THE URBAN HISTORY GROUP

Annual Conference

BOUNDARIES AND JURISDICTIONS: DEFINING THE URBAN

Royal Holloway, University of London

30 – 31 March 2017

Programme and Abstracts of Papers
BOUNDARIES AND JURISDICTIONS: DEFINING THE URBAN

Conference Programme Resumé

THURSDAY 30 MARCH

11.00-14.00  Registration

13.00-14.00 Lunch (for early arrivals who have booked lunch)

14.00-15.30  **Session 1: Plenary Session**

15.30-16.00 Tea

16.00-17.30 **Session 2: Parallel Sessions**

2.1 The Permeability of Urban Borders
2.2 Religion and Town Planning in Twentieth-century Europe (panel session)
2.3 Boundaries, Space and Traversing the City
2.4 Monitoring and Policing Boundaries

17.45-19.15 **Session 3: New Researchers’ and First-Year PhD Workshops**

3.1 First-Year PhD Presentations
3.2 Crossing and Defining the Urban and Rural in England and Wales
3.3 Municipal Regulation and the Creation of Boundaries
3.4 Discourses of Place and Identity

20.00-21.30 Conference Dinner

21.30-late  Bar
FRIDAY 31 MARCH

08.00-08.45  Breakfast

09.00-10.30  Session 4: Parallel Sessions
  4.1  Roads, Railways and Remembering (Space Syntax Lab Session)
  4.2  Living on the Edge (panel session)
  4.3  Redefining and Rethinking the Boundaries of the City
  4.4  Creating, Imagining and Dissolving Boundaries

10.30-11.00  Coffee

11.00-12.30  Session 5: Parallel Sessions
  5.1  Pushing at the Boundaries in Early Modern London (V&A Museum session)
  5.2  Maintaining Jurisdictional Distinctions
  5.3  Exploring the Edge
  5.4  Race, Governance and Policy in Post-war Britain (panel session)

12.30-13.15  Session 6: Plenary Session
  Round table discussion

13.15-14.00  Lunch

14.00  Conference ends
ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS
SESSION 2.1: THE PERMEABILITY OF URBAN BORDERS

Petty crime, awareness spaces and informal edges in provincial shopping districts in 1830’s England

Peter Collinge (Keele)

Respectable citizens of Derby were used to navigating the informal boundaries of their town. Adverts for business and domestic addresses noted the desirable situations and commanding positions of superior districts where location alone was perceived to mark out the degree of respectability of those inhabiting such spaces. What happened though when those social constructs were breached by the activities of the petty criminal? How did authority respond, and with what consequences for both perpetrator and victim? Taking the case study of Glass-Blowing Billy’s and Yellow Ann’s theft of half a yard of ribbon in 1836, and placing their experience within the context of others brought to trial at the same assizes, this paper explores time, awareness spaces and opportunism in the art of shoplifting in provincial England. It argues that the restrictions imposed by imaginary boundaries were rarely enforced in practice and easy to transgress. In crossing the physical and theoretical thresholds that separated genteel retail establishments from the street, Glass-Blowing Billy and Yellow Ann were transgressing the ‘rules’ governing who could enter such premises. In the semi-privacy of shops, just as in the more public spaces of the street however, informal mechanisms shaped boundaries. How potential customers appeared to the owner or assistant often influenced the reception they received. Fully cognizant of this, petty criminals adapted their modes of dress, speech and deception strategies to the scale and standing of the establishment they targeted. In doing so artfully-constructed notions of genteel, respectable spaces were breached and ultimately reshaped.

Putting Leith on the Map: Urban identities and the permeability of formal boundaries

Anna Feintuck (University of Edinburgh)

In 1920, Edinburgh and Leith were amalgamated. The decision to do so was taken despite the results of a plebiscite showing Leith residents and officials to have an overwhelming preference for remaining an independent burgh – as they had been throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the campaign against amalgamation – and afterwards – Leith representatives drew on social difference to make their appeal, writing in The Scotsman that Leith ‘had always been a distinct community’. Edinburgh-based respondents took a dim view of this argument, suggesting that ‘if sentimental concerns are to be the mainsprings of plebiscites, few extension schemes will ever have any chance of success. This paper takes the example of Edinburgh and Leith to examine the permeability of urban boundaries. There is ambiguity in how separate the two places ever really were. Prior to amalgamation,
municipal tramlines ran across the supposed boundary, and anecdotes abounded relating to houses that were half in Edinburgh and half in Leith.

One formal consequence of the amalgamation was the re-drawing of maps: plans from 1918 and 1932 by the local mapmakers John Bartholomew & Son show how boundary lines changed. The latter plan also shows, however, that Leith was not the only area to be ‘absorbed’. Edinburgh’s formal boundaries expanded significantly at this time, but Leith put up a uniquely defiant fight. The discourse surrounding this episode therefore gives a valuable insight into perceptions of boundaries and their complexities in both their formal and informal guises. Cultural boundaries and conscious differentiation, it is suggested, have been especially important in the development and continuing representation of urban identity for both Edinburgh and Leith.

A city in the city: The case-study of post-war Kallithea

Paraksevi Kapoli (National Library of Greece)

This presentation explores the reasons why Kallithea, a municipality of the Greater Athens area, gathered a great number of migrants from the Greek countryside during the first two post-war decades, namely from 1950 to 1970. Normally, many migrants tended to settle on the edges of cities, which therefore worked as entrances to the city. On the contrary, Kallithea seemed to be a bridge connecting the port city of Piraeus and the city centre of the Greek capital thanks to its geographical position. Within this framework, the research draws upon mostly archival material from the Constantinos A. Doxiadis Archives. Questionnaires about Kallitheatans’ daily life, in particular, offer a closer look not only at their living conditions but also at their expectations from their place of residence. It was found, after a thorough observation of these questionnaires that, in the 1960s, migrants who lived in Kallithea had a great variety of options related to finding a job, to improving their educational level, to enjoying the city life. Moreover, the small distance from Piraeus and Athens and the area’s good transit systems reinforced the migrants’ easier access to the facilities offered by both. Thus, the wide range of options helped migrants’ upward mobility, since they could better adjust to the urban way of living. Through this case study, we can learn more about the way that cities are constituted by so many different urban environments. These small cities do not work independently from each other but they are mutually affected, while their inhabitants also leave their mark on them. Therefore, one could argue that facilities and other services have always played a decisive role in the city’s boundaries formation.
SESSION 2.2: RELIGION AND TOWN PLANNING IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY EUROPE

Writing in Urban History, Joks Janseen (2015) has commented that “the discourse on twentieth-century urban planning has hidden from view the way religion (re)shaped the urban landscape”. Historians have long recognized the conflict between ecclesiastical and civil divisions in the city, such as the overlapping boundaries provided by parish and ward. This panel seeks to put religion and the agendas of religious leaders back on the map, and to interrogate the disputes over governance, belonging, power and authority in the city during the critical years of the development of strong central government town planning in the mid-twentieth century. How did clerics understand their role in the formation of development plans, of new suburbs and neighbourhoods? How did town planning professionals conceive of urban boundaries and jurisdictions, and how were disputes concerning the perception of these boundaries resolved? Furthermore, what exactly was ‘urban’ about these disputes and how was the urban angle deployed by different sides? This panel will use case-studies in Belgium, Ireland and the U.K. to show how boundaries and jurisdictions were fundamental to understanding the role of religion in the evolution of town planning.

Planning for Manchester’s post-1945 places of worship

Angela Connelly (University of Manchester)

The City of Manchester Plan 1945 outlined a vision for the reconstruction of the world’s first industrial city. Unusually, City Surveyor Rowland Nicholas gave special consideration to places of worship in the proposed plan. He noted that the pre-1945 housing estates in Manchester did not account for places of worship, leading to them being relegated to awkward sites. Nicholas argued that places of worship should act as ‘spiritual and architectural focal points’, and that ‘sites in keeping with their significance should be reserved in new development’. Major faith organizations in the city supported the 1945 plan, and, indeed, people of faith occupying key positions in the city’s political class were prominent in the realization of his proposals.

Governing the relationship between planners and faith organizations was, however, a far from straightforward process. The pre-1945 experience of unregulated development, combined with declining attendances, had led to an over-supply of places of worship. Therefore, a more nuanced approach was needed in order to prevent accusations of favouritism for certain religious organizations. Key to this was the Manchester branch of the Churches Main Committee, which was originally established to negotiate war damage claims. Complex negotiations between the Committee, religious organizations, and city planners reveal much about the material politics in constructing Manchester’s places of worship. Through an analysis of the response by religious organizations to the City of Manchester Plan 1945 and the subsequent placement of places of worship in Manchester between 1945 and 1975, I argue that the
boundary between sacred and secular was more porous than historians have accounted for to date.

**Rethinking the Urban Parish: François Houtart and the Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses de Bruxelles, 1956-64**

*Sven Sterken & Eva Weyns (University of Leuven)*

In earlier times, most settlements in Western Europe developed around the local parish church, the community’s spatial and social nucleus. The processes of industrialization, urbanization and secularization have reversed this mechanism; towards the mid-twentieth century, the place of the church (both as a religious institution and as a building) was no longer self-evident. The established religions devised various strategies to preserve the once-evident unity of ideology, territory and society. Many Catholic dioceses, for example, established consulting bodies for the strategic planning and financing of religious infrastructure in the suburbanizing areas. As a case in point, this paper studies the interaction between religion, urban planning and demographic change at a pivotal moment in recent Belgian history, namely the period leading to the 1958 World Fair in Brussels. In particular, it addresses the ideas developed by the canon François Houtart (b. 1925), a key figure in the development of urban expertise within the Belgian Catholic milieu who has nonetheless been overlooked so far.

