

Introduction

Thatcher's Progress

The Prime Minister's visit offered a priceless opportunity. On 25 September 1979, Margaret Thatcher arrived in Milton Keynes to christen Europe's largest shopping center.¹ As the crown jewel of the world's leading new towns program, Milton Keynes routinely hosted visitors: architects and planners, international students, visiting royalty, and a parade of cabinet ministers.² "New towns" were state-directed efforts to produce entire new communities, and the thirty-two that Britain designated in the generation after 1945 won admirers around the world.³ But Thatcher's visit to Milton Keynes promised the attention of a new Prime Minister. The occasion presented the public agency in charge of building the new city, Milton Keynes Development Corporation, the chance to put the case for new town planning directly to the Prime Minister. To that end, they sent her on a didactic driving tour, designed to show how they had conjured a thriving development out of rural pasture in just a dozen years. They were, in a way, resurrecting the medieval and early modern tradition of the "progress," a form of ceremonial tour in which towns and cities led visiting sovereigns on a series of entertainments through their civic spaces. Most famously associated with

¹ John Grindrod, *Concretopia: A Journey around the Rebuilding of Postwar Britain* (Brecon: Old Street Publishing, 2013), 397; Janina Gosseye, "Milton Keynes' Centre: The Apotheosis of the British Post-War Consensus or the Apostle of Neo-Liberalism?" *History of Retailing and Consumption* 1:3 (2015): 209–229, at 210; Terence Bendixson and John Platt, *Milton Keynes: Image and Reality* (Cambridge: Granta, 1992), 143–154; Marion Hill, ed., *The Heritage of Milton Keynes: The Story of the Original CMK* (Milton Keynes: Living Archive, 2007), 104–117.

² "Visit of Mr Peter Shore MP," 10 March 1977, Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies (CBS), MKDC, Box DDD A69 A70 A71, File 00400/10/1; "Visit of Mr John Stanley MP," 27 June 1980, CBS, MKDC, Box GM A4, File 122/2/1; "Visit of the Right Hon Michael Heseltine MP, Secretary of State for the Environment," 13 October 1980, CBS, MKDC, Lib 8, 9, 10, File 9/3.

³ On the elastic definitions of "new towns," see – in addition to the discussion below – Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement* (University of Chicago Press, 2016), 1–19.

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“The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth,” in the words of their nineteenth-century chronicler, these royal visitations offered towns and cities the opportunity to fashion their identities, request privileges and favors, and – if all went well – entangle powerful visitors in bonds of affection and obligation.⁴ And so, from half-past nine to two o'clock, the city's makers sent the Prime Minister on a journey through Milton Keynes – or, on “Thatcher's progress.”⁵

From the day's beginning in the historic town of Stony Stratford, through its climax inside a raucous shopping building, this book follows Thatcher's progress through Milton Keynes. This single morning's journey, lasting not five hours, illuminates the larger history of postwar urban planning.⁶ At each stop along the way, Thatcher's hosts depicted this public sector project as worthy of continuing investment. In the near term, they succeeded: the staff of Number 10 called the visit their best organized to date, and Thatcher personally intervened to secure Milton Keynes a desperately needed hospital.⁷ Within two years, however, her government initiated the termination of Britain's pioneering new towns program. By the time the last remaining new town development corporation closed its doors in 1996, these achievements of the welfare state had come to serve as staging grounds for Thatcherite initiatives.⁸ So while her hosts plotted the day's itinerary as an argument on behalf of the new towns program, “Thatcher's progress” ironically conveys the mechanism of the program's end. By following the Prime Minister's route – made

⁴ John Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, 2nd edn, 3 vols. (London: John Nichols, 1823); Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elizabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight, eds., *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford University Press, 2007). The pageant enjoyed a twentieth-century revival: Zoë Thomas, “Historical Pageants, Citizenship, and the Performance of Women's History before Second-Wave Feminism,” *Twentieth Century British History* 28:3 (2017): 319–343; Angela Bartie, Paul Caton, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman, Alexander Hutton, Paul Readman, and Tom Hulme, *The Redress of the Past*, www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/, accessed 3 August 2017.

