

THE URBAN HISTORY GROUP

Annual Conference

**BEYOND THE FUNCTIONING CITY: DEFINING AND
CONTESTING THE URBAN ORDER, 1600 TO THE PRESENT**

St Catherine's College, Oxford

16th-17th April 2020

Programme and Abstracts of Papers

**Preliminary Programme – please check times, as these may have changed from
an earlier version of this programme.**

Urban History Group Annual Conference
BEYOND THE FUNCTIONING CITY: DEFINING AND
CONTESTING THE URBAN ORDER, 1600 TO THE PRESENT
Conference Programme Résumé

THURSDAY 16TH APRIL

- 11.00-13.45 Registration
- 13.00-13.45 Lunch (for early arrivals who have pre-booked lunch)
- 13.45-15.00 **Session 1: Plenary Session**
The function of the urban past, c. 1780-1850
- 15.00-15.30 Tea
- 15.30-17.00 **Session 2: Parallel Sessions**
2.1 *'Steel Towns' In Transition: Industrial Function and Urban Form in Australia, Germany and the UK (Panel)*
2.2 *Local government and civic function*
2.3 *Shaping cities: planning function in urban and suburban environments*
- 17.15-18.45 **Session 3: New Researchers' and First-Year PhD Workshops**
3.1 *First-Year PhD Session*
3.2 *Post-war planning for health, war and consumption*
3.3 *Controlling the city: health, citizenship and the local state (17th-20th century)*
3.4 *Whose city? communicating and contesting gentrification in Britain (1970s-1980s)*
- 19.00-20.30 Conference Dinner
- 20.30-late Bar

FRIDAY 17TH APRIL

09.00-10.30 **Session 4: Parallel Sessions**

- 4.1 *Cities with multiple centres & diverse populations: Kazan, Istanbul, Sarajevo (panel)*
- 4.2 *Urban morphologies and changing cityscapes*
- 4.3 *Function and dysfunction in postcolonial cities*

10.30-11.00 Coffee

11.00-12.30 **Session 5: Parallel Sessions**

- 5.1 *Official and vernacular understanding of "planning" in twentieth-century Britain (panel)*
- 5.2 *Communities and community action*
- 5.3 *Patterns of leisure and identity*

12.30-13.15 **Session 6: Final Plenary Session**

The city as a technology of colonization: an early modern perspective

13.15-14.00 Lunch

14.00 Conference ends

Conference Theme

This year's Urban History Group conference looks to re-examine the centrality of notions of function to analyses of the urban past. Asking how and, indeed, if towns and cities were organised historically and to what purpose, the conference seeks to question how functioning and functionality are framed within the discipline. Function is a notion that is immediately familiar to scholars of the urban: historians of Europe and the transatlantic world more broadly have stressed that modern planning began in a late eighteenth-century 'moment' when economic expansion and urban growth dictated governments consider how built form might embrace new industrial technologies so that cities might function effectively as economic and social entities. In this period functional priorities like the formalisation of land use, the efficient circulation of goods and people, the control of waste and disease and, over time, the development of social welfare were defined as aspects of urban governance. In turn new ideas, techniques, policies and instruments were developed that governed how function might be made material, whilst systems of knowledge and expertise sought to define the values and notions of correct function. Yet the degree to which these processes occurred locally varied significantly. Moreover, historians of the early modern and medieval have, for example, shown how differing ideas of function were already central to the built environment long before the industrial revolution, whilst sociologists like Richard Sennett have argued that overly-formal notions of order have had negative consequences for many communities and individuals. Groups and individuals in marginalised groups, defined by notions as diverse as class, race, ethnicity or sexuality, frequently had senses of purpose that differed radically from those of planners and governing elites. Western formulations of function spread unevenly on the tides of capitalism, whilst colonisers have seen function in ways that were often deeply antagonistic to local understandings. Indeed, calculations of economic function worldwide are and were often deeply antagonistic to what local communities and kinship groups wanted. As such, urban space became a contested space, where competing functionalities led to disruption, conflict and even violence. The functional city, therefore was, counter-intuitively, often diverse and sometimes anarchic. Under such circumstances, it is a key concern of the conference how and if difference and functionality co-existed.

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Conference Website

A copy of this publication, and other conference information, can be found at:
<https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/urbanhistory/uhg/2019-conference>

Urban History Group Annual Conference Programme

BEYOND THE FUNCTIONING CITY: DEFINING AND CONTESTING THE URBAN ORDER, 1600 TO THE PRESENT

THURSDAY 16TH APRIL

11.00-13.45 Registration ()

13.00-13.45 Lunch (*for early arrivals*) ()

13.45-15.00 Session 1: Plenary ()

The function of the urban past, c. 1780-1850

Rosemary Sweet (University of Leicester)

15.00-15.30 Tea ()

15.30-17.00 Session 2: Parallel Sessions

2.1: 'STEEL TOWNS' IN TRANSITION: INDUSTRIAL FUNCTION AND URBAN FORM IN AUSTRALIA, GERMANY AND THE UK (PANEL) ()

Accommodating growth at Port Kembla, 1927 to 1970: urban growth, migration, and social change in an Australian steel town.

Erik Eklund (Federation University Australia)

Becoming a steel town? Port Talbot in the twentieth century

Louise Miskell (Swansea University)

From paternalism to industrial heritage: the workers' settlements of the Ruhr as places for controlled social life and organized resistance

Jana Golombek (LWL-Industriemuseum/Westphalian State Museum of Industrial Heritage)

2.2: LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIC FUNCTION ()

'Zenyang zuo ge Shenzhen ren'? Local state narratives and migrant subjectivities in Shenzhen, 1978-2008

Reeja Nair (Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi)

Public services and political contestation in Nordic capital cities c. 1850–1920

Mats Hallenberg and Magnus Linnarsson, (Stockholm University)

Transforming 'Over the Border': is there a place for heritage in creating the UK's leading digital city?

Tosh Warwick (Manchester Metropolitan University)

2.3: SHAPING CITIES: PLANNING FUNCTION IN URBAN AND SUBURBAN ENVIRONMENTS ()

The functional religious city: Church and state in the planning of Cork and Waterford, c. 1935-65

Richard Butler (University of Leicester)

The rise (and fall?) of the shopping city

Alistair Kefford (University of Leicester)

Contesting the Victorian and Edwardian suburb: the impact of transport developments on local governance in North West Kent 1840-1914

Duncan Gager (Institute of Historical Research)

17.15-18.45 Session 3: New Researchers and First-Year PhD Workshops

3.1: First Year PhD Session ()

Peripheral decay: a comparative study of French and Belgian mass housing projects, 1953-1973

Sam Young (Cardiff University)

Nobodies to somebodies: non-Brahmin spatial mobility in a princely capital city, 1890-1920

Sonali Dhanpal (Newcastle University)

The effect of electric trams and motor vehicles upon traditional crafts, employments and land uses in Bristol, Coventry, Liverpool and Norwich, 1891 to 1921

Jeremy de Quidt (University of Bristol)

3.2: POST-WAR PLANNING FOR HEALTH, WAR AND CONSUMPTION ()

Land, power, NHS: recovering the relationship between site and sight in the design of modern British state hospitals, 1945-70

Ed DeVane (University of Warwick)

Preparing the city for nuclear war: urban planning and civil defence in Denmark during the Cold War

Rosanna Farbel (University of Southern Denmark)

Reconstructing consumption: hawkers, markets and malls in New Towns public housing estates in Hong Kong, 1950s-1980s

Vivien Chan (University of Nottingham)

3.3: CONTROLLING THE CITY: HEALTH, CITIZENSHIP AND THE LOCAL STATE (17TH-20TH CENTURY) ()

Contagion, practicality and morality: regulating spaces for victims of the French pox in seventeenth-century Nuremberg

Mona O'Brien (University of Glasgow)

The functionality of 'interception': the privy plan in Birmingham, 1873-1913

Justine Pick (University of Birmingham)

The transurban spread of 'genus larrikin', 1871-1898

Jasper Heeks (King's College, London)

3.4: WHOSE CITY? COMMUNICATING AND CONTESTING GENTRIFICATION IN BRITAIN (1970S-1980S)

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Public participation in planning and urban conservation in 1970s Leicester

Sally Hartshorne (University of Leicester)

Rescuing old houses: conservation, gentrification and the greater London council's homesteading scheme, 1977-1981

Tessa Pinto (Royal Holloway)

Agonistic cultural networks against urban no-go zones: the GLC in 1980s Hackney

Lucy McFadzean (Aberystwyth University/University of Exeter)

19.00-20.30 Conference Dinner

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20.30- late Bar

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FRIDAY 17TH APRIL

09.00-10.30 Session 4: Parallel Sessions

4.1: CITIES WITH MULTIPLE CENTRES & DIVERSE POPULATIONS: KAZAN, ISTANBUL, SARAJEVO (PANEL)

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The Imperial and Tatar city of Kazan: A dialogue of urban spaces and cultures

Gulchachak Nugmanova (Research Institute of Theory and History of Architecture and Town Planning, Moscow)

Reconfiguring the city with multiple centres and multiple palaces: Istanbul

Nilay Özlü (University of Oxford)

A view from a window of the Hotel Europe in Sarajevo: Where Čaršija meets Franz Josef's Gasse

Aida Murtić (Heidelberg University)

4.2: URBAN MORPHOLOGIES AND CHANGING CITYSCAPES ()

City, frontier, and empire: understanding city formation in India's North East
Evy Mehzabeen (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

Changing port environments in nineteenth-century Antwerp and Rotterdam
Sam Grinsell (University of Edinburgh/University of Antwerp)

The Groundhog Day effect? The 'desolating conflagrations' of Charleston, 1740-1840
Sarah Collins (Newcastle University)

4.3: FUNCTION AND DYSFUNCTION IN POSTCOLONIAL CITIES ()

Uncontested and singular functionalities – the case of colonial and postcolonial Bangalore

Aditi Dey and Pragma Ravindra (Indian Institute for Human Settlements, Bangalore) ()

Liberdade: controversial functions and identity in São Paulo, Brazil
Ana Barone (University of São Paulo)

Striking with garbage: untouchability, labour mobilisation, and municipal politics in Calcutta, 1940

Maria- Daniela Pomohaci (Georg-August Universität Göttingen)

10.30-11.00 Coffee ()

11.00-12.30 Session 5: Parallel Sessions

5.1: OFFICIAL AND VERNACULAR UNDERSTANDING OF "PLANNING" IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY BRITAIN (PANEL) ()

The meanings of 'planning' and the politics of the past in wartime Bolton and Glasgow

David Cowan, University of Cambridge

The implementation and experience of 'social balance' in the early new towns of Harlow and Basildon.

