

From Manufacturing Industries to a Services Economy: The Emergence of a 'New Manchester' in the Nineteen Sixties

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'Manchester is primarily an industrial city; it relies for its prosperity - more perhaps than any other town in the country - on full employment in local industries manufacturing for national and international markets.' (Rowland Nicholas, 1945, *City of Manchester Plan*, p.97)

'Between 1966 and 1972, one in three manual jobs in manufacturing were lost and one quarter of all factories and workshops closed. ... Losses in manufacturing employment, however, were accompanied (although not replaced in the same numbers) by a growth in service occupations.' (Alan Kidd, 2006, *Manchester: A History*, p.192)

Economic Decline, Social Change, Demographic Shifts

During the post-war decades Manchester went through the socially painful process of economic restructuring, switching from a labour market based primarily on manufacturing and engineering to one in which services sector employment dominated. While parts of Manchester's economy were thriving from the late 1950s, having recovered from the deep austerity period after the War, with shipping trade into the docks at Salford buoyant and Trafford Park still a hive of activity, the ineluctable contraction of the cotton industry was a serious threat to the Manchester and regional textile economy. Despite efforts to stem the tide, the textile mills in

Manchester and especially in the surrounding satellite towns were closing with knock on effects on associated warehousing and distribution functions. The impact of the terminal decline of 'Cottonopolis' in the 1960s is illustrated in FIG01 which shows the large amount of industrial floor losses in Manchester, (and in the satellite towns of Rochdale, Oldham and Bolton) most likely the result of the closure of textile related firms. This contraction was in marked contrast to industrial growth recorded elsewhere in the North West due to new 'greenfield' factories and government subsidies favouring new businesses in Merseyside. The Manchester Cotton Exchange finally ceased trading in December 1968; although within a few years' ambitious plans were being advanced to use the Great Hall as the site for an innovative theatre space. The Royal Exchange Theatre (architects Levitt Bernstein) opened in 1976 to great acclaim and has been an established part of the cultural economy of Manchester ever since.

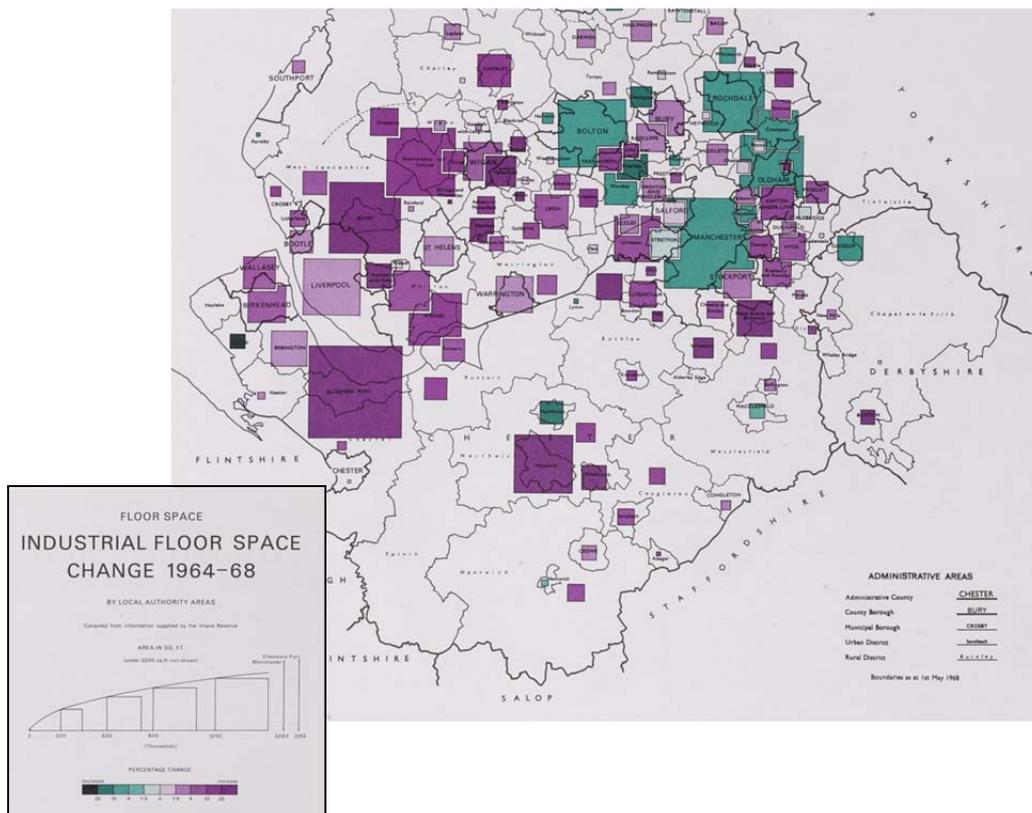


FIG01. Source: Author extract from *North West Regional Atlas, 1971*. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, North West Regional Office.

Economic restructuring was accompanied by significant social change in the 1960s. For those in work, real-terms income growth and an increase in household spending

was a spur to the consumer oriented lifestyles, which was characterised by the expansion of retailing and new commercial leisure provision. Changing rules on credit and the development of hire purchase facilitated many working-class households' acquisition of a suite of domestic appliances, such as fridges and televisions, along with the marked growth in car ownership. There were significant moves towards gender equality with growing female labour market participation and the pressure from feminist activists. Large scale immigration from the Caribbean and South Asia created much more ethnic diversity in Manchester, though this was spatially concentrated in a few inner wards, such as Moss Side, Longsight and Cheetham Hill, and not without racial discrimination.

Deindustrialisation was also connected to significant demographic change in the post-war period as authorities attempted to solve Manchester's 'population problem'. Residential densities declined across inner wards alongside renewed attempts by the Council to deal with the extensive areas of poor quality housing. The legacy of rapid industrialisation and Victorian era population growth were most evident in the acres of terraced housing and over-crowded living conditions with little open space. The double conditions of planned population decentralisation and slum clearances accompanied by the rise of a car-based society created more urban sprawl and Manchester grew markedly at its fringes. The development of Wythenshawe with its small scale cottages in a 'garden city' landscape, favoured in the 1950s, gave way to larger and quicker public housing provision on overspill estates. These were often sited some distance from Manchester, such as in Hyde, Heywood and Longdendale (the huge Hattersley estate). For many people this movement out from the city proper created a deep sense of social and economic disconnection from their old lives. Many of the 1960s overspill estates suffered significant deprivation, and associated problems of anti-social behaviour and criminality. [FIG02, FIG03]