⁵ Thatcher was the development corporation's third choice, after the Queen and then Prince Charles; the Queen opened the new town's civic offices earlier that summer: Milton Keynes Development Corporation (MKDC), secret board minutes, 3 November 1978, CBS, MKDC, Box AR 117/2006, 8298/9/5, 8298/6/12, 8298/8/1, 6, 7, Ref 8298/6/12; Hill, *The Story of the Original CMK*, 86–87.

⁶ “Planning” here refers to those activities variously included under town and country planning, city planning, and urban planning – the first the predominant British term at least until the 1960s, the third the more familiar in American contexts.

⁷ Bendixson and Platt, *Milton Keynes*, 146; Jock Campbell, speech at opening of District General Hospital, 9 June 1980, CBS, D187/13.

⁸ While it is often claimed that the program ended in 1992, when the last English development corporation closed and the state ceased to treat new towns as distinct from other towns, Scotland's last new town development corporation remained in operation until 1996: Anthony Alexander, *Britain's New Towns: Garden Cities to Sustainable Communities* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 5, 140.

possible by the discovery of a single black binder, thick with schedules, statistics, arguments, and maps, in the development corporation's archive – this book examines the development, eclipse, and legacies of postwar urban planning.

The Spatial Dimension of the Welfare State

Historians rarely note that core Thatcherite policies emerged out of Britain's new towns.⁹ Just fifteen days after the general election of 3 May 1979 – still more than a year before their 1980 Housing Act extended the right to buy to council tenants nationally – the new Conservative government initiated the sale of new town housing to its tenants.¹⁰ And a dozen years later, reflecting upon the ongoing sales of nationalized industries, a press release explained that privatization had been quietly proceeding in new towns since the Conservatives first took office. “Since 1979,” the Commission for the New Towns noted, “the Government has been undertaking one of the most important aspects of its ‘privatisation’ policy without the glare of publicity associated with British Telecom, British Gas or Water Authorities flotations – the sale of new town assets.”¹¹

Why, before selling a single council house or denationalizing the first public industry, did Thatcher's governments begin by privatizing Britain's new towns? On one level, they did so because they could: since new towns fell under ministerial control, the government could alter their management and mission without an act of Parliament. Yet the alacrity with which they pursued these initiatives, turning new towns into stages for policies foundational to Thatcher's Britain, attests to the ideological dimension of the new towns program. If market liberalism included a spatial politics, in the form of enterprise zones, social democracy did as well, in the form of new towns.¹² Partly for this reason, the sociologist Anthony King maintains that the key professions in the rise of market liberalism included, in addition to the usual suspects in banking and

⁹ Richard Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain: The Politics and Social Upheaval of the Thatcher Era* (London: Pocket Books, 2009); Ben Jackson and Robert Saunders, eds., *Making Thatcher's Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

¹⁰ A. R. Atherton, NT Circular 577, NT/203/43, 18 May 1979, CBS, MKDC, MK 39, Ref 00930/23/4.

¹¹ MKDC, “John Walker Appointed General Manager for the Commission for New Towns,” 15 February 1991, Local Studies Library, Milton Keynes Library, L060:35; Colin Ward, *New Town, Home Town: The Lessons of Experience* (London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1993), 105.

¹² Sam Wetherell, “Freedom Planned: Enterprise Zones and Urban Non-Planning in Post-War Britain,” *Twentieth Century British History* 27:2 (2016): 266–289.

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finance, urban planning.¹³ Indeed, enterprise zones and new towns were both overseen by “development corporations,” which traced their origins to a common ancestor in the New Towns Act of 1946. From this legislative foundation, the new towns program nationalized urban development projects that had previously been private as well as public.¹⁴ By dismantling that program, Thatcher’s government recognized something that historians generally have not.¹⁵

In the quarter century following the Second World War, governments of both parties designated thirty-two new towns across all four nations of the United Kingdom.¹⁶ By so doing, in addition to redistributing family incomes and health outcomes, Britain’s welfare state also intervened to rearrange the country’s population. To be sure, the welfare state created many kinds of spaces, from hospitals and schools to council estates and shopping districts.¹⁷ Its tools of population management included town and country planning, the expansion of towns and villages, and city center redevelopment.¹⁸ And as tower blocks elevated bodies vertically, suburban development dispersed them laterally.¹⁹ By the 1970s, as a result of

¹³ Anthony King, *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial Foundations of the World Urban System* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 66–67.