Freddie Meade, University of East Anglia

Emotions, 'expertise' and vernacular languages of planning in Basildon New Town
Holly Firmin, University of Cambridge

5.2: COMMUNITIES AND COMMUNITY ACTION ()

Overlapping communities of poverty and the functioning of poor relief in nineteenth-century Lyon

Will Clement (University of Oxford)

Connecting citizens: community activism and advice in England from 1920 to 1990

Kate Bradley (University of Kent)

'Recovering utopia? Cross-community approaches to change on East London's Boundary Estate'

Isabelle Carter (University of Sheffield)

5.3: PATTERNS OF LEISURE AND IDENTITY

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Drawing the line: women keeping pub and shaping the use of Stockholm, 1776–1836

Tobias Larsson (Uppsala University)

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"It should be understood that it is an Irish house": pubs and networks of Irish nationalism in the Victorian West Midlands

Simon Briercliffe (University of Birmingham)

The beat goes on – reframing urban LGBTQI+ cruising venues as important, semi-permanent subcultural spaces

Paul Bleakley (Middlesex University)

12.30-13.15 Session 6: Final Plenary

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The city as a technology of colonization: an early modern perspective

Emma Hart (University of St Andrews)

13.15-14.00 Lunch

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14.00 Conference ends

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

SESSION 1
PLENARY SESSION

The function of the urban past, c. 1780-1850

Rosemary Sweet (University of Leicester)

During the eighteenth century much of the urban environment came to be seen as non-functional. The contemporary image of a ‘functional’ city was one where people, air and traffic moved freely, promoting trade, commerce and good health. City walls, fortified gateways, and the jettied storeys of timber framed housing all came to be seen as inimical to good order. By the mid nineteenth century much had been lost but what had survived continued to exist because it had assumed a different kind of functionality. This lecture will examine the processes through the historic environment of English towns and cities became re-imagined as having a function – as a heritage asset that was a leisure amenity, a stimulus to civic pride, the locus of local and national identity, and a means of attracting the custom of visitors. Preserving a sense of continuity and tradition, in both tangible and intangible forms, was a widely felt response to the challenges of urban modernity and the disorder that it seemed to threaten.

SESSION 2.1 'STEEL TOWNS' IN TRANSITION: INDUSTRIAL FUNCTION AND URBAN FORM IN AUSTRALIA, GERMANY AND THE UK (PANEL)

Panel Overview

This panel examines critically the concept of the industrial town in the twentieth century. In the three different contexts of New South Wales, the Ruhr, and South Wales this session explores ways in which steel and coal influenced urban form and identity during periods of economic expansion and decline and assesses competing notions of place among residents, local authorities and companies.

Accommodating growth at Port Kembla, 1927 to 1970: urban growth, migration, and social change in an Australian steel town.

Erik Eklund (Federation University Australia)

Port Kembla is an industrial and port town on the south coast of New South Wales (NSW) in Australia. The town developed as a coaling facility in the 1890s. The NSW Government began construction of the port from 1901, and industrial development began in 1908. The Hoskin Steel works relocated from inland Lithgow with production beginning in 1929. The new company, Australian Iron & Steel Pty Ltd (AI&S) was taken over by Broken Hill Proprietary limited (BHP) in 1935. A commercial and residential area grew alongside the new industries with the first subdivision in 1908, the Wentworth estate. By 1921 the population had grown to 1,622, increasing to 4,960 by 1947. This paper explores the housing, retail and social changes that accompanied the major growth and consolidation of the industrial centre. It considers how growth overwhelmed the boundaries of the town taking on new regional and national significance after 1945 as new migrants from Italy, Poland, Germany, Macedonia, Greece and other European countries arrived seeking work in the BHP steel works or its associated industries. This paper also considers the mix of private and public provision of temporary and long-term housing that catered for this industrial workforce (and their families in some cases). What had been an overwhelmingly Anglo-Celtic community, with a remarkably self-sufficient town-ship with civic, social, sporting and political organisations prior to 1945, became one of the most ethnically diverse communities in New South Wales (NSW).

Becoming a steel town? Port Talbot in the twentieth century

Louise Miskell (Swansea University)

By the early twentieth century, south Wales had experienced a century of industrial development and population growth. Steel industry expansion took place in areas where established communities and local government structures were in place, but which struggled to accommodate the levels of demand for people, land, housing and transport facilities generated by the steel industry. This paper examines the implications for Port Talbot of two main phases of steel industry expansion in the town after the two world wars. The town was effectively a mosaic of settlements which had grown up around collieries, copper and tinsplate works with its local government centred on the old borough of Aberavon. The opening of a new steelworks at Margam in 1918 by the firm of Baldwins, shifted the focus of development to the east of the old centre and a new municipal borough of 'Port Talbot' taking in Aberavon, Margam, Baglan and Cwmafon, was created in 1922. After the Second World War, a major new phase of steel works development and related house-building for workers was led by the Steel Company of Wales (SCoW). The company was easily the town's dominant employer by the 1950s. Its marketing literature attempted to brand Port Talbot as a 'city of steel', but in the wider community there was some resistance to this. The identities of the older settlements proved resilient. The identification of townspeople with old Aberavon and Margam persisted, and was to some extent encouraged by planners and policy makers. In a region hard hit by unemployment during the inter-war depression, the single-industry town was regarded as socially and economically undesirable. The perpetuation of older district identities not only appealed to the loyalties of residents, it also suited the needs of local government officials, keen to avoid the negative connotations of a one-dimensional urban function.

From paternalism to industrial heritage: the workers' settlements of the Ruhr as places for controlled social life and organized resistance

Jana Golombek (LWL-Industriemuseum/Westphalian State Museum of Industrial Heritage)

Workers' settlements are an integral part of the (post-) industrial landscape of the Ruhr area in Germany. Most of those settlements were built during the heyday of the region's industrialization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Modern ideas of housing as for example from the Garden City movement were later implemented in the Ruhr and influenced the urban planning in the region. With the coal crisis in 1958 and the beginning deindustrialization this built heritage was threatened with demolition and sparked an astonishing urban movement. This paper examines the role of workers' settlements in different layers of time, from early industrialization in the Ruhr, to the development of more ambitious housing projects and the response of inhabitants when these came under threat, and later the role of workers' settlements in the industrial memory-scape of the Ruhr today. From the 1890s onwards, the rise of the coal, iron and steel industries led to a hitherto unknown rate of workers' settlement construction.

Especially in the previously sparsely populated Emscher zone, the settlements became a defining element of the urban form. Companies used housing as a means to attract but also to control their workers. Between the turn of the century and the First World War new design principles and different urban planning concepts affected the development of workers' housing. In the 1970s the Ruhr witnessed a great number of initiatives resisting the demolition and/or privatization of workers' settlements. The local authorities, companies and parts of the population perceived them outdated, as a symbol of urban decline, and favoured their replacement with larger residential complexes. In opposition to this, a network of workers' settlements initiatives grew across the Ruhr and formed an urban movement that led to the preservation of several settlements that are an important part of today's industrial heritage.

SESSION 2.2
LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIC FUNCTION

‘Zenyang zuo ge Shenzhen ren’? Local state narratives and migrant subjectivities in Shenzhen, 1978-2008

Reeja Nair (Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi)

The Reform period in China witnessed a paradigmatic shift in the nature of labour relations, where contract-based relations replaced the earlier socialist lifelong relations with enterprises. However, what makes labour relations unique in China is the role played by state intervention in the form of *hukou* that shapes a distinctive but precarious labour market. This was particularly so in the 1990s and 2000s when there was an intensification of the reform and opening up process. The implications of these shifting contours of labour relations have been studied by examining migrant workers’ resistance in Shenzhen amidst Shenzhen’s global city ambitions. In Shenzhen, the reform and opening up process dictated efforts by the local government in shaping a new urban order that was reflected in the step towards ‘building of a spiritual civilisation’ in order to transform Shenzhen into a “civilized global city”. Thus, the idea behind the state discourse in the 1990s was to create a “model worker” who would diligently work towards the building of Shenzhen that had, by the 1990s, become a significant node in the reform and opening up of the rest of China. This paper analyses the nature of migrant workers’ resistance as a response to attempts by the local state in creating a new urban order through the analysis of workers’ everyday experiences outside the workplace. It further investigates the factors that shaped the resistance of migrant workers in Shenzhen by examining state discourses of migrant workers’ urban experiences as against migrant workers’ lived experiences within a rapidly urbanising Shenzhen to understand how these parallel and at times contradictory processes of identity formation together constituted and shaped working class subjectivities, as displayed in the form of workers’ resistance in Shenzhen.