Originally trained as a priest, Houtart obtained a Masters in sociology and read urbanism under Gaston Bardet in Brussels before spending a year in the USA, familiarizing himself with the Chicago School principles. In 1956, he founded the Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses de Bruxelles. Financed by the Belgian episcopate and inspired by similar institutions abroad, it advised on the planning of Catholic infrastructure such as new parishes, churches, hospitals and schools. As this paper will show, Houtart developed an increasingly critical attitude towards the territorial politics of the Roman Catholic Church during the post-war era in Belgium. For example, he openly contested the concept of the territorially defined parish – the fundamental cornerstone of the Catholic edifice – since ever increasing mobility made the very notion of spatial boundaries obsolete. By focusing on the international conference ‘The Church in the City’ organized by Houtart at the 1958 World Fair in Brussels, this paper will discuss his criticism as part of a broader contestation of Catholic authority within modern society, and assess the alternatives that were put forward in order to regulate a religious presence in the newly urbanized areas.

**‘The Galway School Site Controversy’: City-centre redevelopment and urban governance in Ireland, 1944-49**

*Richard Butler (University of Leicester)*

The first town plan for Galway, drawn up in 1944, faltered under sustained opposition from the Roman Catholic Church. The plan would have involved large-scale demolition in the medieval city centre and the building of a ring road and a surface car park on a site
owned by the church and earmarked for a primary school under its patronage. This paper will use the resulting controversy, played out between 1944 and 1949, and known at the time as ‘the Galway school site controversy’, as the basis for a broader analysis of governance, property rights and the provision of social services in Irish cities in the immediate post-war period. The dispute involved the county council, a professional Dublin-based town planner, central government and the Catholic Church, each vying for control of the city’s future. The proposed ‘thinning out’ of the city centre, and the development of satellite communities clashed with the church’s desire to maintain its old urban constituency and threatened a dilution of its influence. The interventions of the local bishop, Michael Browne, led to a broader debate in Ireland, and especially Northern Ireland, on the ‘excessive’ influence of the church in town-planning issues. This paper will analyse the tactics used by Browne to defeat the proposed ring road from his long-standing distrust of ‘managerial systems’ (which he equated with Communism) to his secretive pamphleteering in the city on the eve of the final debate on the matter. I will suggest that the controversy represents a key episode in church-state relations in Irish urban history.
SESSION 2.3: BOUNDARIES, SPACE AND TRAVERSING THE CITY

The boundaries of urban solidarity communities in the Low Countries, 1300-1600

Hadewijch Masure (University of Antwerp)

Practices of charity and alms giving as well as the organization of poor relief or mutual assistance always imply a sense of ‘community’. All assistance and relief was in one way or another reserved for a specific group considered ‘deserving’, be that fellow townsmen, co-religionists, members of a particular guild, confraternity or quarter, etc. When allocating aid or relief to one specific group, the inside group is tightened as well as its boundaries sharpened to outsiders. But, while the mechanism as such may be virtually universal, the actual definition and delineation of communities changed considerably over time and across regions and contexts. This is particularly relevant for cities, which may up to a certain degree be considered a single community from the perspective of public aid, but in reality consisted of different communities within (and indeed across) the city.

This presentation offers a deeper insight in the community building capacities and the related exclusionary mechanisms of charity and mutual aid in late medieval and early modern cities in the Low Countries, compared to other European regions. I will analyse which communities were implied or shaped when it was regulated who could profit from poor relief, and how this changed in the long run. Who had access to relief systems, and what community thereby served as a frame of reference? Did the boundaries created coincide with the city, a parish, families or urban ‘corpora’ such as guilds and fraternities? The focus will be on the definition of ‘urban boundaries’. What was considered as an urban boundary: were solidarity communities defined by a geographical boundary such as living inside the city walls, a larger jurisdictional area surrounding town, parish borders? Or was the urban solidarity community considered a corporational one, in which one had to obtain membership through, for instance, citizenship? How did this change in the long run and why?

The Boundaries of Social Space: Youthful experience of space and place in early twentieth-century York

Laura Harrison (UWE)

Edith Harton met her first boyfriend while delivering letters for work in 1924, and together they walked out around York; from Clifton to Fulford, down by the riverside, occasionally stopping to sit down on the grass ‘for about half an hour’ before walking back the way they came. They travelled across the city centre streets to attend the theatre, dance hall and cinema, and visited the Empire music hall every week, often stopping off at the King Street fish shop. Edith paraded up and down Coney Street on
the ‘monkey run’ and had ‘some good nights’ with friends at the Martinmas Hiring Fair in Parliament Street. In their free time, young people navigated the streets, markets and parks of their towns and cities, with patterns of leisure and sociability that meant that in the course of a working week they crossed and re-crossed paths, covering large swathes of urban space. My current research examines these sites of leisure, courtship and sociability; telling the story of young people and developing youth cultures from the perspective of their street behaviour and interactions. This paper will present some of my initial research, and explore how young people interacted and engaged with the street as a site of social interaction and identity, using a case study of York in the years between c.1900 and 1939. In particular, the paper will focus on the ways in which both formal and informal regulation shaped young urban behaviour, and consider how young people both understood and constructed the boundaries of their social space.

Bounding Spaces of Improvement: The making of public parks in Victorian and Edwardian Leeds

David Churchill & Nathan Booth (University of Leeds)

The dominant Victorian vision of the public park – as an improved and improving space, promising rich rewards in terms of urban public health, social cohesion, moral consensus and political order – is well known. Less often studied are the various processes by which local governors sought to realize these ideas in practice. Hence, this paper focuses on the practical making and governing of public parks in Leeds between 1857 and 1914, drawing on newspaper reports, municipal records and police archives. Responding to the conference theme, it approaches the process of park-making as one of bounding and governing particular territories within the city as spaces apart, a process which sought to transform parks into agents of wider urban improvement. Thus, the acquisition, design, engineering, regulation and policing of urban public parks are brought together analytically as aspects of a governmental initiative designed to demarcate the park from the surrounding city, to improve the park according to particular spatial logics, and to maintain the park as a site of governing the wider social relations of the city. However, at each stage, this governmental initiative was diverted, frustrated or resisted by various forces, from the spatial and environmental difficulties posed by parks themselves, to political opposition within and beyond the institutions of municipal government, to the alternative notions of park-life held by the people of the city. The paper closes by reflecting on the legacy of this frustrated project of bounded spatial governance in the contemporary era, as urban parks face urgent threats to their continued survival as spaces apart in today’s cities.
SESSION 2.4: MONITORING AND POLICING BOUNDARIES

Photography and the Spaces of the University and Social Settlement Movement, 1900-10

Lucinda Matthews-Jones (Liverpool John Moores)

Most scholarship on the social and university settlement movement relies on written evidence. In this paper I will turn from the mind’s eye to examine how the photographic eye captured the spaces and edges of the movement. I will use photographs currently available through Harvard University Library Open Collection Program. These settlement images were submitted to Harvard’s Social Museum between 1903 and 1907. They were mounted on to boards and used by Professor Francis Greenwood, founder of the museum and Professor of Theology at Harvard, as illustrative devices of modern social conditions and scientific enquiry. They were used in 1908 for an exhibition on the social settlement movement. Twenty British settlement houses sent images to the museum’s collections and the digital collection is made up of seven photographic collections. These include four London settlements: Toynbee Hall, Bermondsey Settlement, Popular’s Christ Church Mission and St. Margaret’s House in Bethnal Green together with Cardiff University Settlement, Manchester Art Museum and University Settlement, and Glasgow’s Queen Margaret College Settlement. The material submitted to Harvard’s Social Museum by these settlements offers scholars the chance to see how settlement spaces were defined and framed by the settlement eye. These photographs can be divided into three categories: firstly, the settlement household (images of settlers and the settlement house), secondly, the users of the settlement movement (club photographs) and, thirdly, urban photography. By peering closely at these photographs, and by examining them through the geographical concept of translocalism, I will demonstrate how photography was used as a device to capture community relationships not only within the locale but also to visually define the city’s edges to the public in a wider translocal/transnational context. I will also argue that in capturing urban life these photos transgressed traditional ideas of working-class communities caught by the philanthropic photographer. Rather, the edges of the city were layered around home, work and street.

The West London ‘Beat’ in the post-war British police drama films

Jenny Stewart (University of Leicester)

Both The Blue Lamp and Street Corner were produced with the full co-operation and supervision of the Metropolitan Police, resulting in ‘authentic’ depictions of day-to-day policing in West London. Both films were located and filmed within specific boundaries: The Blue Lamp features extensive location shooting at the old Paddington Green Police station and surrounding streets; while Street Corner depicts policewomen on the beat in Chelsea. I consider the films’ production histories and critical reception to
explore the various urban boundaries, both physical and human, depicted in both films. I also discuss how the films used the streets of Paddington and Chelsea to convey a sense of belonging for the police officers and reassurance of order in the city streets.