¹⁴ Alexander, *Britain’s New Towns*, 69–70.

¹⁵ An exception is Sam Wetherell, “Pilot Zones: The New Urban Environment of Twentieth Century Britain” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2016).

¹⁶ For a brief overview, see John Burnett, *A Social History of Housing, 1815–1985* (1978; New York: Methuen, 1986), 292–296. Accountings range between twenty-eight and thirty-two new towns, dividing over whether to include the four designations in Northern Ireland; the figure of thirty-two refers to total UK designations from 1946 to 1970, excluding the two projects abandoned during the 1970s; for further discussion, see Alexander, *Britain’s New Towns*, ix.

¹⁷ Elaine Harwood, *Space, Hope, and Brutalism: English Architecture, 1945–1975* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Alison Ravetz, *Council Housing and Culture: The History of a Social Experiment* (New York: Routledge, 2001); John Boughton, *Municipal Dreams: The Rise and Fall of Council Housing* (London: Verso, 2018).

¹⁸ David Matless, *Landscape and Englishness* (London: Reaktion, 1998); Alexander, *Britain’s New Towns*, 28, 38–41, 102–104, 174; Jesse Meredith, “Decolonizing the New Town: Roy Gazzard and the Making of Killingworth Township,” *Journal of British Studies* 57:2 (2018): 333–362; Peter Mandler, “New Towns for Old: The Fate of the Town Centre,” in *Moments of Modernity: Reconstructing Britain, 1945–1964*, eds. Becky Conekin, Frank Mort, and Chris Waters (London: Rivers Oram, 1999), 208–227; Otto Saumarez Smith, “Central Government and Town-Centre Redevelopment in Britain, 1959–1966,” *The Historical Journal* 58:1 (2015): 217–244.

¹⁹ Miles Glendinning and Stefan Muthesius, *Tower Block: Modern Public Housing in England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Mark Clapson, *Invincible Green Suburbs, Brave New Towns: Social Change and Urban Dispersal in Postwar England* (Manchester University Press, 1998), 23–61; Clapson, *Suburban Century: Social Change and Urban Growth in England and the United States* (Oxford: Berg, 2003). See also Peter J. Larkham and Keith D. Lilley, *Planning the “City of Tomorrow”: British Reconstruction Planning, 1939–1952: An Annotated Bibliography* (Pickering: Inch’s Books, 2001).

such initiatives, nearly one in three Britons lived in public accommodation – the highest rate in western Europe.²⁰ Collectively, these diverse projects testify to the breadth of the welfare state's ambitions and capacities.²¹

The new towns program comprised the most centralized and comprehensive effort within this wider field of spatial politics.²² By contrast with private American housing developments, British new towns were public sector enterprises; and by contrast with council housing, new towns promised self-sufficient communities. They invite comparison with the “greenbelt towns” of America's New Deal, except that Britain's program produced ten times as many developments.²³ Their initial formal modesty, as in Stevenage in Hertfordshire, combined with chronic image problems, can sometimes make it difficult to register the significance of a program that produced more towns than did any European country outside the Soviet Union.²⁴ Historians have revealed the many ways in which Britain's welfare state reached inside minds and bodies to forge social democratic subjects.²⁵ While not as extensive as council housing, in

²⁰ Vinen, *Thatcher's Britain*, 201; Ravetz, *Council Housing and Culture*, 2; Burnett, *A Social History of Housing*, 335–337.

²¹ For a related discussion, during a slightly earlier period, see James Greenhalgh, *Reconstructing Modernity: Space, Power, and Governance in Mid-Twentieth Century British Cities* (Manchester University Press, 2017).

²² Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 320–321.

²³ Jason Reblando, *New Deal Utopias* (Heidelberg: Kehrer Verlag, 2017).

²⁴ J. M. Richards, “Failure of the New Towns,” *Architectural Review* 114 (July 1953): 28–32. On the “anti-urbanism” of new towns, see Andrew Saint, “The New Towns,” in *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain, Volume IX: Since the Second World War*, ed. Boris Ford (Cambridge University Press, 1988), 146–159, at 147. On the Soviet case, see Chauncy D. Harris, *Cities of the Soviet Union: Studies in Their Functions, Size, Density, and Growth* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970); Stephen J. Collier, *Post-Soviet Social: Neoliberalism, Social Modernity, Biopolitics* (Princeton University Press, 2011). While acknowledging differences in accounting, Wakeman cites the figure of a thousand Soviet new towns in *Practicing Utopia*, 66.