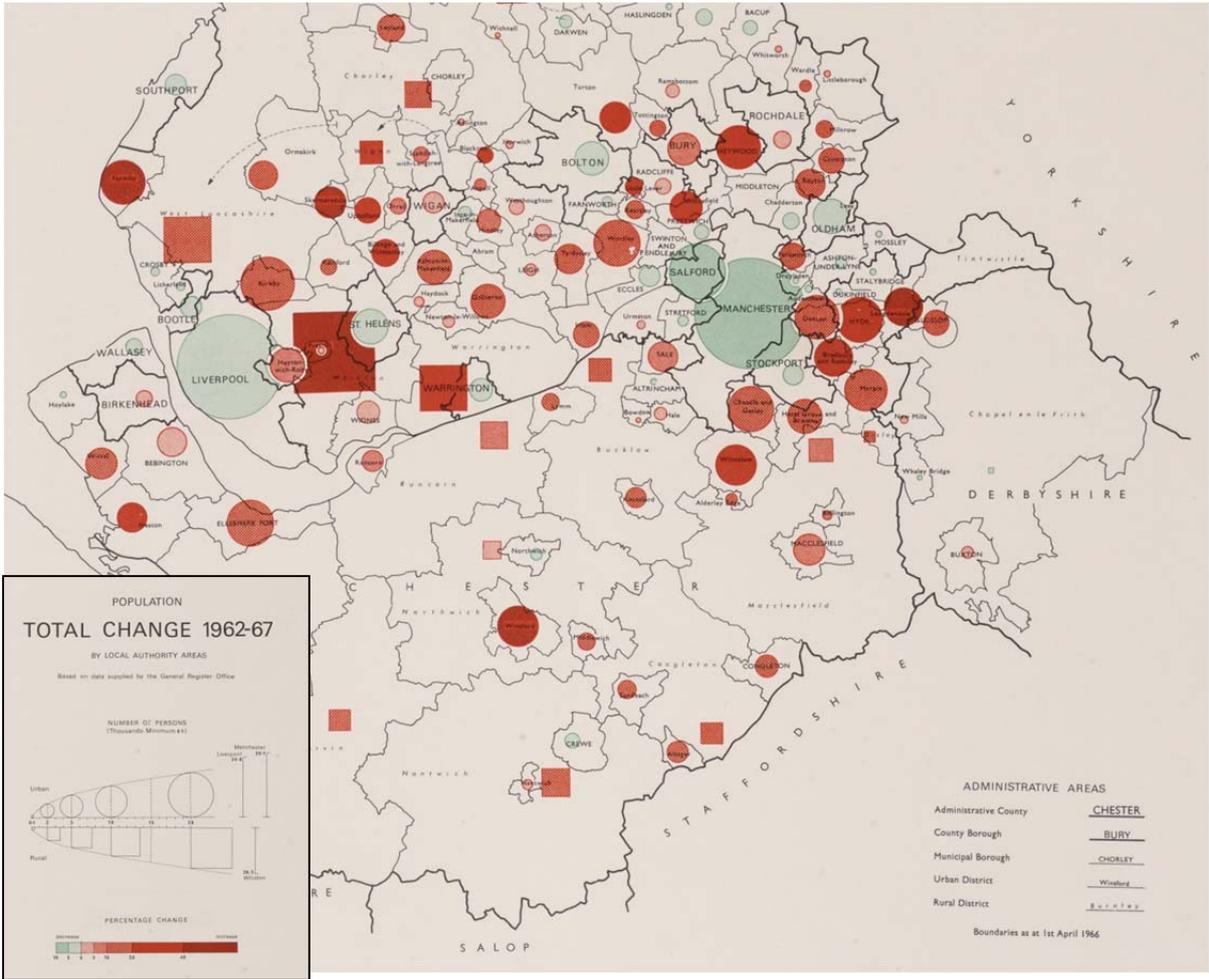


FIG02. Source: Author extract from *North West Regional Atlas*, 1971. Ministry of Housing and Local Government, North West Regional Office.

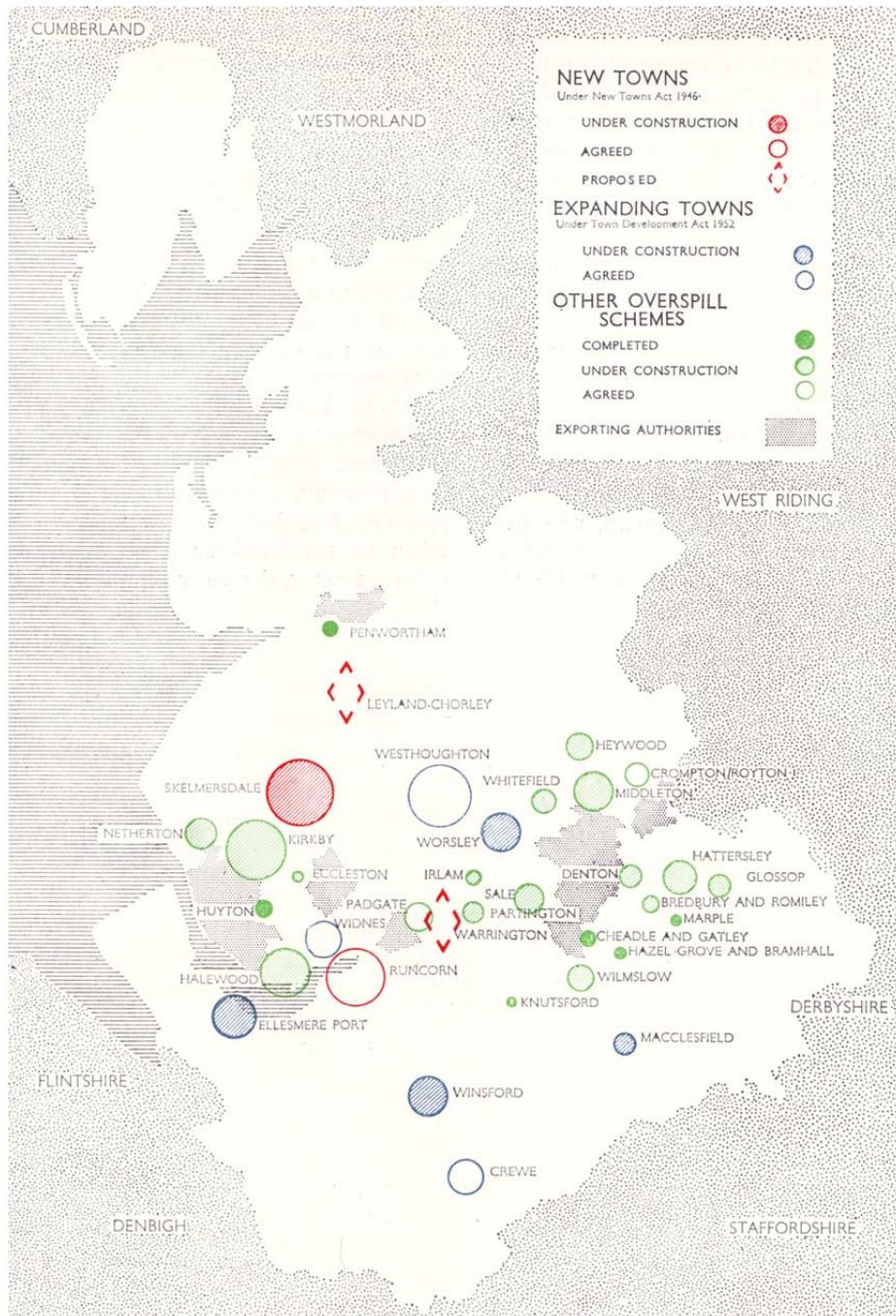


FIG03. Overview of major resident developments and new towns in the northwest region in the mid 1960s that were envisaged primarily to cope with large-scale ‘deconcentration’ of population from Liverpool and Manchester. Source: The North West: A Regional Study. Department of Economic Affairs, HMSO, 1965, p.82.

Over the post-war decades the scale of population de-concentration contributed significantly to the merging together of what were separate satellite towns around Manchester and Salford as housing development spread along major road axis and sprawled out into open agricultural land in-between. Despite efforts to impose a ‘green belt’, particularly under the auspices of the Greater Manchester Council, many

villages and smaller settlement of south-east Lancashire and north east Cheshire melded together. The Pennines constrained eastward expansion.

Within Manchester itself, large and long established residential areas on the periphery of the city centre were designated 'Action Areas' by town hall officials in the 1960s and subject to wholesale 'slum' clearances, with large numbers of streets condemned and many thousands of families had their homes taken away through compulsory purchase orders. [FIG04]. The *tabula rasa* style redevelopment of Hulme was especially prominent on the urban landscape of inner Manchester, but it was not the only residential neighbourhood to be bulldozed and completely rebuilt. [FIG05; FIG06] By the late 1960s experimentation with large deck access public housing using an industrial 'systems building' approach were being promoted as efficient solutions.¹ [FIG07]. As with the overspill estates, the megastructure housing blocks like the Hulme Crescents and multi-level 'lego-brick' style Fort Ardwick and Fort Beswick² suffered from a combination of physical construction faults and socio-economic problems created by poor management.

¹ Cf. *Urban Renewal Manchester*, 1967 (Housing Development Group, Manchester Corporation Housing Committee). Scanned version available online at www.mappingmanchester.org/plans

² Bendixon T, 1969, 'Man-sized Leggo', *Guardian*, 17 November, p. 6.

