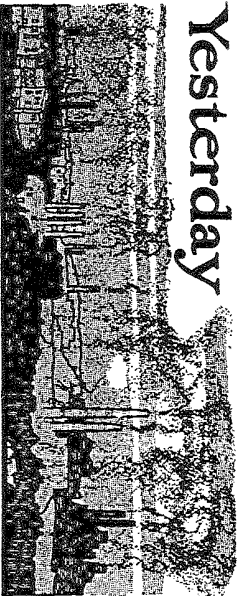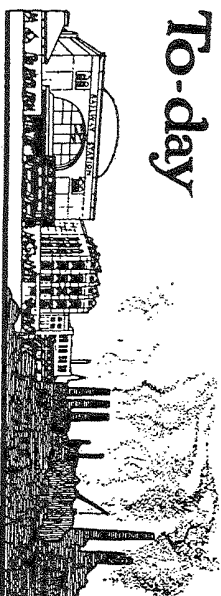# THE GARDEN CITY

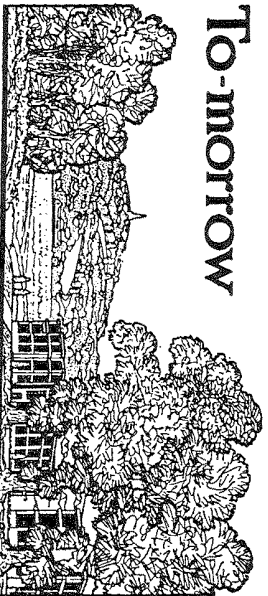## Past, present and future

Yesterday

Living and Working in the Smoke

To-day

Living in the Suburbs – Working in the Smoke

To-morrow

Living & Working in the Sun at WELWYN GARDEN CITY

EDITED BY STEPHEN V. WARD

1

THE GARDEN CITY INTRODUCED

Stephen V. Ward

During the late 1980s and early 1990s a remarkable phenomenon has begun to emerge in planning circles in several parts of the West: the rediscovery and re-examination of the garden city idea. Despite the prevailing thrusts of Western politics in the 1980s away from collectivist solutions and government planning towards the market-led regeneration of existing urban concentrations, the garden city has crept back onto the planning agenda. In Britain there has been an extraordinary surge of interest from private housebuilders, together with a spate of conferences, professional and propagandist reports and official pronouncements. And, as if to emphasize the seriousness of all these moves, they have even been brilliantly evoked and satirized by the distinguished and popular novelist, John Mortimer (1990). However the scale of this British revival in the garden city/new community movement is unique. In no other country has it achieved the momentum it has in Britain, though we can point to some similar signs in other parts of Europe and elsewhere.

Some of this can no doubt be dismissed as a mere commercial appropriation of the garden city movement's traditional credibility and legitimacy to make money out of property development. (Certainly John Mortimer's mythical Fallowfield new country town is largely represented in this way.) Nostalgia for quaint diagrams and phraseology also plays its part.

But beneath the explicit signs we can detect something rather more fundamental that goes beyond these superficialities. Reviewing the emergent social and environmental agendas of Western societies in the late twentieth century, it is striking how many of the separate elements of the garden city idea they embody. The progressive rejection of the big city; the desire for small town living and working; the search for real involvement in common affairs; and, not least, the adherence to a new 'green' lifestyle represent widely shared social values. Although few people would explicitly articulate such values in terms of the garden city, it is this or something very close to it that their complete realization implies.

If this line of reasoning proves to be even partly correct then the garden city idea, whether under its own or another name, is set to become a much stronger element in the planning debates of the 1990s than it has been for some decades. The danger is that such debates will be conducted with only limited awareness or understanding of what the term garden city and the diverse tradition which has derived from it represent. Much propagandist vitriol has been expended in past debates about the garden city idea, largely contesting the legitimacy of this or that interpretation. This book does not start from such partisan premises and is intended to inform and enlarge present debates by examining the development and diversification of the

garden city tradition on an international basis. It is, to a large extent, a work of planning history though written with a strong sense of the present and likely future.

Its themes reflect the tremendous historical potency of the garden city as an idea about urban and social reform. This introductory chapter, as well as introducing the individual contributions, explores the conceptual history of the garden city. It shows how, despite the apparent clarity and coherence of the original vision, the garden city idea and the movement which developed to advance it showed considerable flexibility in practice. By 1910 it had already proved to be an extraordinarily rich source of concepts that were adopted and technicalized by the newly emerging international practice of town and regional planning. The fact that the original garden city idea was capable of being taken apart and applied selectively was of huge significance in allowing the idea to persist and spread. It permitted parts at least of the idea to take root in widely different economic, institutional, cultural and aesthetic contexts. However this tendency to diversity, although an important symptom of the potency of the garden city idea, does not alone explain it. It was the parallel persistence of purer (though not necessarily pure) versions of the idea that prevented a complete fragmentation of the movement and produced the creative tensions that gave the tradition its characteristic intellectual vigour. It is with the original vision that our introductory survey of the conceptual evolution of the garden city idea begins.

ORIGINS

The origins of the garden city idea will be explored more fully in the next chapter, so we need give only the bare outline here: the idea was developed by Ebenezer Howard, an obscure English stenographer and shorthand writer. After much unpublished rehearsal during the 1890s, Howard's proposals finally appeared in print in 1898, in his book *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. What they offered was a comprehensive vision of social and political reform involving the gradual transformation of the existing concentrated cities into a decentralized but closely interrelated network of garden cities, collectively called the social city. Each individual garden city would have a population of 30,000, with a further 2000 in the surrounding agricultural estates. Development would occur on the basis of co-operative action and especially the collective ownership of land. This would allow the increase in land values that accrued from the development of the garden city to be realized by the community as a whole and used for the common good. However beyond this insistence on collectivism with respect to land, Howard avoided any wider rejection of industrial capitalism.

In general terms, none of the individual elements that made up Howard's ideas was particularly new. Howard fully acknowledged this, referring to early work advocating industrial and population migration, land reform and model communities. He saw his distinctive contribution as achieving 'a unique combination of proposals' (Howard, 1898, p. 102). *To-morrow* was largely concerned with the practicalities of developing and administering the garden city. Surprisingly, in view of what his idea soon came to represent, it dealt with the physical environment of the town fairly briefly and used highly simplified diagrams. However, more damagingly for his larger purposes, it also said tantalizingly little about the broad reformist goals which garden city development was intended to fulfil. Even before his ideas were published Howard, presumably unconsciously, had made an important decision which assisted the subsequent downgrading of his primary purposes and promotion of the secondary elements. This was the adoption of the label 'Garden City' instead of his earlier choices 'Unionville' and 'Rurisville' (Beevers, 1988, pp. 40–54).
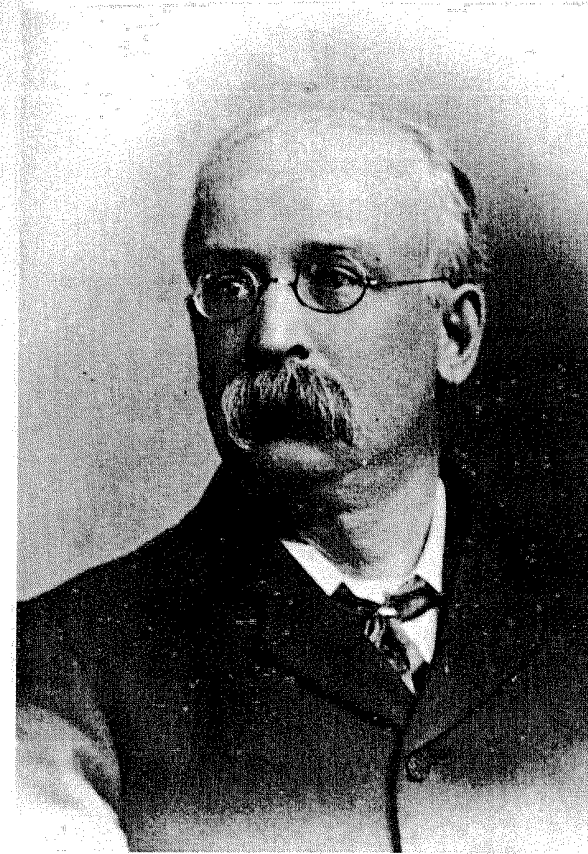
Figure 1.1. Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928), inventor of the garden city and arguably the most important figure in the international history of urban planning.