**Blottos on the Landscape: Drunkenness and the blurred edges of urban civility, 1880-1914**

*Richard Robinson (University of Helsinki)*

In Victorian and Edwardian urban settings, the drunkard was – and still often is – presented as the antithesis to respectability. With his disorderly conduct and improper passage through the streets, he could foist unseemly scenes, verbal vulgarity and even bodily distress upon unsuspecting passers-by. These concerns were prescient in a civic culture obsessed with orderly public space, even more so from the late nineteenth century when the politicized temperance movement and theories of urban degeneration depicted drink as a threat to the nation’s future. However, this paper will assert that inebriety was, in practice, less disruptive and more spatially ordered than has previously been recognized. In particular, it will suggest that the policing of drunkenness had its own etiquette, and that this was very much embedded in a town’s internal, unofficial boundaries.

Using a case study of drunkenness offences in Brighton – committed both by the public and by the police themselves – between 1880 and 1914, this paper will examine the everyday regulation of intoxication in three contexts: street architecture, private and semi-public space, and the town’s topography. In spite of the police’s undisputed jurisdiction (except in the case of private clubs), their response to a drunkard depended on a number of unofficial urban edges, most notably between a town centre that was carefully mapped in tourist guides and the working-class back streets that were omitted from them. This imbued inebriates across the town with the power to reinforce or upturn the boundaries of informal authority, especially given the police’s willingness to tolerate short-lived bouts of invasive intoxication. Although the drunken behaviour that provoked censure varied by district, it will be noted that the frequent measurement of inebriety in terms of the minute details of the urban environment still gave a certain uniformity to most arrests.
SESSION 3.1: FIRST YEAR PHD PRESENTATIONS

The Policeman, the Pieman and the Prostitute: Social management of public space in late Victorian London

Wendy Toole (Institute of Historical Research)

In the late nineteenth century London’s streets teemed with traffic, commerce and ambulation. As well as hawkers and pedlars, vagrants, flâneurs and prostitutes, there were an increasing number of official and semi-official pedestrians. While many of the latter – such as messengers and delivery workers, clergymen and urban missionaries – were merely passing through in the course of business, others, such as the police as the primary agents of social management, were on the lookout for transgressors. The research examines the functions of agents of social management in the streets of late Victorian London and their interfaces with the public, highlighting the ambivalent and liminal position of policemen.

The focus of the research is the period 1880 to 1900, a time of economic uncertainty and fears of an indigenous socialist movement as well as anarchistic and communistic influences from abroad. The districts of Bethnal Green and St James’s, Westminster, are studied in detail: the former as one of the poorest areas of London, and the latter as not only a wealthy quarter but the site of sensational rioting in February 1886, the police handling of which was inefficient and controversial. The research makes extensive use of primary sources, such as contemporary newspapers to provide insight into public perceptions of the roles of the police and other officials working in the streets, and The National Archives, Home Office, Central Criminal Court and Old Bailey records to help establish demographic profiles of those on the margins of society. In its close examination of the ambivalent and liminal position of the police among agents of social management in the modernizing capital city, the research introduces a new perspective.

Speculative house builders as entrepreneurs in Georgian London

Austen Hamilton (University of Exeter)

The building industry was a major sector in a significant period of industrialization but is rarely addressed in discussions of the subject. Concurrent rapid urbanization required entrepreneurs ready to develop housing on a speculative basis to meet an increasing demand which was consistent neither in the type of housing required nor the speed of its growth. Such developers have been widely studied in the Victorian period and there is one general study covering the provincial towns and cities in the Georgian period. However, there has been no study which focuses on the house builders of eighteenth-century London as a whole, in contrast to those which consider the houses themselves, architects, or particular areas of London, usually in the West End.

This research looks at speculative house builders across Georgian London as entrepreneurs. At its centre are career profiles of such developers using material from
Chancery and Exchequer court proceedings supplemented by other archive and online sources. The research covers the period between two significant London developers: Nicholas Barbon (1637-98), considered by many to be the first modern property developer, and Thomas Cubitt (1788-1855), founder of the first integrated building firm, and questions the apparent absence of major entrepreneurs in the industry in the intervening period. It looks particularly at how speculative builders financed their operations and seeks to identify the factors that distinguish the successful entrepreneurs from the many unsuccessful ones. By considering the nature of speculation in a high risk industry which, despite its importance tends to get overlooked, the research aims to add to our understanding of industry and entrepreneurship in the period outside of the areas of innovation generally considered.

The Struggle for Urban Space: Contested places and policing in Stockholm 1776-1850

Tobias Larsson (Uppsala University)

In April of 1776 the Royal Police Chamber of Stockholm opened its doors for the first time. It was a significant move of professionalization in the governing of Sweden’s capital. The chamber replaced some and encompassed others of the diverse, but poorly synchronized, organizations previously charged with retaining order. It had its own jurisdiction as a police court and was expected to work sleekly and efficiently, handling more offences in less time. As a means of achieving this, a previously unprecedented level of administrative diligence was created. A fortunate by-product of this is a bountiful and intriguing archive, one studied surprisingly little.

A completely new organization meant putting ideas in to reality, establishing routines, and working out its kinks. Its practices, as they appear in thousands of cases per year, therefore offer a fascinating opportunity to study change and development leading up to the modernizing reform of 1850. Therein lies an abundance of narratives, representing the lower limits of what was systematically documented, giving insight to quotidian interactions throughout the urban space. These narratives exhibit the contesting agendas between citizen and the inter-hierarchical figures who together shaped spatial practices and over time influenced behaviour. In them it is possible to walk throughout the city beside the servicemen of the chamber. Those who felt and smelled the filth transitioning from a yard, heard noise and saw light flowing into the street from open pub doors, staked out the nodes of disorder like bridges, and forced their way over thresholds into more private spheres. By considering these encounters I show what mundane places (in contrast to already considered political nodes of high profile) were under contestation, what agendas clashed there and how those opposing forces in conflict with each other influenced how the urban space was shaped and experienced.
Identifying the point where the urban ends and the rural starts is complicated and rarely straightforward. This process becomes even more complex when considering the boundaries of small Welsh towns of nineteenth-century Wales. Being much smaller and less obviously urban than their English counterparts, defining the boundaries of these rural towns, can be extremely problematic as the rural hinterland was an essential component of their identity and their existence. These towns, which had relatively small populations and very little industry, were heavily dependent on the surrounding farms and hamlets whose custom ensured the survival of businesses and shops within the town. Likewise, the rural hinterland looked to the town as an administrative, social and religious centre that provided services essential to everyday life. This symbiosis makes it very difficult to pinpoint where the one ends and the other begins.

Using Usk as an example, this paper will look at how the urban boundaries of a small rural town can be defined. Employing a number of different sources including census returns, newspaper articles and the minutes of town meetings, the town’s different boundaries will be identified. This will demonstrate that alongside official and administrative boundaries there also were intangible examples such as language, cultural and economic differences that separated the town from the surrounding countryside. It will therefore be shown that although the rural hinterland was an integral part of the town’s character, it is possible to identify and define Usk’s urban boundaries.

Chiswick and the idea of London: amenity, identity and reform 1849-67

Tracy Logan (Institute of Historical Research)

Chiswick’s mid-nineteenth century experience of life near the urban edge, eight miles west of St Paul’s Cathedral, was detailed in its vestry and Improvement Commission minutes, revealing how new and shifting metropolitan boundaries dramatically shaped its development and identity. Those boundaries were topographical and sanitary, ideological and political and shunned by Chiswick for their cost, not ideology. Its response was ancient and modern, the defensive beating of parish bounds and litigation. Chiswick, mainly agricultural in 1849 but by 1867 on the cusp of industrialization and urbanization, had much in common with other contemporary parishes near big cities. Their priorities and even basic amenities were subsumed by costly, metropolitan utilitarianism and its voracious land-and-rates-grabbing. Chiswick’s case illustrates what it meant to be first granted, then denied a metropolitan identity by Acts of Parliament in quick succession. One consequence was its disappearance from newspaper columns, whose focus became the big city, to the detriment of historiography.
Places like Chiswick became part of an ill-defined ‘suburban’ entity, assumed dominated by housebuilding, railways and Villa Toryism, seen in relation to the big city but banal by comparison with its cut and thrust of power politics and commerce. When Disraeli’s Reform Act sought to extend London’s boundary westwards again, Chiswick pushed back on financial, not ideological, grounds, but with ideological consequences for its working classes, thus denied the vote. Owen showed no uniformity in the parochial response to metropolitan inclusion. Now a new study, including new tools, shows no uniform response to metropolitan exclusion. In this presentation, about a case study of Chiswick, the forging of an extra-metropolitan urban identity will be discussed and illustrated in ways conventional sources cannot.

