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Abstract

This paper hypothesises that the idea of the ring roads in Manchester was the single most significant organising device for the situation and orientation of a significant amount of the built fabric of the city realised in the years after the end of the Second World War. Using descriptions of the key events and reports that influenced planning policy in the city, and a number of building studies, the authors seek to reveal a particular urban form that has its genesis in historic patterns of settlement but was also affected by ambitions that sought to reinforce economic success by facilitating motor-borne mobility in the middle of the twentieth century.

Key words: Manchester, ring road, urban design, architecture, planning, infrastructure

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Trying to close the loop: post-war ring roads in Manchester

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Introduction

This paper is concerned with the role of highway planning in the period between 1945 and 1977. The focus towards serving the needs of the public as car ownership increased and the post-war economy recovered is widely recognised and the impact of inner urban motorways on central areas is often discussed (Kerensky, 1968; Brainard *et al*., 2004; Hauck *et al*., 2011). The popularly-held view is now a negative perception based upon issues of severance, disturbance, sound and air-borne pollution and congestion. Cultural geographies of mobility and modernity have also utilised urban transport as a means of discussing wider social freedoms and the trajectory towards individualism. The primacy of the traffic engineer and the discourse around road planning in the UK usually refers to completed projects. Here we wish to ask whether unbuilt or partially built schemes have the capacity to reveal as much, or more, about the form of a city as those which were implemented. This question is based upon a growing area of research concerning infrastructure and urban design and in particular proposals that remained on the drawing board.[1] Here we wish to pose the hypothesis that road planning was the singular most important force in determining the shape of the city of Manchester using the narrative history of the inner ring road, from its first drawn plan in 1945 to its formal cancellation as a policy aim in 1977.[2]

The history of Manchester's ring roads

Ideas of a ring road for central Manchester were first floated in the 1930s in response to the congested central streets of the regional hub served by radial routes from satellite towns (*Manchester Guardian,* 1937). Earlier proposals, in the 1920s, had considered the use of two pieces of infrastructure that would combine trams and cars on an inner circumference and trains and cars on an outer ring (*Manchester Guardian,* 1929) (Figure 1). In the 1930s the Town Planning Committee, chaired by the influential Alderman W.T. Jackson, both supported the idea of ring roads and also recognised the need for a "comprehensive [planning] scheme … providing for proper zoning and layout" (*Manchester Guardian,* 1932). The first proposed route for the city centre ring would, as did many proposals to follow, take the routes of existing streets that would be widened to prioritise traffic flow. It was scheduled to be "constructed at a width of 74ft … to provide a carriageway of 44ft … and two footways each 15ft in width" and to cost just short of £700,000 (*Manchester Guardian,* 1938). The scheme made the pages of the press at either end of the decade, 1932 and 1938 – its inception point and the eventual

[1] See, for example, Brook and Dodge (2012) on Manchester infrastructure projects; Ortolano (2011) on the story of 'Pooleyville', the unbuilt predecessor to Milton Keynes; and Gold (2007, Ch. 7) on the unbuilt New Town of Hook, Hampshire.

[2] The plans were, however, revived in the 1980s and a version of the ring road finally completed in 2004.

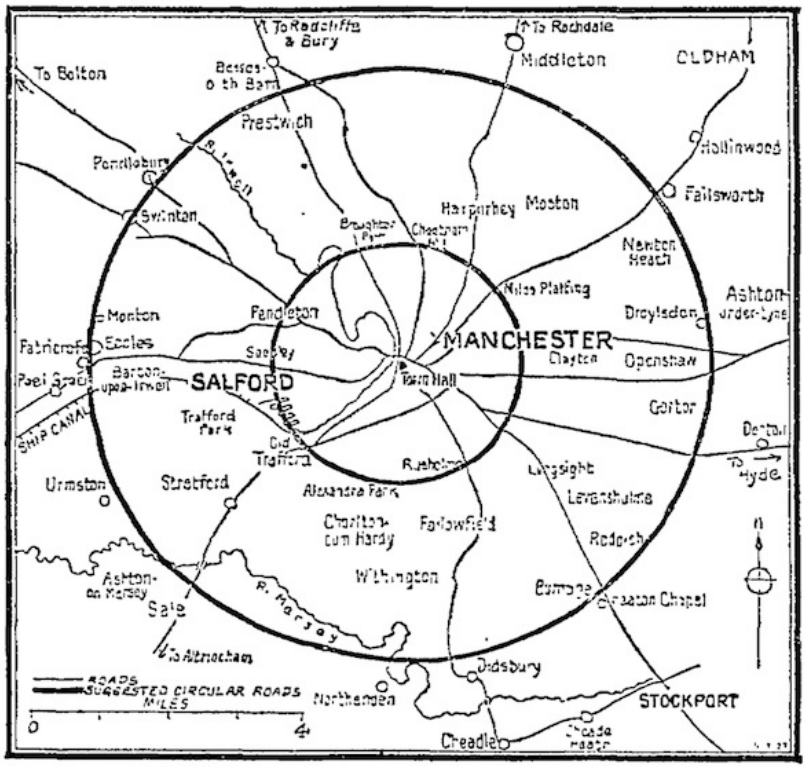

Figure 1. Illustration of the proposed radius of ring roads, 1929 (*Manchester Guardian*, 11 July 1929, p. 13).

point at which the city council was due to make a decision on its progress. The proposal would have then been be subject to approval by the Minister of Transport for grant purposes. Were it not for the outbreak of war, the ring road may have proceeded as a single, standalone project and not bound to a greater ambition, as would occur in the post-war plans. To date, this research has not uncovered any engineer's drawings for the schemes from the 1930s; the only visual representation of the routes has been sourced from the pages of the *Manchester Guardian*[3] (Figure 2).

It was not until the opportunity to replan and to "plan boldly and comprehensively"[4] arose in the wake of the Second World War that many British cities made initial drawn proposals for their replanning – many inter-war plans simply visualised extensive survey work. After heavy and persistent bombing in London, the Luftwaffe turned its attention to Manchester on the nights of 22 and 23 December 1940. Known as the Christmas Blitz, 250 planes dropped 470 tonnes of high explosive and more than 30,000 incendiary bombs, killing 654 people (Milton and Roberts, 2012). On 28 August 1941, Lord Reith, then Minister of Works and Buildings, viewed the bomb damage inflicted on the city. He

[3] The *Guardian* and *Observer* online archive has been invaluable in researching this period, particularly in relation to Manchester. The *Guardian* was known as the *Manchester Guardian* until 1959 and was produced in the city until 1964. After 1964 it still maintained strong regional news coverage, but the reporting focus slowly moved towards its now familiar national and international reporting.

[4] The then Minister, Lord Reith, gave this oft-cited advice to delegates from Coventry in 1941 and recorded himself in 1949 (Reith, 1949, p. 424).

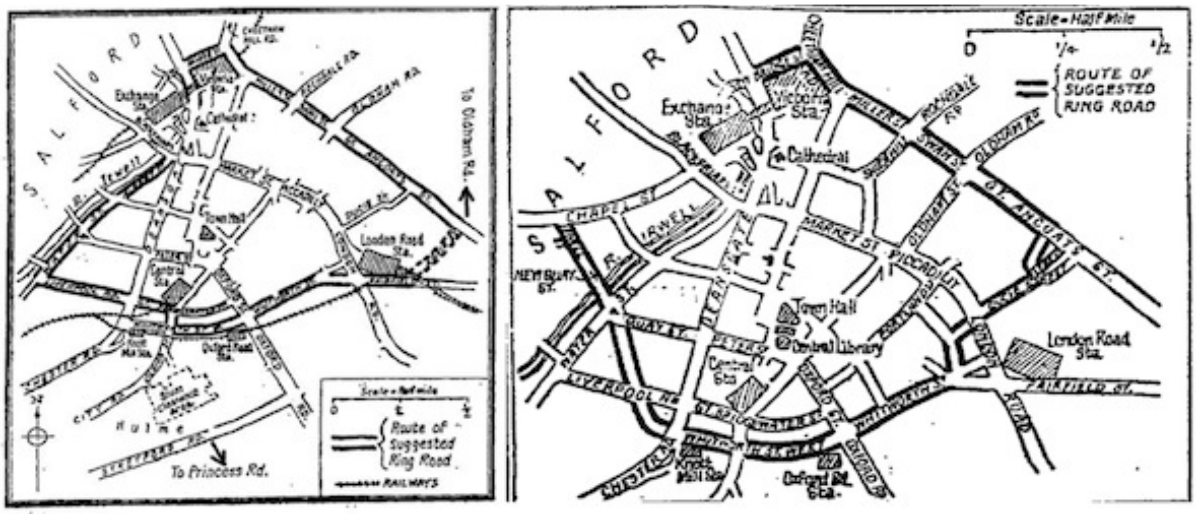

Figure 2. Illustration of proposed route of city centre ring road (*Manchester Guardian,* 26 October 1932, p. 11; 4 July 1938, p. 13).

concluded his visit by addressing the Manchester and District Regional Planning Committee, stressing the need to prepare early for reconstruction, so that once the war was over redevelopment could commence without delay. He thought that the responsibility for future planning should rest not on individual local authorities, but rather shared across all local authorities acting in the spirit of 'good neighbours' over suitable areas (*Manchester Guardian*, 1941). Two years later, in 1943, the appointment of Leonard B. Cox as Lord Mayor of Manchester proved a pivotal step in replanning a new Manchester. In his election speech he spoke of his belief that post-war reconstruction should seek to "rectify the errors of the past", and presented war-damaged areas as opportunities for "new open spaces incorporating wider streets, dignified buildings … and tree-bordered avenues" (quoted in Bamford, 1995, p. 14). He tasked Rowland Nicholas, the council's new City Surveyor and Engineer, with preparing a provisional plan for the redevelopment of Manchester, and, mirroring Lord Reith's words, stated that the Plan "should not be bound by existing legislation, but … plan boldly and comprehensively … with no preconceived ideas or prejudices" (Nicholas, 1945a, p. iii).