Public services and political contestation in Nordic capital cities c. 1850–1920

Mats Hallenberg and Magnus Linnarsson, (Stockholm University)

The presentation addresses the expansion of urban public services in the Nordic countries, from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century. During this period, local politicians abandoned the traditional ideal of financial austerity in order to tackle the social problems caused by rapid urbanisation. City boards assumed responsibility for services vital for economic development and the citizens’ wellbeing. New social groups were gradually included and planned for in the urban community: workers, women, children and even future citizens. We identify the discursive changes triggering this development by studying the arguments and concepts used in political debates. In the beginning of the period, capital cities were ruled by bourgeois elites, advocating a minimum of services for the benefit of a select few. However, as cities grew larger the

patriarchal concern for the urban poor took greater precedence, paving the way for more inclusive politics. There were two important shifts: First, the old methods of organizing urban services in the form of civic duties were challenged and eventually abandoned. Second, politicians came to argue for the creation of new public services to cater for an expanded urban community, which also included workers and women. During the latter phase, political contestation played a pivotal role as the city boards became increasingly aware of – and also dependent on – public opinion. The relation between popular movements and elite adaptation is thus important for explaining the shift from economic prudence to social commitment. We focus on political debates in the Stockholm city council, addressing sanitation, public transport and telecommunication services. We also make comparisons with similar discussions in other Nordic capital cities. From this, we argue that changes in political discourse was a crucial component in the formation of modern welfare cities.

Transforming ‘Over the Border’: is there a place for heritage in creating the UK’s leading digital city?

Tosh Warwick (Manchester Metropolitan University)

In October 2019, Andy Preston, the elected Mayor of Middlesbrough was joined by Tees Valley Mayor Ben Houchen to announce the launch of a transformative scheme that would establish Middlesbrough as the UK’s leading digital city. To be built on the footprint of the former working-class community of St. Hilda’s aka ‘Over the Border’, the site of Middlesbrough’s original settlement and location of the early industries that defined the town’s economic and urban development. The £250m scheme would bring dramatic change to the post-industrial skyline and transform an area from one closely associated with decline and dereliction into one that would serve as the town’s new economic heartland complete with state-of-the-art housing. The scheme would see skyscrapers adorn the banks of the ‘Steel River’, to create twenty-first century landmarks to compete with the nearby iconic Tees Transporter Bridge and the currently dilapidated, Grade II Listed Old Town Hall. Amidst the changing function of this former heart of the town that still evokes strong emotional attachments associated with notions of community, dereliction and decline, this paper utilises interviews with key stakeholders, community representatives and policy makers alongside redevelopment documents and prospectus to consider what role, if any, heritage has in this latest imagined future ‘digital city’. In doing so the paper will examine how far the rhetoric of the importance of heritage commonplace amongst area’s political elite resonates in regeneration planning and practice and will consider some of the practical considerations of retaining and rejuvenating derelict heritage buildings. The paper will help shed new light on the place of heritage and conservation amidst regeneration projects, seek to explain the reasons for these decisions and highlight the benefits and limitations of heritage buildings in this latest regeneration vision.

SESSION 2.3

SHAPING CITIES: PLANNING FUNCTION IN URBAN AND SUBURBAN ENVIRONMENTS

The functional religious city: Church and state in the planning of Cork and Waterford, c. 1935-65

Richard Butler (University of Leicester)

This paper is about how religion and urban modernity came together in attempts to create ‘functional’ cities in mid-twentieth-century Ireland. It focuses on how the Catholic Church interacted with town planners and city officials in the planning of new churches and schools in two southern Irish cities, Cork and Waterford, between the 1930s and the 1960s. Planners proposed radical reconstruction of both cities, yet neither scheme has been the subject of any substantial historical analysis. Alongside these plans ran typical state-centred initiatives that focused on clearing slum housing and building new suburbs, and, in parallel, agendas from the Catholic Church that stressed the need for new religious infrastructure in these suburbs. The existing Irish literature stresses the hegemony power of the Catholic Church, where over 95% of the population were practising Catholics in the mid-twentieth century. Unlike much of Western Europe, church attendance rates remained exceptionally high until the 1980s, providing a key counterpoint for existing studies of secularisation. This paper will show that there were major points of dispute between sacred and secular leaders in these cities during this period of supposed hegemony, each vying for control in ways that bring into focus the particularities of accommodating religion in the functional modern city. Building on empirical research in Church, state, and city archives in Ireland as part of a new AHRC-funded project, this paper will show how Catholic elites responded to urban modernity but also how they were in turned shaped by it, and how they perceived, adopted, and – at times – the resisted it.

The rise (and fall?) of the shopping city

Alistair Kefford (University of Leicester)

In the middle decades of the twentieth century, in advanced capitalist countries like Britain, a new model of urban function rose to prominence—that of the shopping city. Nineteenth-century models of urban function which revolved around industrial production, commerce and circulation were displaced by a model of cities as, first and foremost, shopping centres. The planning, landscape and experience of city centres came to revolve almost exclusively around their efficient and effective functioning as consumer destinations. The redevelopment and design techniques through which this was pursued became steadily more sophisticated as the century wore on, and were bolstered in particular after 1945 when new planning powers saw councils partnering with commercial retailers to extensively remodel towns and cities. Such moves reflected a decisive shift in ideas of urban function, as cities were reconceived as retail emporia serving the regional shopping needs of an increasingly leisured and affluent population.

This paper takes a long view of these trends, tracking the emergence of ‘the shopping city’ across the first half of the twentieth century, its decisive installation in the post-1945 era, and its late-century formations in what urban geographers describe as ‘postmodern’ consumer cities. Building on current public policy work by the author, the paper also brings the story up to the present day, to discuss the ongoing crisis of this model of urban function encapsulated in the idea of ‘the death of the high street’. Challenging economic times and competition from online retailing have prompted many to seriously question the viability of many of Britain’s shopping centres—particularly in smaller and poorer towns—and to begin to ask whether we need to devise new models of urban function beyond the shopping city. It is thus a particularly germane moment to consider the historical trajectory of the twentieth-century shopping city.

Contesting the Victorian and Edwardian suburb: the impact of transport developments on local governance in North West Kent 1840-1914

Duncan Gager (Institute of Historical Research)

The suburbs of the Victorian and Edwardian eras experienced significant change as a result of the arrival, first of the suburban railway and then, the electric tram and omnibus networks. Their construction facilitated the dispersal of the urban worker from the centre to the suburb. In the case of London they contributed to the explosive expansion of its hinterland; in the outer suburbs and surrounding towns and villages in the Home Counties. Yet, belied by the apparent tranquillity, conformity and uniformity of these middle class residential areas, these were contested developments. This paper examines the struggle for control of local affairs triggered by these technological innovations in the North West Kent. It traces their impact from the initial engagement between local landowners, railway companies and the embryonic local authorities on the siting of suburban routes, through the ‘coming of age’ of the railway suburb and middle class dominance of local institutions, to the challenge of the arrival of the socially disruptive new tram and bus services. It argues that major transport initiatives in the area proved to be defining issues in the establishment of local identity, invoking heated local debate and ultimately shaping the form and character of local governance. It also argues, that far from being merely passive intermediaries in development of suburban communities, the railway, tram and bus companies were active agents in this process. Their direct and indirect involvement in local affairs reinforced the social standing of certain sections of the community, whilst undermining others. It concludes that the functioning of these suburbs was profoundly shaped by this interrelationship between transport developments and local governance, and yet this did not manifest itself in a uniform way, as attested by the differing outcomes in suburban shape and structure across North West Kent.

SESSION 3.1
FIRST-YEAR PHD SESSION

Peripheral decay: a comparative study of French and Belgian mass housing projects, 1953-1973

Sam Young (Cardiff University)

This project explores the influence of Catholic social activism on urban expansion in Belgium and France during the post-war period. Taking a grassroots perspective, it explores how the social movements that made up the mid-century phenomenon known as ‘Christian Democracy’ navigated two polarised national housing cultures to apply Catholic doctrines of single-family homeownership and community engagement to urban landscapes. This research consists of two parts. The first aims to develop an understanding of the hegemonic housing cultures of post-war Belgium and France, thereby establishing the environments within which Christian Democratic actors operated. French housing culture was heavily centralised and hostile to independent single-family homebuilding, with the state instead commissioning modernist planners to apply concepts of mass rationalisation to urban living space. In Belgium, the dominant Catholic bloc placed emphasis on private homebuilding and ownership, generating a patchwork of uncoordinated developments described by architect Renaat Braem as ‘a jungle’ (Braem, 1968). The second part of the project explores the ways by which Christian Democratic actors navigated these differing housing cultures. By focusing on networks of social organisations, charities, political parties and other manifestations of Catholic activism, it aims to compare how such groups worked with both governments and individual housebuilders to translate their doctrines into physical spaces – to varying degrees of success. Archival research will be used to explore the myriad organisations that made up these networks, giving particular attention to documents and news reports concerning interactions between state representatives and Christian Democratic bodies such as the *Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne* society and the *Mouvement Populaire Républicain* party, or between internal organs of Christian Democracy itself. This primary research may be later complemented by visits to housing projects built by Christian Democratic actors across France and Belgium, in order to gain a clearer understanding of how houses and wider neighbourhoods were constructed to reflect Catholic social ideology.