**Urban boundaries and the reservoirs of the Washburn Valley**

*Andrew McTominey (Leeds Beckett University)*

Towns and cities are often thought of as single entities, with clearly defined boundaries. The reality is more complex and nuanced than this, with urban centres spreading beyond their peripheries through transport links or the search for amenities. Many cities looked beyond their urban borders for sources of water, Leeds being no exception. From 1866, the town looked to the Washburn Valley, approximately 15 miles north, as a source of pure, soft water for growing domestic and industrial demand. From 1869 to 1879, the Leeds Corporation built three reservoirs in the valley, with a fourth left unbuilt until 1966. In doing so, the reservoirs became symbols of urban modernity in a rural setting. They significantly altered the landscape, affecting the area beyond the creation of three artificial lakes. As a consequence of public health concerns, particularly the threat of pollution, the Corporation purchased vast amounts of land in the valley, and in doing so became the major landowner in the area. They also enacted a programme of afforestation to not only provide a natural aesthetic to the landscape but to protect against pollution and to provide a future source of income for Leeds. To facilitate this, the Corporation utilized the unemployed, who became a target for the local newspapers as the scheme failed to produce the results the Corporation and the Local Government Board desired. This paper will examine these examples in more detail in order to consider how we think about the fluidity of the urban-rural boundary.
SESSION 3.3: MUNICIPAL REGULATION AND THE CREATION OF BOUNDARIES

‘A Real Institution’: Playground fencing and the production of institutional space in early twentieth-century urban America

Oenone Kubie (University of Oxford)

In the first decade of the twentieth century, fencing became essential to the urban American playground. According to the February 1910 edition of *The Playground* (the monthly journal of the American Playground Association) the ideal playground required apparatus, supervision and a fence. Playground fencing developed into a substantial industry, with advertisements for the best, most effective fences appearing in playground catalogues and magazines alongside other necessary equipment, such as swings and climbing frames. The leaders of the playground movement believed fences would protect children from the danger of running out into street space and in front of traffic, as well as allowing the playground supervisor to oversee who entered and exited the institutional space. The fence was, therefore, a physical boundary marking the edge of the institution, necessary so that children would respect the official, adult-created, ordering of the environment.

However, recreation movement leaders imagined the fence as more than a physical expression of the institutional edge. The fence, they argued, had the power to transform the whole institution and change the behaviour and activities of those inside the play-space. Fences, reformers argued, improved discipline, reduced bullying, and stopped the appropriation of playgrounds by older children. According to the American Playground Association leader, Joseph Lee, without a fence, the playground was little more than an extension of the evils of the street, whereas the addition of a fence transformed the playground into “a real institution, a thing you can belong to”. The boundary was thus an integral part of the playground: the thing which, in fact, made it into an institution. In this paper, I examine how and why the creation of a physical boundary had the power to transform institutional urban space. I consider why reformer’s felt the need for fences, and, in particular, what unexpected and undesirable activities of children they hoped to combat. Lastly, I seek to understand how fencing worked in everyday institutional life. Did the confrontation with physical boundaries stop children’s appropriation of playground spaces and, in practice, did fencing afford adults greater control over the youthful users of the playgrounds?

Expanding Fire Protection: The Calcutta Fire Brigade, the Richards Report, and the Calcutta Improvement Trust, 1911-14

Daniel W.T. Hood (Boston College)

Despite being one of the earliest municipal-controlled fire brigades in the British Empire, the Calcutta Fire Brigade developed haphazardly over the course of the nineteenth century. Originally combined with the Calcutta Police, the fire brigade did
not become an independent entity until the early twentieth century, several decades after the major police-fire brigades in the UK had been divided. Following Shane Ewen’s argument that fire service development was interconnected with municipalization, I will read the Calcutta Fire Brigade reorganization in the 1910s in light of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, the Richards Report, and the expansion of municipal control into the Calcutta suburbs. As with many civil services, the extent of the fire brigade’s protection provided an unofficial city boundary that was consistently renegotiated in the nineteenth century. Between 1819 and 1910, the Calcutta Fire Brigade grew from one station to eight, averaging one additional station every twelve years, matching the shifting boundaries of both municipal authority and fire risks, and illustrating the internal divisions between protected and unprotected neighbourhoods allowing us to test Carl Nightingale’s thesis on segregation in Calcutta. The 1913 reorganization scheme, however, not only recommended renovating existing stations, but called for adding several more stations – providing the suburbs with an obvious symbol of municipal authority and protection. These processes revealed the paternalist and reciprocal nature of municipalization, and highlights Calcutta in a moment of transition between losing the Raj capital and WWI. Calcutta had to redefine itself without the Raj, and reorganizing the fire brigade was one way to do that. Nationalists were already trying to imagine Calcutta as a post-Raj, post-British city, but with the Improvement Trust they began to develop a plan for what it would look like, and it needed to include protection from a dangerous by-product of British imperialism: fire.

Understanding the Korean border through human habitation

Alex Young Il Seo (University of Dambridge)

Regarded as one of the most heavily militarized border in the world, the Korean border is generally known for its demilitarized zone, largely devoid of human settlement. However, the Korean frontier is in fact populated by people with diverse backgrounds including; the natives who have returned after the war, displaced citizens, discharged military officers, as well as migrants from the North. Despite the diversity that constitutes the border region, it is often overlooked as a periphery or an edge that is homogeneous, well-defined and static. As matter of fact, it has left most scholarly debate on the issue of unification or post-unification, largely ignoring the current state of division and the complexities that exist at the border region.

This paper examines borders and boundaries in Cheorwon, Korea, in terms of the various spatial interstices and enclaves that have formed from the politically motivated planning efforts to repopulate the Korean frontier that have led to the creation of highly disputed border typologies and zones of hierarchy. The research reveals complex layers of internal boundaries implemented by the state, military and local municipal authorities that have generated highly fragmented boundary conditions – perceived and interpreted differently by the inhabitants. It essentially confirms the dynamic and lively character of the boundaries not as a line, but as an area or zone that may shrink, grow and overlap.
SESSION 3.4: DISCOURSES OF PLACE AND IDENTITY

‘Within the Walls of Manila’: Creating a Spanish city in the Philippines

Allison Graham (University of Toronto)

In his seventeenth-century chronicle, Spanish Jesuit Francisco Colin called Manila “a daughter so distant from her mother Spain”, a city that, despite its great distance was still closely related to its Spanish colonizer. This paper examines seventeenth and eighteenth-century representations of Manila found in a selection of Spanish chronicles, and how these depictions reflected Spanish concerns over colonial urban space. Spanish colonial cities were supposed to reproduce Spanish civility, religion, and cultural norms, while rural areas outside city limits were often depicted as a barbarous wilderness yet to be cultivated. Colonial urban centres therefore symbolized ‘Spanishness’ in their respective colonies, displaying symbols of Spanish imperial domination ranging from Spanish-style architecture to the grid-like layout of the streets.

In Manila, Spanish government and ecclesiastical authorities portrayed the city as a Hispanicized space, Spanish in both form and contents. In particular, Manila’s wall became a marker of Spanish hegemony and social order, as the space within the walls (Intramuros) was depicted as an idyllic city inhabited by Spaniards and Spanish institutions, while the area outside the walls (Extramuros) was described as a disorderly space in which the supposedly disruptive, non-Spanish populations lived. Despite its porous reality, Spanish administrators depicted the wall as maintaining the boundary between a proper Spanish city and potentially dangerous indigenous and Chinese influences that could threaten the stability of the entire archipelago. The wall therefore created a necessary barrier between Spanish society and the colonized ‘other.’ By exploring the connotations of colonial urban space, this paper argues that portrayals of Manila as the always-loyal Spanish city in the Pacific shed light on how the space within the walls was supposed to be the beacon of Spanish order in a faraway colony.

Edgelands and Badlands: Municipal Kaifeng beyond the wall, 1929-31

Mark Baker (Yale University)

Although the imperial Chinese city wall is a striking emblem of the urban edge, China’s pre-modern cities did not in most respects have an administrative existence separate from their rural hinterlands. This changed in the first half of the twentieth century, when municipal governments gave a political edge to what contemporaries perceived as a growing social and economic gulf between city and countryside. Most histories have told this as a success story, of a natural, modernizing turn towards municipal government and a sharply defined urban edge. This paper challenges this view by examining the abortive municipal government established in Kaifeng, Henan Province, between 1929 and 1931. Probably the largest city in the world during its Northern Song
In 1929 local strongman Feng Yuxiang established a city government, aiming both to revive Kaifeng’s fortunes and use urban rule as a springboard for his ambitious schemes for rural control. This paper explores the contradictory ways in which the municipal government treated those areas outside the city wall which fell under its control. These extra-mural villages became both targets for urban expansion and model rural districts for schemes of ‘peasant improvement’. Yet this was an ecologically fragile area, devastated by deforestation, sandstorms, and periodic Yellow River floods, and in surviving sources these ‘backward’ suburbs seem to challenge Kaifeng’s urban modernity, and their inhabitants to enjoy at best an ambiguous membership of the urban community. Amid a backdrop of financial ruin and civil war, the abolition of the municipal government in 1931 reunited Kaifeng with its wider rural hinterland, but the position of the suburban village and municipal agriculture would remain moot down to Mao’s revolutionary era and beyond.