The *City of Manchester Plan* (Nicholas, 1945a) (Figure 3) was one of a suite of three documents that dealt not only with Manchester's borough but also with its role as regional capital and economic hub.[5] Rowland Nicholas was the main author of the Plan. Born in Barnsley, Nicholas had worked in Guildford, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Grimsby, Brighton, Croydon and Sheffield before his appointment in Manchester in 1940 (*Manchester Guardian*, 1936, 1940). He was awarded a CBE in the Birthday Honours list in 1947 for his work on the Plan; he became president of the Town Planning Institute in 1960 and eventually retired in 1963 (*Manchester Guardian*, 1947, 1960, 1963; *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, 1960). It is evident from his contribution to the cluster of reports and even from his own words that Nicholas was a regional thinker. In 1942, as he began the task of replanning, he penned a rare article in which he wrote of the "practical regional planning of 'self purposing' areas, capable of providing their own

[5] The other two were the regional planning proposals (Nicholas, 1945b) and proposals for South Lancashire and North Cheshire (Nicholas and Hellier, 1947).

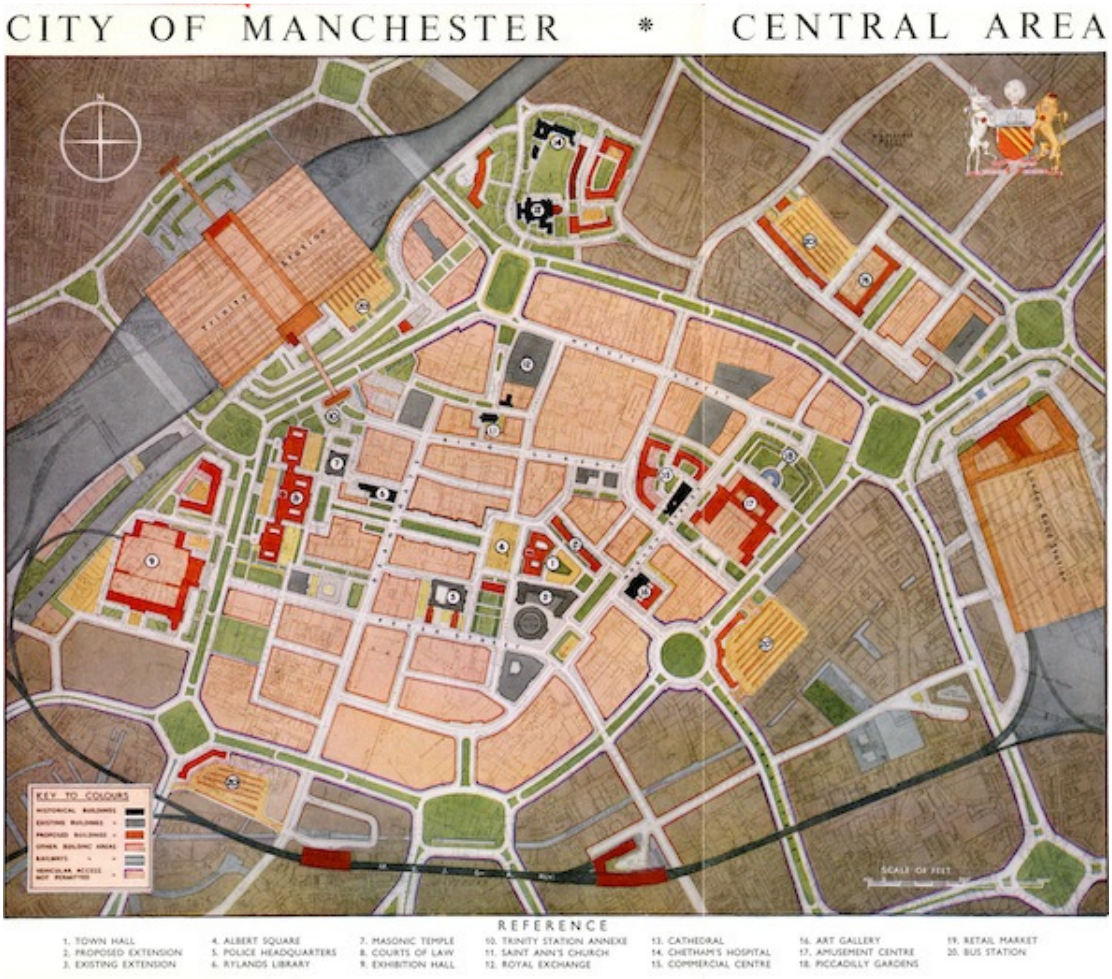

Figure 3. Central area zoning and planning (Nicholas, 1945a). The City Centre Ring is identifiable as the dual carriageways with green central islands that connect the six roundabout-type junctions.

requirements" (Nicholas, 1942, p. 4). Read together, the combined post-war documentation presented a regional system of comprehensive road planning that included four ring roads: the city centre road and inner, intermediate and outer ring roads (Figure 4). The outer ring road would eventually become the M60 orbital motorway, although with a much closer southern radius to the city. The other three were all only partially realised but still had their own influence on the alignment, situation and form of buildings as the local authority sought to promote the plan by releasing some land and protecting other sites. This text will deal with the inner most of these rings, known in the 1945 Plan as the 'city centre road' and after 1965 as the 'inner relief route', and will relate its development to the activities of the local planning authority.

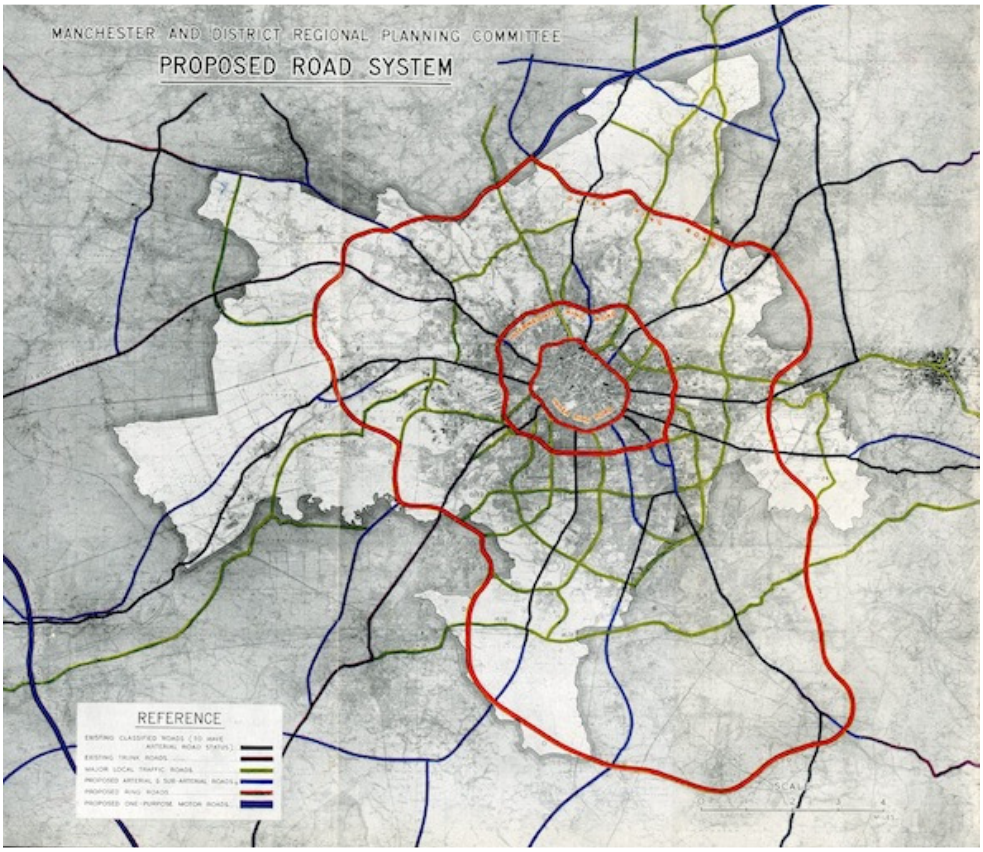

Figure 4. Extract from the Manchester Regional Plan (Nicholas, 1945b), showing the full extents of the proposed outer ring road (D). A much larger area is encompassed compared to the final route of the M60. This drawing does not show the innermost 'city centre road'.

