deciding on Current Home**

(Choose all that apply) %

	Fujimigaoka & Tomatsuridai	Toyosatodai & Jyosai	Total
Newspaper inserts and real estate papers	41.7	61.4	50.4
Consulted with architect/builder	33.3	7.0	21.7
Saw an open house	22.2	17.5	20.2
Gathered information on the Internet	0.0	0.0	0.0
Consulted with acquaintance with rich experience	18.1	14.0	16.3
Asked real estate agent	12.5	17.5	14.7
Real estate magazine	29.2	17.5	24.0
Went to model room and/or exhibition site	70.8	84.2	76.7
Other	4.2	10.5	7.0

### (4) Factors regarded Important when choosing Current Home

Among the options chosen by many Fujimigaoka and Tomatsuridai residents, their tendency to select “surrounding natural environment” and “convenience of transport” was significant. On the other hand, among the options chosen by many Toyosatodai and Jyosai residents, “school zone” was a significant tendency.

**Table 12: Factors regarded Important when choosing Current Home** (Choose up to 4) %

	Fujimigaoka & Tomatsuridai	Toyosatodai & Jyosai	Total
Have never selected land	0.0	0.0	0.0
Shape of site and conditions of ground	71.9	63.5	68.1
School zone	20.3	34.6	26.7
Surrounding natural environment	84.4	69.2	77.6
Demography of residents in neighborhood	29.7	40.4	34.5
Convenience of transport	48.4	30.8	40.5
Convenience of shopping	10.9	11.5	11.2
Purchase price	53.1	48.1	50.9
Other	15.6	13.5	14.7

## 6. Management of Current Home

### (1) Willingness to Continue Living in Current Home

The responses from Fujimigaoka and Tomatsuridai residents were significantly different from their Toyosatodai and Jyosai counterparts. Fewer residents in Toyosatodai and Jyosai “wanted to permanently live in current home if possible” than those in Fujimigaoka and Tomatsuridai, and more of them were “undecided”. This is believed to be attributable to the lower age of the residents, who might have to rebuild the house depending on its conditions and might have to relocate due to job transfer, etc., which is unpredictable.

**Table 13: Willingness to Continue Living in Current Home** %

	Fujimigaoka & Tomatsuridai	Toyosatodai & Jyosai	Total
Plan to move in 2 or 3 years	15.7	10.7	13.5
Plan to rebuild home in 2 or 3 years	5.7	10.7	7.9
Want to permanently live in current home if possible	64.3	48.2	57.1
Undecided	14.3	30.4	21.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

**(2) Preservation Status of Current Home, etc.**

As for the preservation status of their current homes, 110 houses were “good” or “extremely good”, jointly accounting for 85.2% of the total, which is a high figure. On the other hand, 18 houses “required minor repairs” and 1 house “required major repairs.”

We asked the residents about the insulation of the roof, windows and/or walls against rain. Leakage of rain from the roof was experienced in 8 houses (6.3%) and leakage of rain from windows and/or walls was experienced by 13 houses (10.0%).

**(3) Status of Repair, Refurbishing, Extension and Reconstruction of Current Home** Table 14 shows the status of repair, refurbishing, extension and reconstruction of current homes. We asked 62 residents as to where they had repaired, refurbished, extended on reconstructed, to which 61 effectively responded. The most common areas were the external walls (31 houses, 50.8%) and roof (27 houses, 44.3%) (Table 15).