Nobodies to somebodies: non-Brahmin spatial mobility in a princely capital city, 1890-1920

Sonali Dhanpal (Newcastle University)

By the late 19th century “improvement” schemes were deployed in colonial cities, as the leitmotif for twinned sanitary and moral reform. In Bangalore, the administrative capital of the Princely State of Mysore, a need for housing arose between 1890-1920, amidst cholera and plague outbreaks, and providing such improvements became part of a larger national project by the colonial government. Concomitantly, during this critical period, a

small circle of non-Brahmin civil servants and eminent citizens attempted to open the Mysore state administration to their influences. They did so by contesting the existing overwhelming Brahmin monopoly in state politics and sought representation in local offices. Such meteoric rise of certain castes due to the newly introduced colonial structures is common to many contexts in South Asia. However, in the case of Bangalore, a city functioning under the paradigms of a princely state, such groups also sought recognition from the Maharaja, who held authority over the bureaucratic framework. They used the realms of religion, and culture through institutions called *mathas* that often acted as welfare states, providing land and other material benefits. With respect to the urban infrastructure of the city, aspirational castes firmly asserted their spatial presence in the newly planned layouts and formal 'improvement' schemes. But as this paper will reveal, the fight for equitable spatial presence in the city by non-Brahmins was often paradoxical. On the one hand, Brahmins slowly began to lose their exclusive bourgeois positions in Mysore State politics, given and secured by the colonial apparatus. On the other hand, such efforts were limited to land owning castes such as *Lingayats* and *Okkaligas* and did not extend to more disadvantaged castes who remained excluded from formal city planning. This paper will show the complexities of Princely State politics that produced a contested city that functioned with deeply raced, caste and classed geographies.

The effect of electric trams and motor vehicles upon traditional crafts, employments and land uses in Bristol, Coventry, Liverpool and Norwich, 1891 to 1921

Jeremy de Quidt (University of Bristol)

My proposed research considers the effect of the use of electric trams and motor driven vehicles upon traditional crafts, employments and land uses connected with the carriage of people and goods by horse power in Bristol, Coventry, Liverpool and Norwich between the years 1891 and 1921. Electrification of the horse-tram networks in these cities had a direct effect upon horse-based employments and land uses linked to the carriage of passenger traffic, but the use of horse power in the delivery of goods was only gradually eroded by the introduction of motor lorries and light vans.

Taking these four UK cities I want to examine employment movement and loss, changes to business practices and changes to land use in those urban crafts and trades that were connected with the movement of goods and people by horse. I would like to look, amongst other, at the effects upon harness makers, blacksmiths and farriers, cart and carriage makers, wheelwrights, tanners and leather workers veterinarians, livery yards, ostlers and providers of fodder, horse breeders and horse sellers, smaller independent deliverers and movers of goods (of coal and building materials in particular), cab drivers, larger businesses including railway companies who engaged in the delivery of goods by horse, horse tram companies themselves, and knackers men. I am interested in the pace, extent and inevitability of employment loss and change in these crafts and trades, and to identify how far the introduction of new transport technologies was responsible. By considering the data obtained from the four different

cities I hope to establish whether the rate and effects of change were uniform in each and if not what factors might have accounted for differences.

SESSION 3.2
POST-WAR PLANNING – FOR HEALTH, WAR AND
CONSUMPTION

Land, power, NHS: recovering the relationship between site and sight in the design of modern British state hospitals, 1945-70

Ed DeVane (University of Warwick)

This paper analyses state land appropriations as an influence on early NHS hospital design, drawing on the examples of Pilgrim Hospital, Boston, Lincolnshire, Wexham Park Hospital, Slough, and Princess Margaret Hospital, Swindon. Existing historical research into hospital architecture during the interwar period (Willis, Goad, Logan 2019) and more recent decades (Bates 2018), recognizes drives for operational efficiency have often been balanced by efforts to create humane and healing spaces. Postwar Britain, however, is more often associated with delayed building until Enoch Powell's 1962 Hospital Plan, which provided increased capital finance for service centralization and standardization (Fair 2018). Under the Plan, Johnathan Hughes (Hughes 1996) argues the employment of traffic surveys, zoning, and systems building, all indicate early NHS hospital design becoming more aesthetically urban and machine-like. Contrary to this, I argue the model of the balanced hospital had increasing appeal to postwar British planners. Between 1948 and 1970, local and regional tiers of the NHS were active in procuring over £30,000,000 worth of new hospital sites. From the inception of the service, use of inherited or bitterly disputed land raised local criticisms of remote decision-making and planning. The response seen at Princess Margaret, Wexham, and Pilgrim was softened building designs with each hospital incorporating existing site features such as gardens, trees, and lakes. This preservation was marketed as a mediating between visitors, patients, and the high technology internal environments. Orientating hospitals towards their served community was also supported by trends in diagnostics (Vines 1953), social medicine (McKeown 1958) and architects' desires to establish a distinct form of welfare state modernism (Ortolano 2019). I stress the balanced hospital as a symbol of compromise and deferred modernity, one in which the early NHS was forced to accord with existing and locally constructed views of urban and rural change.

Preparing the city for nuclear war: urban planning and civil defence in Denmark during the Cold War

Rosanna Farbel (University of Southern Denmark)

At 6:30 pm on the 4th of April 1962, a nuclear bomb exploded over the city centre of Aarhus, Denmark. Civil defence personnel immediately reported for duty as the number of casualties kept rising. At the sites of damage, doctors, ambulance drivers, rescue workers, and police worked tirelessly to save as many lives as possible. The catastrophe everyone feared had happened. On paper. The carefully planned drill was designed to train urban civil defence. While a Soviet attack on Aarhus, or indeed on any Danish city,

was purely imaginary, civil defence was certainly very real, and it was largely an urban phenomenon. Civil defence has in a sense always been an aspect of city building but this was more urgent in the nuclear age of total warfare; the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had demonstrated all too clearly what was in store for urban populations. This paper examines urban civil defence using the city of Aarhus as a case study. . By analysing how civil defence was organized and performed at urban spaces of welfare and warfare, the article sheds light on the mutual imbrication of urban planning, geography and materiality and local civil defence. I argue that urban civil defence contributed to a ‘taming’ of an incomprehensible, global, nuclear catastrophe into a manageable, localised, urban calamity.

Reconstructing consumption: hawkers, markets and malls in New Towns public housing estates in Hong Kong, 1950s-1980s

Vivien Chan (University of Nottingham)

Hong Kong experienced extreme urban upheaval and transformation in the latter half of the twentieth century. Alongside the drastic social and economic shifts in the city, the 1950s through into the 1980s was a period of major expansion and development of the urban landscape. The public housing programme, which also involved advancement into the New Territories with New Towns, was a dominant factor in this transformation, and with it came distinct change of everyday life for the working-class in the domestic sphere. Designed to be ‘self-contained’ and ‘self-supporting’, and internationally applauded for their architectural prowess, Hong Kong’s New Towns public housing estates were widely promoted as including all the necessary amenities for the modern family. In contrast to the compact and chaotic scenes of street markets many working-class people were used to in the urban centres, squatter settlements and resettlement estates, residents of the new model of public housing estate in New Towns were offered functionality, fresh air, and ‘convenience’ in the form of enclosed markets and neighbourhood shopping malls, together called commercial complexes. However, these new urban structures were not accepted so quickly, and residents found tactics to contest the vision of Hong Kong’s modernist planning. This paper asks how the estate commercial complex stimulated ideas about modernity through consumption, both from the perspective of the British colonial government and the growing population of the working and middle classes, and how the material manifestations of these ideas clashed and coalesced in the space of the public housing estate. Using contemporary and historical photographs, this presentation unpacks the relationship between cultures of consumption and space in the wider narrative of Hong Kong’s New Towns public housing estates, considering the role of consumption in the everyday flows of suburban life in the city.

SESSION 3.3

CONTROLLING THE CITY: HEALTH, CITIZENSHIP AND THE LOCAL STATE (17TH-20TH CENTURY)

Contagion, practicality and morality: regulating spaces for victims of the French pox in seventeenth-century Nuremberg

Mona O'Brien (University of Glasgow)

This paper will examine how Nuremberg's city council managed spaces for victims of the French pox (syphilis) during the seventeenth century. I will demonstrate how, during the mid-century, financial pressures caused by the Thirty Years' War alongside an attempt at a moral reformation led the council to drastically tighten its regulations on the municipal pox hospital (Franzosenhaus) and the rights of poxed persons. These regulations, recorded in the council minutes, included the closure of the Franzosenhaus and the expulsion of "immoral" pox victims. Using contemporary supplication letters and a quantitative study of hospital admissions, this paper will consider the impact of these regulations on the sick and their families. Building on these sources, I will return to the council's minutes to examine why, in the 1680s, they reopened the Franzosenhaus, demarcating it as an indispensable element of the city's health care system. This paper argues that three primary factors influenced the regulation of the Franzosenhaus and the poxed in seventeenth-century Nuremberg, namely contagion, practicality, and morality. Contrary to the existing historiography, which emphasises theories of the pox's sexual contagion, I will show how fears surrounding non-sexual forms of transmission (for example transmission via shared clothing or eating utensils) guided the council's legislation on the movement of the poxed in the urban sphere. Further, I will illustrate how practical pressures of municipal finances in the context of a slowing economy sometimes forced the council's hand in its management of contagious diseases. Finally, I contend that competing conceptions of moral governance and the morality of the poor were central to the perpetuation of charity and charitable spaces for the poxed.