Policy context: national and local

The statutory provision for planning in Manchester after 1945 was without a formal approval until 1961. In the intervening years it was, in many respects, the proposed roads that were the most significant organising device. The 1945 Plan and its companion volumes were not statutory documents and, whilst acknowledged as being one of the most comprehensive studies of its type (Williams, 2003, p. 56), the concrete realisation of many of its grander aims would simply never happen, though its formal visualisation of earlier ideas undoubtedly informed and influenced the proceeding decades. The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act reduced the number of planning authorities and required them all to produce a Development Plan. Manchester's proposals were essentially faithful to the 1945 Plan and submitted to the Secretary of State in 1951. The Development Plan was not approved until ten years later, in 1961. This was not unusual in the case of plans prepared immediately after the 1947 Act (Planning Advisory Group, 1965; Hart, 1968, p. 2) but this meant that by the time the plans were ratified, they were already sixteen years old. The actual documentation from which the 1951 Development Plan was composed is scant in comparison to the detail and information of the 1945 Plan and consisted of a Town Map with a broad outline plan

for the entire city, a Programme Map indicating periods of implementation over the coming 20 years and a Written Statement with descriptions and clarifications of the information contained in the two maps. An indication of the primacy of highway planning was evidenced in that 11 of the 40 pages of the Written Statement showed a table scheduling new road construction up to 1971 (Nicholas and Dingle, 1951). The lack of detail in the 1951 Plan would come to define the production of architecture in the following decade. The approval excluded the city centre area and came with an instruction to revisit its configuration and zoning. This continuing lack of an overarching central masterplan would permit short-term speculative development to characterise the city's buildings of the early 1960s. The new direction for city planning would be administered under John Stanley Millar, the first Chief Planner of Manchester. Millar had studied at Liverpool School of Architecture. He came to Manchester in 1961 as assistant city planner and assumed his newly-constituted post in 1964 (*Manchester Guardian*, 1964). Millar's appointment coincided with Nicholas's retirement and the appointment of a raft of new personnel including a new City Architect and Engineer. Despite this shaking-up of officialdom, the pursuit of the delivery of the ring road persisted in the shaping of planning policy.

In 1962, the South East Lancashire and North East Cheshire (SELNEC) Highway Engineering Committee[6] published a comprehensive report that used technical analysis and new methods of computation to examine the road network of Manchester. Entitled *A highway plan*, the report suggested that transport schemes as proposed by the local authorities of the wider conurbation were inadequate, as they wildly underestimated traffic levels (SELNEC, 1962). The 'overloading diagram' (Figure 5) proved to be one of the most influential pieces of empirical data, as it showed predicted traffic levels for the fast approaching year of 1965. The diagram seemingly demonstrated that "77% of the roads in the SELNEC study area would have been overloaded [by 1965], with almost all major routes in Manchester city centre being overloaded by more than 150% of their capacity" (Brook and Dodge, 2012, p. 78). The report also analysed the design and layout of the City Centre Ring Road from the 1945 Plan, commenting that the proposed junctions would create "a number of engineering problems … [that would] have a serious effect on the urban environment" (SELNEC, 1962, p. 45). The potential traffic flows around the ring roads were explored, and the assessment emphasised the importance for the implementation of the route to "discourage through-traffic", which would be "essential to the future of the centre" in order for the main shopping areas and the Civic Area to become pedestrianized (SELNEC, 1962, p. 45). John Millar's newly-formed planning department spent its preliminary years reviewing the Development Plans that had been produced under the guidance of Rowland Nicholas.[7] In 1967, the Corporation published the *1967 City Centre Map*, based upon the extensive studies carried out by the Planning Department (Manchester City Corporation, 1967a). The document recommended the retention of the proposed ring roads and other road improvements from the earlier plans and cited the 1962 SELNEC report as providing the techno-scientific proof of the urgent need for comprehensive road building to occur.

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6 The SELNEC Committee was formed in 1958 following a meeting of the Clerks and Surveyors to the County and County Borough Highway Authorities in South East Lancashire and North East Cheshire.

7 During those four years, Millar published a series of reports that provided a framework for developers. The first report was titled *1964-65 City Planning Department* (Millar, 1965) and the second report was *1965-67 City Planning Department* (Millar, 1967).

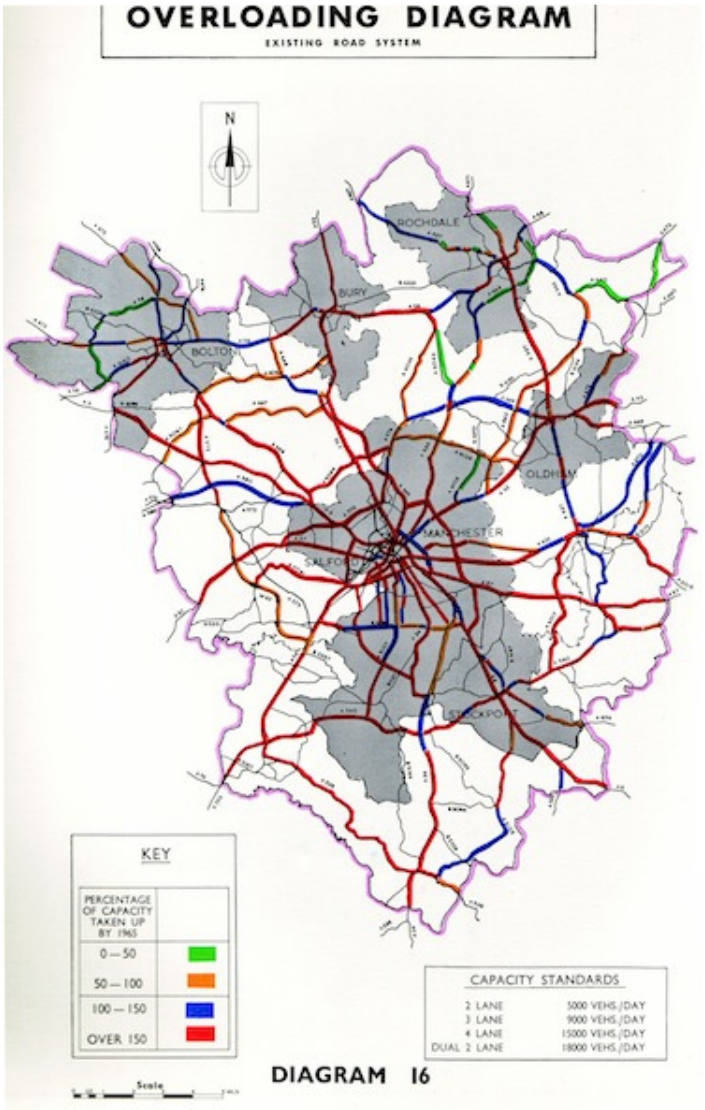

Figure 5. Extract from *SELNEC, a highway plan* (SELNEC, 1962), showing the anticipated overloading of the existing road network in and around Manchester. The red lines indicate overloading by 150 per cent.

In parallel to local planning discussions, the problem of the incompatibility of pedestrian and vehicular flows and the impact of the motor car on townscape was being investigated by groups commissioned by central government. Professor Colin Buchanan's influential 1963 report, *Traffic in Towns*, was the most cited and emulated guidance on the subject (see Plowden, 1973) as it seemingly provided solutions to accommodate growing traffic volumes. Buchanan (1963, p. 135) proposed a "distributor hierarchy", where motorways would be situated below ground level, reducing noise and visual intrusion; local distributor roads would be at the existing ground level, offering good access; and pedestrians would be elevated to first floor level. This segregation of pedestrians and vehicles promised an improvement in safety and a reduction in accidents, wherein elevated walkways would become the "new ground level for city life,

a platform from which the buildings would rise" (Buchanan, 1963, p. 136; although such segregation had been advocated since the 1930s). It was this hierarchical structure that prevailed in the minds of planners in the 1960s as they implemented the advice. The more subtle and sensitive suggestions embedded in the document concerning the negative impact of the motor car and measures to mitigate against visual, acoustic and environmental pollutants were widely overlooked.[8] Buchanan's work was often mistakenly appropriated as a blueprint for reconstruction when, in fact, "it set fixed environmental standards and then offered a trade-off between the two variables – traffic and cost" (*Built Environment,* 1983, p. 91). In Manchester, the City Engineer acknowledged the Buchanan Report and the idea of weighting and balancing "accessibility, environment and cost' but defaulted to the prospect that 'the most important distributary routes in major towns would require grade separated intersections" (Hayes, 1968, p. 4).