²⁵ Carolyn Steedman, *Landscape for a Good Woman* (London: Virago, 1986), 121–123; Lawrence Black, “Social Democracy as a Way of Life: Fellowship and the Socialist Union, 1951–9,” *Twentieth Century British History* 10:4 (1999): 499–539; Jeremy Nuttall, “Labour Revisionism and Qualities of Mind and Character, 1931–1979,” *English Historical Review* 120:487 (2005): 667–694; Teri Chettiar, “The Psychiatric Family: Citizenship, Private Life, and Emotional Health in Welfare-State Britain” (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 2013); Michal Shapira, *The War Inside: Psychoanalysis, Total War, and the Making of the Democratic Self in Postwar Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 2013); Mathew Thomson, *Lost Freedom: The Landscape of the Child and the British Post-War Settlement* (Oxford University Press, 2013); Alistair Kefford, “Housing the Citizen-Consumer in Post-War Britain: The Parker Morris Report, Affluence, and the Even Briefer Life of Social Democracy,” *Twentieth Century British History* 29:2 (2018): 225–258. Recognizing this aspect of the welfare state, Thatcher sought to counter it: Margaret Thatcher, “Not So Much a Programme, More a Way of Life,” *The Downing Street Years* (London: HarperCollins, 1993), 625–641. On popular ownership of the social

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terms of residents housed, the new towns program extended these capacities spatially as well.

The legislative vehicle was the New Towns Act of 1946. Labour's 1945 election manifesto, *Let Us Face the Future*, pledged a combination of land nationalizations, universal housing, and "good town planning – pleasant surroundings, attractive lay-out, [and] efficient utility services."²⁶ The New Towns Act established the framework to realize these commitments. It provided ministers with extraordinary powers to designate development sites, and to appoint development corporations whose powers superseded local authorities. These development corporations could compel sales of private land, lease that land upon development, and reinvest the profits. While the process mandated public consultations, development corporations were largely free of local interests. According to Richard Crossman, minister of housing and local government from 1964 to 1966, development corporations were "completely autocratic" institutions, their budgets and their memberships set from London.²⁷ This centralized approach distinguished British planning from privately built suburbs, and as such offered an attractive model to states around the world.²⁸

By relocating working-class residents to greenfield sites, selected partly for their proximity to industry, resources, and transport links, the British state assumed significant responsibility for the rebalancing of town and country. While the Soviets built more settlements *de novo*, and the enormity of Brasília surpassed any single British effort, in its procedures, diversity, and sheer quantity the UK's program set a global standard.²⁹ Between 1946 and 1970, the British state designated nearly 250,000 acres as new towns; by the

democratic promise, see Selina Todd, "Phoenix Rising: Working-Class Life and Urban Reconstruction, c. 1945–1967," *Journal of British Studies* 54:3 (2015): 679–702; Camilla Schofield, "Bad Neighbors, Bad Bosses, Bad Feelings: The Making of the Race Relations Conciliation Officer, 1958–1976," North American Conference on British Studies (Little Rock), 13 November 2015.

²⁶ Labour Party, *Let Us Face the Future* (1945), www.politicsresources.net/area/uk/man/la_b45.htm, accessed 30 July 2018.

²⁷ Richard Crossman, *The Diaries of a Cabinet Minister, Volume I: 1964–1966* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1975), 127.

²⁸ New towns in England and Wales fell under the purview of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (1946–1951), the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (1951–1970), and the Department of the Environment (1970–1992); Scottish new towns fell under the secretary of state for Scotland; the four new towns in Northern Ireland were licensed by the New Towns (Northern Ireland) Act of 1965. Alexander, *Britain's New Towns*, 33, 46–48.

²⁹ Wyndham Thomas, "Britain's New Towns," in *New Towns World-wide*, ed. A. K. Constandse, E. Y. Galantay, and T. Ohba (The Hague: International Federation for Housing and Planning, 1985), 89–106.