The functionality of 'interception': the privy plan in Birmingham, 1873-1913

Justine Pick (University of Birmingham)

In 1871 the Corporation of Birmingham suffered a 'sewage crisis', almost to the point of legal sequestration of its assets for its inadequate and polluting disposal. After a Sewage Inquiry, the Corporation concluded that the best course of action was to intercept as much sewage as possible, before it could enter the sewers and subsequently pollute the rivers. This required the adoption of alternative methods of collection and removal. Encouraged by favourable reports of methods used in Rochdale, the decision was taken to develop a privy pan system under a new 'Interception' department. Initially small-scale, it soon developed into a large municipal concern with hundreds of employees and successfully employed technological advancements for disposal. From the council's

perspective, the new system saved the council's assets and answered their sewage question. It simultaneously addressed matters of public health with the removal of putrefying waste and miasma from the domestic space, replacing the reviled ashpits. However, the functionality of the pan system soon became contested in the overcrowded courtyards of Birmingham's back-to-backs. Examination of council papers, Medical Officer of Health reports and contemporary publications has revealed public scorn, poor working practices by employees, and a lack of legal recourse to address the key issue; not enough privies. Despite this, privy pans continued for forty years, gradually phased out when Birmingham was freed of particular sanitary constraints and fully embraced the water-carriage system. This paper will explore the notion of control in respect to waste and disease. However, by examining how the Corporation was challenged, it will also question the degree of power an urban authority had, in the functionality of that control.

The transurban spread of 'genus larrikin', 1871-1898

Jasper Heeks (King's College, London)

First acknowledged in Melbourne in 1870, 'larrikin' youths outraged respectable bourgeois society with their behaviour, clothing and language. Quickly, the term was adopted across Australia to describe deviant and delinquent young people, whose activities generated and intense and sustained social commentary into the early twentieth century. The discourse stimulated was far from exclusive to Australia, however. The global circulation of people and information took news of Australian larrikins to each inhabited continent. Contemporary concern over growing cities and the prospects of working-class urban youth was an international phenomenon. Journalists travelled and news reports were directly extracted and reprinted between publications, forming channels for the depiction of events, peoples and cities elsewhere. This paper will track the spread of reaction to Australian larrikins overseas and evaluate how discussion of larrikins spoke to both local and imperial concerns. Firstly, the paper illustrates how news of larrikins reached readers outside Australia and influenced external perceptions of Australian and, more broadly, settler colonial cities. Secondly, the paper examines how 'larrikin' became a popular label and category of youth in Britain, and how a word with colonial connotations became a new addition to the glossary of terms for the children of the urban poor. Thirdly, the paper explores the transurban discussions engendered by the topic of larrikins, a subject which revealed the hopes and fears of, links and differences between, and responses to urban change from communities. The paper adopts a transurban approach to highlight the influence of connections and interactions across borders and how cities and towns were defined, measured and compared with reference to their youthful residents.

SESSION 3.4

WHOSE CITY? COMMUNICATING AND CONTESTING GENTRIFICATION IN BRITAIN (1970S-1980S)

Public participation in planning and urban conservation in 1970s Leicester

Sally Hartshorne (University of Leicester)

People and Planning, the 1969 report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning (commonly known as the Skeffington Report) suggested practical ways in which local planning authorities could enable people to contribute their ideas to plans being prepared for the areas in which they lived. In Leicester, the earliest implementation of the report's recommendations was in the Victorian suburb of Clarendon Park, an area approximately a mile and a half south of the city centre. The area contained 1,752 properties, of which between 850 and 900 lacked the recognised amenities required to meet the living standards outlined in the 1969 Housing Act. Generally, these were solid, well-built houses that were worth repairing and could be saved at a much lesser cost than slum clearance; consequently, the area was selected as a General Improvement Area (GIA). In addition to improvements to individual dwellings, the GIA scheme provided for environmental changes to the area to address the changing needs of modern society. These included new road layouts and changes in the function of the streets and other land within the suburb. Using the Clarendon Park GIA as a case study, this paper will examine how the members of that community were able to contribute to the planning of their area and to alter its improvement plans in the early 1970s. As a result of the 1970s scheme, the area remains a valuable and functional part of the city's Victorian heritage to this day.

Rescuing old houses: conservation, gentrification and the greater London council's homesteading scheme, 1977-1981

Tessa Pinto (Royal Holloway)

From 1967, each Conservative administration of the Greater London Council (GLC) sold-off council owned properties in a city-wide project which long preceded Right-to-Buy in the 1980s. In 1977 under the leadership of Horace Cutler, the GLC launched a new scheme called 'Homesteading'. It enabled predominantly young couples to buy old council-owned housing stock directly from the GLC at cheap rates, with access to grants for renovations, and with no mortgage repayments for three years. It was modelled on a program rolled out across the US in 1974, and the name itself made reference to the North American Homesteading Acts, embodying ideals of the good-life and self-sufficiency. The US scheme was targeted by squatting campaigners and was eventually reformed to become more accessible to those on low-income; in the UK, the GLC used the scheme to violently eradicate squatting communities (Christine Wall, 2017). Homesteading built upon a legacy of 'area improvement' works which had been undertaken by local authorities since the Housing Act of 1969, whilst also strengthening

the ideological commitment to a small state and the promotion of private property ownership. This paper will explore to what extent the scheme was also a response to the revalorisation of late-Victorian and Edwardian domestic architecture, and to changing ideas about what constituted architectural heritage in general. During this period, a shift in priority toward rehabilitation and the focus on improving the urban environment is often explained as emerging from a place of economic pragmatism, but it coincided with new class attitudes towards old, previously undesirable buildings. Major works on gentrification such as Loretta Lees et al (2008) recognise this phenomenon but tend to leave it underexplored, as it has been in urban and heritage studies more broadly. This paper will contribute to a growing body of scholarship which considers heritage as an important dimension in state-led gentrification processes and conceptualises those processes as being shaped by local political and institutional cultures (Chiara De Cesari and Rozita Dimova, 2019).

Agonistic cultural networks against urban no-go zones: the GLC in 1980s Hackney

Lucy McFadzean (Aberystwyth University/University of Exeter)

In Hackney in the 1980s, the GLC fostered a network of agonistic cultural campaigns which could mount a challenge to gentrifying forces in the city. I want to argue that in doing this, the GLC were not simply fulfilling some civic function. Rather, with a cultural policy that empowered radical, anti-authority campaigning groups the GLC bolstered a level of disorder and, to use Chantal Mouffe's term, agonism within the city. Typified in the often-referenced phrase that the GLC were working 'in and against the state' the council empowered cultural campaigns that organised outside (and often against) state structures. Drawing on archival research and interviews, this paper will interrogate the case of the Rio Community Cinema in Hackney as one such node within these agonistic networks. Disorder and agonism, understood in Sennett and Mouffe's terms, sits in important contrast with the inner-city London in crisis that was portrayed in the mainstream press and by the Conservative government. A crisis that could be solved through policing (law and order) and free market economics (the order of the market). Contrasted with this conception of the lawless, dangerous and unliveable inner-city, the GLC saw communities which could utilise cultural outlets, new communication media and local spaces in their campaigning, their antagonising, and their agonising. The GLC is often fitted into Thatcher-centred narratives of the period as the 'loony-left' or a Thatcher-baiting local government. Recently, historians revisiting the 1980s have begun to challenge this framing of the decade. I argue that if we understand the cultural policies of the GLC as agonistic – not the typically oppositional – it can help frame the important political work the council were doing which surpassed their conflict with Thatcherism. Questioning the functioning of the city is an important tool to do so.

SESSION 4.1

CITIES WITH MULTIPLE CENTRES & DIVERSE POPULATIONS: KAZAN, ISTANBUL, SARAJEVO (PANEL)

Panel Overview

During the 19th century, the Eastern Empires of Europe: Russian, Ottoman, and Austria-Hungarian Empires implemented economic, social, and military measures to modernize their cities, transforming the traditional urban functions and their urban landscape as well. These urban interventions were first initiated in capitals but also find their expression in the provincial cities as well. New urban development projects challenged, transformed but also conversed with existing architectural fabric and social order. This session will bring together three case studies presenting urban interventions that shaped the cities of Kazan, Istanbul, and Sarajevo during the 19th century and early 20th century. All three cities had distinctive historical contexts and development trajectories positioned between East and West and characterized with their diverse demographics.