Thus the work of the planning department, from 1963 through to the publication of the *City Centre Map* in 1967, built upon the pioneering 1945 proposals and combined these with emergent, nationally formed, guidance. The organising framework of the ring road concept remained and was augmented by the introduction of zoning and grade separation, as suggested by Buchanan. In *Traffic in Towns*, Buchanan showed that small-scale road improvements were unlikely to be of lasting benefit, as congestion could arguably only be solved by large-scale, engineered interventions. The report proposed that the future of cities should be "conceived as a patchwork of environmental areas" (Buchanan, 1963, p. vi), each with a dominant programmatic function. These areas, in turn, would be separated and connected by distributor roads, with a street network designed to suit the capacity of each zone. The problems associated with through traffic would also be reduced, as each area would act as a "terminus for traffic", with vehicles only entering if they had business there (Buchanan, 1963, p. vi). This approach was mirrored in the proposals for central Manchester, and the planning reports and development plans from Millar's department were complemented by two documents produced by the City Engineer, John Hayes, concerning the City Centre Road (Hayes, 1968) and car parks (Manchester City Corporation, 1967b) specifically. Read collectively it is easy to see the shared ambitions of the planners and engineers in service of the retail and commercial core. The innermost of the ring roads was presented as a terminus point for almost all personal traffic approaching the city and as a gyratory to move vehicles around, rather than across, the centre. Car parks were proposed at the intersection of several radial routes and the city centre road and the road as proposed would thus assume the shape of a twentieth-century city wall (Figure 7). This, it was thought, would release the central area from the pressures of cross town traffic, permitting only service access for most functions other than public transport. The notion of the ring-road as an inhibitor of growth was not foreseen as the scope for central area redevelopment at the time was vast and the adjustments to the alignment made in the late 1960s were actually promoted as providing an "extended core".[9]

Much of this core was designated as a series of Comprehensive Development Areas (CDAs). Centrally located CDAs were essential to meeting the demand of the new car-borne consumer. The private sector, whilst willing to redevelop along the lines of the

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[8] For a good assessment of Buchanan's personal attitude to the motor car and his views of US policy see Ward (2007).

[9] As evidenced by an overlay to drawing accompanying Hayes's 1968 report, which carries the term inside a dashed boundary that follows the route of the newly-aligned road.

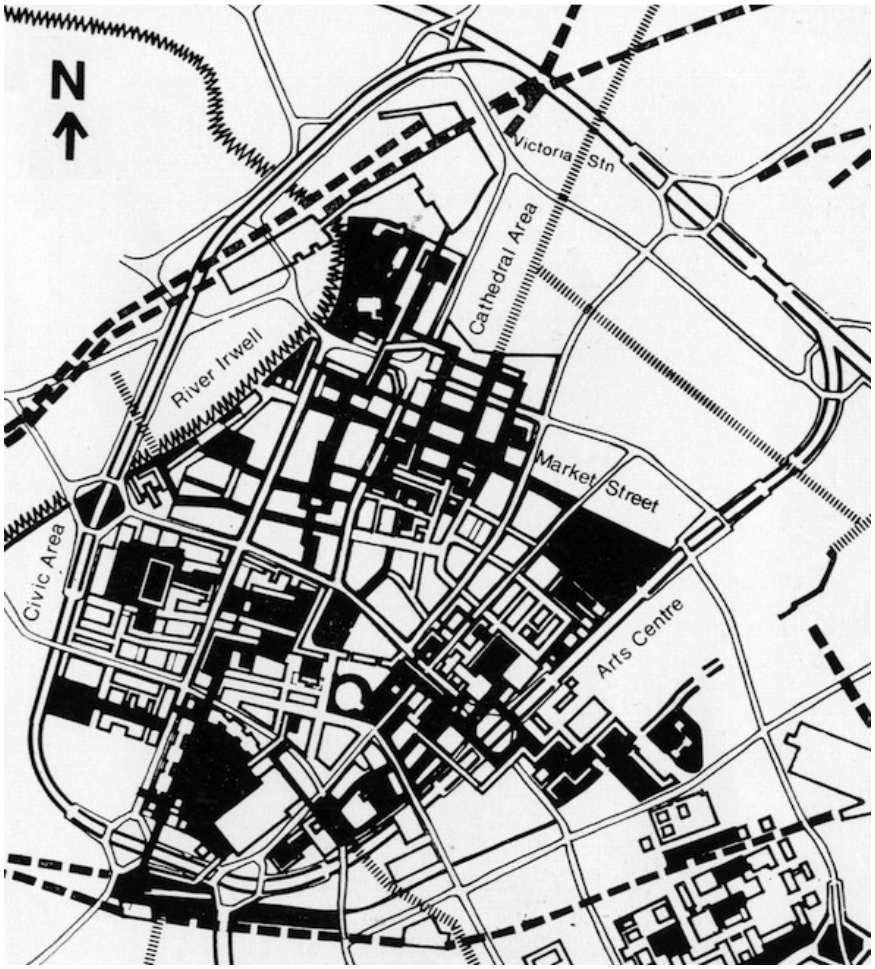

Figure 6. Relationship between proposed comprehensive development areas and the Inner Relief Route (Millar, 1965).

Buchanan Report to separate pedestrians and traffic and to provide accessible parking that served the economy and the environment, could not achieve radical alterations in highway configuration. The combined powers of CDA allocation and new road patterns, by virtue of the various Acts that had been passed from 1944, now lay with the local planning authorities. The converging private sector interests and public sector powers facilitated large-scale investment and redevelopment in the renewal cities of the north of the UK from the early 1960s through to the middle 1970s. The use of CDA powers was firmly consolidated in the 1962 Town and Country Planning Act and their application was seen as able to “channel the buoyancy of private enterprise” and to “stimulate economic as well as social change” (Hart, 1968, p. 20). Each of the centrally located CDAs in Manchester took account of the route of the ring road (Figure 6) and, as they came to construction, physically adopted and delivered critical sections, some of which would never be formally connected to the ring as it was eventually realised. As well as the CDA schemes that effectively provided sections of the ring by proxy, there were also a number of significant architectural schemes that also made provisions for the proposed alignments.

The formal ramifications of highways planning

Each successive permutation of the plan for the ring roads in Manchester had its own impact on the situation of new buildings. Despite the very definite alignments envisaged in the 1945 Plan, its non-statutory nature, the complicated land ownerships and the lack of available finance meant that it would be very difficult to implement with any immediacy. In truth, Manchester's physical recovery, especially in the central area, was slow and typical of other cities in the north. Building licensing had controlled development through regional committees until November 1954. The committees, under Ministry of Works chairmanship, were composed of representatives from the Ministries of Health, Labour and Supply, the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Town and Country Planning.[10] They controlled the supply of labour and materials in the process of rebuilding. Resources were channelled towards schools, the health sector and new homes; the redevelopment of central areas, both residential and commercial, was not a high priority. In many respects, despite the popular dissemination of the Plan and its contents, the documents were an invaluable study and point of reference for those within the municipal departments of housing, education and engineering; for what is prevalent is a strong set of frameworks or guidelines with which to govern the distribution of new schools, social and health centres amongst the urgent demand for residential relocation. It was these building types, of a less glamorous nature and certainly not constructed in the centre of the city, that occupied the office of the City Architect through the late 1940s and early 1950s as the mundane occupation of reconditioning basic facilities took priority over the iconic reprogramming of the centre. Ultimately, the cessation of strict building licensing[11] was one of the early catalysts for the upsurge in private sector development and the meeting of dream and demand would create a particular pattern in and around the city.

A certain amount of bomb damage had been sustained in Manchester, mostly during the blitz of 1940-41 (Figure 7) but the city could not be described as having been devastated. Bomb damaged locations, usually small 'island' sites, were amongst the first to be allocated for development, as long as they did not interfere with the proposed route of any of the ring roads. In the years following the publication of the 1945 Plan, Nicholas's department began to make adjustments and refinements to the proposals as finance for the development of particular sites came forward (Figure 8). Commercial development in the city centre until the end of the 1950s was uncommon. Other than repairs, the first entirely new building after the end of the war was a synagogue on Jackson's Row, completed in 1952 to designs by P. Cummings and E. Levy (Parkinson-Bailey, 2000, p. 169). As the pressure on local authorities from private sector developers increased, the overarching plan for the ring roads as the central organising device for the economic success of the city became more focussed and physically visible. A number of buildings of the late 1950s and early 1960s made provision for the route of the yet to be realised ring roads. Amongst the most prominent of these, visually and culturally, was the new headquarters for Granada Television to the west of the city centre and peculiarly situated perpendicular to the main radial route of Quay Street (Figure 9).

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10 See <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/SearchUI/details?Uri=C14650> accessed 28 May 2013.

11 See <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1954/nov/02/building-licensing-termination> accessed 31 July 2013.

Figure 7. Bomb damage map of city centre. Solid red blocks denote buildings that were completely destroyed (author's compilation from maps scanned by John Rylands Library and held at GMCRO).

Figure 8. Central Area Replanning, development sites. These island sites were subject to bomb damage, but their release did not interfere with the proposed route of any of the ring roads (author's scan from microcards held at GMCRO).