The new term was not his own coinage and there is some dispute about its origins. It was certainly in use in the United States where Howard spent five years of his early manhood. Pre-skyscraper Chicago was universally known as 'The Garden City' at that time and this has led many commentators, including most recently Peter Hall, to claim that Howard almost certainly picked up the term from this source (Osborn, 1965, p. 26; Hall, 1988, p. 89). However Howard himself always denied this (Beevers, 1988, p. 7). A more likely source was the socialist and artist William Morris who was using the term in the 1870s, laden with many of the same utopian meanings that Howard now proposed (Henderson, 1967, p. 144; Naslas, 1977). Some support for this comes from Howard's view of Morris as one who (in common with Moses, Thomas More, John Ruskin and the Russian anarchist, Peter Kropotkin) failed only 'as by a hair's breadth' to give expression to the garden city idea (cited in

Figure 1.2. Howard's alternative to the concentrated big city, the social city was a network of garden cities around a slightly larger central city. This diagram was included in *To-morrow* but shown only in a partial form in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*.

Beevers, 1988, p. 17). But wherever the term came from, there is no doubt that its directness, simplicity and potent imagery helped to attract adherents when *To-morrow* was published. However the beguiling vagueness of the garden city label and i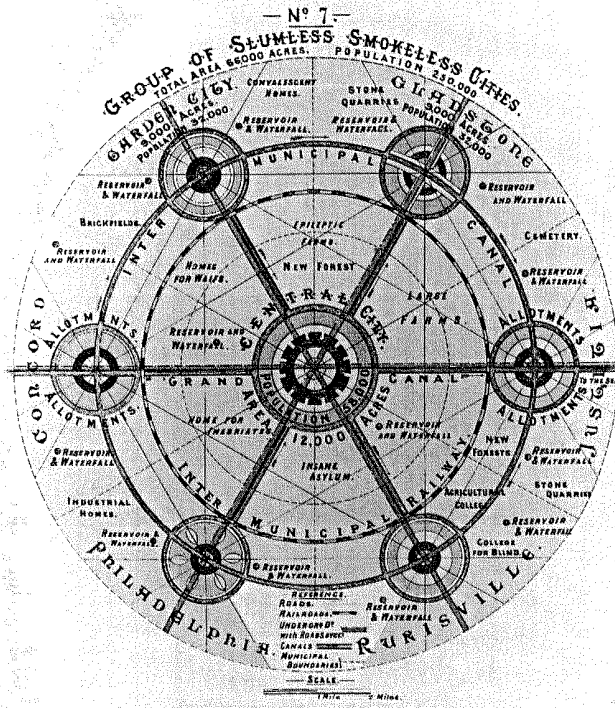ts seeming emphasis on environmental concerns certainly made it the enemy of his wider purposes. Thus the possibility of divorcing means from ends was already apparent, and perhaps inevitable, even in the first edition of the book.

GARDEN SUBURB REVISIONISM

The creation of the Garden City Association in 1899 and the re-issue of Howard's book in a

slightly revised and re-titled form as *Garden Cities of To-morrow* in 1902 further intensified this subordination of social to environmental reform. So too did the initiation of the first garden city at Letchworth in 1903 (Miller, 1989a). While its power as a practical demonstration should not be underestimated, the demonstration was largely understood as a model environment not a model society. Serious compromises were necessary in the practicalities of developing the garden city and attracting capital. Howard's vital principle of communal land ownership was not implemented in a manner that approached his own ideal. A spirit of social experiment, evident in free thinking, vegetarianism, co-operative housekeeping and pursuit of the 'simple life' persisted in
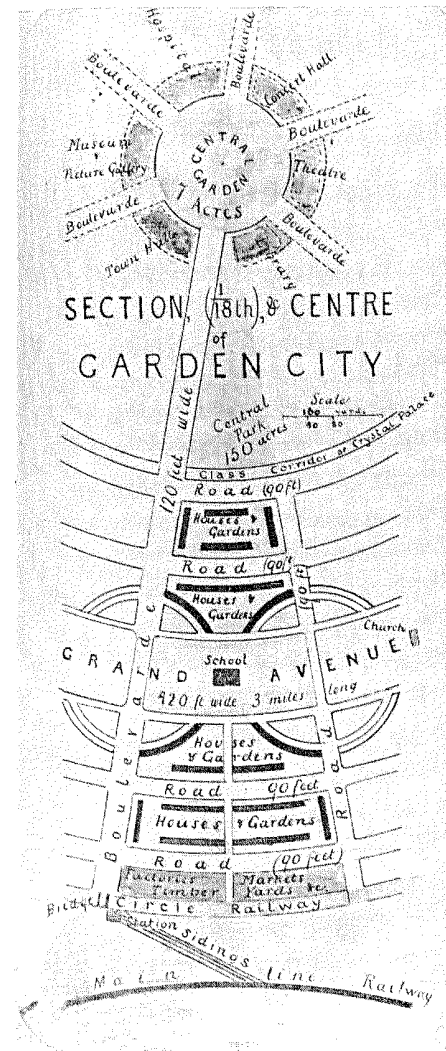
Figure 1.3. Section of the garden city in an unpublished diagram from Howard's papers. It is mainly significant because it shows that Howard seems to have envisaged residential areas as rather conventional terraced rows of housing.

Letchworth for some years, but it encouraged Edwardian amusement rather than emulation (Miller, 1989a, pp. 88–111; Pearson, 1988).

However this cranky image was to a large extent counteracted by the increasing involvement in both the Garden City Association and Letchworth of influential business and professional interests, personified by the respected London lawyer, Ralph Neville (MacFadyen, 1933, pp. 40–43; Buder, 1990, pp. 79–83). Such interests brought money, organizational skills and, above all, respectability to the movement. The patronage of important industrialists such as George Cadbury and the newspaper proprietor Alfred Harmsworth was crucially important in the establishment of a bridgehead of middle-class tolerance and sympathy (Sutcliffe, 1990, p. 262). They were immeasurably helped by the sheer quality of the residential environment which was created at Letchworth. The Arts and Crafts humanity of Raymond Unwin, Barry Parker and the other architects showed that the garden city idea, expressed at the level of the home and the residential environment, had a great deal to offer the kind of lower middle-class suburbanites who read Harmsworth's *Daily Mail*. Significantly, residential development occurred on lines that were more generous than Howard had originally envisaged (Beevers, 1988, pp. 108–109). However he firmly approved of the larger plot sizes and the shift away from narrow-fronted terraced houses that this allowed.

As can be appreciated, these shifts brought further movement away from Howard's original conception. Both the widening base of support and the articulation of the physical form of the garden city had the effect of intensifying the emphasis on the environmental dimension. As far as private capital and respectable middle-class opinion were concerned, this was altogether less problematic than Howard's larger social reformism. Moreover, the loving attention that the architects gave to the residential environment added a new micro-dimension to the garden

Figure 1.4. Early Letchworth was pervaded by a spirit of social experiment, attracting much ridicule from respectable Edwardian society. The lower part of the cartoon includes three important figures in Letchworth's early development: Walter Gaunt, offering plots to let, Raymond Unwin at his drawing board and Howard Pearsall, engaged in cultivation.

Figure 1.5. The realities of creating Letchworth were rather more prosaic than either Howard or the cartoonists implied. The pace of early growth was slow.

Figure 1.6. Two cheap cottage exhibitions were organized to promote the town. This attractive design is taken from the cover of the catalogue for the second, the Urban Cottages Exhibition, held in 1907.

Why Manufacturers

move to . . .

Letchworth (Garden City)

11 FACTORIES
ALREADY . . .
WORKING. . .

6,000 Inhabitants

CHEAP GAS AND WATER.

GOOD COTTAGES. LOW RATES.

CHEAP ELECTRIC POWER.

UP-TO-DATE FACILITIES.

BRACING AIR.

AMPLE & EFFICIENT LABOUR.

Figure 1.7. Attracting industry to Letchworth was also a problem. Under Walter Gaunt (see figure 1.4) an active promotional campaign was begun. This example dates from c. 1909.

city idea that marked the beginnings of its conceptual and practical fragmentation as a holistic strategy. Thus the site and residential planning ideas of Unwin and Parker began to acquire an identity of their own, independent of the total garden city package.