The Imperial and Tatar city of Kazan: A dialogue of urban spaces and cultures
Gulchachak Nugmanova (Research Institute of Theory and History of Architecture and Town Planning, Moscow)

The city of Kazan was annexed to the Russian state in 1552, as a result of a military victory over a powerful neighbour - the Kazan Khanate. Soon after the Kazan conquest, Tatars were evicted to a special Tatar sloboda settlement on the outskirts. Since then, Kazan developed, corresponding to the city's two-part structure that had a clear spatial dimension and predominantly Russian-Orthodox and Tatar-Muslim population. In the 19th century, the official Petersburg referred to Kazan as the centre of the conquered Tatar state and Russia's "window to the East" (Geraci, 2001). This perception resulted in empowering the city with special imperial functions. Thus, the capital of Kazan province became the centre of academic, military and judicial functions. In the second half of the century, conditioned with the expansion of the imperial borders to the East and South, Kazan positioned in the centre of the empire, and the city has developed into a regional metropolis during this period. However, these urban interventions led from the centre created the issue of cultural unification in the region. As the population of the region was predominantly composed of non-Russians (inorodtsy), it remained at the "inner outskirts" of the empire. The anti-Islamic turn in the imperial policy at the beginning of the 1860s, which potentially threatened the confessional identity of Tatars, led to the consolidation of the Tatar population and the reformation of their traditional way of life. In the conditions of coexistence of Russian imperial and Tatar-Muslim cultural components, the architectural and urban-planning process in Kazan proceeded. This paper will discuss the urban interventions that took place during the second half of the 19th – early 20th century in Kazan that modified the functioning of the traditional city and will shed light on the dialogues and conflicts that took place between the Imperial city and Tatar city of Kazan.

Reconfiguring the city with multiple centres and multiple palaces: Istanbul

Nilay Özlü (University of Oxford)

The capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul was historically, geographically, and demographically divided into multiple regions. The Intra Muros city of Stanboul occupied the Historic Peninsula and is surrounded with the Golden Horn, the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara. This part of the city was enclosed by Byzantine city walls and predominantly inhabited by the Ottoman Muslim population, along with local (Istanbul born) Greeks and Jews. Right across the Golden Horn remains Galata and Pera region of the city, which primarily housed embassies and Christian, Levantine, and European populations clustered around them. On the Asian side, along the Eastern shores of the Bosphorus, lay Scutari, Khalkedon, and various Bosphorus villages. This diverse and multi-faceted geophysical and social structure of Istanbul shaped urban development of the city especially after the second half of the 19th century. During this period, major urban interventions were implemented in the Ottoman capital, while Intra Muros Stanboul was being associated more with traditional Islamic values and conservative lifestyle, Galata and Pera started to represent modern, vibrant and cosmopolitan facets of the city. By 1860s the first municipality of Istanbul—the Sixth District—was founded, as a local initiative of the inhabitants of Pera rather than a top-down operation. The municipality started its operations, implementing several modernization projects, transportation lines, infrastructure projects, and urban interventions in Galata and Pera region. By the mid-19th century, the Ottoman dynasty moved their royal residence and the seat of the empire from the ancient Topkapi Palace at the Seraglio to newly built palaces along the shores of Bosphorus, close to the newly developing areas of Pera. This shift of power and interaction of local and imperial dynamics changed the traditional urban functioning of the city and introduced a new urban order. These developments intensified the distinctions between the multiple urban precincts of the capital and caused socio-cultural and urban divergences that persisted until today. This paper will offer a critical analysis of the changing urban order in Istanbul during the 19th century and investigate how various projects, implemented by multiple—local and elite—agencies at different precincts of the city shaped the urban character of the city.

A view from a window of the Hotel Europe in Sarajevo: Where Čaršija meets Franz Josef's Gasse

Aida Murtić (Heidelberg University)

The urban physiognomy of Sarajevo, as evident today, has emanated from the encounter of Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian planning cultures as well as mutual reconfiguration of the two imperial pasts. In 1878, just a year after Austria-Hungary took administrative control of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a sudden fire destroyed significant parts of Čaršija (bazaar quarter), the urban pride of the classical Ottoman Sarajevo. The fire provided authorities with a valid excuse to address “the case of Čaršija” and pursue modernisation

agenda. Using the broad and open approach of an architectural historian to urban history, I analyse processes of regulating the inherited urban fabric of Čaršija and building the new “European” city next to it. I apply the methodology, which combines historical with morphological research to trace how urban functions were redistributed and the city centre moved away from the labyrinth-shaped old bazaar in the linear space of Franz Josef’s Gasse and Rudolf’s Gasse. While the new downtown district was tailored to fit preferences of city-based elites and newcomers from all corners of Austria-Hungary, individuals from various confessional communities, urban and rural population, rich and poor of Sarajevo continued to interact in the bazaar quarter as merchants, artisans, and buyers, and exchange news and information on market days. When Cornelius Gurlitt, architect and art historian from Dresden, visited Sarajevo with his students in 1912, he draw attention to the paradox of Sarajevo’s duality pointing to the Hotel Europe, the Neo-Renaissance building on the west edge of Čaršija where comfort of modern living and Oriental picturesqueness of the old bazaar structures looked straight into each other. He observed, “What Constantinople’s Golden Horn separates in two parts - Pera-Galata here and Stanbul over there - that bumps straight into each other in Sarajevo.”

SESSION 4.2

URBAN MORPHOLOGIES AND CHANGING CITYSCAPES

City, frontier, and empire: understanding city formation in India's North East

Evy Mehzabeen (Jawaharlal Nehru University)

The paper argues that Dibrugarh is a colonial city produced in the hinterland as a collection point for the resources of tea, coal, oil, iron-ore and timber serving as a subservient node to the metropolitan core in Britain in the frontier of the Empire. The establishment of river-centric specific 'sites' of resource extraction which eventually matured into the 'urban' brought about a spatial transformation altering the character of the valley from a 'rural wasteland' into 'commercial hinterland' of the Imperial order so that urban processes became contextualised/ embedded in the colonial resource extraction structure. In this context, taking Dibrugarh as a case study, the paper traces its production as an urban node of a frontier located within the global network of Imperialism. The paper explores production of urban in a frontier through the creation of a node-hinterland spatiality. It addresses the urban question through four narratives: a) How does one define a Frontier Colonial City? b) How has the governance of a 'strategic location' been implemented through the process of City formation? c) How does opportunities of commerce and resource extraction facilitate the growth of a City? d) What was the impact of colonialism on the existing urban forms of the Brahmaputra valley?

Changing port environments in nineteenth-century Antwerp and Rotterdam

Sam Grinsell (University of Edinburgh/University of Antwerp)

The nineteenth century saw rapid changes in technology, as steam transformed shipping and railways provided new modes of connection. Larger ships changed the physical nature of ports, and cities adapted by creating new facilities or moving some to deeper waters. The relationship between water and cities thus changed dramatically. This paper examines how these developments transformed the urban form of Rotterdam and Antwerp. How did the need for expanded facilities reshape neighbourhoods? How were some kinds of movement enabled while others were restricted? How did urban development reshape riverine environments? This paper is part of a new research project on port infrastructure in Antwerp, London and Rotterdam. The cities around the North Sea were centres of global power in the modern era, commanding maritime empires that defined commerce and politics for much of the world. Yet the modern history of this region has generally been broken into national specialisms. Bringing the North Sea into the urban history of modernity would change the ways in which we think about cities, seas, rivers, and the ways in which these spaces combine. This study uses nineteenth century port architecture to understand the production of urban space. The complex interaction of waterscapes, buildings and street layouts makes the port a particularly dense site of contestation. Both Antwerp and Rotterdam expanded their docks in the

nineteenth century, reshaping the cities' relationship to water, river and sea. Comparing the two enables us to trace the different ways docks might evolve as urban environments. Putting infrastructure at the heart of the analysis of historical urban space takes up arguments by Swati Chattopadhyay; while examining ports as moments in environmental history builds on work by Michael Chiarappa. By drawing together these intellectual currents this paper will reconsider the place of ports in the assemblage of city environments.

The Groundhog Day effect? The 'desolating conflagrations' of Charleston, 1740-1840

Sarah Collins (Newcastle University)

In 1838 Henry Laurens Pinckney (Mayor of Charleston) reflected that the city 'has again been laid waste by one of those desolating conflagrations, which, in the course of its history, has more than once laid it in ruins'. Pinckney's memorialisation was a poignant reminder of Charleston's habitual threat – the east peninsula was destroyed by fire six times between 1740 and 1840. For a city that placed such stock in the economic and social importance of residential space, the six-fold destruction of private family homes directly threatened the settlement's founding principles as they were laid down by the Earl of Shaftesbury and John Locke in 1669. But, Charleston's history of fire also highlights the complicated relationship between top-down and bottom-up ideas of spatial functionality. After each fire event Charleston's private property owners replaced like-for-like within short spaces of time, often countering instructions from the City Council. I argue that the regularity of destruction caused a Groundhog Day effect. Each event reset the urban plan and impacted Charleston's long-term functional organisation. In contrast with other urban centres, Charleston's Council failed to capitalise from the events with long-term economic consequences:

- They were unable to correct earlier morphological failings;
- They were unable to ease population increases;
- They were unable to expand the port.

However, with space on the peninsula plentiful, did such restrictions matter? By the time the city was willing and able to consider functional improvement, the City Council - swayed by public opinion - were unwilling to compromise over the preference for substantial single-family homes on generous plots. The policy ensured that Charleston's elites dominated the social and economic functionality of the peninsula, whilst squeezing undesirable activity out.