Figure 9. Granada TV photographed in 1980. The road that runs perpendicular to the main façade is Quay Street; the cleared site was the proposed alignment of the ring road. This has now been developed as commercial office space (photograph courtesy of Phil Griffin).

Following the Television Act of 1954, Sidney Bernstein, founder of Granada Theatres Ltd, won a contract to become the sole broadcaster for the North of England. At the time of signing, Granada TV consisted of little more than a general idea of what the new television service should seek to attain, but there were no tools or buildings with which to carry out the idea (Tubbs, 1958, p. 11). Bernstein acted quickly, and formulated a simple vision for a television centre, "to be the most advanced technically in the country" (*Manchester Guardian*, 1955). For the main studios, Bernstein identified a 4.5-acre site between Quay Street and Water Street that was already in the hands of Manchester Corporation, which had plans to use the land for a new exhibition hall. The Manchester Corporation Development Committee initially rejected Bernstein's offer, but after numerous meetings a sale was agreed.

Ralph Tubbs, who had designed the Dome of Discovery at the Festival of Britain, was the appointed architect. To ensure that Granada was ready to broadcast by May 1956, the scheme was divided into five stages, with phase one being the first to be built in April 1955. It consisted of a "small studio with ancillary rooms and a small office block" (*The Builder,* 1960, p. 1178). Phase two provided a second studio, completed in October 1957. Phase three, finished in March 1959, included a dressing room block, technical department and a video tape recording room. The most significant building on the site and that which has become synonymous with the organisation was the fourth phase. The construction of the ten-storey office block, the headquarters of Granada TV

Network, began in August 1959 (*The Builder,* 1960, p. 1178). Providing 100,000 sq. ft (9290m^2) of floor space, "the building was conceived as two vertical curtains of glass closed at each end by solid walls of brickwork" (Truscon Ltd, 1961, p. 31). Tubbs did not want the reinforced concrete structure to "dominate internally or externally" (Truscon Ltd, 1961, p. 31), so the concrete columns were set back from the face of the building, forming an unbroken surface of glass curtain walling from first floor to roof level; the first in the city. Construction was completed in 1962. The new headquarters stood in contrast to the other recent completions that had mimicked the Festival Style and adapted classical techniques, styles and materials, such as the Portland stone clad Courts of Justice (by L.C. Howitt, City Architect, 1962). The main elevation of Granada was supposed to flank the proposed City Centre Ring Road and the "sleek curtain walled façade would reflect the gleaming metal of streamlined motor cars gliding past, at hitherto unknown speeds" (Brook, 2010, p. 43). As the ring road never adopted this alignment, the incongruous setting of the gable wall facing the main road was established and never successfully resolved.

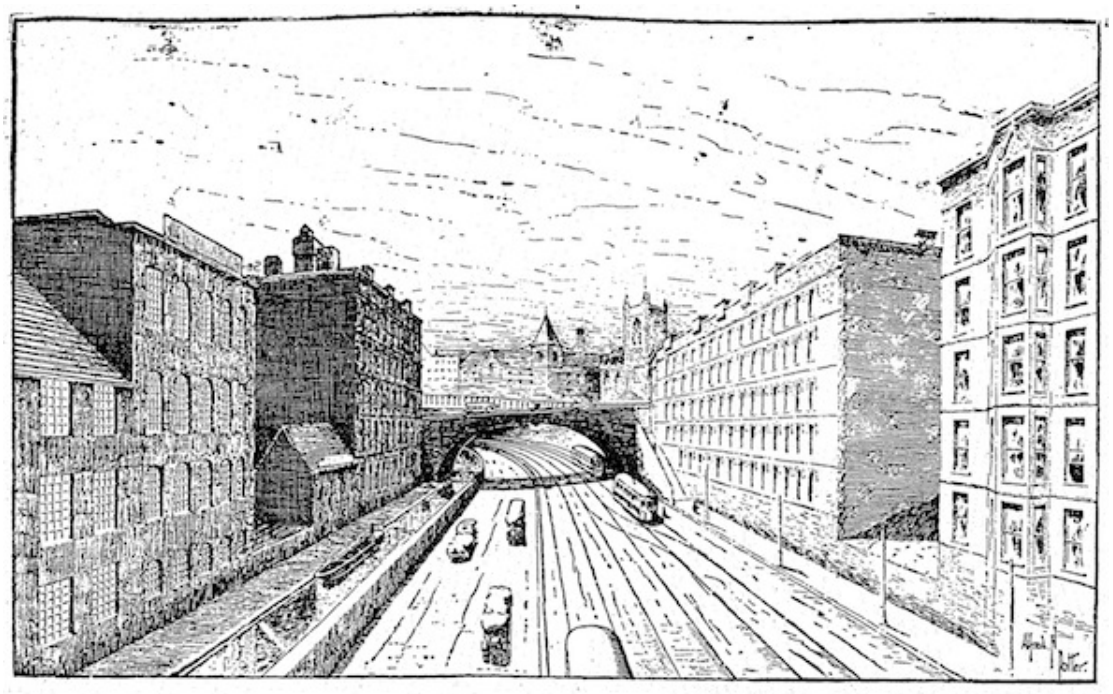

Figure 10. The covered River Irwell as proposed in 1924 by E.L. Leeming, Borough Surveyor of Barton Upon Irwell (*Manchester Guardian*, 1 February 1924, p. 10).

Close to Deansgate, the route of the city centre road was, in 1945, scheduled to cover the River Irwell: the reasons for this are rumoured to be that Manchester could therefore implement the plans under its own powers rather than have to negotiate with Salford. It is more likely that the idea, which had been mooted years earlier (Figure 10) hinged upon the lack of value ascribed to the river and its role in the city. Long gone were the days of reliance upon the Irwell Mersey Navigation for the import of goods; instead all manner of effluent was now discharged into the waterway. One major objective of covering the river was to connect the city centre to a proposed new railway station, Trinity, which was intended to serve Manchester and Salford. Thus the proposed new

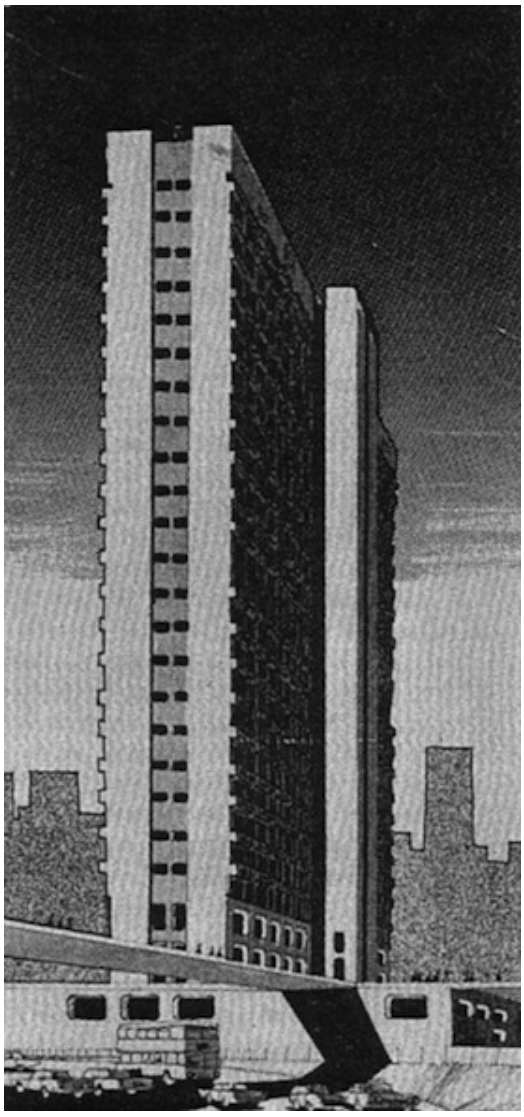

Figure 11. Sketch of Highland House, by Leach Rhodes & Walker. At the base of the tower are drawn vehicles on the covered section of the River Irwell as proposed in the 1960s (*Architecture North West* no. 22 p. 16).

topography was to act in service of the city by facilitating both the gyratory and new public transport, both measures designed to improve the environment of the central area. Highland House (by Leach Rhodes & Walker, 1966) was originally conceived and drawn in its relationship to the covered river (Figure 11). By 1967 the idea to culvert the River Irwell had been abandoned due to the excessive costs involved in engineering, and the interference from telecommunication cables that ran beneath the riverbed. Instead, the route of the city centre road was taken across the River Irwell and into Salford, scheduled to connect and coalesce with the inner ring road at a point north of Victoria Station. A viaduct was proposed to take the road over the railway lines at Exchange Station (*The Guardian*, 1968), with the amended route avoiding the need to demolish some valuable property.

Figure 12. Longridge House, 1966 (Manchester Local Image Collection, ref: M01102. W. Higham).