**Table 14: Status of Repair, Refurbishing, Extension and Reconstruction of Current Home**

None	66	51.6%
Minor repair	36	28.1
Major repair	8	6.3
Refurbishment	16	12.5
Extension/reconstruction	2	1.6
Total	128	100.0

**Table 15: Area Repaired, Refurbished, Extended or Reconstructed**

(Choose all that apply)

Structure	3	4.9%
Roof	27	44.3
Floor	14	23.0
External walls	31	50.8
Kitchen	5	8.2
Toilet	14	23.0
Bath	17	27.9
Entrance	5	8.2
Bedroom (e.g. children’s room)	3	4.9
Living room, reception room, etc.	2	3.3
Storage (e.g. closets)	4	6.6
Barrier free	3	4.9
Internal walls	11	18.0
Fixtures	8	13.1
Other	9	14.8
Parameters	61	100.0

The responses from Fujimigaoka and Tomatsuridai residents were significantly different from their Toyosatodai and Jyosai counterparts. More respondents in Toyosatodai and Jyosai had no repair/refurbishing experience than those in Fujimigaoka and Tomatsuridai. This is believed to be attributable to the fact that Toyosatodai and Jyosai are new residential areas developed after 1990, requiring fewer repairs and refurbishing than Fujimigaoka and Tomatsuridai which consist of older houses.

**Table 16: Status of Repair, Refurbishing, Extension and Reconstruction (by area) %**

	Fujimigaoka & Tomatsuridai	Toyosatodai & Jyosai	Total
None	41.7	64.3	51.6
Minor repair	31.9	23.2	28.1
Major repair	6.9	5.4	6.3
Refurbishment	16.7	7.1	12.5
Extension/reconstruction	2.8	0.0	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

#### (4) Advisor on How to Repair Current Home

This is a question on whether there is anyone with whom the residents can consult about the methods of maintaining and repairing their current homes. The most common is “builder/maker who built current home” (85 respondents, 65.9%). On the other hand, only one respondent mentioned “administration, association and other public bodies”.

**Table 17: Advisor on How to Repair Current Home (Choose all that apply)**

No one	11	8.5%
Architect	17	13.2
Administration, association and other public bodies	1	0.8
Builder/maker who built current home	85	65.9
Builder who repaired current home in the past	17	13.2
Real estate agent who recommended current house	0	0.0
Local builder, plasterer, painter, etc.	19	14.7
Home improvement store (DIY shop)	7	5.4
Traditional store selling carpenter tools	0	0.0
Other	0	0.0
Parameter	129	100.0

**(5) Household Budget for Repairs**

We asked residents about their household budget for house repairs. The results are as shown in Table 18. Most residents “have no budget” (60 households, 48.8%), showing a passive stance to home maintenance and repair.

**Table 18: Household Budget for Repairs**

Have funds set aside in a planned manner	7	5.7%
Have no funds set aside but have plan for emergency expenses	44	35.8
Cannot afford it with current household accounts	12	9.8
Nothing is done as it will be dealt with when it happens	60	48.8
Total	123	100.0

**(6) Efforts made to Repair House by Each Household, etc.**

**1) Carpenter Tools at Home**

More than 110 respondents were equipped with hammers, pliers and saws. However, less than half of the respondents had electric screwdrivers, electric rim saws and electric drills required for heavy-duty repairs.

**Table 19: Carpenter Tools at Home**

(Choose all that apply)

Hammer	124	97.6%
Planer	55	43.3
Saw	115	90.6
Framing square	63	49.6
Pliers	125	98.4
Electric screwdriver	34	26.8
Electric rim saw	19	15.0
Electric drill	42	33.1
Parameters	127	100.0

**2) Status of DIY House Repairs**

As for DIY house repairs, most residents “did not do much” (71 respondents, 55.0%), followed by those who “do it out of necessity” (41 respondents, 31.8%) and “frequently do it” (17 respondents, 13.2%).

We also asked what the DIY repairs had been for. Most residents answered “replacement of paper screens” (74 respondents, 58.7%) and “replacement of tap packing” (31 respondents, 24.6%).



### 3) House Repair and Management Techniques passed on to Children

We asked the residents as to whether they have passed on house repair and management techniques to their children; 81 respondents “felt no need to pass them on,” accounting for almost 70%. Considering that many families hardly do DIY home repairs as shown in the results referred to in 2) above, this is not a surprising outcome.