The Spatial Dimension of the Welfare State



Map 1: The spatial dimension of the welfare state: new towns designated in the United Kingdom, 1946–1970.

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early twenty-first century, new towns housed 2.5 million Britons.³⁰ The new towns did not merely represent analogues to the welfare state's commitments in education, health, and housing: they designated spaces through which the welfare state could realize those commitments.³¹ Launched the same year as acts extending National Insurance and establishing the National Health Service, and terminated half-a-century later in tandem with the state's withdrawals from housing, industry, and municipal utilities, the new towns comprised the spatial dimension of the welfare state.³²

From Garden Cities to New Towns

Like so much else in modern Britain, the new town movement emerged in response to industrialization and urbanization. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, only a third of the country's population lived in towns, but within five decades England had become the world's first urban nation. In 1801, only London claimed more than a hundred thousand residents, and only six towns had more than fifty thousand residents. A century later, those figures had rocketed to thirty-three cities of at least a hundred thousand people, and seventy-five cities with more than fifty thousand people.³³

Urban growth brought urban squalor. "Whilst we have been building our churches and solacing ourselves with our religion and dreaming that the millennium was coming," charged the influential pamphlet, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, in 1883, "the poor have been growing poorer, the wretched more miserable, and the immoral more corrupt."³⁴ By the late

³⁰ The exact figure was 234,662 acres in the twenty-eight British new towns; the population figure derives from Grindrod, *Concretopia*, 400.

³¹ Ravetz, *Council Housing and Culture*, 3–5.

³² On "spatial Keynesianism," see Neil Brenner, *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood* (Oxford University Press, 2004). For a suggestive, if unelaborated, reference to "the spatial dimension of the welfare state," see Cristina Renzoni, "Spatial Legacies of the Welfare State: Housing and Beyond," *Contemporary European History* 22:3 (2013): 537–546, at 545. On the welfare state, see Pat Thane, *Foundations of the Welfare State*, 2nd edn (New York: Longman, 1996); Rodney Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945*, 2nd edn (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Chris Renwick, *Bread for All: The Origins of the Welfare State* (London: Allen Lane, 2017). The counterpoint remains David Edgerton, *Warfare State: Britain, 1920–1970* (Cambridge University Press, 2006). Edgerton does not deny the existence of the welfare state, but rather argues that "welfarism" blinds commentators to the British state's capacities and strength: "The welfarist, social democratic accounts focusing on the welfare state were also profoundly critical of liberal Britain for its lack of commitment to welfare and a strong state" (12). By contrast with those accounts, this book foregrounds the roles of experts and the state in making postwar Britain.

³³ Figures refer to England and Wales. Harold Perkin, *Origins of Modern English Society* (London: Routledge, 1969), 117; the precise end date on the latter statistics is 1907.

³⁴ Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, ed. Anthony S. Wohl (1883; New York: Humanities Press, 1970), 55–56.

1880s, Charles Booth, the shipowner-turned-social-investigator, estimated that more than a million Londoners lived in poverty.³⁵ The Conservative leader, Lord Salisbury, had ignited a furore among his fellow Tories by calling for the reform of working-class housing. Salisbury identified two approaches to the housing crisis: build upward, or build outward.³⁶ He did not go so far as to endorse municipal housing, but in 1890 the movement's supporters passed the Housing of the Working Classes Act, empowering local authorities to build and manage housing.³⁷ This act provided the foundation of housing policy for most of the next century.

The urban crisis captured the attention of a self-taught London stenographer, Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928). Having left school at fourteen, Howard lived briefly in the United States during the early 1870s. There he witnessed Chicago's rebuilding after its great fire of 1871, admiring the city's incorporation of generous parklands that inspired a pleasing accolade: "garden city."³⁸ Howard soon returned to an England grappling with overcrowding and squalor. In 1898, he borrowed £50 to publish his only book, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*.³⁹ Reprinted four years later as *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, Howard's little volume became the unlikely founding text of town and country planning. Within five years, his admirers raised more than £100,000 to establish England's first garden city, Letchworth, in Hertfordshire; a second, Welwyn Garden City, followed in 1920.⁴⁰

Howard favored not simply suburban housing developments, but self-sufficient communities – each with its own farms, industries, shopping, towns, and administration – of thirty-two thousand residents.⁴¹ He sought a socialist alternative to capitalist immiseration, by combining the benefits of town and country within a single ordered space. These

³⁵ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design since 1880*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 14–47, especially 28–29.