Following the line of the city centre road clockwise in an eastwards trajectory from the Cathedral, two post-war building projects were designed to take specific account of the need for the route and its junctions. The first, Longridge House (Figure 12), was completed in November 1959.[12] Designed by Harry S. Fairhurst & Sons, the building was clad in Westmorland green slate with Portland stone dressings, with the materials chosen to ensure that the façade remained "clean and bright in the dirty city atmosphere" (*The Guardian,* 1959). In plan, the entire building was effectively chamfered to provide sight lines at the junction that tallied with recommendations made in the government publication, *Design and layout of roads in built-up areas* (Ministry of war Transport, 1946, pp. 48-54). The building was destroyed during the 1996 IRA bomb attack, and in its place is a new structure that houses Selfridges and Marks and Spencer; the only clue to its existence being a small plaque mounted upon the Cross Street elevation. The second scheme here addressed is the buff-beige behemoth of the Arndale Centre. Under discussion from 1962, the Arndale completely filled the area dedicated as the Market Street CDA. In its original configuration the megastructure was effectively divided by a dual carriageway, Cannon Street (Figure 13), which, bereft of its adjoining sections of ring road, was, for many years, an oddly over-engineered piece of

[12] The eight-storey building was the headquarters of the British Engine Insurance Company, which at the time was one of the largest engineering insurance companies.

Figure 13. Cannon Street and the Arndale Centre, 2001 (flickr member 'radclifferaz', reproduced with permission).

infrastructure mostly serving bus passengers at stops that lined the carriageway and in the enclosed bus station rumoured to have been one of the most polluted spaces in Europe. This section of road also disappeared in the wake of the 1996 bombing, as the Arndale Centre was extended and modified to a new city masterplan.

To the north, the Co-operative Insurance Society (CIS) and Co-operative Wholesale Society (CWS) Towers were situated on one of two sites that had been offered up by the local authority. One site was in Piccadilly, a site that was politically charged insofar as it was extremely central to the city and therefore highly visible to the public. Furthermore, its development would not interfere with the route of any major road plans. The second site was Miller Street. One condition of the Piccadilly site was any scheme had to include shops and a hotel (which ultimately the development of the Plaza would adopt; see below); thus, not wishing to compromise their autonomy, the CIS board chose the Miller Street site (*The Builder*, 1963). Designed by G.S. Hay in association with the CIS in-house architects, the two towers flanked the proposed route of the ring road and their footprints were deliberately set back from the proposed carriageway alignment.

The City Centre Road was seen as "paramount to the success of the reconfigured city" (Brook, 2010, p. 45), which meant that the Corporation placed restrictions on the land that surrounded the route to ensure that the developments "conformed with its [The Corporation's] requirements in respect of access, car-parking provisions, building lines,

daylighting, density and the like" (*The Guardian*, 1960, p. 18).' In March 1960, Ind Coope Ltd, a Burton-on-Trent based brewer, announced the purchase of the Queen's Hotel, situated on the junction of Portland Street and Piccadilly. In 1961 two schemes were submitted for planning approval for the redevelopment of the site. One scheme, which proposed an office block on the site, was approved, but the Town Planning Committee rejected the other scheme, which proposed a combination of offices and retail. Under the City's redevelopment plans the building of shops on the outer fringe of the planned City Centre Ring Road was not permitted, as Councillor W.A. Downward, chairman of the Town Planning Committee, feared that pedestrians would be encouraged to cross the road designed for the free movement of traffic round the City Centre, and therefore all shops should be kept within the Ring Road (*The Guardian*, 1961a). This was not the first scheme in the area that was rejected because of the city's redevelopment plans. Six months previously, Metrovincial Properties Ltd, a subsidiary of the Clore-Cotton Group, purchased a four-storey warehouse on Portland Street, owned by J.F. and H. Roberts Ltd. Again two schemes were submitted, one a 25-storey block of shops and offices, and the other a 20-storey office block with retail on the two lower floors. Both schemes were rejected based on their inclusion of retail space on the fringes of the proposed City Centre Ring Road.

The area around Portland Street was pivotal to the city centre vehicular circulation, as proposed since 1945. It was also one of the areas subject to a concentration of bomb damage in 1940. Buildings on both sides of the road were designed to permit an elevated dual carriageway and the splays and easements required by such an imposition. Manchester One, previously known as Portland Tower and previous to that St Andrew's House, is located on a site that was heavily bombed during the Christmas Blitz of 1940. The central location of sites along Portland Street meant a good return for speculative commercial developers and hence there was competition for the rights to build there. In 1959, four committees from the Manchester Corporation considered three schemes. The Corporation had stipulated the inclusion of a large car park for the development of the site. One proposal was for an eleven-storey car park with vehicular elevators, another scheme a small office building that included parking areas with ramps between levels. A mixed-use development designed by Leach Rhodes and Walker (LRW) was ultimately selected (Figure 14, foreground) and approved by the City Planning Department. It was composed of a twenty-two storey office block that connected to a four-storey car park, itself sitting on top of a new bus station. This was an early commercial building by the firm, completed in 1963, and in its desire to optimise returns the architectural expression was somewhat compromised. The tower was received with a mixed reaction, with one critic describing it as an "upturned matchbox" that was "scarcely … an adventure in architecture" (Dodd, 1963, p. 13). The footprint of the tower was set back from Portland Street in anticipation of its widening to 120 feet and, in an early move, primarily designed to serve the occupants, a first floor access point was provided by a bridge link from the adjacent car park. This gesture perhaps acknowledged the pending trend for the separation of pedestrians and traffic and certainly aligned it with other developments in this particular part of the city; first floor elevated public space had been proposed in 1961 by George Grenfell-Baines and a fledgling Building Design Partnership for a site between Oxford Road and Lower Mosley Street (*The Guardian*, 1961b).

Next to St. Andrew's House was Telephone House (by Norman Bailey & Partners, 1961), a podium and tower configuration clad entirely in curtain wall glazing (Figure 14, background). Like its neighbour, its footprint was also set back from the existing street

Figure 14. Portland Street. In the centre, Portland Tower and behind Telephone House. Both buildings were set back from the original street line which is marked by the stone building to the left of the image, Britannia Hotel, former Watts Warehouse (authors' photograph).

line in anticipation of the city centre road. On the opposite side of Portland Street, the site at Piccadilly rejected by the CIS was subject to competition between developers, and up to nine proposals were under consideration by the Corporation (*Manchester Guardian*, 1959). One of these was by the renowned modernist partnership of Fry and Drew (evidenced by photographs held in the RIBA Library, Record Control No. P010785, Ref. Nos 285-5285/10, ON2642-ON2654), although the eventual selection fell to Covell Matthews and Partners on behalf of The Sunley Group. In relation to the ambition of the local authority to create an elevated pedestrian landscape from Piccadilly to Oxford Road and bounded by Portland Street and Mosley Street, the hotel and office towers of Piccadilly Plaza were designed with entrance lobbies and level deck parking above the

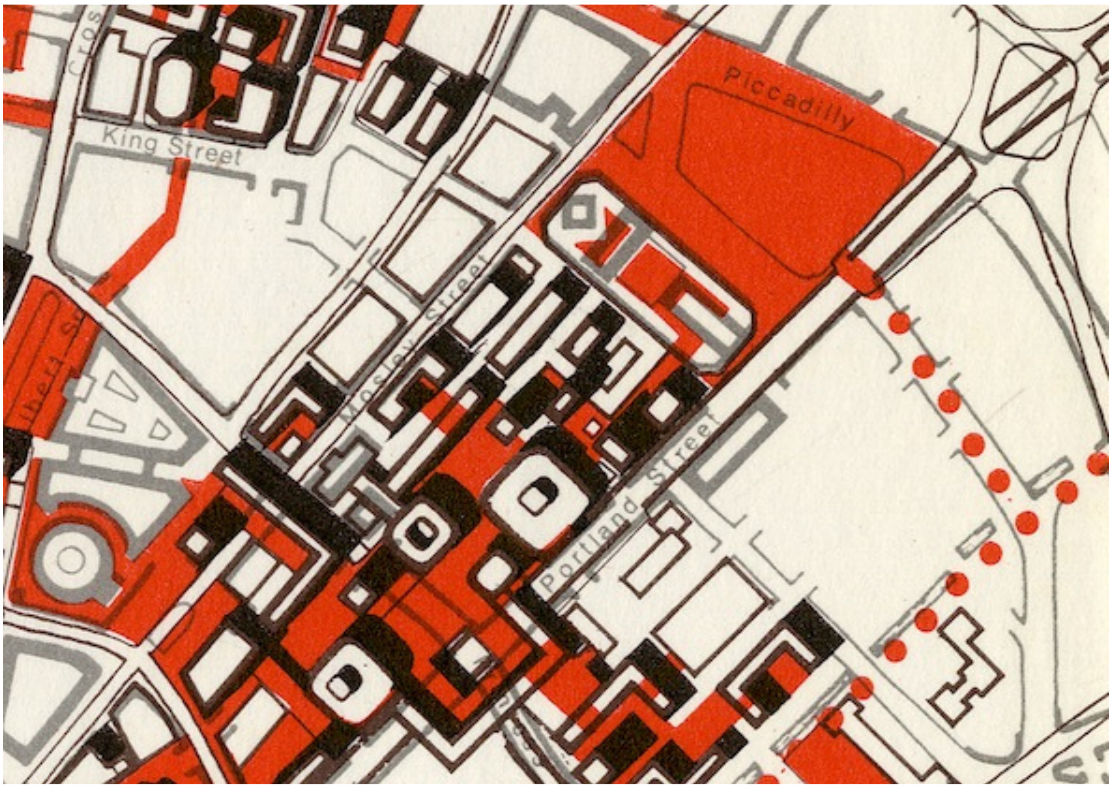

Figure 15. Extract from the *City Centre Map*, Manchester City Corporation (1967a). The red areas between Portland Street and Mosley Street were scheduled as pedestrian plazas at first-floor level.