Renewal Implementation 23

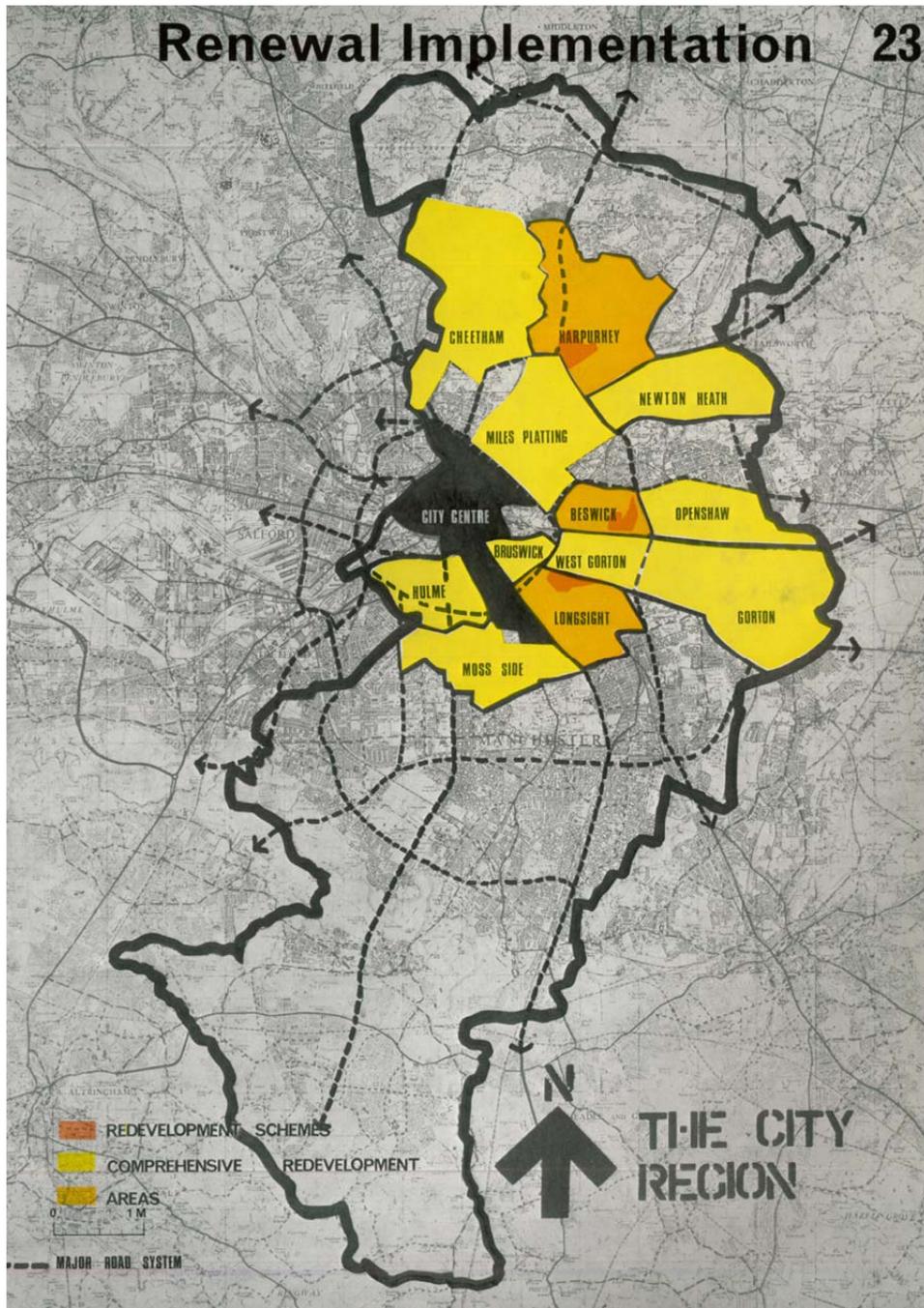


FIG04. Zoning map indicating the scale of residential redevelopment across a large swath of Manchester's inner neighbourhoods in the late 1960s. Source: *Urban Renewal Manchester*. Housing Development Group, Manchester Corporation Housing Committee, 1967, p.3.



FIG05. Overview plan showing the configuration of the Hulme Crescents, a large deck access scheme providing some 989 homes. Source: *City of Manchester Hulme 5 Redevelopment: Report on design*, Oct. 1965. Hugh Wilson & Lewis Womersley, Manchester.

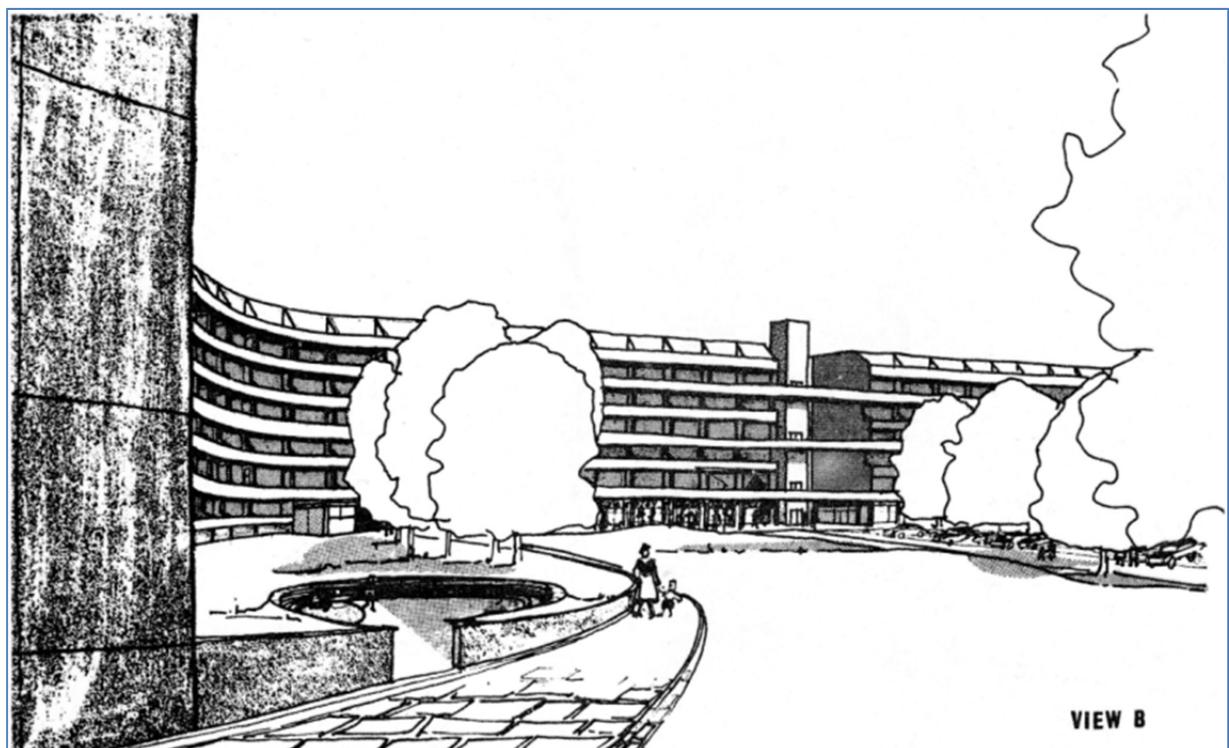


FIG06. Perspective sketch of the spaces and landscaping around the Hulme Crescents. Source: *City of Manchester Hulme 5 Redevelopment: Report on design*, Oct. 1965. Hugh Wilson & Lewis Womersley, Manchester.