The limits of urban heritage in the late twentieth-century Australian city

James Lesh (University of Melbourne / KCL)

Between 1974 and 1992 every Australian city became subject to urban heritage regulations and related professional practices. Federal, state and local governments introduced these regulations in response to urban activists, who had been spurred by the mass demolitions of historic places for comprehensive redevelopment in the post-war period. The introduction of government heritage registers that identified historic places for preservation – from individual buildings to whole neighbourhoods – has been identified in the historiography as a victory for the Australian heritage movement. Yet the institutionalization of urban heritage had numerous unintended consequences. Not only did these registers ultimately offer no assurances of meaningful preservation, but they also contributed to the bounding, and so limiting, of what might be deemed heritage for the purposes of mandated preservation. This paper considers the constitution of the Australian heritage system, compromising regulatory mechanisms and professional practices, in various urban contexts. It examines the notorious nocturnal demolition of the Bellevue Hotel in Brisbane in 1979; the attempt by the Victorian Planning Minister to blunt heritage legislation in Melbourne in 1981; and the dispute between scholars Sydneysider Dr James Kerr and Melburnian Professor Miles Lewis over heritage management in the late 1980s. Impacting place, regulation and practice respectively, each of these incidents resulted in tighter boundaries for urban heritage, drawn by those with the power to shape cities, thereby restricting the possibilities for urban heritage.
Urban community is a place-bound idea typically represented by physical boundaries such as walls, courtyards and gates but the spatial configuration of urban street networks also serves to bring people together and keep them apart. Research in urban history using space syntax methods can help reveal how socially significant boundaries have emerged where particular topographical conditions, infrastructural interventions and patterns of urban development have distinguished regions of the street network as threshold or transitional areas in configurational terms. The spatial-morphological description of these liminal spaces is important in accessing, as it were, the ‘deep structure’ of urban neighbourhoods and jurisdictions. It also suggests why the power to disregard, as much as to assert, the authority of customary boundaries is a reliable analogue for the exercise of social power.

Investigating these themes involves undertaking historical research of sufficient temporal scope for the interplay of socio-spatial, socio-economic and cultural processes to become evident in the configuration of urban space. This extended time-scale begs the question of the urban streetscape as a source of communal memory that can serve both to perpetuate and undermine the legitimacy of historical boundaries. This panel presents three papers that address these themes over a time-scale from c.1800 to the present day. They draw on the theories and methods of space syntax to explore the configurational dimension of urban boundaries as these have represented, contested, fragmented, consolidated and enlarged the definition of urban and suburban communities over time.

**Chipping Barnet c.1800-2015: urban edge or suburban centre?**

*Laura Vaughan & Ashley Dhanani (University College London)*

The traditional narrative of London’s suburban history claims that the coming of the railways transformed previously “knowable communities” (Williams, 1969) into something like ‘edge cities’ dominated by anonymous commuters, ultimately ‘engulfing’ these with less affluent populations, disconnected from their locale. The problem with such narratives is that they present urbanization as proceeding in linear stages: from local village, to connected suburb, to urban sprawl. Yet the peripheries of growing cities are messy and dynamic environments, comprising diverse spatial morphologies, topographies and socio-economic structures; hybrid socio-spatial forms that are not easily classified typologically. This paper will take the example of Chipping Barnet, the site of a twelfth-century market situated on the old North Road out of London as an example of an edge-city settlement characterized by a hybrid spatial morphology and the persistence of multiple social affiliations maintained across space. By transposing maps of non-domestic land uses on historical maps of four epochs from the nineteenth century until today and drawing on a range of local historical sources, it
will be shown that Barnet’s social space has consistently been constructed over distance, though the nature of these connections has changed over time. Long before it acquired suburban status, for example, Barnet was home to almshouses for the City of London’s Leathersellers’ Company, a Militia Barracks for Middlesex regiments and a weekly cattle market (originally chartered in 1199) that supplied London with much of its meat c.1600-1950. Barnet’s civic architecture from the 1700s into the early twentieth century highlights the existence of a strong sense of locality and its status as the administrative centre of various civic jurisdictions. Barnet’s history as a place, therefore, has been forged historically both spatially, in relation to its immediate community, and across space, in relation to the surrounding counties and London.

London Railway Terminals 1850-2015: Segregation and the inner ‘edge city’

Tom Bolton (University College London)

The construction of multiple railway terminals in nineteenth-century London introduced a complex system of physical and social boundaries into the city’s fabric. An 1847 exclusion zone pushed new terminals to what were then the limits of central London, creating an edge that persists in the contemporary city. While terminals facing towards inner London were largely free from surface railways, the areas behind were fragmented by extensive infrastructure systems. The building of nineteenth-century railways was intertwined with a ‘socially progressive’ agenda to demolish ‘slum’ housing but the new infrastructure tended to recreate the conditions it aimed to remove. Charles Booth’s poverty surveys (1902) regularly note the relationship between areas of concentrated poverty and physical barriers such as canals, docks, railways, gasworks, waterworks and new streets. Reeder (1987) describes how in some districts of London poverty was “caught and held in successive railway loops”. It is notable how neighbourhoods behind terminals have tended to remain relatively poor through successive phases of social history, for example, by large-scale post-war redevelopment creating areas of continuing spatial segregation. This paper will apply space syntax methodologies to assess the extent of spatial separation in the neighbourhoods behind three London railway terminals, Euston, St. Pancras and King’s Cross in order to analyse the historical urban processes that link infrastructure development to edge city characteristics. The paper will aim to discover the extent to which London terminals have created the borderland “spaces of exclusion” identified by Iossifova (2013). In the light of the current government’s enthusiasm for large-scale railway infrastructure projects such as HS2, the need to understand the long-term effects of such interventions on urban social dynamics is pressing.
Place-situated Historic Photographs in European cities: Negotiating the temporal boundaries of urban community

Sam Griffiths & Garyfalia Palaiologou (University College London)

Drawing on examples from London, Berlin and Antwerp this paper interrogates the recent phenomenon of European municipal authorities situating physical and digital historic photographs of public spaces in their equivalent contemporary locations. It develops the concept of the ‘virtual community’ from space syntax theory to discuss the important questions place-situated photographs raise for the historical understanding of urban communities in relation to changes and continuities in the built environment of cities. The ‘virtual’ community is so named because it refers to the anticipation of social activity (for example, movement and encounter) in a given urban space as a consequence of its relative accessibility in an urban street network, rather than to actual social activity. It thereby assigns a material agency to urban space that sustains the ‘imagined’ urban community by ensuring high pedestrian accessibility to symbolically potent sites. It also suggests how such spaces possess a dual role in negotiating the imagined boundaries of an urban community – lending it both material definition through the corporeality of quotidian encounters, and semantic definition in relation to socio-economic processes and cultural identities that transcend space. The virtual community, however, is a strongly synchronic concept. A consequence is that the ‘imagined’ urban community is easily deprived of its historical and material dimensions. Yet the anticipation of spatial co-presence, it is argued, cannot be separated from a sense of temporal co-presence through which the urban past is projected into the urban future.

While place-situated photographs serve the political agenda of municipal agencies by representing the city as a site of collective experience, they also suggest the need for an improved conceptualization of change and continuity in the urban built environment if the complex temporalities of cities and urban life are to be addressed through historical narratives.
The access of migrants, refugees and newcomers to what constitutes the core of urbanity in cities is linked to the spatial relationship of their settlements to the question of boundaries, limits and jurisdictions. This interaction often represents a mirror of tensions, conflicts and mediations pertaining to the integration (or stigmatization, rejection, and limitations of their rights) of precarious urban populations seeking a refuge at the edge of cities. This panel explores this problematic dimension through three case studies in which specific debates arose concerning the position of precarious populations with regard to the city limits, both physical, institutional and symbolic. The papers analyse the dynamics at play in the perception and redefinition of urban boundaries, as well as in the emergence of questions of governance and access to the civic sphere.

Outside the Wall of Jeddah: The struggle for urbanity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

Ulrike Freitag (ZMO, Berlin)

Ottoman Jeddah was defined by its city wall. However, a number of settlements existed outside it, some of them for a very long time, whilst others were more of recent origin. Besides accommodating Bedouin trading with Jeddah and providing transport, notably to Mecca, these settlements were also the first homes of new residents – pilgrims who could not pay their return fare, freed slaves, or poorer workers making their living as occasional labour in the port and markets. Based on local documents, local histories and travelogues this paper investigates the relationship between these suburbs and the city in the period before the destruction of the city wall in 1947. The question of the influence of the physical limit that the wall represented and of the conjunction of limits of jurisdiction and social representations will be the object of a specific focus.

Inside/Outside the City Boundaries: Newcomers in nineteenth-century Tunis and the question of urbanity

Nora Lafi (ZMO, Berlin)

In late-Ottoman Tunis, the neighbourhood of the Kherba, situated along both sides of the walls of the old city, was the object of strong tensions and conflicts between different kinds of populations and municipal authorities. The value of old limits was challenged by new spatial and social configurations and the values of urbanity attached to them were also deeply challenged. With the perspective of municipal reforms, the question of the inertia of old limits became a pressing subject and the object of further tensions. This
paper, based upon archival documents found in Tunis, aims at interpreting such conflicts in the light of a spatial, social and institutional reading of the evolution of urban boundaries and jurisdictions in the context of a late-Ottoman city that experienced growing pressure of a colonial nature.