street and served by a striking spiral ramp up which The Commodores once gave Louis Kahn's broken-down car a push![13]

Behind Piccadilly Plaza and facing St. Andrew's House, the Bank of England (by Fitzroy Robinson, 1971) went even further in its response to the proposed presence of the city centre road. By the time it was commissioned, the formal proposals for a "depressed" section of primary carriageway along Portland Street and "a secondary ground level system" (Hayes, 1968, cl. 42, p. 16) had been published and the entire zone, including a new Arts Centre proposed and designed by the City (Morris, 1966), would be an inward focussed environment with significant portions of elevated public space (Figure 15). Thus the Portland Street elevation of the new building was without any fenestration and the architects did not attempt to form any relationship with the street on this side. The opposite side had an entrance at ground-floor level and provision for first-floor access and to accommodate the upper walkway of the proposed Arts Centre, which would form an unobstructed route for pedestrians. In the event of the city centre road not being realised, the architects had inadvertently presented the rear of the building to a significant corridor, and seriously impacted upon the form and coherence of the extant situation (Canniffe and Jefferies, 1998, p. 90). This misconceived relationship has

[13] A tale recounted by former Manchester School of Architecture lecturer John Proctor-Bishop who invited Louis Kahn to give a lecture in the 1970s.

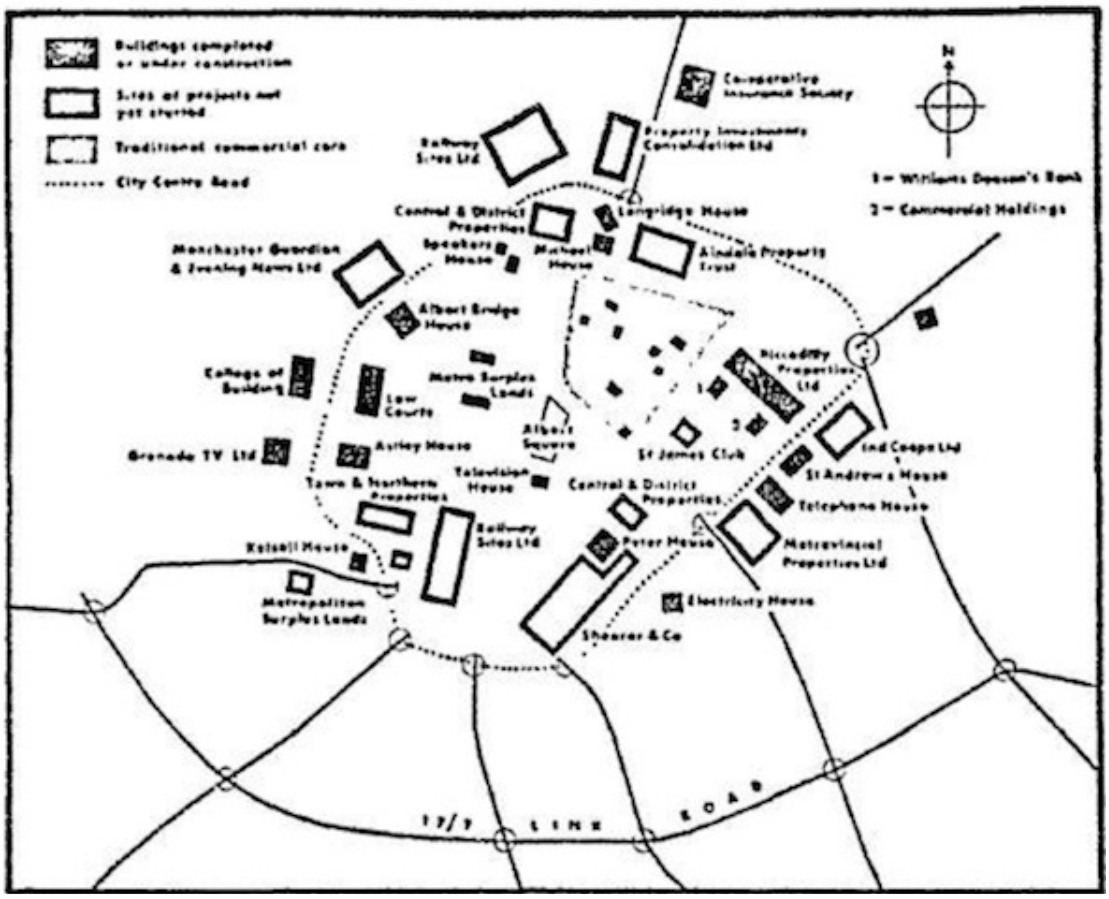

Figure 16. New construction in and around the city of Manchester in 1963. The dotted line is the proposed route of the ring road. The relationships between planning and development are clear (Medhurst, 1963, p. 12).

subsequently been addressed by the provision of some infill retail units that have some form of street presence.

The very particular pattern of development brought about by the almost belligerent adherence to the highways ambitions of the city was observed by Franklin Medhurst (1963). His insightful observations were made about newly-constructed commercial buildings and the relationship between the location of the “shining machined surfaces” of the office towers and the planned city centre road was explicit and clearly represented in a diagram that accompanied the article (Figure 16). The sectional view of the city was becoming that of a crater, wherein the centre was formed of remaining Victorian warehouses of not more than six storeys and the edges of the city ringed by a citadel of new towers. This contrasted against the growth cities of the early-twentieth century in the US that had developed their commercial core at the centre of their cities and thus height and land value tapered with distance from the centre.[14] The influence of planning

[14] The classic, much-reprinted diagram showing this relationship is the distribution of land values in Topeka, USA, in 1962 (Knos, 1962).

Figure 17. The unbuilt Portland Tower. The gable wall on the left of the image is that of St. Andrew's House (Manchester One) (from a brochure from Leach Rhodes and Walker. Architects and Town Planning Consultants).

on land values and development was clear, and the disturbance of the ring road proposals had resulted in unexpected variance in prices for sites across the city.

A host of other buildings across the centre of Manchester were designed to take account of the highways planning that never came to fruition. Some made provision for first-floor walkways, like Eagle Star Insurance on Mosley Street (by Cruickshank & Seward, 1973); others mostly adopted new alignments respective of proposed carriageway widening. Whilst commercial pressures, market demands and cultural factors all influenced the situation and development of buildings, amidst the lack of formally approved planning guidance it was the ring roads that were the most concrete and delineated organising principles for the city and its morphological evolution during this period. The eventual demise of the ambitious plans would coincide with an economic downturn in much the same manner as their evolution had aligned with the boom of the 1960s.

The end of the road

It was at a public enquiry in 1973 into a 27-storey office block proposed for 103 Princess Street (Figure 17) that one decisive nail was hammered into the coffin of Manchester's

city centre ring road ambition.[15] The highway scheme would have required the demolition of several sizable and architecturally significant Victorian warehouses along Princess Street and Portland Street. Without the aid of a barrister, a team of local experts and architectural enthusiasts, including John Archer and Donald Buttress,[16] took on and defeated Castle Irwell Properties and its assembled professional consultants over the course of the three-day hearing in defence of the buildings. The Chair of the Public Enquiry praised the historic research that had been prepared (*The Guardian*, 1973). The proposal for new tower did not sit directly on the site of threatened buildings, York House and the Mechanic's Institute, but would have required the demolition of both for its setting and, ultimately, the dual carriageway section of the new radial road, designed to interface with the ring road at the junction of Portland Street and Princess Street. It was really the first debate of its kind concerning the wider value of Victorian and Edwardian buildings in Manchester, and was to set the precedent and change the landscape, metaphorically and physically, in terms of the appreciation of historic buildings *and* the implementation of the massive city centre ring road. In the immediate aftermath of the enquiry, this meant enforced compromises to the Portland Street element of the ring road, which was a major component feeding Piccadilly and linking the centre with the major commuter radial routes out to rural Cheshire.