SESSION 4.3

FUNCTION AND DYSFUNCTION IN POSTCOLONIAL CITIES

Uncontested and singular functionalities – the case of colonial and postcolonial Bangalore

Aditi Dey and Pragma Ravindra (Indian Institute for Human Settlements, Bangalore)

Jawaharlal Nehru's remark on Bangalore not carrying the burden of a past and hence a suitable site for the vision of industrial development, reveals a key discursive tool that has framed the city's shifting functionality. He was referring to Bangalore's distinct history (or supposed lack of it) compared to Presidency towns of Bombay or Calcutta; as a city that would be most ideal to realize his project of modernity. But a top-down production of a singular imaginary of a city as way of rationalizing a particular economic function ascribed to it, has been a strategic tool wielded by the state, even in Bangalore's colonial past. Bangalore unlike Mysore, the socio-political capital of the Princely State, was considered just a military outpost for the British, and was also identified as a site to test out the royal state's scientific zeal. An effort far ahead of its time in the Indian subcontinent, the Princely State's first textile mills were set up in Bangalore in the late nineteenth century, relying on Western technical knowhow. These factories played a crucial role in entrenching the Princely State's relationship with the British Empire, when it was a key supplier for the army in the interwar period. The functionality of Bangalore as an industrial city was validated in these moments, but many a times without a recognition of their negative consequences on the local economies. Using colonial and postcolonial archives of the state, the paper examines the ways in which at different moments, such as when Bangalore was chosen for the nation's first public-sector industries, the state retains the authority of producing narratives of singularity and erasures in order to be able to ascribe and re-ascribe functionality to the city, which remains uncontested. The paper reflects also on this question from the contemporary moment of Bangalore's prominence as the 'IT Capital', with rare mentions of its industrial past.

***Liberdade*: controversial functions and identity in São Paulo, Brazil**

Ana Barone (University of São Paulo)

In colonial times, the city of São Paulo was built facing the North, where was the main entrance from the Capital, Rio de Janeiro. The South of *Sé*, now known as *Liberdade*, was the back of the city, toward the arrival by the ancient Indian *Peabiru* way coming from the coast, about 1.300 foot lower. This area was intended to house most colonial instruments of state power, authority, and use of violence. Thus, this side of the city became home to institutions such as the prison, the gallows and the cemetery for indigents, soldiers, enslaved and unbaptized. All of these institutions were demolished to make way for the Republican city, erasing the memory of violence present in the colonial urban public space. At the same time, it was an important venue for African-

Brazilians gatherings, due to the regularity of ancestor worship and the devotion to the souls of the enslaved people buried there. Some of the catholic churches installed there, such as *São Gonçalo* and *Santa Cruz dos Enforcados*, began to incorporate some Afro-Brazilian rites, such as the use of Atabaques in their own celebrations. The articulation of these places is an important clue to understanding the further location of some relevant black institutions, such as the *Escola de Samba Lavapés*, the *Frente Negra Brasileira* (Brazilian Black Front) and the black newspaper *A Voz da Raça*. In this communication, we retrieve official sources from the municipality to show the urban functions originally placed in this area, and later dismantled, in relation to the use of the public space by the Afro-Brazilians, whose memory of suffering was extinct from this part of the city.

Striking with garbage: untouchability, labour mobilisation, and municipal politics in Calcutta, 1940

Maria- Daniela Pomohaci (Georg-August Universität Göttingen)

Heaps of refuse piling up in dirty streets, foul smell from service privies, garbage scattered all over the roads and tramways - this was the picture of Calcutta, the 'second city of the Empire', when the sanitation workers struck work in March 1940. Known in India as 'scavengers', these workers were employed by the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. Their job was to remove human and animal excreta from latrines, sewers, drains, and streets. Due to the ostensibly polluting nature of their work, these 'scavengers' were considered to be 'untouchables' and were relegated to the absolute bottom of Indian society irrespective of their religion. This marginalisation also made its way into their workplace, where they were denied various employment benefits granted to the other municipal workers. For instance, the 'scavengers' had very low wages, no permanency of employment, no health benefits, and no recognition of their trade union. In a series of strikes over the first half of the twentieth century, they fought this occupational marginalisation. In the process, they gradually stopped seeing themselves only as 'untouchables' and came to recognize their role as indispensable laborers fighting for their rights. This paper uses the strike of 1940 as a point of entry to write a social history of these 'scavengers'. It explores the processes of political mobilization, the roles of trade union leaders, and the location of the 'scavengers' in the broader context of late-colonial municipal politics in Calcutta. I also unravel questions like what the nature of the interaction between caste and labour was, how the municipal councils tried to use this strike to their own benefit to win the elections, and whether the working and living conditions of the 'scavengers' improved as a result of this strike. In turn, this paper contributes towards the history of one of the most marginalised sections of late-colonial India's urban labour.

SESSION 5.1

OFFICIAL AND VERNACULAR UNDERSTANDING OF "PLANNING" IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY BRITAIN (PANEL)

Panel Overview

This panel explores the discrepancies and convergences within official and vernacular understandings and experiences of urban planning in twentieth-century Britain. It examines the often troubled relationship between the perspectives of residents and of state (and non-state) actors. Each paper foregrounds the local dynamics of this relationship. Individually, they consider how this relationship was shaped by divergent priorities relating to the location of new conurbations, the interpretation and implementation of 'social balance', and ideas about the appropriate role of the public in planning consultations. The papers cover the period of the genesis and development of plans for urban reconstruction from the 1940s onwards and, as such, offer insights for historians of social democracy and, specifically, of New Towns.

The meanings of 'planning' and the politics of the past in wartime Bolton and Glasgow

David Cowan, University of Cambridge

This paper considers what 'planning' meant to residents of Bolton and Glasgow during the Second World War. Drawing on wartime social research, it explores the relationship between everyday knowledge of formal proposals for urban reconstruction, demotic visions of the urban landscape after the end of the war, and memories of past examples of rebuilding. Comparing Bolton and Glasgow suggests some common patterns: a relatively limited direct engagement with the ideas of town planners alongside a broader, vague, awareness of the existence of these plans; and a widespread, though not universal, reaction against the condition of the urban environment as it had developed up until the Second World War. The paper explores the relationship between class, gender, and education in informing the urban landscapes that people thought imaginable and desirable. But the comparison also suggests some important differences, relating both to the form of urban reconstruction envisaged, particularly in relation to the location of suburban building; and to the narratives that people told about past planning decisions and the future of the urban environment—whether future progress was to be modelled on past achievements, or on overcoming the failures of past planning decisions. This paper has implications for our understanding of the extent of popular enthusiasm for rebuilding and urban reconstruction and commitment to social democratic planning; and for thinking about the relationship between the public and the different bodies that sought to shape the urban environment after the Second World War—as the other papers in this panel explore in the successive decades.

The implementation and experience of 'social balance' in the early new towns of Harlow and Basildon.

Freddie Meade, University of East Anglia

This paper examines how top down ideas that underpinned early new towns legislation, chiefly the principle of the ‘self-contained and balanced community’, were interpreted and implemented by new town development corporations in Harlow and Basildon between the 1940s and 1980s. By examining local development corporation files, this paper argues that these public agencies’ interpretation of ‘balance’ (or ‘social balance’) shifted from one based on occupational employment to one based on housing tenure. Drawing particular attention to new town corporation house sales to sitting tenants from 1970 onwards, it argues that this shift in official interpretation at a local level corresponded with changing priorities in central government around home ownership and the role of the state in housing provision. It argues that this later interpretation of social balance by planners, far from achieving its intended aim, in fact deepened social and class division within and around these new towns – the effects of which are still felt today. It examines the impact of these policies on new town residents - past and present - by utilising oral history interviews conducted between 2017 and 2019. The paper asks, in the theme of the panel, to what extent official interpretations of ‘balance’ by both central government and its local counterparts corresponded with vernacular understandings of class and community by new town residents themselves.

Emotions, ‘expertise’ and vernacular languages of planning in Basildon New Town
Holly Firmin, University of Cambridge

This paper will critically examine the forms of public consultation deployed by Basildon Development Corporation in the re-planning of the first generation New Town from the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s. Using the minutes of public inquiries held in Basildon during this period, it will be argued that planners in Basildon constructed a distinct ‘emotional economy’ which bestowed authority upon residents able to speak in the ‘rational’ language of planning, whilst dismissing those who criticised the Corporation on the basis of ‘feeling’. Residents, however, could contest this emotional economy, either by arguing for the validity of ‘feeling’ as a legitimate basis for criticism, or developing their own vernacular languages of planning which subsumed the tools and vocabulary of planning ‘expertise’ for their own ends. Drawing on broader debates about the paternalistic nature of post-war social democracy, it will be argued that these public inquiries elucidate the power dynamic between planners and Basildon’s residents. The emotional economy constructed by the Corporation was a gendered one, with women in particular identified by planners as expressing emotional - and implicitly illegitimate - concerns. Furthermore, tensions between residents and planners were in part derived from the Corporation’s attempts to achieve greater ‘social balance’ by attracting more middle-class residents to the town, and interactions between Basildon residents and Corporation employees themselves could represent profoundly classed encounters. The paper therefore asks, in the theme of the panel, to what extent vernacular languages of planning could be deployed by residents of Basildon to challenge the authority of ‘planners’ and contest the limited avenues for democratic participation available under post-war social ‘democracy’.