³⁶ Lord Salisbury, "Labourers' and Artisans' Dwellings," *The National Review* 9 (November 1883), reprinted in Mearns, *The Bitter Cry*, 113–129, at 118; for discussion, in the same volume, see Wohl, "Introduction," 28–29.

³⁷ Ravetz, *Council Housing and Culture*, 25.

³⁸ Mervyn Miller, "Howard, Sir Ebenezer (1850–1928)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34016, accessed 5 October 2017.

³⁹ Ebenezer Howard, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), reprinted as *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (1902; Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1965). On Howard, in addition to Miller, see Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 23–88.

⁴⁰ Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, 25; Peter Hall and Colin Ward, *Sociable Cities: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1998), 45–46.

⁴¹ Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, 142–143.

proposals echoed earlier ventures, such as Robert Owen's New Harmony, Indiana (1825). But rather than retreating from the world, Howard wanted to change it. To that end, his collaborator, Frederic Osborn (1885–1978), urged an alliance with the state. Writing in 1918 with Howard and two others, calling themselves the “New Townsmen,” Osborn called upon the government to establish a hundred postwar new towns.⁴² Upon Howard's death in 1928, the energetic Osborn assumed leadership of the movement, and he played a crucial role in persuading Clement Attlee's Labour government to pass the New Towns Act in 1946.⁴³ The new towns thus developed out of a history with an unsteady relationship to the city: in some ways emerging out of urban history, in other ways rejecting it.⁴⁴

This British story represents a single iteration within a global history.⁴⁵ From its origins in Letchworth, the garden city movement spread throughout England, Europe, and the world.⁴⁶ First imagined as socialist cooperatives, subsequently adopted by liberals, fascists, and communists, and symbolizing both imperial power and nationalist independence, new towns became embraced as catch-all panaceas.⁴⁷ Upon the end of the Second World War, spurred by urban reconstruction and post-

⁴² New Townsmen [Ebenezer Howard, Frederic Osborn, C. B. Purdom, and W. G. Taylor], *New Towns after the War: An Argument for Garden Cities* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1918); Michael Hughes, “Osborn, Sir Frederic James (1885–1978),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31520, accessed 19 October 2017; Hall and Ward, *Sociable Cities*, 42.

⁴³ Dennis Hardy, *1899–1999: The TCPA's First Hundred Years, and the Next . . .* (London: Town and Country Planning Association, 1999), 12; Hall and Ward, *Sociable Cities*, 41–69; Alexander, *Britain's New Towns*, 22, 70 – but compare Meryl Aldridge, *The British New Towns: A Programme without a Policy* (London: Routledge, 1979). There are many useful accounts of the garden city movement and the genesis of the 1946 act: in addition to Alexander, *Britain's New Towns*, 15–26, see Frederic Osborn and Arnold Whittick, *The New Towns: The Answer to Megalopolis* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1969), 82–110; Helen Meller, *Towns, Plans, and Society in Modern Britain* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 67–73; Matless, *Landscape and Englishness*, 275–317.

⁴⁴ Clapson, *Invincible Green Suburbs*, 5–13.

⁴⁵ The essential account is Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia*. See also, chronologically, Constandse *et al.*, *New Towns World-wide*; Alain R. A. Jacquemin, *Urban Development and New Towns in the Third World: Lessons from the New Bombay Experience* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999); Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow*; Leif Jerram, *Streetlife: The Untold History of Europe's Twentieth Century* (Oxford University Press, 2011), 317–384; Kenny Cupers, *The Social Project: Housing Postwar France* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). But for a reminder of the importance of national contexts, see William Whyte, “The 1910 Royal Institute of British Architects' Conference: A Focus for International Town Planning?” *Urban History* 39:1 (2012): 149–165.

⁴⁶ Helen Meller and Heleni Porfyriou, eds., *Planting New Towns in Europe in the Interwar Years: Experiments and Dreams for Future Societies* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2016); Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia*, 20–46; Reblando, *New Deal Utopias*.

⁴⁷ Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia*, 33, 20, 35–37, 48.