From about 1906, or perhaps even earlier, this fragmentation began to be formally and consciously pursued by the garden city movement (Culpin, 1913, pp. 10–11). Increasingly the efforts of the Garden City Association were to

be devoted to the application of garden city principles to existing towns. The firm establishment of Letchworth was proving difficult to achieve and the chances of creating more free-standing garden cities seemed bleak (Purdom, 1963, pp. 11–30; Simpson, 1985, p. 35). In such circumstances the garden suburb and garden village appeared more realistic objectives, capable of widespread application. Within a few years many such projects were underway, most famously at Hampstead Garden Suburb (Creese, 1966, pp. 219–254; Ashworth, 1954, pp. 159–164). These had the effect of drawing the garden city idea directly into the important arena of urban reform. In conjunction with other organizations and individuals, the movement began to play an important role in the formulation and consolidation of the new practice of town planning (Sutcliffe, 1990).

Meanwhile another strand of diversification arose through a growing international dimension. Translations of Howard's book and/or interpretations of what were taken to be his ideas soon appeared in France, Belgium, Germany, Russia, Japan and elsewhere (Read, 1978; Smets, 1977; Hall, 1988, pp. 112–122; Sutcliffe, 1981, pp. 41, 144–145, 149–150). We have noted how soon diversification and gradual change in the conceptual basis of the garden city occurred even in Britain. The trans-cultural transfer of the garden city understandably brought even greater scope for change, particularly since so much of Howard's wider reformist project was implicit in the text. Moreover we can readily understand why industrial garden villages like Bournville and Port Sunlight, which were incorporated into the garden city message as their founders Cadbury and Lever joined the movement, had a greater initial impact than Letchworth. Their earlier and more complete development in the earlier years meant that they were more easily understood by foreign visitors (see, for example, Beevers, 1988, p. 109). In Letchworth itself there was disproportionate emphasis on the fragments of
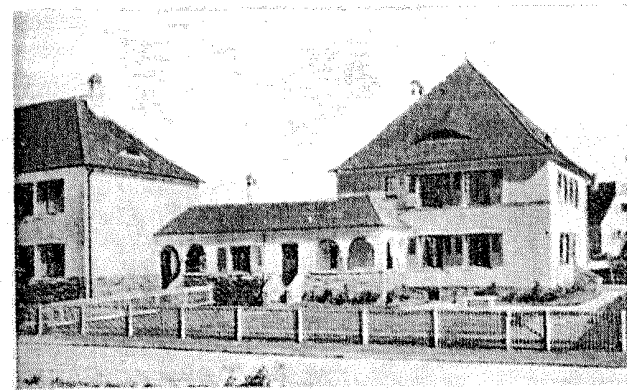
Figure 1.8. Housing at Hellerau, the 'German Letchworth'. Though smaller and less physically separate than Letchworth, it was pervaded by a similar spirit of social experiment and reform.

development that had occurred rather than the overall scheme.

In common with many British visitors, foreign delegations were usually seduced by the quality of housing and residential site layouts. A great deal also depended on the imperatives of urban reform as understood within the countries receiving the garden city idea, as is well shown in Chapters 3 to 5 of this book. There would naturally be a tendency to receive only those sections of the garden city idea which appeared relevant. The general effect of what was objectively seen and what was subjectively understood was an intensification of the revisionist impulse that was gathering momentum in Britain. Thus the usual models which were adopted overseas were the garden suburb and factory garden village, paying at least some homage to the site planning of Unwin and Parker. As several of the chapters here show, the labels garden city, *cité jardin, Gartenstadt, den-en toshi,* etc. were used freely.

However only one overseas development captured the spirit if not exactly the letter of Howard's ideas in their purest form (see, for example, Buder, 1990, p. 137). This was Hellerau, near Dresden, established in 1908 (Bollerey and Hartmann, 1980, pp. 151–154). Superficially it was a factory village-cum-garden

suburb linked to Dresden by a tramway. However it was and still is clearly separated from Dresden (Hall, 1988, pp. 115–116). Moreover, although it was initiated by a single industrialist, development proceeded on a co-operative basis quite independent of him. It was not therefore a factory village in the usual sense, particularly since the industrialist, Karl Schmidt, operated William Morris-style craft workshops. Overall therefore, although it did not display the same high degree of self-containment and economic diversity as Letchworth and aimed at a population of only 15,000, it had good cause to be seen as the German Letchworth. And, like Letchworth, it was very unusual.

TOWARDS THE SATELLITE TOWN

By about 1910, therefore, the idea of the garden city, though retaining some of the ideological and practical integrity embodied in Letchworth and Hellerau, had been extensively dismantled and separated into its constituent conceptual elements. Much the most promising for widespread adoption were the parts that related to housing reform and residential site planning and it was these which were increasingly receiving official endorsement, especially at the local level. The notion of land use and density zoning,

which was also present in garden city planning, was also widely adopted. However this was less distinctively a product of the garden city idea and is more properly associated with other approaches to the emergent practice of town planning, particularly in Germany and the United States (Sutcliffe, 1981, pp. 184–185).

From about 1910 other conceptual elements within the garden city idea began to be emphasized and developed. At about this time Unwin and others began a subtle reworking of Howard's idea of the decentralized social city into a scheme of accommodating further metropolitan growth in partially self-contained satellite towns (Miller, 1989b, pp. 17–18). These satellites would be physically distinct, with green belts of farm, park and woodland separating them from each other and the big concentrated city. Superficially they had much in common with Howard's original diagram of the social city, which admitted the possibility that a larger central city surrounded by garden cities would be needed. However the 58,000 that Howard had seen as the population of his central city was clearly well below the contemporary population of London or any of the great provincial cities.

The emergent proposal for satellites effectively accepted the continued existence of the concentrated heavily populated big cities. Initially it was only the additional physical and population growth that was to be diverted into satellites. Later, in the 1930s, this was extended to include overspill from older redeveloped slum areas, though it was never intended this would be on a scale sufficient to undermine the big city in the way Howard had proposed. The corollary of all this was a growing emphasis between the wars on the self-containment of the satellites, firmly to detach them from the magnetism of the big city. Such a concept of separation had not been so necessary in Howard's social cities simply because the big city no longer existed in the scheme he proposed. He had intended local employment

development and service provision in each of the garden cities, but he had also emphasized the ease of movement between the different elements of the social city network. His garden city had implicitly offered the possibility of self-containment, but had not explicitly stressed its necessity, as the satellite and later new town ideas increasingly did.

The satellite idea dominated garden city thinking between the two world wars and was an important intermediate stage between garden city and new town. Although it differed from Howard's original, it shared common ground in emphasizing the wider strategic level of the urban region. In this it drew on other approaches to planning, notably the regionalist approach propounded by Patrick Geddes (Meller, 1990, esp. pp. 289–332) before the First World War and formally incorporated into planning practice by Patrick Abercrombie and others during the 1920s (Dix, 1981, p. 107). But during this conceptual refit, which was ultimately to reunify the British garden city movement, serious divergence started to appear. It began near the end of the First World War, amidst the formulation of national programmes for reconstruction. There was a spirited reassertion of the physical ideal of networks of freestanding garden cities, though developed by the state and called, for the first time, new towns ('New Townsmen', 1918; Hardy, 1989, pp. 197–198). However Howard, though he had lent his name to his proposal, then independently went off, in 1919, to initiate Welwyn Garden City on broadly the same private quasi-philanthropic lines as Letchworth (Beevers, 1988, pp. 158–167). Faced with the ignominious collapse of the new venture if they left it to the rather unworldly Howard, the erstwhile statist new townsmen were forced to support their movement's seer in order to make Welwyn a success.

However this was but a minor crack compared to the major split that opened up between the garden city/new town protagonists and the garden suburb revisionists. Although the

potential for a split had been apparent before 1914 (see, for example, Purdom, 1914, pp. 124–125), it had not really occurred, probably because the achievements of both camps had seemed limited and not seriously unbalanced. This was to change between the two world wars, when mass low-density suburbanization occurred on an unprecedented scale, encouraged by government policy. No less a figure than Raymond Unwin took a leading role in this process during the 1920s. His mastery of the design of small dwellings and residential site layout (and the bureaucratic processes which such actions inevitably entailed) had won him a leading position in the creation and implementation of Britain's post-war subsidized council housing programme (LGB, 1918). The outcome of this was a vigorous programme of municipal garden suburbs, providing over a million good quality cottage dwellings broadly on the lines of Unwin's twelve houses per acre 'garden city' residential development formula.