**Regulating Urban Expansion in the Ottoman Balkans: Confessional and social boundaries in the nineteenth century**

*Florian Riedler (ZMO, Berlin)*

Taking Niš, a city in Serbia that was Ottoman until 1878, as an example this paper examines the mechanisms of integration of newcomers into cities of Southeast Europe that experienced considerable growth in the nineteenth century. Measures by city authorities consisted of the inclusion of suburbs with their populations that were generally poorer and had a rural background into the city’s walls and into its limits of jurisdiction. In the second half of the nineteenth century a notion of urban rational reform had a strong imprint on the way this process was handled. Since most of the newcomers were Christians, integration also had a confessional aspect in that the new areas situated at the edge of the city had to be reconciled with older ideals and practices of urbanity. The paper likes to argue that because of its flexibility Ottoman urban governance was well suited for this task.
SESSION 4.3 REDEFINING AND RETHINKING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE CITY

‘Outragiouslye Thrust and Forst Open the Doore’: Trespass in early modern London

Alexandra Logue (University of Toronto)

The seventeenth-century diarist, Samuel Pepys, observed: “my house is mighty dangerous, having so many ways to come in”. Early modern Londoners shared his concern that their houses were spaces easily invaded by the “multitude that did so overgrow” the city. Disputes over domestic spaces were common in London, which saw unprecedented population growth and urban development between 1570 and 1640. The crown issued proclamations against migration into the city and new building, but these prohibitions effectively forced poorer residents into smaller, cheaper, and shared accommodation. Londoners subdivided dwellings and ably adapted structures to suit their housing needs, but limited space meant domestic life was cramped and shared, and its boundaries permeable. My paper considers the intersections of property, masculinity, and urban space by examining property disputes between Londoners. It argues that masculinity was contingent upon the ability to control the boundaries around their domestic spaces: houses, walls, gardens, courtyards, and fields were sites where masculine authority was both expressed and contested. Records from the Court of Star Chamber reveal that when these physical boundaries separating spaces were transgressed, attacked, or impossible to maintain, men turned to the courts to establish legal definitions of their space instead. These cases are part of a larger trend across England to physically and legally demarcate property using land surveys, map-making, enclosure, and imparkment. Men vied for control over domestic space in order to assert their masculine authority, but in the bustling, congested urban landscape of London, where living spaces overlapped, a man’s ability to control his house and household were constantly imperilled by the threat of invasion and trespass of other men.

Expansion and Division in Settler Colonial Cities: Commonalities, contrasts, and connections in practices of boundary-setting in a widening web of cities

Carl Nightingale (Buffalo, SUNY)

Settler colonists were, along with merchants, missionaries, and colonial officials among the most important actors in the creation of a truly global network of cities during the early modern and modern eras. Of these groups of expansionists, settlers arguably had the largest impact on the morphology of the new cities that anchored the widened connective fabric. Everywhere settlers settled, they took the lead in building cities by conquering land from native peoples, and then by consolidating control of that land by substituting prevailing communal forms of ownership with systems of individually owned, titled, and commodified land that favoured settlers’ economic, cultural, and
political influence over that territory and a widening hinterland. But the expansive trajectory of conquest and domination, that is the crossing of boundaries, was not guaranteed. Settlers just as often had to fall back on setting boundaries between themselves and native peoples within urban space and the rural spaces of their hinterlands. Later settlers engaged in further boundary setting to control spaces that were inhabited by other people who made their way to these cities through the new connective networks, such as migrants deemed different and inferior from the original settler group, slaves, and refugees. Did the practices involved in this paradoxical dynamic of crossing and setting boundaries reflect a long-standing urban dynamic that could draw on precedent in the metropolitan cultures from which settlers originated? Did the connections established by settlers with the metropole also offer a trade in Old World practices that settlers could count on? Or was this a completely new phenomenon that reflected the newly expanded reach of the system of urban connections?

This paper answers this question in part by using concepts like connection, comparison, and contingency to elaborate theories of settler colonialism that focus on the uniqueness of the phenomenon and complicate that theory by describing the combinations of practices involved in both expansion and division. Such practices reflected a broader trade in techniques of urban spatial control that spanned metropolitan and non-settler (or “sojourner”) colonial cities, but that also involved the need to adapt practices, and to reconfigure combinations of practices, to unprecedented situations. In this way we learn more about how the global web of cities came into being and what exactly it moved across the largest of spaces.

The City Inside Out: Industrialization and the urban threshold in Ghent, 1850-1950

David Peleman (Ghent University)

This paper explores how the historical development of industry – factories and the housing projects in their vicinity – introduced an alternative hierarchy in the city based on a new set of boundaries, hence the influence of these boundaries on the process of urbanization and the notion of the urban. In some cases these boundaries were rather informal and sometimes they had a more formal character that rearranged the city and the life of its inhabitants (for example the entrance gate to the factory). These boundaries were a kind of threshold, marking a clear distinction between various spaces of the city. Architecture, the regime of labour, the socialization of the everyday life of the workers contributed to or undergirded the existence of these thresholds. The emergence of a modern industrial culture at the end of the nineteenth century played a crucial role in this process, with the factory functioning as a heterotopic place of production, encounter and antagonism (Hetherington; Negri & Hardt) that influenced the formation of an urban culture.

So far, urban history and in particular the history of urban planning has to a large extent neglected the role of these boundaries and thresholds, while focusing much more on projects and their contribution to the process of urbanization. Based on my ongoing post-doctoral research, I want to examine further how these ‘islands of industrialization’
(housing projects, factories) in the historical city of Ghent – often described as ‘the Manchester of the mainland’ – served as catalysts for urbanization from within the city. Thereby I will focus on the boundaries of those ‘islands’ as places or elements which embody a potential “matter of concern” (Latour) that allows us to engage in a different conversation about ‘the urban’.
SESSION 4.4: CREATING, IMAGINING AND DISSOLVING BOUNDARIES

Governing Decline: The state and civil society in Liverpool, c.1968-77

Aaron Andrews (University of Leicester)

In Liverpool, during the 1970s and 1980s, new boundaries were drawn by state and civil society actors through successive projects aimed at ‘managing’ the processes of urban decline in the city. These boundaries set the spatial parameters for action, identifying ‘problem’ areas, and allocating resources for economic and environmental regeneration projects. These urban boundaries formed an important part of the process by which poverty and deprivation became spatialized in contemporary political discourse. Beginning with the formation of an Educational Priority Area in the late 1960s, an overlapping geography of state intervention developed in the city throughout the 1970s. This paper will discuss a number of these interventions, focusing on the Shelter Neighbourhood Action Programme (SNAP; 1969-72), Community Development Project (1970-75), and Inner Area Study (1972-77).

Nevertheless, the boundaries of these projects show more than just the spatial limits of state and civil society interventions in the city. A late night walk in 1969, along the streets of Toxteth which formed the border of the SNAP project area, came to exemplify the problems the area faced. In it, it is possible to see the links drawn by contemporaries between the physical and social environments, with the state of the former appearing to embody the condition of the latter. This was a common theme, and ran through the conclusions of the Liverpool Inner Area Study. By 1977 then, processes of urban change, in particular deprivation, became bound into the idea of the ‘inner city’. The urban boundaries, which had set the parameters for previous interventions by the state and civil society, were key to the identification of this spatial construct.

From Z.U.P. to Zone: The creation of persistent urban boundaries in post-war Toulouse

Carla Assmann (Leibniz, IRS)

At the end of the 1950s French cities faced severe criticism. Rural exodus and a decaying housing stock resulted in massive housing shortages, unhealthy living conditions and uncontrolled suburbanization. For the authorities, these cities were an expression of the backwardness of French society. Thus, in reverse, urban development became a central means for the modernization of the country.

To that end a new instrument of urban planning was introduced: the Z.U.P. (Zone à Urbaniser par Priorité, priority urbanization zone). The declaration of an unbuilt area as Z.U.P. gave municipalities temporally extended rights and access to state subsidies, enabling them to encourage and concentrate housing construction and increase control
over urban development. Soon Z.U.P.s sprouted in the periphery of cities all over France: the edge as chance. Z.U.P. Le Mirail in Toulouse was implemented in 1960 with a most ambitious scheme: a new quarter for 100,000 inhabitants. The authorities launched a successful publicity campaign for this model project. They presented it as intimately linked to visions of economic and technical progress, a rising standard of living and social equality. The demarcations of the Z.U.P. came to define a place where a glorious future would soon become reality.

Twenty years later, the regulations of the Z.U.P. had long fulfilled their task and been suspended, Le Mirail was still perceived as a place apart – but under reverse prefixes. Like so many similar mass-housing projects, the former centre of hopes for modernization appeared now on the mental maps as a territory of exclusion, breeding poverty, crime and despair. What provoked this transformation? The proposed paper examines the administrative practice of zoning as a process of urban place-making, using the example of the Z.U.P. and comparing it to slum clearance areas in West Germany to better identify the dynamics at work. Special attention will be given to the relationship between formal and informal boundaries, as well as the production, change and persistence of images attributed to these districts.

**Dissolving boundaries: Cities and countryside in the ‘Third Italy’**

*Francesco Bartolini (University of Macerata)*

The paper examines the main characteristics and representations of the boundaries between urban and rural in Centre/North-East Italy during the 1970s and 1980s. While Fordism was considered exhausted, sociologists and economists identified that area as a specific macro-region (called ‘Third Italy’ in order to distinguish it from the ‘first’ Italy, the North-West, and the ‘second’, the South) where a new model of social and economic development flourished. They highlighted the role of family entrepreneurship, the dynamism of small industry, and the social cohesion of the local community. But they also emphasized a peculiar territorial organization, which was marked by an accentuated urban polycentrism and the absence of a clear boundary between urban and rural environments. Not by chance did some scholars start to talk about the existence of a *campagna urbanizzata* (urbanized countryside), which soon became an important landmark of the region.