SESSION 5.2

COMMUNITIES AND COMMUNITY ACTION

Overlapping communities of poverty and the functioning of poor relief in nineteenth-century Lyon

Will Clement (University of Oxford)

Histories of nineteenth-century Lyon stress the repeated silk-weaver protests of the 1830s and 1840s, the imposition of central rule in the Second Empire, and the strong tradition social Catholicism throughout the century. As the central French government tightened its control on the city and its local government, private Catholic charitable initiatives also sought to manage urban poverty and to stave off further political unrest. And yet, there was a third aspect of Lyon's poor relief beyond private Catholic and public municipal programmes, driven by the city's sizeable minority of Protestants. This paper will explore the different ways that Protestant industrialists, municipal councillors, and clergymen sought to reshape the functioning of charitable divisions and barriers in the city. My paper will focus on three case studies of how Protestant charitable initiatives sought to reframe urban communities of poverty in Lyon: an 1840s campaign to create a seventh, 'Protestant only' charitable bureau for poor relief which would overlap the existing six, geographically-delineated bureaux; an 1850s cooperative effort between rich Protestant industrialists and a Catholic priest to build housing for workers after a devastating flood; and an 1860s campaign to tackle 'illegitimate unions' in working-class Protestant households. Through comparing the motivations, methods, and degree of success of these case studies, this paper will show how the strict division of the city into geographic neighbourhoods by the local government was not as fixed and mono-confessional as it may appear, and that this Protestant minority played a key role in shaping the future of Lyonnais poor relief.

Connecting citizens: community activism and advice in England from 1920 to 1990

Kate Bradley (University of Kent)

In this paper, I consider the ways in which advice services (legal and other types) were used as a means of enabling marginalised individuals and communities to assert themselves against urban local authorities, retailers and landlords, focussing on two periods: the interwar period and the 1960s-1980s. Whilst the notion of regular 'Poor Man's Lawyer' services run by settlements, missions and religious groups had grown from the 1890s, it became a feature of the work of the London Council of Social Service and other groups affiliated with the National Council of Social Service during the interwar period. It was associated with the development of 'community' in suburban areas, particularly where families from so-called slum areas were relocated to new housing developments. I then contrast this with the development of neighbourhood law centres and the proliferation of advice services in the later 1960s, and following the creation of state-subsidised legal aid through the Legal Aid and Advice Act 1949.

Following experiments in the United States, neighbourhood law centres were one means of trying to tackle the problems faced by working-class communities in the inner cities, which included a shortage of solicitors with suitable specialisms in reasonable travelling distance. The law centres made creative use of the Urban Aid Scheme to sustain their activities in the 1970s. The law centres were accompanied by a growth in advice centres and services addressing other needs of the urban citizen – around housing and consumption – which proliferated as a result of changes following the 1962 Molony Committee on Consumer Protection. Through looking at these two periods and the case of advice services, I draw out the abiding issues and challenges for urban working-class communities before and after the welfare state.

‘Recovering utopia? Cross-community approaches to change on East London’s Boundary Estate’

Isabelle Carter (University of Sheffield)

In summer 2019, I stepped out of the academy to work with The Young Foundation. Formed from the Institute for Community Studies founded by Michael Young in 1954 and situated in Bethnal Green – the area at the heart of Young’s influential 1957 sociological study *Family and Kinship in East London* – The Young Foundation is an independent think tank committed to developing interconnected and sustainable communities across the country. Working on the ‘Communities Driving Change’ programme, I helped to support resident-led initiatives to improve health and wellbeing on East London’s Boundary Estate. The Boundary was built at the turn of the twentieth century and is often described as the first comprehensively planned council estate in the country. With wide, tree-lined avenues stemming from a central green space, blocks of flats situated in pocket courtyards and shops and schools nearby, the estate’s architects sought to marry social principles with urban function to foster a self-contained working-class community. Today, social housing tenants rub shoulders with private leaseholders as the Boundary experiences the effects of rapid gentrification. Bordered by Shoreditch High Street and Brick Lane, the estate sits at the centre of Shoreditch, where an influx of upmarket businesses and the area’s booming night-time economy have blurred distinctions between retail and residential spaces. With these developments causing considerable tension between residents and businesses, the visions of community embedded in the estate’s design seem to have struggled to become reality. Drawing upon field notes and interviews with key local stakeholders, this paper uses the Boundary Estate as a case study to explore how collaborations between historians, practitioners and the public can foster practical approaches to rearticulating the function of historic urban spaces.

SESSION 5.3
PATTERNS OF LEISURE AND IDENTITY

Drawing the line: women keeping pub and shaping the use of Stockholm, 1776–1836

Tobias Larsson (Uppsala University)

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries keeping a pub in Stockholm was primarily a woman's game. For example, out of the 692 individuals who paid for their pub keeping permits in 1812 all but six were women. These persons and the individuals surrounding their businesses (also mainly women, whether it be as maids, custodians or renters of permits) held sway over a central part of the urban space. Their pubs, often kept in connection with private homes, functioned as places for comradeship, consumption, and conflict. They were thus central agents in their city, with both allies and adversaries to be found amongst their patrons and the police who oversaw them. The period considered represents increased restrictions when it comes to some central aspects of pub keeping. Previous research has identified the number of available permits drastically decreasing under the period (from 700 to 400) and that the rules surrounding the business became increasingly formalized, e.g. with much harsher punishments for placing the pub in the care of someone else or renting out a permit. However, at the same time there was a temporary expansion in the rights of women to run their own business irrespective of husbands and a documented increase in the number of people who took to the public as households generally shrank. The women who kept pubs thus sought to draw lines and stake out their place in a city, and a business, which were going through dynamic changes. Through the material of Sweden's first police, the Royal Police Chamber, the claims and arguments of these women can be heard. In my paper I will focus on how they strove to negotiate and shape the use of their premises, which could appear as both public and private depending on context, and in turn the whole urban fabric.

“It should be understood that it is an Irish house”: pubs and networks of Irish nationalism in the Victorian West Midlands

Simon Briercliffe (University of Birmingham)

This paper examines the role of Irish public houses as nodes in national and transnational networks, and as centres of Irish nationalism. It argues for the importance of the pub for the effective – or otherwise – functioning of Irish political organisations in mid-Victorian Britain. Historians have examined pubs as spaces enabling the growth of early nineteenth-century radicalism and the community cohesion of other émigré groups; this paper both extends this analysis to Irish communities, and broadens the under-researched history of Irish nationalist networks in Victorian Britain. Irish spaces were an established part of urban life in nineteenth-century Britain. Such spaces were observed by the forces of law and order and public health as particular threats to the functioning of the city, and from the 1830s onwards, much urban policy was enacted explicitly in response to the Irish presence in British industrial cities. But they were also functioning

communities themselves, with amenities that developed over the course of the century: places of worship, schools and pubs focused towards the Irish community all became part of the urban fabric. Using correspondence in Irish nationalist newspapers, and evidence presented during the 1884 trial of Irish nationalist James Francis Egan, this paper examines the functioning of a network of Irish pubs. These were focused at the heart of Wolverhampton's Irish space, the notorious Stafford Street and Carrabee Island, already noted for the frequency of its drinking-places and its alcohol-fuelled violence. From reading rooms for the National Brotherhood of Saint Patrick in the 1860s, to meeting places for the Home Rule Confederation of the 1870s, to venues for elaborate St Patrick's Day dinners, pubs, publicans and the idea of Irish urban space provided essential continuity and security for Irish nationalist networks to develop in and beyond the town.

The beat goes on: reframing urban LGBTQI+ cruising venues as important, semi-permanent subcultural spaces

Paul Bleakley (Middlesex University)

While a reasonable degree of academic attention has been given over to the study of the habits and behaviours of homosexual men in "cruising" areas, far less has been afforded to the significant subcultural significance of these sites in LGBTQI+ communities around the world. Cruising, a term referring to the practice of seeking out sexual encounters in public spaces, has been a staple element of gay culture across history. In the era prior to decriminalisation of homosexual acts, "cruising the beat" was one of the few ways for gay and bisexual men to meet each other, and to engage in a process of homosocialisation that allowed them to negotiate their own relationship with their sexuality. Much of the existing literature on cruising spaces casts them as ephemeral venues for sexual encounters - often opportunistic, always temporally-fleeting. This is not the case - rather than simply being venues of expediency and convenience, archival evidence suggests that cruising spaces were semi-permanent sites used over the course of generations, with the locations and accepted practices of these sites informally transmitted within a city's LGBTQI+ community. Using the case study of Brisbane, Australia, this research draws on court and police records, as well as oral histories to make the case for our understanding of the subcultural position of cruising sites to be re-evaluated. It shows that not only were these sites used for sexual encounters over a lengthy historical period, but that general public awareness of these sites made gay and bisexual men exponentially more vulnerable to harassment, violence and formal police action. By reframing the prevailing perception of cruising areas, the potential exists to challenge the popular notion that cruising sites were only habituated by sexual deviants, and better understand the lived experience of gay and bisexual men in the urban environment.

SESSION 6
FINAL PLENARY

The city as a technology of colonization: an early modern perspective

Emma Hart (University of St Andrews)

Historians of the early modern Iberian imperial world have long been interested in the relationship between cities and empire. Recently, scholars of the British Empire's earliest phases have deepened their inquiries into the connections between town-founding and colonization. My paper will survey the approaches of these scholars, who don't always communicate well with one another, to explore how the ambitions of colonizers for their cities matched up to their emerging role in colonial societies. Focusing on government, the built environment, and the population, I will concentrate on the intersections between local and imperial actors in these dynamic townscapes. In particular, I will explore how the idea of the city as a technology of colonization was related to broader thinking about the role of the city in government, economy, and society.