However there were no British qualitative innovations in the residential dimension of the garden city comparable to Unwin and Parker's major conceptual developments before 1914. The 1920s saw a shift to Georgian styling of municipal cottages, but little else that was new. The major developments took place elsewhere. Of most profound importance was the appearance of an active American garden city/ regional planning movement in the 1920s, which moulded together the thinking of Howard and Geddes. Though its practical achievements were few, conceptually it made two linked contributions of fundamental importance to the garden city tradition and to planning more generally. The first was the concept of the neighbourhood unit articulated and developed by Clarence Perry from 1929 (Perry, 1939). This held that community cohesion could be encouraged within defined residential areas by the conscious provision of common facilities such as schools and shops within easy walking distance. It was a concept which was readily adopted by
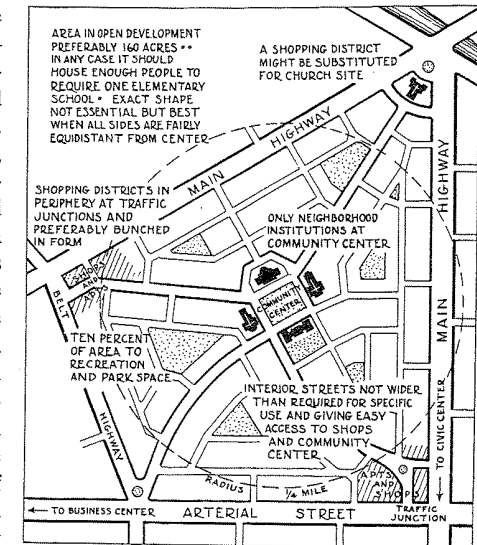

Figure 1.9. Clarence Perry's neighbourhood unit was one of several important American contributions to the garden city tradition in the 1920s.

planners sympathetic to the garden city idea, perhaps because its promise of creating community by technicalized, physical means offered a way of appeasing the ghost of co-operative communitarianism that still haunted the movement. Although, as the garden city was converted into an environmental reformist project, Howard's followers had rapidly divested themselves of this social reformist dimension, the pursuit of community as a goal endured. The neighbourhood unit provided planners with an apparent means to pursue this goal.

The second idea, which embodied much of Perry's thinking about neighbourhood, was the Radburn layout. Developed by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright in 1927–29, its name belongs to a failed garden city in New Jersey (Stein, 1958, pp. 37–73). Only one neighbourhood was ever completed but it represented a dramatic advance in residential planning. It allowed
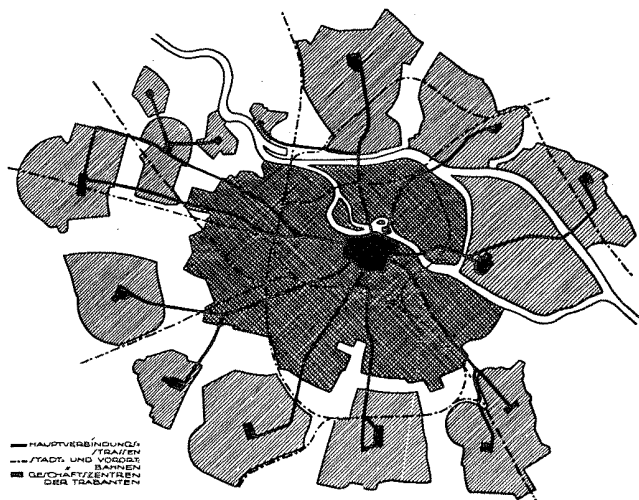
Figure 1.10. The physically separate satellite town was increasingly seen as a way of accommodating big city growth in the 1920s. An early example was Ernst May's proposals for Breslau, later implemented on a grand scale in Frankfurt-am-Main.

complete separation of pedestrians and vehicles by use of culs-de-sac access for cars on one side of the dwellings and vehicle-free pathways and inner parks giving pedestrian access to shared community facilities on the other. Radburn-type plans were again used in conjunction with neighbourhood plans at the three Resettlement Administration satellite townships of Greenbelt, Maryland, Greenhills, Ohio and Greendale, Wisconsin developed from the mid-1930s as part of Roosevelt's New Deal (Stein, 1958, pp. 119–187). The programme was shortlived and the townships lacked any significant employment and housed only a few thousand people. However they were deeply imbued with garden city thinking and had an impact on the movement, not least because they offered a glimpse of what the idea could potentially achieve when linked with decisive national government actions. Overall though the major impact of Radburn was to allow the garden city to enter the motor age.

There were also some important European innovations. In Paris the cités jardins initiated by Henri Sellier took garden city architecture from

pitched roof cottage styling to international-style modernism, with a high proportion of flats (Evenson, 1979, pp. 220–226; Read, 1978). In pre-Nazi Frankfurt-am-Main, modernist Ernst May, who had worked closely with Unwin before 1914, now decisively rejected the Arts and Crafts style cottage vernacular in favour of flat roofed international style (Bullock, 1978). This underlined an important aesthetic split that was appearing between the traditionalist right and the modernist left in the German garden city movement and was to assume greater significance in the larger frame of German politics during the 1930s. Modernism had little impact on the British movement, though another feature of May's work was of more importance. This was his advancement of the concept of the satellite town.

SATELLITE TOWNS

In Britain during the 1920s there was a tendency to refer to some of the big municipal housing schemes, especially the giant estates built by the London County Council outside

its boundaries (LCC, 1937, pp. 154–165), as satellite towns (Purdom, 1925, pp. 35–37). In practice though they fell well short of the criteria Unwin had set down in 1910. Thus they lacked even physical separation, except in the early years before they were submerged in a sea of private suburbia, let alone any real measure of economic or social self-containment. However the satellite concept was advanced significantly by continental practice. May's work was extremely important because, although his publicly-developed satellites were not economically or socially self-contained, they displayed an element of physical separation – a narrow green belt – that was not yet present in any British examples. The Parisian cités jardins were less advanced in this respect, though Sellier, like May, had been forced to compromise a more thoroughgoing decentralist strategy that would have produced a ring of physically separate cités satellites around Paris (Purdom, 1925, p. 43).

By comparison British official thinking about satellite towns developed rather more slowly. Although, as early as 1920, Purdom was proposing a ring of garden city-type satellites physically separated from London, Unwin still continued to conceive satellites as physically separate residential areas, without any local employment (Purdom, 1925, p. 48). Unwin, Abercrombie and others proposed just this solution in the South Wales Regional Survey of 1921 as an alternative to pithead mining villages (MH, 1921, pp. 37–41). But while May was about to realize such a vision of residential satellites in Frankfurt, Unwin's practical housing work at the Ministry of Health was still effectively reinforcing the mass implementation of the garden suburb model. However this began to change from 1929, when Unwin was appointed as Chief Adviser to the Greater London Regional Planning Committee (Miller, 1989b, pp. 24–33). By then the scale of the suburbanization of London and the associated problems of traffic congestion were seen as

major issues. Accordingly there was a much greater willingness to contemplate satellite developments that were both physically separate and economically self-contained as a realistic option. This formed part of the brief given to the Committee by central government and it was fulfilled by Unwin in a series of reports over the years 1929–33, particularly his 1931 report on decentralization (Miller, 1989b, p. 34). In this he proposed three categories of new settlement associated with a firm push to accelerate industrial decentralization. Planned suburban units, as self-contained as possible, were to be developed on the outskirts. Physically distinct and economically and socially self-contained satellite towns were to be developed within a 12-mile radius of London. Finally, completely independent industrial garden cities were to be developed in the 12–25-mile ring around London.