In the public discourse this interconnection between city and countryside was considered not only as a fundamental characteristic of the macro-region’s history, but also as an exemplary solution for a transition towards a new post-Fordist social organization. In many aspects the ‘Third Italy’ started to symbolize a particular ‘way of life’, which included small towns and well-ordered agricultural areas, traditional social practices and innovative production systems, conservatism and flexibility. It prefigured a new relationship between urban and rural, which was supposed to substitute the metropolitan sprawl in an ongoing postmodern society.

The paper aims to analyse this redefinition of the urban in the context of the historical debates about the existence of a peculiar Italian road to modernity.
SESSION 5.1: PUSHING AT THE BOUNDARIES IN EARLY MODERN LONDON
(Victoria & Albert Museum panel session)

This panel is composed of three papers that explore actual and conceptual boundaries within early modern London. It traces how developments, including infrastructure projects and building regulations, impacted on how early modern people understood their city, as well as suggesting that a material culture and design focus brings fresh insights to how we understand London’s social, political and economic histories. All three papers show how control over space was crucial in conflating public and private concerns between 1600 and 1800, while stressing the importance of taking material culture approaches out of the domestic environment.

Warehousing, the Customs Service and the policing of the ‘Fiscal Military State’ in the long eighteenth century

Spike Sweeting (V&A / RCA)

This paper will examine the role of warehousing in the City of London in allowing the Customs service to police trade and mark the boundaries of the ‘fiscal military state’ in the long eighteenth century. It shows how the size, distribution and internal regulation of warehouses embedded hierarchies amongst the City’s trading community, giving distinct social characteristics to Britain’s brand of mercantilism.

Re-interrogating London’s early modernity through the material culture of yards and courtyards

Elaine Tierney (V&A Research Institute)

This paper moves beyond the building line in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century London (the focus of most efforts to regulate and reorganize the city’s built environment) to explore its ‘backstage’ areas. Specifically, it uses the material culture of yards and courtyards to show how an object and materials focus can be used to re-interrogate London’s early modernity at a critical moment in the city’s development.

Clean water and the strategies of its distribution in seventeenth-century London

Simona Valeriani (V&A Postgraduate Programmes)

This paper discusses London’s water supply in the seventeenth century. It will highlight how the work conducted to increase the clean water available to the city and the strategies for its distribution offer an insight into changing perceptions of where the borders of the city were to be located and what infrastructure was seen to be essential.
SESSION 5.2: MAINTAINING JURISDICTIONAL DISTINCTIONS

Defining the Poramboke: Constituting the juridical limits of wastelands in nineteenth-century colonial Madras, India

Vidhya Raveendranathan (University of Göttingen)

The incorporation of villages to create the urban landscape of Madras spurned conflicts over the proprietary rights and productivity of lands. Using materials from the Board of Revenue department of the colonial archive, this paper presents snapshots of disputes over the appropriation, occupation and juridical claims over waste land which marked an early phase of colonial urbanism in South India. At the core of these struggles were the unassessed or waste lands, which were backyard kitchen gardens, sandy marshy uncultivated lands and lands which housed the labouring populations of the city. Poramboke were lands set apart for public or communal purposes and the right to alienate them was invested with the East India Company. As the city gradually expanded and the value of land increased, establishing juridical control over these vast swathes of land became a matter of concern for the East India Company. These waste lands represented the ‘edge’ or the limits of colonial jurisdiction, wherein the traditional landlords taking advantage of property boom and urban labouring groups housed in these lands appropriated and fenced land informally. The paper will explore how the framing of waste as state or public land produced new articulations about space which reanimated older proprietary claims that either intersected or threatened the colonial ordering of space. The paper will also explore how the waste lands represented a new spatial imaginary in opposition to the colonial ordering of space. Many of these settlements like the cheris and coopums grew out of lands granted by the Company for their services, while others had reaped the benefits of the property boom and appropriated land. With the strengthening of state and market urban labouring groups possessed fewer possibilities to stake claims over the waste lands. Using the lens of the petitions which were routinely submitted by urban labouring groups to the Company, the paper attempts to distill ideas around possession and their conceptualization of waste as an artefact of lived memory and a marker of belonging to the city space. The paper intends to ask four major questions: What constitutes waste lands in the city? What kinds of lands were under contestation and what were the new kinds of social relationships that cohered around it? In what ways did the taxonomic ordering of space into productive and unproductive realms produce juridical conflicts around sovereignty? In what ways did the existence of waste lands produce a counter narrative of lived time to the rational ordering of space?
Extension Planning in Global Perspective: The case of Tetouan, 1913-56

Anna Ross (University of Warwick)

In this paper, I explore the practice of extension planning – so common to European cities in the second half of the nineteenth century – from a global perspective. That is, I trace the attempts of the Spanish authorities to redefine the urban edge of the city of Tetouan through the implementation of a European-styled extension plan. The extension or ensanche of Tetouan took place during the Spanish occupation of Morocco over the period 1913 to 1956. It is, therefore, highly unusual for three reasons. Firstly, it is demonstrably late in the history of urban extension planning in the style of Cerdà’s famous extension for Barcelona. Secondly, it occurs outside Europe. And thirdly, the creation of the new urban edge required a careful consideration of the mixture of confessional identities in Tetouan, so rarely seen on the Spanish mainland.

It is my intention to draw out larger themes about the differences between authority, regulation and jurisdiction from this case study, showing how this was different to mainland Spain. Of course this also ties into questions of the relationship between the new urban edge and urban behaviour, as well as understandings of the place of the city and imperialist city-building within Spanish politics.

The Limits of Mobility: Controlling the car in urban Britain, c. 1960-90

David Ellis (Independent Scholar)

The emergence of mass car ownership in Britain in the three decades after 1960 is usually depicted as heralding a new age of radical urban dispersal in which the decentralization of work and leisure posed an existential threat to the traditional city. The goal of this paper is not to contest this narrative but to investigate the aims of the professionals and politicians who framed the way cities responded to the spatial implications of mass motoring. It argues that their vision was more subtle than many historians have acknowledged. Urban authorities sought to reconcile the growth of individual freedom epitomized by the private car with an attempt to regulate individual mobility for the common good. Under this approach, new urban forms orientated around the car would co-exist with historic urban spaces.

The paper focuses on Leeds, a city which publicized its enthusiasm for the car in the late 1960s by declaring itself the “Motorway City of the Seventies”. Histories of the city have argued that the city embraced the cult of automobility, which was sweeping North America in this period, by re-ordering urban space to meet the needs of motorists. While this narrative finds corroboration in marketing discourses and the road-building programme, it over-simplifies the intentions of the city’s approach to the car. Efforts by the local authority to cater for the growth in car ownership were tempered by a desire to preserve the distinctly urban qualities of the city by controlling the use of cars in the city centre and strengthening public transport. The paper shows that the centrifugal forces
generated by the rise of the car were viewed as both an opportunity and a challenge. In doing so, it illuminates the way city governments sought to control urban change by regulating the use of new technologies within their boundaries.
SESSION 5.3 EXPLORING THE EDGE

Conserving (London)Derry: The evolving place of urban conservation in an ‘edgy’ historic city

Andrew McClelland & Mark Boyle (NIRSA Maynooth)

(London)Derry is a quintessential ‘edge’ city on the north-western periphery of Europe, located in a contested border region of the UK, and on a prospective frontier with the EU. The ‘edginess’ of the city is exemplified in a different sense by its centrality to the political and social upheavals of Northern Ireland in the late twentieth century. Indeed, for some in the 1960s, ‘Unionist Derry’ represented ‘Ulster’s Panama’, and the city became a focal point for both the rise of the civil rights movement and the subsequent collapse of the Stormont Parliament in 1972 in the aftermath of Bloody Sunday. It remains internally dissected by innumerable natural and manmade boundaries and interfaces, most starkly illustrated by the physical and mental separation of the predominantly Catholic (Nationalist) ‘Cityside’ from the majority Protestant (Unionist) ‘Waterside’ by the River Foyle. Historically, the seventeenth century walls acted as a defensive barrier and subsequently shaped the urban morphology and development of the city, with their meaning and symbolism also contested in a divided community. This paper will explore the evolving place of urban conservation from the late 1960s when the James Munce Partnership prepared the first comprehensive plan for the city. It argues that the recent expansion in conservation designations reflects both the wider trends towards heritage inflation elsewhere, in addition to the reorientation of the local economy towards cultural tourism and the related reframing of the ‘post conflict’ narrative of the city. In effect, the official boundaries of the ‘tourist-historic city’ now expand well beyond the walls to embrace the heritage of the Waterside district, while pluralizing the meanings and values ascribed to the local historic environment. Therefore, the paper addresses several of the key themes of the conference in illuminating significant aspects of the recent past in an ‘edgy’ historic city.