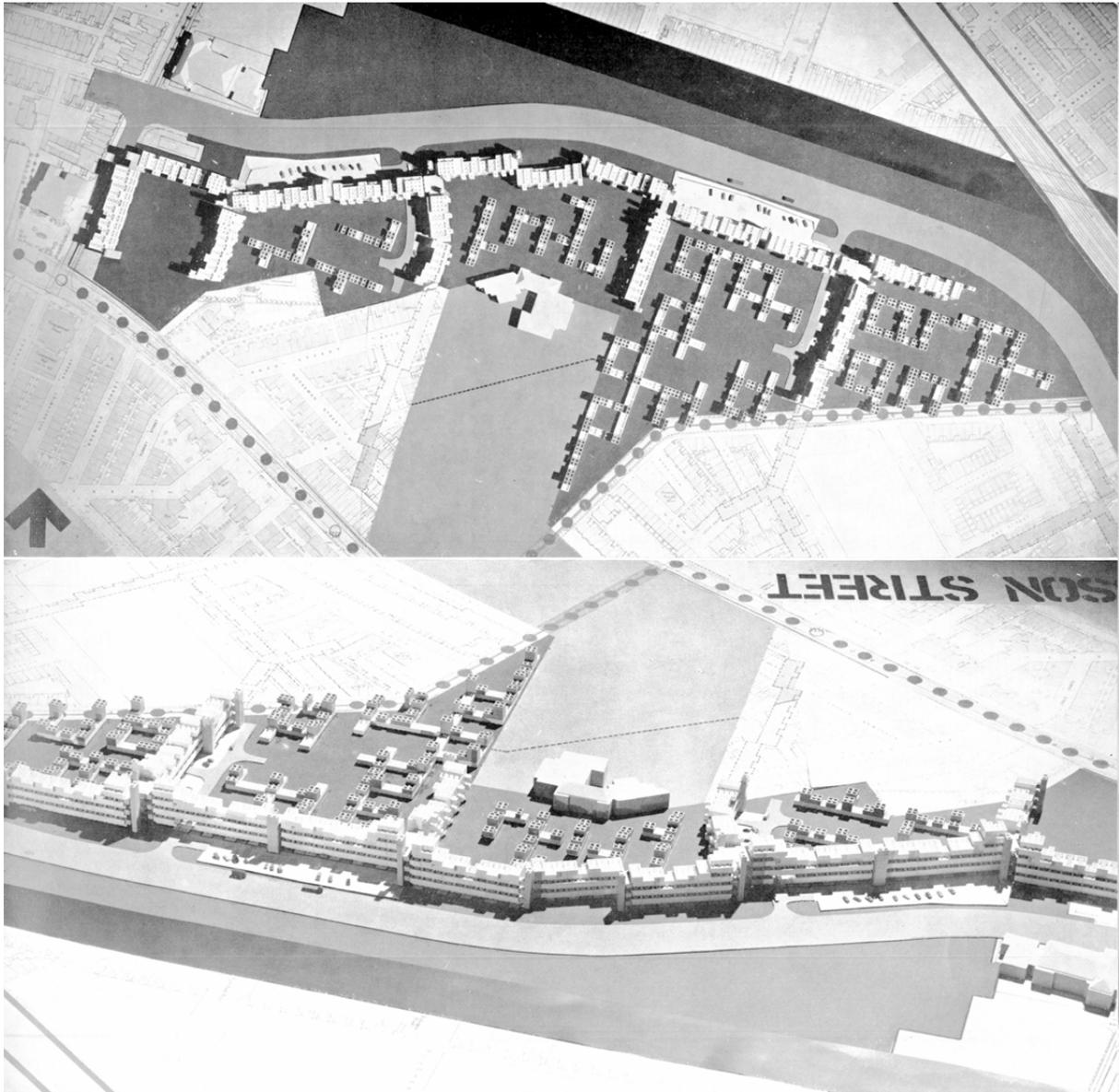


FIG07. A model, made of Lego, showing the deck access scheme at Gibson Street. When completed this multi-level residential complex quickly gained the nicknamed 'Fort Ardwick'. Source: *Urban Renewal Manchester*. Housing Development Group, Manchester Corporation Housing Committee, 1967, p.25.

Signs and Symbols of the Service Sector Economy

Industrial decline and the development of service sector activities, from the 1950s and particularly into the 1960s, were made visible in the physical fabric of Manchester through the dereliction of manufacturing sites, redundant factory structures and the appearance of some new buildings. The architectural symbols of new services activity were most evident on the skyline of the city centre as multiple office buildings appeared, full of white-collar workers engaged in banking, insurance,

legal services and administration. The trend towards ever taller office blocks started with Albert Bridge House (E.M. Banks for the Ministry of Works, 1959) and Longridge House (H.S. Fairhurst & Sons, 1959) in the late 1950s [FIG08]. However, undoubtedly it was the 25 storey CIS tower, truly a skyscraper, which was the iconic structure of the early 1960s and signified commercial office development. Its 7ft high lettering on the summit was emblematic of this new source of economic power in Manchester and was visible for miles. It was also justifiably celebrated for its architectural aesthetic at the time: 'The office tower ...eschews any pyrotechnics and relies solely on the excellence of its proportions for effect. ... [with] the curtain wall of plate glass, black vitreous enamelled steel and projecting anodized aluminium I-sectioned mullions wrap uninterruptedly around the whole block The temptation to dabble with colours of any kind has been resisted.'³ [FIG09]

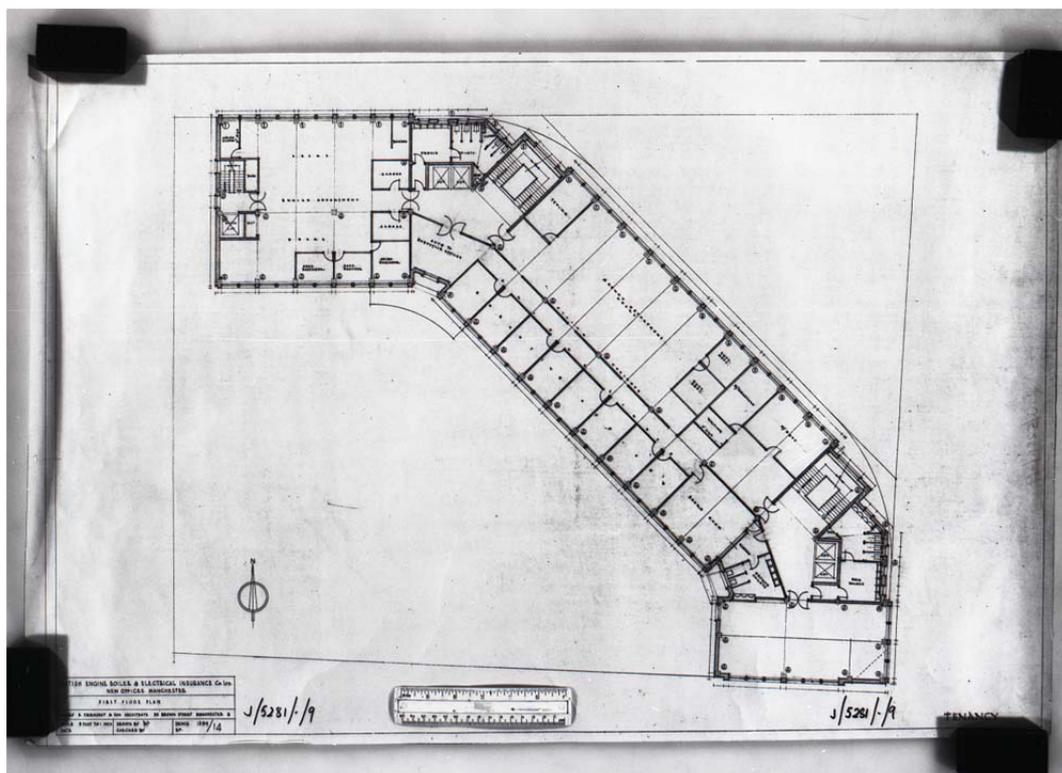


FIG08. Floor plan of Longridge House by architect Harry S. Fairhurst and Son. Source: Courtesy of Manchester City Archives, author scan from City Engineers microcards, ref. 5281/-/9.

³ Scott, N K, 1963, 'Manchester's skyscraper', *The Architect & Building News*, 16 January, pp.83-84.



FIG09. Model of the CIS Tower by architect G.S. Hay & Burnett, Tait & Partners. Source: Richard Brook, Courtesy of the Co-operative Archive.

The 'new' Manchester was literally going up in the mid 1960s - with many office towers constructed (including Piccadilly Plaza, St Andrews House, Highland House, Rodwell Tower and Gateway House). All were much taller than anything built during the pre-war period and dwarfed the Town Hall's neo-gothic clock tower, traditionally the central signifier of the power of civic Manchester. As Franklin Medhurst noted in 1963 'In place of the ponderous carbon patinated Victorian warehouses, solidly defining every central street at a regulation five or six storeys, there is now soaring a nexus of glass-curtained counting houses, squarely silhouetted against the obscured Pennine sky.'⁴ Most new office blocks were built outside of the tradition business

⁴ Medhurst F, 1963, 'Out of centre', *The Guardian*, 12 July, p.12.

core of the city, typically being aligned to the long-planned (but never realised) City Centre Ring Road. [FIG10] The media celebrated these tall blocks and slabs as a positive sign of transformation and economic progress and as symbols of the growing power of finance and new service sector employment. [FIG11] Internally the design of these glass-walled office towers can also be seen as a reflection of changing working practices, with floor space being flexibly arranged with most employees in open plan, reflecting the loosening of hierarchy in many business operations in the post-war period. This kind of modern architecture both supported and symbolised new types of economic activity that was about information processing and was quite different to the design of industrial buildings and impressive warehouses that had been so dominant in Manchester for the previous 150 years.

The somewhat isolated office tower developments from the mid 1960s were about to give way to larger-scale mixed-use complexes on sites defined as Comprehensive Development Areas by the Planning Department. Six such designations defined much of the planning activity and were the basis for much of the speculative work referenced in this exhibition. However all these mega commercial developments, except Market Street (the Arndale), were stymied in Manchester in part by macro-forces as the national economy faltered in the 1970s after the 'Oil Shock'.