These constituted the most advanced official proposals for planned metropolitan decentralization anywhere in the world at that time. Their actual impact was very limited, though the associated proposals for metropolitan containment by means of green girdles were taken up in a modified form by the newly Labour-controlled London County Council from 1935, forming the core of the London Green Belt (Miller, 1989b, p. 37; Ward, 1991). However they undoubtedly shifted the agenda and laid the basis for the acceptance of Abercrombie's proposals in the more propitious circumstances of the 1940s. Rather more was achieved in the provincial cities. Speke in Liverpool and Wythenshawe in Manchester, the latter designed by Unwin's former partner, Barry Parker, set new standards in self-containment, physical separation and social mix (Creese, 1966, pp. 255–272; Liverpool City, 1937, pp. 52–57). Both were examined with approval by the important Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population, which reported in 1940, providing further official endorsement of planned decentralization (Barlow
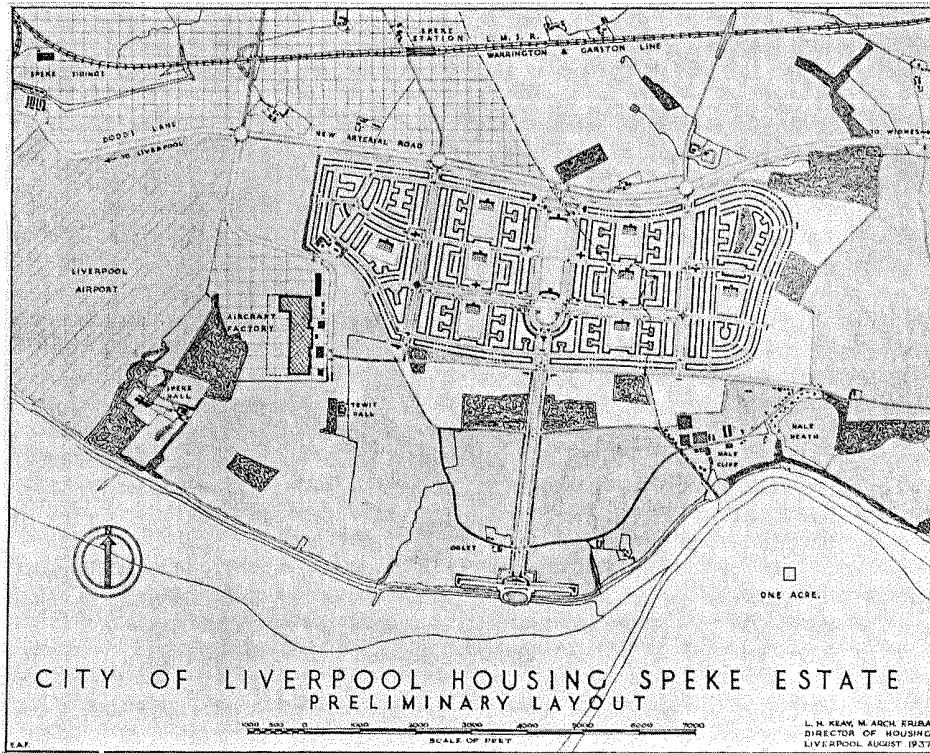
CITY OF LIVERPOOL HOUSING SPEKE ESTATE
PRELIMINARY LAYOUT

Figure 1.11. Speke, Liverpool was one of the most advanced British examples of the satellite town before 1939 with its own local employment and social facilities.

Report, 1940, pp. 127–137). However both, especially Wythenshawe, also illustrated the limitations on local authority actions, particularly the difficulties of developing satellites outside their own boundaries (Simon and Simon, 1935). This was crucial if such developments were to achieve the complete self-containment which was increasingly being emphasized as desirable. Ultimately it was this kind of consideration which limited the effectiveness of the satellite town as an instrument of planned decentralization in the way it had come to be understood by British planners in the 1930s.

THE FIRST NEW TOWNS

The Second World War decisively changed the willingness of central government to intervene directly to achieve planned decentralization. Against a background of massively increased government intervention in all aspects of life, physical planning assumed unprecedented political importance, particularly in the aftermath of the bombing of the major British cities in 1940–41. Of the many wartime developments that were relevant to planning, the one most important for planned decentralization was Abercrombie's Greater London Plan of 1944,

published the following year. This proposed extensive urban containment and a planned decentralist strategy that included ten entirely new satellite towns (as he called them) to be built outside London (Abercrombie, 1945, pp. 30–38, 200). Most of these were to have 60,000 target populations, twice the size of Howard's garden cities. In addition the planned expansion of existing towns and some rather limited peripheral development was to occur, though a much enlarged green belt was to prevent sprawl on the interwar pattern.

The postwar Labour government took up the proposals with enthusiasm, setting up a Committee to report on the establishment of new towns under Lord Reith in 1945 and passing the New Towns Act the following year (MTCP, 1946a; 1946b; 1946c). Conceptually the early new towns which resulted were different in many important respects from the Howardian garden cities, though there were some important continuities and similarities. Thus the new towns were to be relatively small, free-standing, planned, low-density and socially-balanced settlements for living and working (Aldridge, 1979, pp. 28–60). There would be full provision of community facilities and great emphasis on social development. The towns were not intended to grow beyond an initially determined target and green belts would limit their outer expansion and prevent their coalescence with other settlements. All this was at one with Howard's theories.

However the early new towns incorporated most of the conceptual drift away from Howard we have already noted. They were conceived to play roles of metropolitan decentralization or regional restructuring, not the replacement of the big city that Howard had wanted. Self-containment was elevated to much greater importance than Howard apparently intended, though opinions differ on this (see, for example, Thomas, 1985, pp. xviii–xx). In line with this they were bigger, following Abercrombie's proposed target of 60,000, rather than the

slightly lower optimum size proposed by the Reith Committee (MTCP, 1946c, p. 9). This reflected prevailing thinking about the realistic population threshold for self-containment and was soon revised upwards to 80,000 by the early 1950s. Their detailed designs were invariably based on Clarence Perry's neighbourhood principle (Osborn and Whittick, 1969, p. 146). However Radburn layout principles did not begin to appear until the 1950s when British car ownership levels began to show signs of emulating those in America (Osborn and Whittick, 1969, pp. 257–258, 378). Detailed designs had by this time abandoned the Arts and Crafts vernacular of Unwin and Parker in favour of a typically plainer, very restrained modernism with pitched roofs. The occasional tower block punctuated the skyline in the manner of the interwar Parisian *cités jardins*, but the overwhelming majority of housing was provided as individual dwellings, in semi-detached or short terraced form.

However what was most dramatically different from the garden cities was the role of the state. In place of Howard's co-operative and participatory collectivism and the quasi-philanthropic private companies at Letchworth and Welwyn, there was a centrally-appointed public development corporation. This had no organic links to the frameworks of local democracy; it was run by central appointees and officials. However the development corporations did ensure the essential Howardian principle of the collective ownership of land, purchased at existing use value, if necessary by compulsion. Thus the increments in land value that arose from the development of the town did not benefit any private interests. But neither did they directly benefit the town's community; they were returned to central government.

Howard, who died in 1928, had never come to terms with the need to involve the state and would probably have seen this as a serious erosion of a key principle of community involvement (Beevers, 1988, p. 155). By the 1940s
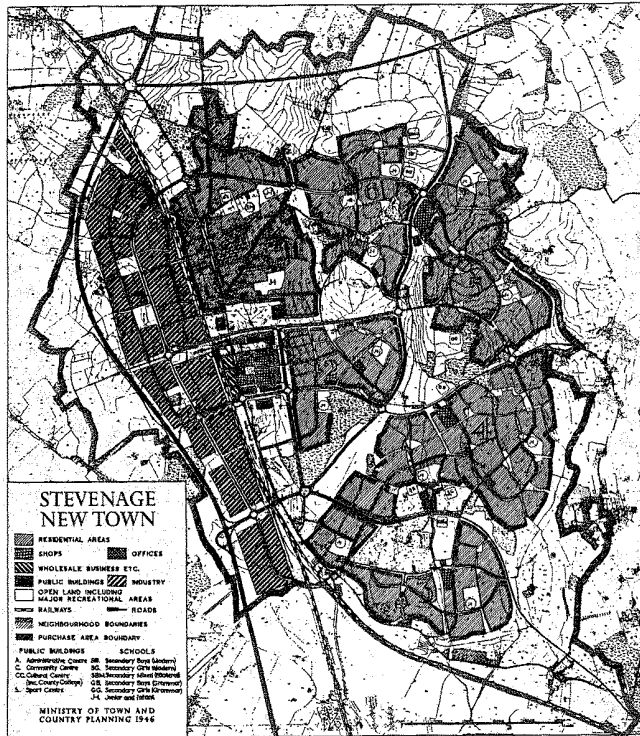
Figure 1.12. Stevenage, the first
New Town designated under the
1946 Act, embodied much of
the thinking of the garden city
movement, but there were some
crucially important differences.

however few in the movement doubted whether
it would be possible to locate and develop
groups of new towns on any kind of rational
basis without the powers of the state. Planned
location could not proceed by the methods of
stealth that Howard himself had used at Letch-
worth and Welwyn. However the later 1952
Town Development Act offered an alternative
mechanism for achieving decentralization that
gave responsibility to the local authorities.
Howard might well have preferred that, though
it proved less effective than the more centralist
New Towns Act mechanism (Thomas, 1985,
p. xxiii).