Defining Drumcondra: Exploring the (sub) urban edge and its meanings

Ruth McManus (Dublin, DCU)

This paper uses a case study of Drumcondra, now an inner suburb of Dublin but at one time an independently-governed ‘township’ beyond the city boundary, to explore the complex nature of the urban edge. It argues that such locations are typically ‘messy’ spaces with fuzzy boundaries. Although suburbs are generally defined in relation (or opposition) to the city which gives them their raison d’etre, there is considerable leakage and jurisdictional overlap – and sometimes contestation – between the roles and responsibilities of different authorities at the periphery.

In 1875 ‘a resident of Drumcondra’ wrote to a national newspaper concerning the ‘shamefully neglected condition of this part of the city’ and the failure of the North
Dublin Union Sanitary Authorities to address these issues. Perhaps the same author penned a letter three years later deploring the absence of the constabulary on the ‘lonely roads of the district’ at nightfall. At the time, Drumcondra was not officially a part of the city, although it was clearly perceived by this resident as belonging to it. The situation was further complicated by the different boundaries utilized by the urban local authority, the Dublin Metropolitan Police, the poor law union, and the civil and religious parishes, to name just a few. Disputes over jurisdictional matters relating to roads, lighting, drainage, water, and fire services were common, while the privately-operated tramway and railway companies gradually infiltrated the suburban area and created new linkages to the city. Thus achieving a clear definition of the city and its suburbs becomes a more complex task than might be expected, to which might be added the challenge of reflecting both ‘insider’ (resident) and ‘outsider’ (official) perspectives. These issues are considered in the context of defining the ‘natural area’ of Drumcondra for the new suburban series within the Irish Historic Towns Atlas project.

**Living on the Edge? The long-term consequences of boundary extension in the creation of peripheral housing ‘schemes’ in the West of Scotland: Ferguslie Park, Paisley and Castlemilk, Glasgow**

Valerie Wright (University of Glasgow)

In the inter and post-war years municipal authorities throughout Britain built housing estates on peripheral greenbelt sites as a solution to the problem of overcrowded housing in central areas. It has been argued that in the West of Scotland in particular such planning decisions had profound negative consequences for those relocated. Indeed in both of the case studies featured in this paper there is certainly evidence to support this thesis. Castlemilk, planned in the 1930s and constructed in the 1950s, was one of Glasgow’s four ‘townships’ or peripheral ‘schemes’. Ferguslie Park also has its roots in the 1930s as ‘general needs’ or slum clearance housing, built on the edge of Paisley. Both areas and their inhabitants very quickly became residualized and were subsequently subject to policy intervention, both locally and nationally. Yet, Castlemilk remains characterized as a ‘notorious’ area and this year Ferguslie Park has topped the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation for the second time in a row. Such stigmatization has been experienced by inhabitants of peripheral housing estates throughout Britain. While city boundaries were physically extended by the very construction of such new housing, arguably more intangible symbolic boundaries remained in place for the inhabitants of these areas. Some individuals would have been more capable of overcoming these than others. Using the West of Scotland as a case study, this paper will engage with recent theories on post-war boundary extension and other planning decisions as a contributory factor in Glasgow’s, and Scotland’s, excess mortality. However, the central concern is to take account of the agency of individuals and communities in challenging (and reinforcing) such views of the area they inhabit and call home. By drawing on oral history testimonies and archive materials, this paper
seeks to facilitate residents and former residents in narrating their experiences and asks what is it really like to live in a ‘scheme’ on the edge of Glasgow and Paisley and the ways in which this did, or did not, affect their lives.
SESSION 5.4: RACE, GOVERNANCE AND POLICY IN POST-WAR BRITAIN

As post-war urban Britain was transformed through a mixture of public policy, social change and structural economic shifts, a number of challenges emerged that concerned local and national statutory authorities and policy makers. One of the most pressing from the 1950s, was the impact of immigration and race on many of the country’s inner city areas. There was growing concern about the pressure on housing and services and about the possibility of urban unrest. Boundaries became perceived not simply as neighbourhoods but as areas defined by the concentration of ethnic minorities.

This panel will look at the impact of immigration on urban governance and public policy. It will consider the relationship between national and local politics, between the power of the state and local government in shaping policy and what this tells us about the assumptions and values that influenced those policies. The three papers will explore different aspects of governance, politics and policy. First, we will focus on the impact of national political agendas over local concerns. Were local concerns ignored at the election because of national political debates around race? Second, we will consider the extent to which local government exercised overtly racialized policies. Were neighbourhood/district borders eroded to create a different type of area with racialized borders? Were boundaries shaped by race? Finally, we will consider if the issues raised in the debates after the 1981 riots not actually seen as racial but as both criminal and economic, as part of the broader problem of inner city deprivation and degeneration. Did the state see inner city boundaries differently from local authorities?

Immigrants or the Old Folks: The assumption of nationalized politics, the ‘Smethwick effect’ and the reality of demographic and local concerns during the Leyton by-election of 1965

Marc Collinson (Bangor University)

In January 1965, Labour Foreign Secretary Patrick Gordon Walker was defeated in his attempt to secure election at the Leyton constituency in London. The media assumed his defeat, only weeks after that in the Smethwick constituency, was due to what Saggar has called an ‘electoral penalty’ brought on by racialized politics. In a report written for Harold Wilson in the aftermath of Patrick’s defeat, the former MP Reginal Sorensen suggested that Gordon Walker had ‘dragged it (the race issue) in on his boots’. Yet the demography of the constituency, and the issues present in the election have never been fully explored. Among other factors, twenty-five percent of the population of Leyton were pensioners in 1965. The impact of other government policies, including a freeze on pensions, may therefore have had a larger impact on the election than previously assumed.

Utilizing a variety of underused archival sources related to the by-election, this paper will explore how local issues, and more importantly the demography of a constituency, can help explain why Labour lost the seat. It will examine how local
issues, specific to this suburb of London, and not supposed ‘national’ problems imported from a different constituency, were to blame for the election result. Finally, this paper will argue that simplifying an understanding of such a result to ‘national’ issues, leads to false assumptions on which the analysis of electoral politics are based.

“I spoke to the Prime Minister of Jamaica and told him that I did not want coloured people here”: Housing, immigration and local politics in post-war Birmingham

Alun Ephraim (Bangor University)

Birmingham saw some of the most profound changes in Britain during the post-war decades as radical Modernist redevelopment programmes and mass immigration combined to create new and unrecognizable forms of urban society. This paper will focus on the tensions created by these forces and their contribution to social fragmentation within the city. During the post-war decades Birmingham’s engineering dominated economy boomed and there were substantial labour shortages, particularly for lower skilled labour in the automotive and construction industries. As in London and the Northern mill towns, this gap was largely filled by immigrant workers from former British colonies. These largely non-white migrants began to arrive in substantial numbers at the time in which Birmingham’s redevelopment and housing programme began to move beyond the planning stage and, although the bulk of immigrant families moved to districts not affected by redevelopment, there was almost immediately a conflation between the two, leading to social tension and political controversy.

While those responsible for Birmingham’s redevelopment plans adopted a relaxed tone towards immigration – Herbert Manzoni and Frank Price’s The New Birmingham comments on the construction of the city’s first mosque in a tone of unmistakable pride – other responses were less welcoming. Labour leader Harry Watton wished that Birmingham should remain a white city, while the Conservative chair of the Housing Committee in the late 1960s openly endorsed a policy of residential segregation and argued that certain minorities should pay higher rents. Grassroots housing campaigners suggested that immigration was to blame for the slow rate of slum clearance in the inner city, while populist politician Wallace Lawler was able to combine frustration with redevelopment with anti-immigrant sentiment to become the city’s first Liberal MP in living memory at a by-election in 1969.

It took a riot

Peter Shapley (Bangor University)

This paper will look at how the government tried to re-build stability following the 1981 riots in Toxteth and Brixton. The riots erupted across a number of British cities throughout the spring and summer. Brixton and Toxteth witnessed two of the worst outbreaks of violence over a number of days and nights. Polemic political reactions ranged from blaming criminal gangs and lawlessness to long-term policing methods,
institutional racism, economic decline and poverty. Each area had a large number of families from ethnic minority communities. The Cabinet itself was divided between some, like Howe, who believed that managed decline was the only solution, and Michael Heseltine who thought regeneration strategies were needed to arrest a complex mixture of problems around economic decline, deprivation and housing.

The paper will plot the development of policy following Heseltine’s visit to Liverpool in the immediate aftermath of the Toxteth riot. Although this was a government committed to private enterprise and supporting private capital as keys to urban transformation, as underlined by the Urban Development Corporations and Enterprise Zones, it was also a government that was prepared to use public resources and to intervene directly to facilitate change. Race was not the major issue. Law and order continued to be the jurisdiction of the police. Rather, this was about challenging inner city deprivation through utilizing public resources to both encourage a market approach, supporting and promoting local business initiatives, whilst also looking to attract new investment. There was an underlying assumption that the state and the private sector had the power and authority to facilitate change. Key to policy were the Inner City Partnerships, launched under Peter Shore, and the Task Force. In Liverpool, it also included the flagship Garden Festival. Economic regeneration, improvements to housing and social development programmes were all part of what was essentially a public-private approach to resolving the chronic problems in both areas. Indeed, Shore’s Inner City Partnerships, which supported development programmes through co-operation between state and largely Labour local authorities, were only disbanded at the start of the 1990s. Despite the changing emphasis on the role of the private sector, governance and policy still relied on state leadership.