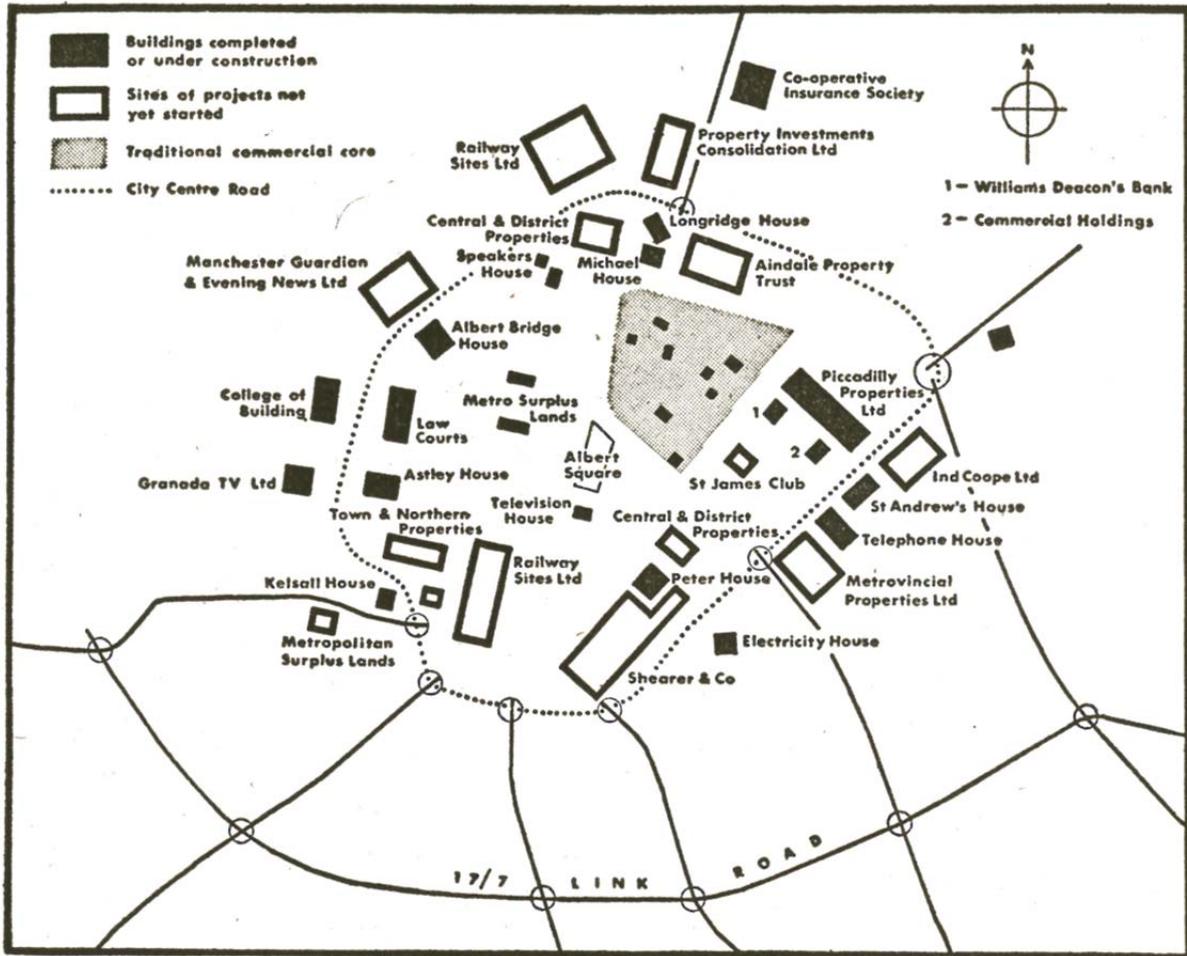


FIG10. Overview of the major new office buildings put up in central Manchester from the late 1950s to the early 1960s. Source: "Out of centre", by Franklin Medhurst, *The Guardian*, 1963 12 July, p.12.



FIG11. Office blocks as symbols of economic progress. Source: author scan from advertisement in *Manchester Evening News*, 1964.

Developments Indicative of Post-Industrialism

In sync with the completion of the CIS office skyscraper in 1962 was the opening of the Renold Building on the new campus of the Manchester College of Science and Technology. An elegantly designed structure by architect W.A. Gibbon of Cruickshank & Seward, with its large lecture theatres and floors of teaching rooms it was another significant physical development in the city and acknowledged at the time.⁵ [FIG12] It can now be seen to symbolise the shift to a post-industrial basis with one of its foci on higher education and academic research (what one might term as nodal points in the 'knowledge economy'). As the 1960s progressed, the institution of UMIST was forged and its impressive new education campus transformed a run-down industrial area along the River Medlock. The scale of these buildings and their design by local architects were emblematic of 1960s ideals and the desire to create a modern space for learning. [FIG13] Another key development in this period that can be seen as indicative of post-industrialism was the growth of Granada studios (Ralph Tubbs, 1956-65) as a major site for media production. It's most significant

⁵ 'The successful use of white concrete in the new lecture room block', *Concrete Quarterly*, 55, Oct-Dec. 1963, pp.11-13.

www.concretecentre.com/TCC/media/TCCMediaLibrary/Concrete%20Quarterly%20Archive/1962/CQ_055_Winter1962.PDF

cultural output, *Coronation Street*, was first broadcast in December 1960 and would become a massively popular symbol for Manchester and the North. [FIG14]



FIG12. Model of the Renold Building that would be at the heart of the UMIST campus. Designed by architect W.A. Gibbon of Cruickshank & Seward. Source: Courtesy of MMU Library Special Collections.



FIG13. Panoramic sketch of the UMIST campus, circa 1966. Drawn by Peter Sainsbury for architects Cruickshank & Seward. Source: Courtesy of MMU Library Special Collections.



FIG14. Model of the main building of the Granada Studio complex. Designed by architect Ralph Tubbs. Source: *The Builder*, 24 June 1960, p.1178.

There was a raft of infrastructural development in the 1960s that can be interpreted as providing support for post-industrial activities such as improved transport and the modernisation of communication associated with tertiary sector business needs. For example, the completely new airport terminal opened in 1962, which really kick started the transformation of war-time Ringway into Manchester International and was able to handle the large jet planes on trans-continental routes that would underpin global business connections. [FIG15] In the early 1960s there was also the large scale renewal and redevelopment of Manchester's main railway station, with the grimy London Road emerging as Piccadilly Station with a new frontage and tower block as well as the sinuously curved Gateway House (Richard Seifert, 1969). [FIG16] Oxford Road Station was also rebuilt and reopened in 1960 with its distinctive laminated timber conoid roof structure (W.R. Headingly and M. Clendinning, 1960). The mid 1960s also saw the *Manchester Rapid Transit Study* make a recommendation for a monorail route from airport through the city centre in a tunnel and north to Langley. This was not realised.⁶

⁶ The in-depth reports from this study have been digitised and are available at www.mappingmanchester.org/plans