NEW TOWNS OUTSIDE BRITAIN

Viewed internationally, the British new towns
were a uniquely powerful achievement, much
studied and visited. The gospel of the British
new town planning movement (as it was now
called; the term garden city had been super-
seded by this stage) was spread overseas, echo-
ing on a larger scale the earlier transfer of the
garden city idea itself. And, despite the air of
tremendous self-satisfaction that surrounded
the British new towns programme, their plan-
ners also looked abroad at the many new
communities that were appearing in Europe

and elsewhere. However, as in the earlier in-
ternational transfer of ideas and practice, an
essentially selective process operated. To many
overseas visitors interested in metropolitan
strategies, the British goal of self-containment
in relatively small settlements appeared to offer
only a narrow and cramping lifestyle, wilfully
excluding the diversity and choices that were
possible in large metropolitan areas (see, for
example, Merlin, 1971, pp. 40, 245). However a
greater relevance of the British model was
identified in non-metropolitan locations where
new towns were to be developed in remoter
settings, notably to service new resource-based
industries. Thus Kitimat in Canada, developed
in association with a new aluminium industry
from 1952, with Clarence Stein as its consultant
planner, was an outstanding example planned
with authentic reference to the whole garden
city/new town tradition (Osborn and Whittick,
1969, p. 154).

But in metropolitan settings most European
countries further refined the semi-independent
satellite model, usually focused around trans-
port links with the metropolitan core. Import-
ant early examples were the satellites developed
around the Scandinavian capitals from the 1940s
and 1950s. Vällingby and Farsta outside Stock-
holm (Pass, 1973; 1978) and Tapiola Garden
City (a rare persistence of Howard's term) out-
side Helsinki were much admired (von Hertzen
and Speiregen, 1973; Aario, 1986); Albertslund
outside Copenhagen rather less so (see, for
example, Merlin, 1971, pp. 84–85, 89, 91).
Broadly similar patterns of new community
development within metropolitan frameworks
were soon apparent in West Germany and the
Netherlands, though in the latter the new town
developments on the Polders, notably Lelystad,
were intended to be more independent of the
metropolitan area, more on the British model
of self-containment (Constandse, 1978).

Outside Europe, Japan also followed a course
of what amounted to metropolitan peripheral
expansion loosely focused on rail-linked satel-
lites (Kurokawa, 1978). In North America, with
the exception of Kitimat already noted, there
was little that corresponded to any major part
of the garden city/new town agenda as it was
understood in the postwar period until the
1960s. In the United States there were a number
of private large-scale residential developments
with an emphasis on planned coherence in
social facilities, particularly the three Levit-
towns outside New York and Philadelphia
(1947–58) and Park Forest outside Chicago
(1947), though whether they deserved the place
sometimes allotted them in the garden city
tradition is, at the very least, dubious (Weiss,
1990; Jackson, 1985, pp. 234–238). However
proposals for rather different private settle-
ments appeared at Irvine, California (1960),
Reston, Virginia (1962) and Columbia, Mary-
land (1963) (Eichler and Kaplan, 1970; Brooks,
1974; Corden, 1977, pp. 155–179). These, par-
ticularly the latter, were to be authentic new
towns, developed privately and offering a con-
siderable measure of physical separation and
local employment together with generous neigh-
bourhood facilities and environmental amen-
ities. Even more remarkably they became the
model for the United States' first government-
sponsored, hugely ambitious (though ultimately
abortive) New Communities Program, adopted
in 1968 (Corden, 1977, pp. 123–153; McLaughlin,
1978).

To British eyes, however, the most remark-
able developments in new town planning were
contained in the 1965 Paris Regional Plan
(Rubenstein, 1978; Merlin, 1971, pp. 146–165;
Evenson, 1979, pp. 340–359). This proposed a
radically different concept of the new town,
directly challenging the thinking of the whole
garden city tradition. In one sense it was an
extension of the by now familiar European
satellite principle, developing new settlements
along public transport routes, in this case the
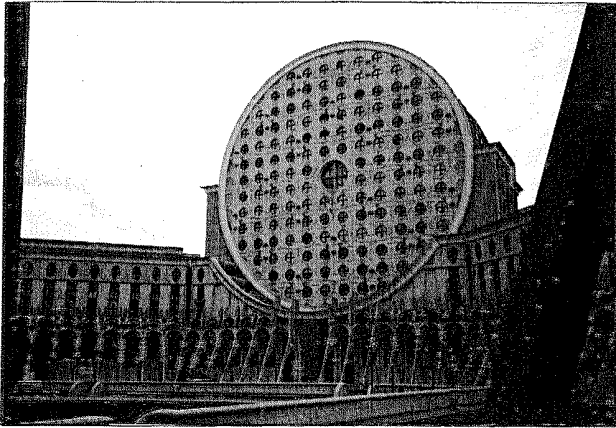new Reseau Express Regional (RER). But the

Figure 1.13. Flats in Marne-la-Vallée. The Parisian new towns of the 1960s and 1970s demonstrated a rather different approach to new town building that challenged many long cherished tenets of the garden city tradition, at least as understood by its British guardians.

scale was completely unprecedented, intended to provide for the growth of the Paris region from 8.2 million in 1962 to 14 million by the year 2000. The five new towns, all but one with targets of 300,000 or more people, were intended to give focus to the growth of Paris but not be separate from it. Large existing settlements on the periphery were incorporated in the new town areas. And, though employment growth and social facilities were to be encouraged, these new towns were to function as an integral part of a massive and fairly continuous urban region. The divergence from the thinking of the garden city tradition, at least as it was understood by the keepers of the faith in Britain, could not have been greater.

LATER BRITISH NEW TOWNS

British planning initially responded to such foreign ideas with interest or surprise but little emulation. In particular, the British conception of the self-contained new town distilled from the garden city tradition remained largely intact. However by the 1960s there were signs that some of these ideas had been adopted. After a partial eclipse of the new towns in the

Conservative-dominated 1950s, the following decade saw first Conservative and then Labour governments designating many more (Aldridge, 1979, pp. 61–83). These showed more striking divergence from Howard's original ideas, most obviously with respect to size. Thus target populations at designation moved up sharply in most cases, reaching 220,000 in the case of Telford, 250,000 in the case of Milton Keynes and a massive 500,000 in the case of Central Lancashire. Such examples included areas that already had substantial urban populations (236,000 in the case of Central Lancashire), but projected expansion was still huge, almost Parisian in scale. Moreover the accommodation of such substantial urban areas into new towns was itself a radical departure from previous thinking, too radical indeed for some of the movement's stalwarts to accept them as such (Osborn and Whittick, 1969, p. 403). Many of the new towns were intended to function as regional growth points, something which had been implicit in the intended roles of some of the early new towns, but which was now made explicit.