**Table 20: House Repair and Management Techniques handed down to Children**

Have passed on all the techniques we learnt	4	3.3%
Have passed on the basic techniques	15	12.2
Have passed on primarily the techniques which children are interested in	14	11.4
Feel no need to pass them on	81	65.9
No opportunity to do due to no children	9	7.3
Total	123	100.0

## 7. Conclusion (Analysis)

This paper reviewed the questionnaire survey targeting residents in detached houses in residential areas in the suburbs of Utsunomiya City, and identified and analyzed the (1) the types of current homes and the number of years of residence, (2) their views on existing homes, (3) their actions when they purchased their respective current homes, and (4) issues relating to the status of managing their current homes.

Here, the analysis will focus on their views on existing homes and the status of managing their respective homes, which is one of the objectives of this report.

Firstly, the survey revealed the following aspects of existing homes.

### <Unattractiveness of Existing Homes as Residence>

Out of 130 households subject to the survey, 90 of them had never considered purchasing an existing home. There were 31 households who had considered buying an existing home but never did.

Also, the survey shows that the 121 households who had never purchased an existing home believed that a newly-built house was more economical than an existing home, was the best as an owner-occupied house, and preferred not to live in a house that has been occupied by somebody else.

The results show that they basically found existing homes unattractive.

#### **<Underdeveloped Market for Existing Homes>**

Concerns about existing homes not only include the performance of facilities and the safety of the site and the building, but also relate to the reliability of information and confidence in the real estate agent. As far as existing homes are concerned, the safety of the site and the building can be checked only by investigating the existing terms and conditions and by taking measures as required. However, the lack of confidence in information and real estate agents is believed to make things difficult for identifying the existing terms and conditions accurately.

Secondly, the survey focused on the residents' efforts in house management.

#### **<Difficulties in Setting Aside Funds for House Management in a Planned Manner>**

Only 7 households had been setting aside funds for repairs in a planned manner. Basically, the majority of households did nothing (70 respondents). Their stance to home maintenance and management appears to be passive.

#### **<Few DIY Handypersons>**

DIY house repair appears to be uncommon in practice. Only 17 households were DIY enthusiasts.

#### **<Difficulty in Passing on House Repair and Management Techniques to Children>**

An absolute majority of residents believe that it is unnecessary to pass on house repair and management techniques to children (81 respondents).

Japan's future seems to be marred by the falling birth rate, the aging population and worsening environmental problems. The lifespan of housing must be extended, and people's attitude must be changed so that they would be willing to live in their current homes permanently. At the same time, it is necessary to stimulate the existing homes market. This is a major issue for a developing a sustainable housing environment, and the suburban residential areas scrutinized under this survey is no exception.

Under these circumstances, one of the measures that Utsunomiya City must implement is to raise the standard of rented homes. It is also important to encourage existing homes to be put on the market.<sup>4)</sup> People would find it easier to move from rented accommodation if there is a developed

market for existing homes that have a lighter cost burden than new houses.<sup>5)</sup> Also, lessons in primary, junior-high and high schools (e.g. home economics) as well as lifelong learning courses should actively feature housing, in order to change people's awareness of house maintenance and repairs and existing homes.<sup>6)</sup> In short, they should be part of consumer education.

## **Bibliography and References**

- 1) P.10 of “Report on Survey of Existing Homes Market in the US” by Housing Policy Division, Housing Bureau, Ministry of Construction (March 1999)
- 2) Ibid., p.11
- 3) Ibid., p.11
- 4) In the U.S., an existing-homes market has been developed based on the “escrow” scheme and other schemes for house sales.
- 5) Based on its unique housing loan scheme, Utsunomiya City issues loans not only for building new homes and buying units and houses for installment sales but also for the purchase of existing homes and the repair, refurbishment, extension and reconstruction of houses.
- 6) “Comprehensive study hours” will be introduced in primary and junior-high schools from 2002 and in high schools from 2003. As each school will be able to decide the theme and content of study at discretion, they can have a lesson on housing.