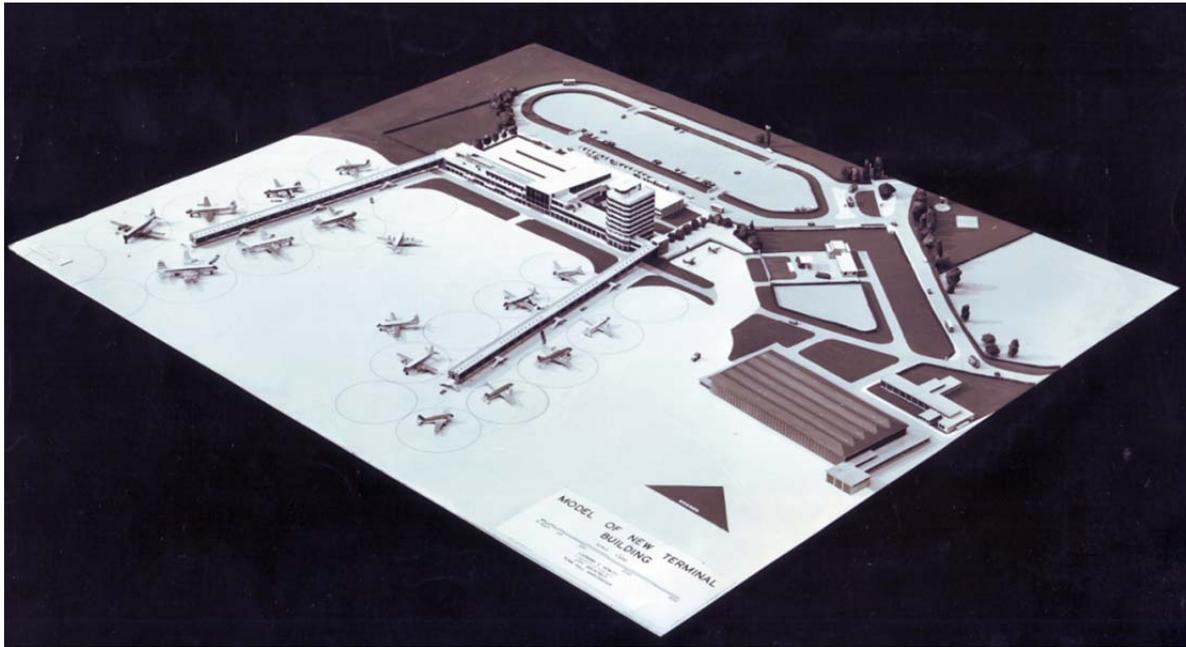


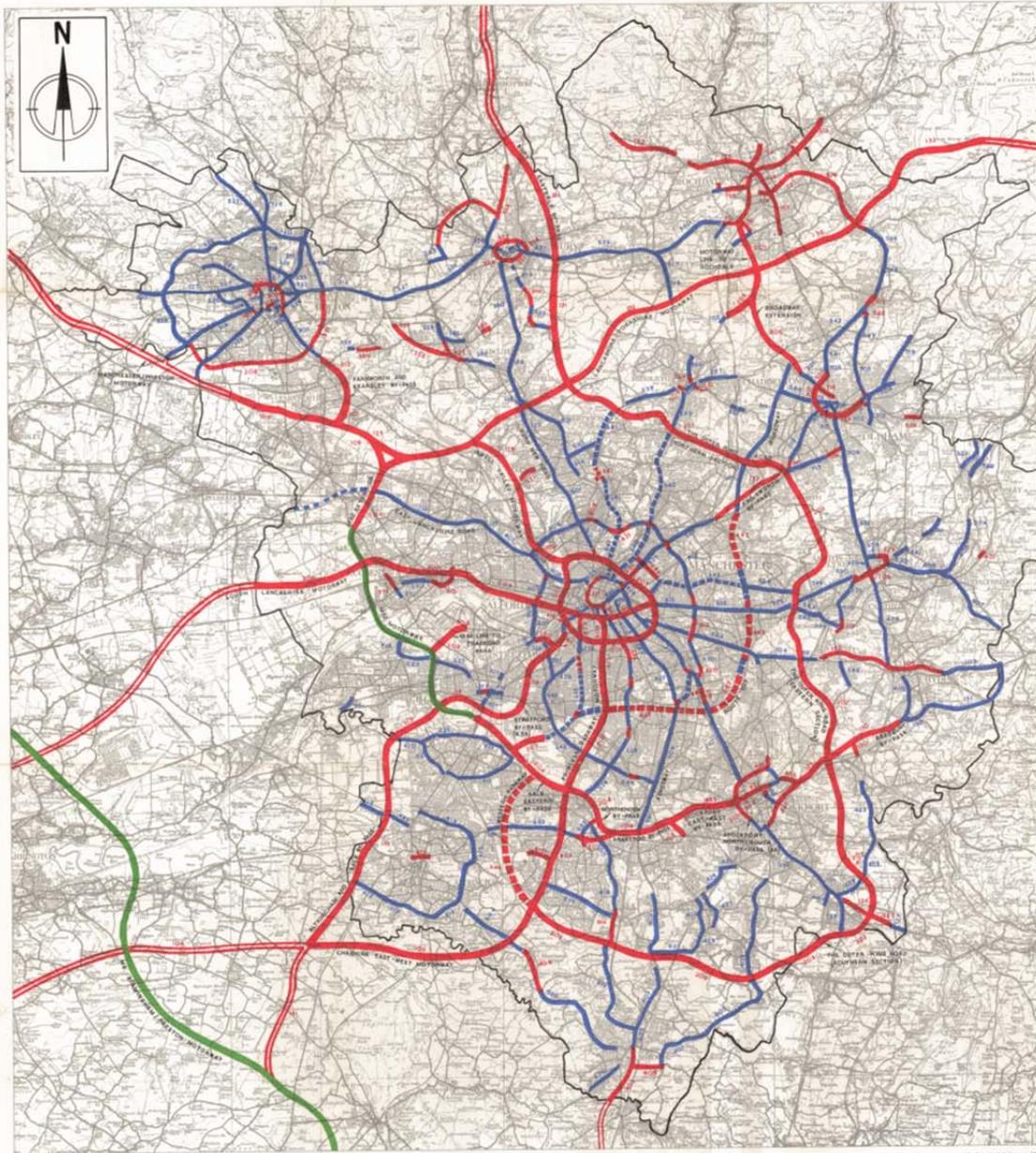
FIG15. Promotional model setting out the new airport terminal, designed by City Architect Leonard C. Howitt. For the early 1960s the scale of this redevelopment was impressive and matched the municipal ambitions of Manchester Corporation at that time. Source: Courtesy of Manchester Airport archive.



FIG16. Iconic railway poster promoting the major redevelopment of London Road Station and its reopening as Manchester Piccadilly. Drawn by Claude Buckle, 1960. Source: <http://blog.nrm.org.uk/manchester-piccadilly-a-visual-history/>.

However, in many respects transport planning in the 1960s in Manchester and across the wider region was focused on handling the demands of private motorists over public transport provision, reflected in the SELNEC *1962 Highway Plan* and various ring road schemes and axial dual carriageways for city and satellite towns. [FIG17] The Stretford-Eccles bypass and Barton High Level Bridge over the Ship Canal (the M62-M63) opened in 1960, in what would become first segment of Manchester's orbital motorway network. Later in the decade the opening of Mancunian Way in 1967 marked Manchester's flirtation with elevated urban highways although it would turn out to be an isolated piece of motorway grade road as the rest of associated urban motorway schemes and ring roads were only partially realised. Priorities in Manchester and the SELNEC region were reflecting national trends that favoured motorway building while the 'Beeching Axe' was falling on the railway network. Disinvestment in rail infrastructure was most evident in Manchester city centre with closure of Central and Exchange stations at the end of the 1960s.

S.E.L.N.E.C. THE HIGHWAY PLAN



LEGEND

1. MOTORWAYS EXISTING OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION
2. PROPOSED MAJOR ROADS
3. PROPOSED MAJOR ROADS FOR WHICH RESERVATION SHOULD BE MAINTAINED (CONSTRUCTION COSTS NOT INCLUDED IN OVERALL ESTIMATE)
4. CONTINUATION OF MAJOR ROADS NOT INCLUDED IN S.E.L.N.E.C. ESTIMATES
5. EXISTING ROADS TO BE WIDENED AND IMPROVED
6. EXISTING ROADS TO BE WIDENED AND IMPROVED (CONSTRUCTION COSTS NOT INCLUDED IN OVERALL ESTIMATE)
7. BOUNDARY OF S.E.L.N.E.C. AREA

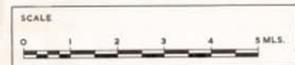


FIG17. The destructive vision of highway development in the 1960s. Source: SELNEC Highway Plan, 1962. South-east Lancashire and North-east Cheshire Area Highway Engineering Committee.

The application of computing to an ever wider array of business information processing tasks was a key feature of the economic transformation in the 1960s and the National Computing Centre, setup in Manchester, was meant to support this.⁷ There was also demand for more advanced telecommunications services and this was symbolised materially in the 1960s through a new network of tall microwave relay towers. The Post Office Tower in central London was widely celebrated when it opened in the mid 60s as a sign of modern British technical prowess and at Heaton Park, in North Manchester, the GPO also constructed a 70m high concrete antenna structure. Its five visually striking paraboloid microwave horns were a distinctively futuristic silhouette when seen from a distance.

The new Manchester that was emerging in the 1960s would be a cleaner city and a healthier place to live. This desire was reflected in efforts amongst Manchester planning officials to improve the physical environment more generally, tackling the problem of air pollution that was still chronic problem in the 1950s and also dealing with the legacy of years of industrial contamination of the land and the rivers. The 1960s saw the beginning of serious plans to improve the condition of waterways and to rejuvenate the river valleys penetrating into the city centre. Manchester also lead the country in imposing smokeless zones, firstly covering the city centre and then many surrounding neighbourhood, encouraging use of more efficient and cleaner methods of domestic heating. [FIG18]

⁷ 'Plans for computer centre', *The Guardian*, 13 November 1965, p.14.