The sources of these conceptual shifts reflect the perceived priorities of the 1960s. High (falsely high) projections of population growth
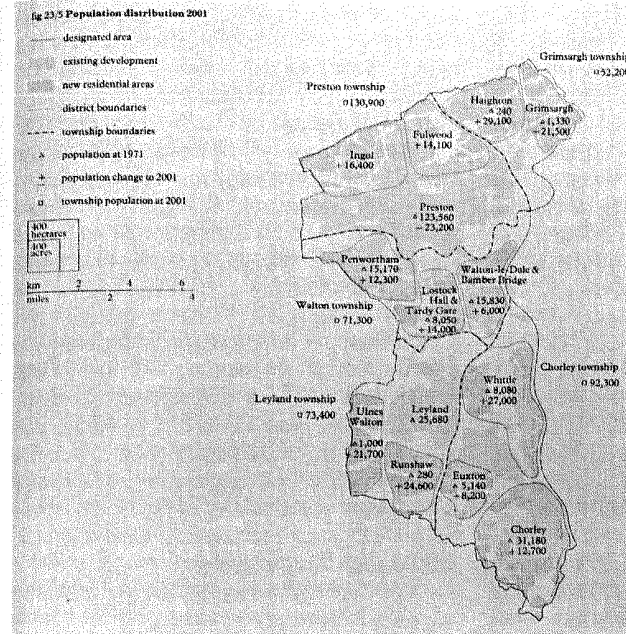
Figure 1.14. Central Lancashire New Town. The final wave of British new town designations also moved more sharply away from the garden city tradition, as usually understood.

brought a promise and a requirement for higher economic growth and raised important questions about how both were to be accommodated in ways that were socially and environmentally acceptable (see, for example, MHLG 1964, esp. pp. 7–12). Given the prevailing political faith in planning, this triggered a spate of regional planning activity and many of the new town proposals were closely associated with this work (see, for example, SDD, 1963, p. 28; DITRD, 1963, pp. 26–27). A much more sophisticated understanding of the urban region was now apparent compared to the 1940s, and one increasingly similar to that we have identified on the continent, especially around Paris (Cullingworth, 1976, pp. 200–202). Complete self-containment was now felt to be illusory in the increasingly mobile and complex society of the 1960s, though the concept was by now deeply entrenched in British planning thinking and

displayed a remarkable resilience (Aldridge, 1979, pp. 105–131, 158–159). Instead of the comparatively small settlements favoured by Howard, Abercrombie and Reith, it was now argued that larger new towns, more distant from the older metropolitan areas, offered greater scope for 'real' self-containment. Moreover they offered the possibility of greater employment diversity and thus promised a more diversified social structure than the early new towns had been able to deliver. And since most areas that had the capacity to grow to the new higher targets already had towns on them, it made sense to use the New Towns Act mechanism to facilitate the growth process. Such areas also allowed more diversified housing markets than were possible in overwhelmingly 'new' new towns, again with positive implications for the desired goal of social diversity.

However as many of the optimistic growth

forecasts of the 1960s began to evaporate in the early 1970s, these plans and indeed the whole conception of growth-oriented new town planning began to seem less relevant. Moreover governments were less willing to contemplate the heavy front-end costs of new town development in the worsening economic climate (Aldridge, 1979, pp. 160–172). The weakening economy began to affect seriously the inner cities and their plight received official recognition at this time. There were some criticisms that the new towns were a partial cause of this decline (Lawless, 1981, pp. 216–237; Aldridge, 1979, pp. 150–156). The critics could claim some support in Howard's original strategy which had both predicted and intended decline in London and other big cities. However the always rather limited role of the new towns in the overall process of metropolitan decentralization suggested that other more important forces were at work. The new towns attempted to portray themselves as part of a solution to the inner-city problem and certainly the later ones were less socially selective than their predecessors and made strenuous efforts to take a higher pro-portion of the unskilled, the old and other less advantaged groups. But they were swimming against the tide which was increasingly bringing in policies for inner-city regeneration. Early signs were the abandonment of Llantrisant and Stonehouse New Towns in 1972–73 and 1976 on the grounds of their irrelevance to the economic problems of existing urban areas (Cullingworth, 1976, p. 202; Aldridge, 1979, p. 65). Subsequently most of the other new towns had their targets trimmed and there have been no new designations (apart from the two short-lived examples noted above) since 1971.

AFTER THE NEW TOWNS

The essentially 1940s British conception of the new town submerged the garden city idea for many decades. The very term itself had gone out of use, except to refer to the pioneering days in a kind of ritualized recitation that honoured heroes and ultimately demonstrated the inevitability of the new town. The British new towns have of course been extraordinarily successful for their residents, now numbering over 2 million. The early new towns in particular exactly caught the aspirations of young skilled working-class families, during the 1940s and 1950s, for a better life outside the big cities and older industrial districts. The later new towns slightly extended the social range, some more successfully than others. Both also met the requirements of developing manufacturers for serviced sites for expansion with a suitable labour force on hand. However from the perspective of the post-Thatcherist 1990s we can see the new town itself as a period piece. The new town plans stand almost as artefacts of a bygone age, expressive of notions of state socialism within a mixed economy and a universalistic and classless welfare state.

From the point of view of our concern with the garden city idea, we can see the new town as just one possible interpretation that was historically dominant for three decades from 1945. It rested, fundamentally, on the twin pillars of a remarkably long postwar boom and an almost equally long political consensus. The disintegration of both during the 1970s and 1980s has encouraged the ever resilient (and pragmatic) garden city movement to rediscover itself, stripping away much of the conceptual drift which has overlain Howard's original thinking (see, for example, Hall, 1989; Holliday, 1990). As always distinctions, happily not fundamental ones, can be identified between those who seek the legitimacy of 'pure' interpretations and those who wish to fashion something 'new'.

Thus there have been a number of attempts to reassert the anarchist, co-operative, communitarian and anti-statist dimension of the tradition; the social reformist message that was so soon jettisoned by Howard's respectable middle-class backers (see, for example, Ward, 1976; 1989). These attempts have drawn on the growing popularity of green ideas, the resurgence of self-build and the discovery of community architecture in Britain and elsewhere, allying with Howardian ideals (Hardy, 1991, pp. 172–192). Adherents see in them the opportunity to enrich both environment and society and to combat the social alienation and apathy that has attended so many of the actions of official planning. The Town and Country Planning Association (as the Garden City Association is now known) launched a project for a Third Garden City in 1979 and has sponsored the self-built Lightmoor community at Telford that, in true Howardian fashion, carries forward the idea by practical illustration (TCPA, 1979). Perhaps in returning to Howard's social reformism a new 'combination of proposals' is being forged.

Meanwhile Mrs Thatcher's enterprise culture has generated its own conceptual refit of the garden city idea in the form of new country town and village proposals (Amos, 1991). In reality such proposals from private developers, most dramatically the now defunct Consortium Developments Ltd, and private landowners have much in common with the American private new town schemes of the 1960s (see, for example, Northfield, 1989). However the private provision of something so close to the environmental ideal of the garden city is new to Britain. Although there are some near-precedents, as will be shown in Chapter 9, none of the recent wave has so far been built. The developers' promises, which have proved rather difficult to take through the planning process, have not therefore been tested. However the menu appears tempting, including a mix of housing types set against a rural backcloth, the development of community facilities and shopping, the provision of parks and recreational facilities, local employment and a degree of social diversity, all achieved with private funding. The principle has been approved by central government though the reality has proved more difficult to accommodate. However, as David Lock has observed, such proposals illustrate that 'the spirit to create new communities is there' (Lock, 1989, p. 175).

Less obvious signs of this resurgence in interest are also apparent in other countries. For example Michel Rocard's new programme for regenerating the Paris suburbs has prompted the French planning journal, *Urbanisme*, to celebrate Sellier's interwar triumphs and consider the future relevance of the concept in a theme issue entitled *Le Retour des Cités-Jardins* (1990). Japanese development pressure in Australia has also pushed the new settlement idea back on to the planning agenda in the late 1980s, rather to the surprise of its planners (*Australian Planner*, 1990). And in the Soviet Union there are apparently proposals for an Armenian 'Ararat garden city' to replace the capital destroyed in the recent earthquake, and some signs of a wider professional interest (Spence, 1990). Throughout the West there has been a mounting academic interest in the assessment and re-examination of the garden city/new town idea, reflecting this pervasive sense of a decisive historical shift and the need to understand and evaluate, which brings us to the other chapters in this book.

THE OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

Much has been written about the origins of the garden city idea, usually based fairly directly on Howard's explicit acknowledgement of the inspirations of his own thinking, either in *To-morrow* or such clues as he subsequently gave to his confederates in the movement. Both these sources have provided only a partial picture and there has been a tendency until recently for the same points to be repeated, unrefreshed by original research. Beevers's fine biography of Howard (Beevers, 1988) together with the earlier work of Fishman (1977) have now opened up Howard's thinking for deeper investigation, but much remains to be done. It has, for instance, long been recognized that

Howard's garden city was a project for social reform with strong links to the land reform movement and was part of a reformist tradition that addressed rural problems. However very little has been written about the exact nature of these reformist ideas, or their connection with the garden city. Frederick Aalen's contribution is a valuable one in this respect and enables us properly to reclaim the social reformist message that was so quickly jettisoned as the garden city was converted into a project for environmental reform.