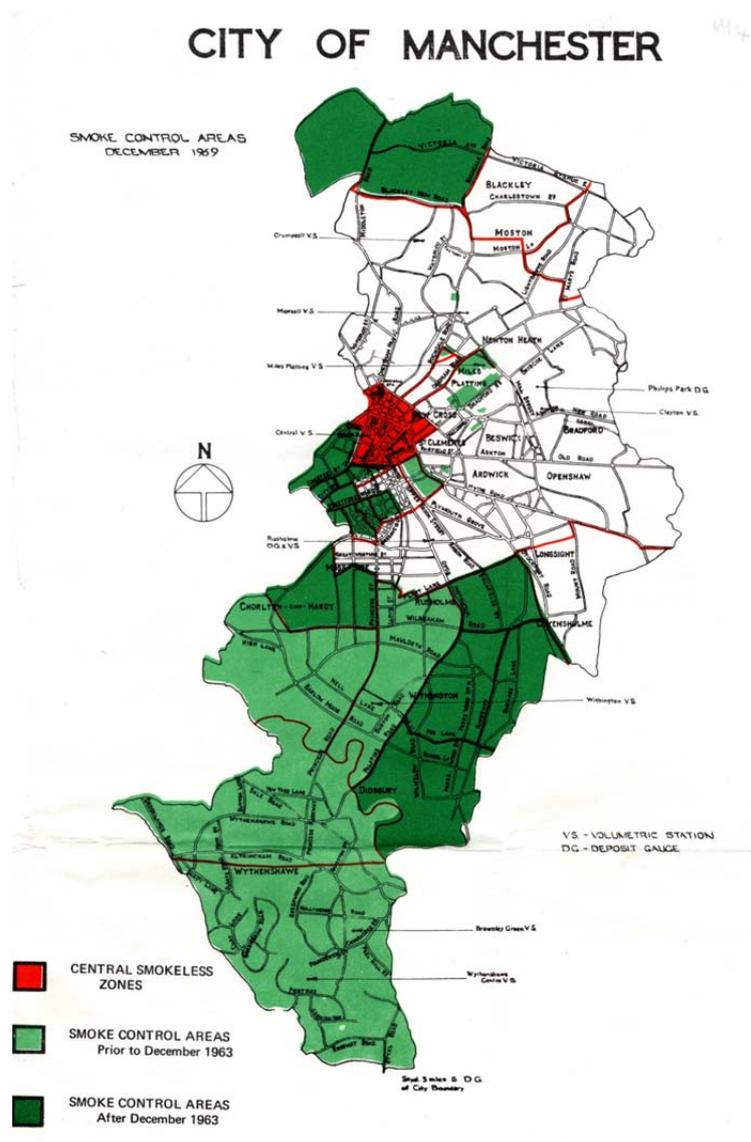


FIG18. Zone map of smoke control areas, 1969. Source: Medical Officer of Health report, 1969, Manchester Corporation.

A New Style of Planning in Manchester in the 1960s?

With hindsight it seems apparent that a new generation of senior personnel holding the key technical offices in Manchester Town Hall early in the 1960s were responsible for piloting a new course and pushing for new kinds of urban redevelopment, housing and highway solutions. Leadership from men schooled in pre-war ethos of planning gave way to a younger generation with progressive ideas more suited to the 1960s. Most significantly Rowland Nicholas and his large dominion as City Surveyor and Engineer was broken up and a new dedicated town planning department formed in 1964 under the direction of John S. Millar. He

assembled a team of younger planners and urban designers that sought to transform the city, within legal and logistical constraints and counter-pressures from developers, to the benefit of people, to create the 'city beautiful'. [FIG19] Besides Millar's appointment, the mid 1960s saw a change of the City Architect with Leonard C. Howitt being replaced by S. G. Besant Roberts, which brought a markedly different style and design ethos to municipal building projects. The stoic and civilised Crown Court was Howitt's last building and the machined towers at Aytoun and All Saints heralded Besant-Roberts tenure. The behind the scenes power of Town Clerk also changed hands as long-serving (Sir) Philip B. Dingle retired in 1966 and was replaced by George C. Ogden. Austen Bent became the new director of the Housing Department in 1963.

Much of the work of these powerful technocrats in the Town Hall was around spatial management and coping with the legacy of Manchester being the first industrial city. This was expressed in a desire to erase the chaotic past, enact more orderly planning for a better future and to counteract the 'image of grime and obsolescence inherited from the industrial revolution'.⁸ To help engender greater civic pride the new planning department seemed to be conscious of the need to communicate their work more widely and a series of publications explained the processes at work in the planning and design of the new city. They also seemed to be adept at generating upbeat propaganda in the local press about the prospects for new development. The *Evening News* had, of course, its own agenda in civic boosterism of Manchester as the Second City. In this effort to communicate the potential for urban change, it is also interesting to note the centrality of the large table-top block model in the Town Hall Extension that was deployed actively to convince visitors as to the merits of the new Manchester; as in 1966 when the model was shown to PM Harold Wilson. [FIG 20]

⁸ *Manchester City Centre Map*, 1967, p.39.



The Prime Minister inspecting various models in the Exhibition Hall. With him are the Lord Mayor (Alderman Bernard S. Langton, J.P.) and various members of the City Council.

FIG20. The physical model of Manchester city centre in the Town Hall extension was a useful tool of public communication about planning in the 1960s. Source: Courtesy of the Manchester City Archive, ref. GB127.M480/m95411.

Sorting Out The City Centre

At the heart of the new Manchester would be a transformed urban core. For the planners the need to deal more effectively with the layout, land-use and communications in the central area had long been a primary concern. By comparing and contrasting the visions presented on zoning plans from 1945 and 1967 one may get a sense of the common concerns for order and legibility running across the post-war decades. [FIG21; FIG22] In many ways very little happened in Manchester city centre for the first ten years or so from 1945. This was a time of deep austerity and investment priorities by the State in the late 1940s and into start of the 1950s were

welfare orientated with building for health and schools typically in areas beyond the core.

Here are two high-level aims regarding the city centre and it is evident that the planning agenda over the twenty plus years between these key documents changed little:

'It is undoubtedly most desirable that the zoning scheme for the city centre should make possible, as opportunity serves, some sorting-out of the present indiscriminate mixture of development and some improvement in the grouping of buildings used for similar purposes. At the same time it would be foolish to attempt a rigid segregation whose enforcement would entail high compensation payments and might soon have to be abandoned on financial grounds. The zoning proposals must allow considerable elasticity, permitting the less harmful mixtures of uses to remain – unless, of course, the owners themselves decide that relocation would be desirable in their own interests.' (Rowland Nicholas, 1945 *City of Manchester Plan*, p.192)

'The City Centre has reached a critical stage in its development with a high proportion of obsolete buildings, which presents the opportunity to renew and recreate a more efficient and convenient centre worthy of the region it serves. The object is to harness the forces of change so as to reconcile improved accessibility with higher environmental standards and to obtain maximum advantage from limited resources.' (John S. Millar, *Manchester City Centre Map*, 1967, p.14)

CITY OF MANCHESTER * CENTRAL AREA

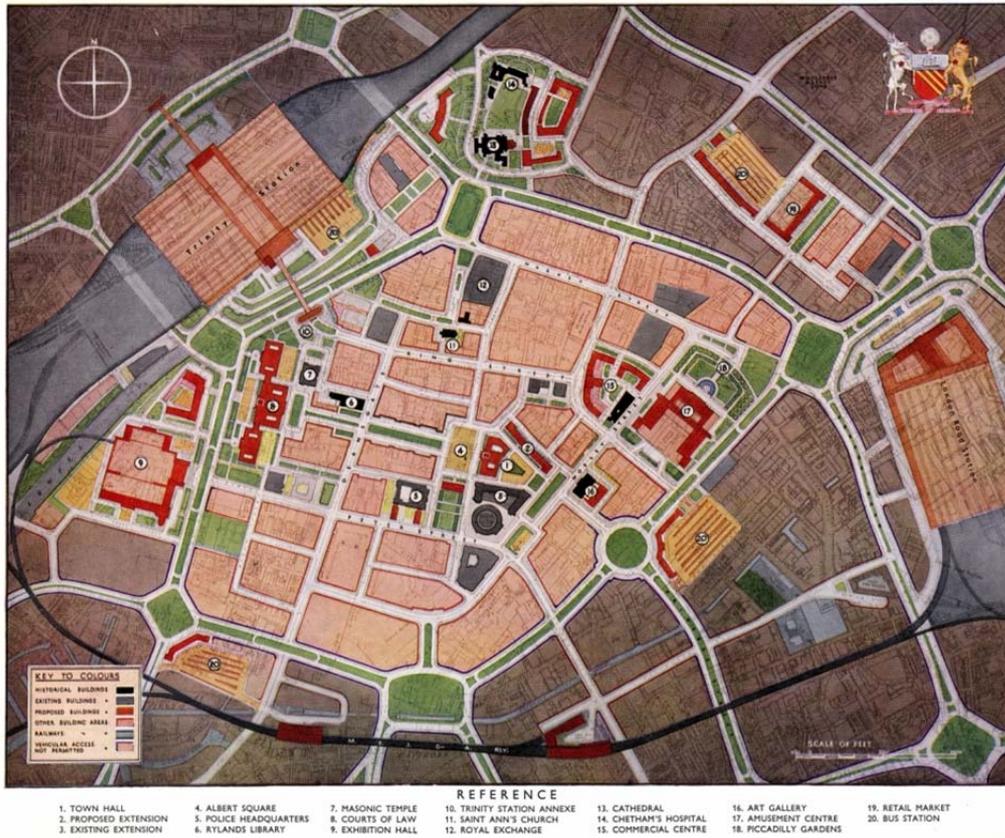


FIG21. Zoning map for the redevelopment of the city centre as envisaged in Rowland Nicholas' post-war reconstruction plan. Source: *City of Manchester Plan*, 1945. Manchester Corporation.