Something of the same theme of social reformism is taken up in the next chapter. It is customary to dismiss the French *cités-jardins*, essentially Gallic garden suburbs, as only nominal parts of the garden city tradition. They are normally explained either as the failure of the garden city idea to be properly understood in France or more subtly as a manifestation of conscious choice by a nation more culturally committed to the city than the British (see, for example, Hall, 1988, p. 114).

However Jean-Pierre Gaudin takes the explanation rather further by exploring the political and social reform context for the reception of Howard's ideas. Though noting the appalling misinterpretations visited on the idea by Benoît-Lévy, Gaudin argues that it is important to look beyond the simple environmental level. He suggests that Howard's social reformist project found more of an echo than is normally recognized in the desire of French reformers to articulate an ideal notion of the *cité* as a political and social entity.

The theme of adaptation and change by international transfer is also explicitly examined in Chapter 4. Shun-ichi Watanabe shows how Japan's rapid modernization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries generated a great interest in the garden city along with all Western ideas. However he also graphically illustrates how difficult a process the understanding of such a relatively abstract idea can be when the cultural and linguistic distance is

as great as that between Japan and Britain. The outcomes were, however, less unusual: inevitably the idea was seen as a prop for locally-derived and rather narrow reform priorities, and their fullest implementation, such as it was, came within the realm of private garden suburb development.

In the following chapter, Robert Freestone shows that significant divergence from the ideal could occur even in a country where the cultural and linguistic distance from the British garden city heartland was much less. His account of the progress of the garden city idea in Australia suggests the importance of geographical distance, particularly when ideas were largely transmitted by the written word and received into an essentially professional milieu rather than being spontaneously generated within local associations of the faithful. Once again the garden suburb appears as that part of the garden city idea which transplanted most easily. However he also underlines the importance of economic factors in understanding practical outcomes. Thus the Australian movement generated its own variant of the tradition in the form of the 'garden town'. This became an idealized settlement form for the intensification of Australia's resource and manufacturing economy in the 1920s, a project which was truncated by the 1930s depression.

But if France, Japan and Australia all showed serious drift from what is usually understood as the English garden city idea, it appeared, on the evidence of Hellerau, to have survived its transference to Germany relatively intact. This makes all the more surprising the later perversions of the garden city ideal at the hands of the Nazis, examined by Gerhard Fehl in Chapter 6. He explains this paradox primarily in terms of the increasing technicalization of the concept, detaching it from its Howardian social reformism in ways that paralleled and were informed by developments in Britain and elsewhere. In Germany, however, this allowed the garden city idea to be reoriented to serve

extreme conservative and right-wing interests, who saw it as a device for social and racial stabilization. This ideological link with the right was powerfully reinforced under the Nazis and given ultimate expression in the SS schemes for the Germanic resettlement and reagrarianization of former Polish provinces.

This ultra-right support for the garden city in Germany was unusual. In most countries the garden city became a favoured project of liberal and moderate socialist reformism. Thus in Chapter 7 Daniel Schaffer shows this to have been very much the pattern of the American garden city movement, especially during its key creative period in the 1920s. Moreover he indicates that such progressivist sentiments made headway even in the ostensibly unfavourable political and intellectual climate of a decade dominated by conservatism and business ideology. In other words, he reminds us that the garden city idea was not simply adopted where it reinforced existing concerns: in the hands of a committed group of protagonists, it could help change that climate of thinking. Schaffer gives his account an important if rather pessimistic contemporary twist and makes an unfavourable comparison between the 1920s and the equally conservative and business-oriented Reagan era of the 1980s. He detects no comparable push in contemporary America for the ideals that inspired Mumford, Stein, MacKaye and their associates to challenge the *status quo* in the 1920s.

The concern with present and future prospects for the garden city idea in the United States is continued in Robert Fishman's complementary account in Chapter 7. The post-1945 American engagement with the garden city/new town idea is examined, particularly the failure of the ambitious New Communities programmes of the 1960s. As well as the American suspicion of positive government intervention, Fishman detects the fundamental reasons for this failure in the increasing inappropriateness of the idea, particularly in its

latter-day incarnation as the new town, to postwar American patterns of urbanization. Thus the dramatic scale of metropolitan decentralization, far greater than Howard or his later followers ever envisaged, and the fragmentation of the traditional idea of urban community closed the option of networks of self-contained new communities ringing the metropolitan areas. Fishman believes America needs to go beyond the new towns to reinterpret Howard's ideas within the context of the older cities.

Michael Hebbert also looks beyond the new towns in a British context, concentrating on the growing interest of private developers in initiating and developing sizeable new settlements through an essentially market-led approach. Setting this in the context of history, he argues that there are profound problems in such an approach for essentially the same reasons as those recognized by the early garden city movement. Thus land acquisition would soon become very expensive for private developers as hope values rocketed. Moreover their intentions are often frustrated by a sophisticated local planning system that did not exist in Howard's day. The answer, Hebbert argues, is not to return to the new town, but for developers to act in partnership with local authorities. These would acquire land at near existing use value in locations determined more by planning than the mere willingness of particular farmers to sell. In turn local government would retain control over how private developers actually built the town.

It remains to be seen whether such ideas will be adopted, though certainly it would be surprising if nothing of substance emerged from the current resurgence of interest in creating new communities, especially in Britain. Thus Dennis Hardy's final chapter, which reviews the garden city campaign as a whole, is written with a keen sense of the continuing relevance of the garden city idea in the later twentieth century. Its major importance is to highlight the overall

historical significance of the garden city move-
ment in formulating, developing and publiciz-
ing an idea about reforming the way people
lived. What comes through is the creativity,
resilience, and resourcefulness of the move-
ment, pressing its case in the face of long
periods of discouragement. Not the least im-
pressive aspect has been the movement's ability
to make adaptations to match the vision more
closely to urban and political realities while still
keeping faith with the original.

GARDEN CITIES: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

We have seen how the social reformism of
the garden city idea was quickly converted into
an environmental reformism which was in
turn technicalized and dissembled to form
part of the emergent professional practice of
town planning. As a collection of technical-
environmental planning concepts it was added
to, adjusted and reassembled in different guises.
The garden village, garden suburb, satellite
town and new town were international variants
that were built on the conceptual foundations
of the garden city. Other, specifically national,
variants can also be identified, like the Aus-
tralian garden town. The 'new country town'
may prove to be a further British variant of the
1990s.

However, beyond the detail of a changing
tradition of planning thought, what comes
through even in this initial review is the tre-
mendous potency of the garden city idea
during the twentieth century. That it spread
so widely across the world and influenced the
thinking of planners and reformers in so many
countries, albeit in ways that were partial and
incomplete, remains extraordinary. Peter Hall
(1988, p. 87) is surely correct to see Howard,
the inventor of the garden city, as the most
important figure in the international history
of town planning. The ability of his conception

to withstand and indeed flourish, despite an
almost continuous process of mistranslation,
misunderstanding, misrepresentation and count-
less conscious and unconscious adjustments of
the idea in theory and practice, is eloquent tes-
timony to its coherence and robustness. Indeed
the vitality of the original conception has been
seemingly reinforced by its many hybrids, many
of which have made powerful positive con-
tributions to the quality of urban living. And
when such hybrids have run their course,
Howard's original stock always seems to have
been cap-able of generating others.

As regards present and future prospects,
opinions are divided. In America for example,
the pessimism apparent in Chapters 7 and 8
here is echoed elsewhere (see, for example
Buder, 1990, pp. 207–211). But from a British
perspective, things look very different. The late
1980s and 1990s have undoubtedly witnessed
another, continuing, round of conceptual hy-
bridization of Howard's ideas, perhaps as a
prelude to practical initiatives. Moreover as
Schaffer and Fishman (and Buder) readily
concede, the scope and need for such initiatives
are surely considerable. The social bankruptcy
of many big cities in the United States and
elsewhere in the West and the need for whole-
sale renewal of the social and economic in-
frastructure, most conspiciously in eastern
Europe, suggest the need for a revivified theory
and practice of new community development.
However those who aspire to achieve this re-
vival cannot hope to do so without rediscover-
ing and understanding the diversity and richness
of the garden city tradition, too long seen simply
as the prelude to the statist new town. The
chapters in this book form a contribution to
that rediscovery.

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