FIG22. The broad zoning of redevelopment for the city centre envisaged at the end of the 1960s. Source: *Manchester City Centre Map*, 1967. Manchester City Council, Map 11.

Another key aspect for the city centre in terms of serving the post-industrial consumer economy was the need to develop a bigger and better shopping environment, providing more space for retailing and offering the potential for covered pedestrianised areas. In terms of prime retail in the city centre, it was conscious in minds of planners and other commentators to resolve long standing problems with Market Street; as Derek Senior noted in 1960 'we may yet see Market Street transformed, almost overnight from the country's worst example of conflict between trunk-road traffic and shopping uses, into what any Saturday afternoon shows it should be - the country's busiest pedestrian way.'⁹ The complete transformation of Market Street via the Arndale development would take well over another decade to realise and the end result would be widely regarded as an ugly and unloved environment. [FIG23]



FIG23. Promotional leaflet for the Market Street development. Source: Private collection.

Rising car ownership was a prominent planning concern and coping with vehicle traffic was paramount in plans for Manchester city centre in the post-war period. The problem of traffic traversing the core area was to be solved by a continuous ring road, large new car-parking facilities and restricted access on smaller streets.

⁹ Senior D, 1960, 'New heart for Manchester', *The Guardian*, 15 June, p.18.

[FIG24] Better dual carriageway radial routes were laid out to speed commuters in from suburbs with no delays at stop-start junction on regular streets.

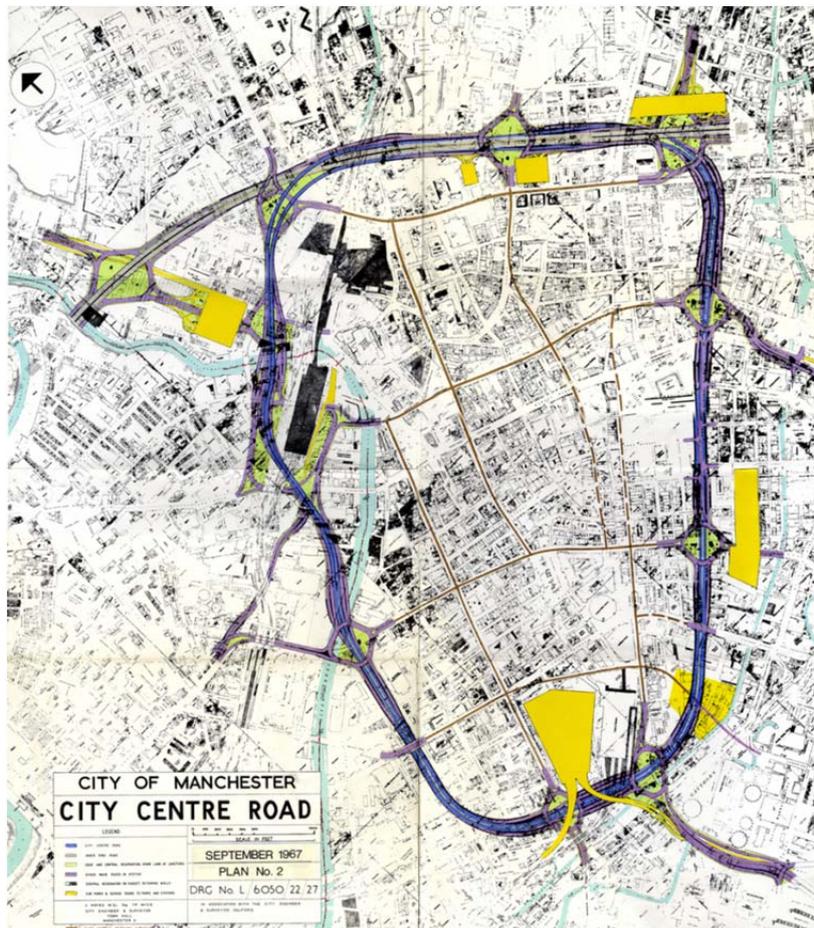


FIG24. The strong collar that would have been produced around the urban core by the ring road is captured starkly on this technical plan. The scale of the peripheral car parking provision also stands out. Source: John Hayes (City Engineer), Manchester City Centre Road, 1968. City of Manchester Corporation.

The City Centre Road was long planned for but never constructed. If it had been built, even in part as envisaged in the 1967 design it would have undoubtedly transformed urban mobility for drivers but at what cost to the fabric of the city, the environment and potential social life? Of course the planners saw the two track solution to the traffic problem; with the canyon like City Centre Road, exclusively for fast vehicles, would be accompanied by wholesale pedestrianisation of many streets and the construction of raised walkways system and new plazas and public squares at first floor level that would interlink with many key civic buildings and busy office blocks. Derek Senior noted in 1960, 'Sooner or later, [in the city centre] it will be

necessary to assign different levels to the exclusive use of the pedestrian and the moving vehicle, and to keep the stationary vehicle out of the way of both. This means that a third dimension must be added to the planning of central areas.¹⁰



FIG25. Overview plan indicating the position and size of the comprehensive development areas covering the city centre as designated by the Planning Department in the 1960s. Source: Manchester City Centre Map, 1967. Manchester City Council, p.55.

Elevated pedestrian environments, sunken vehicular carriageways, hovering monorails and 'highways-in-the-sky' were the motifs of a generation of architects and planners who sought to redefine cities in the 1960s. The popular rhetoric, promulgated in the mainstream press, typically heralded these infrastructures as

¹⁰ Senior D, 1960, 'New heart for Manchester', *The Guardian*, 15 June, p.18.

opening up a new age for British inner-urban environments. In Manchester, Rowland Nicholas in November 1961 in a report to the Town Planning and Buildings Committee that illustrated his understanding of how far urban design and commercial realities had shifted since his *City of Manchester Plan* of 1945. The integrated nature of traffic, comprehensive development and environment was described as 'complex and completely interrelated'.¹¹ A number of specific statements reflected the changing planning ideals of the time. Nicholas' accepted that his plan as envisaged in 1945 was no longer an appropriate framework for development and pre-empted the work eventually delivered under John Millar's direction. The prospect of comprehensive development and its use in this interrelated landscape was 'coming to be accepted by developers' who understood 'that piecemeal building no longer provide[d] a satisfactory solution'.¹²

The segregation of traffic and pedestrians would be achieved in several ways including the 'provision of overhead pavements'. Nicholas also advocated that 'a plan in three-dimensions' should be prepared that would aid the selection of sites for CDA status and 'invoke designation procedure in order to bring about satisfactory redevelopment'.¹³ Amongst the developments under consideration as Nicholas made his report were 'several tentative schemes' around the Cathedral that were assessed to ensure that they configured to 'an ultimate scheme for the area'.¹⁴ The interrelation of CDA sites may be thus seen as one brought about by policy and popular imagination. Planning policy created the situation for great swathes of cities to be conceived in their totality. The vertical programming of the city was imagined, theorised and illustrated in the early part of the twentieth century but became a vogue reality in Britain during the Sixties.¹⁵

¹¹ GB127.Council Minutes/Town Planning and Buildings Committee/2/56, p.902.

¹² GB127.Council Minutes/Town Planning and Buildings Committee/2/56, p.903.

¹³ GB127.Council Minutes/Town Planning and Buildings Committee/2/56, p.902.

¹⁴ GB127.Council Minutes/Town Planning and Buildings Committee/2/56, p.907.

¹⁵ There were several notable schemes, both built and unbuilt, that influenced a generation of architect and planners, including Sergei Kadleigh's 1952 proposal for *High Paddington, A town for 8,000 people* (Architect and Building News), the design competitions for Golden Lane Estate (1952) and Sheffield University (1953). Particularly influential were the planning and construction of the Park Hill estate in Sheffield (Ivor Smith and Jack Lynn under the direction of Lewis Womersley, 1957-61) and Cumbernauld town centre (Geoffrey Copcutt under the direction of Hugh Wilson, 1958-67).