A number of other convergent factors affected the plans for the ring roads. It is also important to remember that the likelihood of the city ever securing the funding to realise the plans was slight at best. The historically laissez-faire city, built on mercantile enterprise, never owned significant portions of the land within its boundaries. Hence land assembly, even with powers of compulsory purchase, was a convoluted affair at the best of times. The oil crisis and subsequent economic collapse of the early 1970s vastly changed the financial landscape of Britain, and the post-industrial cities of the north felt the withdrawal of monies harder than the affluent south east. Furthermore, the local and regional political structures were subject to the most far-reaching changes since the city of Manchester was incorporated under the Corporations Act of 1838. The Local Government Act of 1972 set in place the motion towards the creation of the metropolitan county of Greater Manchester and the creation of the Greater Manchester Council (GMC). The new organisation was designed to create systems of government with sufficient powers to administer metropolitan areas with a dominant economic core. Many local officers and politicians would embark on new careers under the new structures, and the drawn-out aspirations to close the loop on the city centre ring road were without a single champion. In 1976 the GMC abandoned the proposals entirely (Parkinson-Bailey, 2000, p. 188). This was not before the press had criticised the policies that created multiple sites which had been left vacant for years in the anticipation of pending development, and which were seen as a very visible blight on the city. The plans were considered as overly ambitious and referred to as an "optimist's delight" and a "library of schemes to be tackled when finances allow" (Waterhouse, 1974, p. 16). One critic's assessment of the whole post-war landscape of recovery and development singled out the disparity in plans and their implementation: "Manchester

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15 In addition, GPO cable routing had forced the abandonment of the route for the ring road above the River Irwell in 1966, which immediately presented considerable issues with regard to an alternative alignment and either a series of complicated land acquisitions or entry into the land controlled by Salford (see Whiteley, 1966).

16 Donald Buttress LVO OBE co-founded the Manchester-based practice Buttress Fuller Alsop Williams Architects, and from 1988-1999 was Surveyor of the Fabric at Westminster Abbey.

suffered from a surfeit of ambition allied to a dearth of cash. The most dramatic gap between dream and reality lied in the county's transportation and road building programmes" (Waterhouse, 1974, p. 16).

The rejected and resurrected dream

Regardless of political motion and motivation, the need for some form of circulatory route that could adequately bypass the city centre was not about to vanish. The new county needed a new plan and in 1979, the GMC published its first statutory document, the *Greater Manchester County Structure Plan*. Prepared under the 1971 and 1972 Town and Country Planning Acts, it superseded the Development Plan produced by John Millar's department during the 1960s. The Plan provided an official explanation for the abandoned ring road schemes. It was explained that, in 1974, the GMC had "inherited plans to construct or improve 460 miles of road" at a cost of over £800m (GMC, 1979, p. 70). Due to a significant lack of funds, the council reviewed all road proposals. It decided that only small-scale schemes (such as traffic management on existing roads, improved road junctions, and refurbished roads) were to be retained, as they could bring immediate benefits and were "not dependent upon the completion of further works" (GMC, 1979, p. 82). Ironically, despite their scale and reach, the GMC thought that planning for bigger schemes was "no longer possible nor desirable" (GMC, 1979, p. 69)[17] and blamed overly ambitious schemes of the past for creating problems for contemporary planning. However, the GMC did approve the completion of Manchester's Outer Ring Road, as it argued that the county lacked a "suitable north-south route through the urban areas on its eastern side" (GMC, 1979, p. 69).[18]

Possibly by design, the 1979 Plan presented evidence of the decline in popularity of the motor car as a means of travelling to work. A public attitudes survey was undertaken in 1974, which revealed that, of the 2000 people interviewed, 85 per cent wanted "improved public transport rather than improved private motoring conditions" (Greater Manchester Council, 1979, p. 73). The Survey also identified people's concern with how greatly road traffic impacted on the environment, so the GMC ensured that the 1979 Plan reflected this. Major improvements to public transport were proposed, guidelines were issued to enhance the environment of the city (including river cleaning and the reuse of derelict land), and measures were suggested that would create "safe, pleasant and convenient conditions for pedestrians … to encourage walking as a mode of transport" (Greater Manchester Council, 1979, p. 76).

Whilst the GMC dealt with its restricted budget and restrained road building programme, the City Council was still faced with the same inherent problem of congestion that had persisted since the Victorian era. In 1980 Brian Parnell, the City Planning Officer, published a report titled, *Manchester City Centre Local Plan: report of survey/issues and*

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17 In 1974 the introduction of the Transport Policies Programme (TPP) system meant that rather than procuring specific grants for individual schemes, the highway and transportation authority was in receipt of a block grant from central government for all transport expenditure. This policy was introduced in conditions of severe financial stringency, and new policy and planning was very difficult to achieve with the constrained budgets (see Gwilliam, 1979).

18 The M60 Outer Ring Road was eventually opened in October 2000 < http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/998291.stm> accessed 7 August 2013.

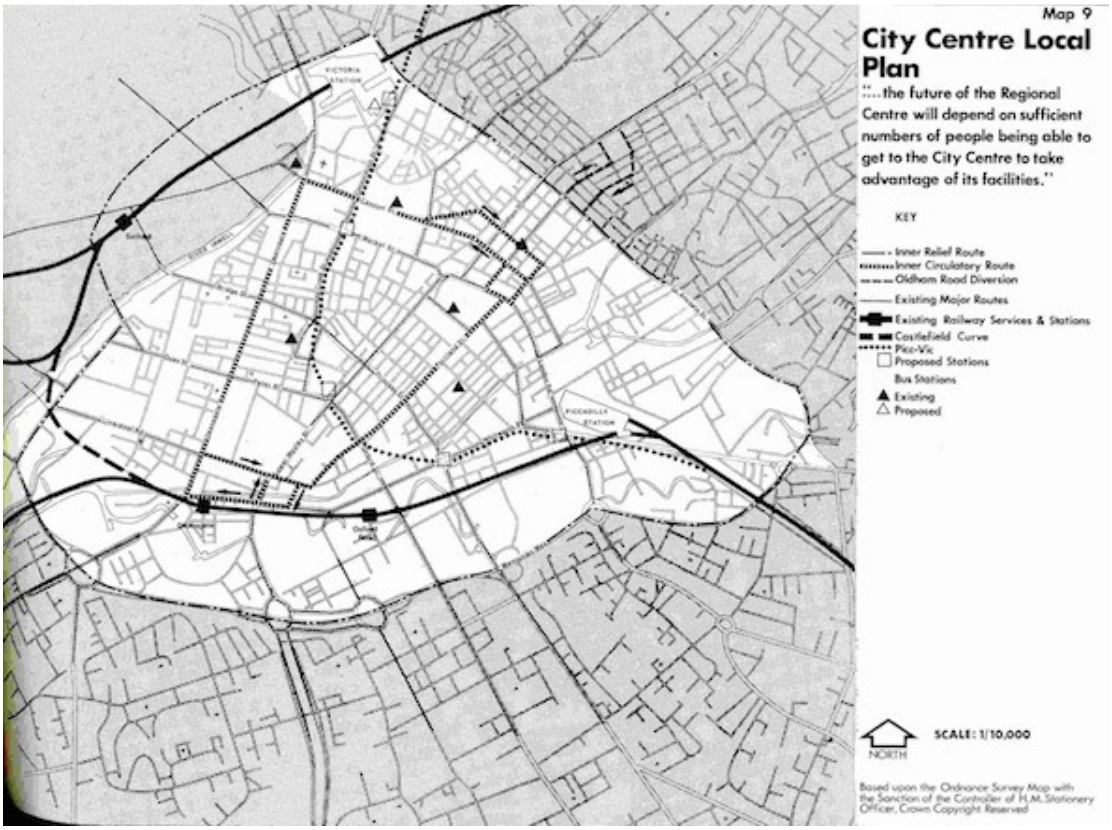


Figure 18. The proposed network (Manchester City Council, 1980).

choices. It highlighted the problems faced by the city centre, and proposed guidelines on how to resolve them (Manchester City Council, 1980). Parnell wanted the Report to spark debate and provide feedback, as it would help inform the forthcoming statutory document, the *1984 City Centre Local Plan*. The 1980 Report identified that since publication of the 1967 *City Centre Map* (Manchester City Corporation, 1967a), Manchester had become further decentralised.[19] Although planned to a degree, Parnell stressed that the time had "now come to call a halt to the process of decentralisation before it continued to the point where it was harmful" (Manchester City Council, 1980, p. 9). His solution was to make the city more accessible, and proposed a new road programme (Figure 18) that was based on the *New Traffic Plan for Manchester* (Manchester City Corporation, 1976). Predominantly formed of inexpensive, small-scale schemes, Parnell also suggested two large-scale measures. The first was an Inner Relief Route, which provided a by-pass for through traffic, and the second was an Inner Circulatory Route, which would enable "distribution round the centre itself" (Manchester City Council, 1980, p. 46) (see Appendix 1 for the plan of routes proposed).

[19] The decentralisation of Manchester brought with it many benefits, which included a lower density of housing and a reduced pressure for development. However, decentralisation also meant that fewer people lived in the immediate vicinity of the city, and its centre was no longer the primary venue for the needs-based consumption of goods.

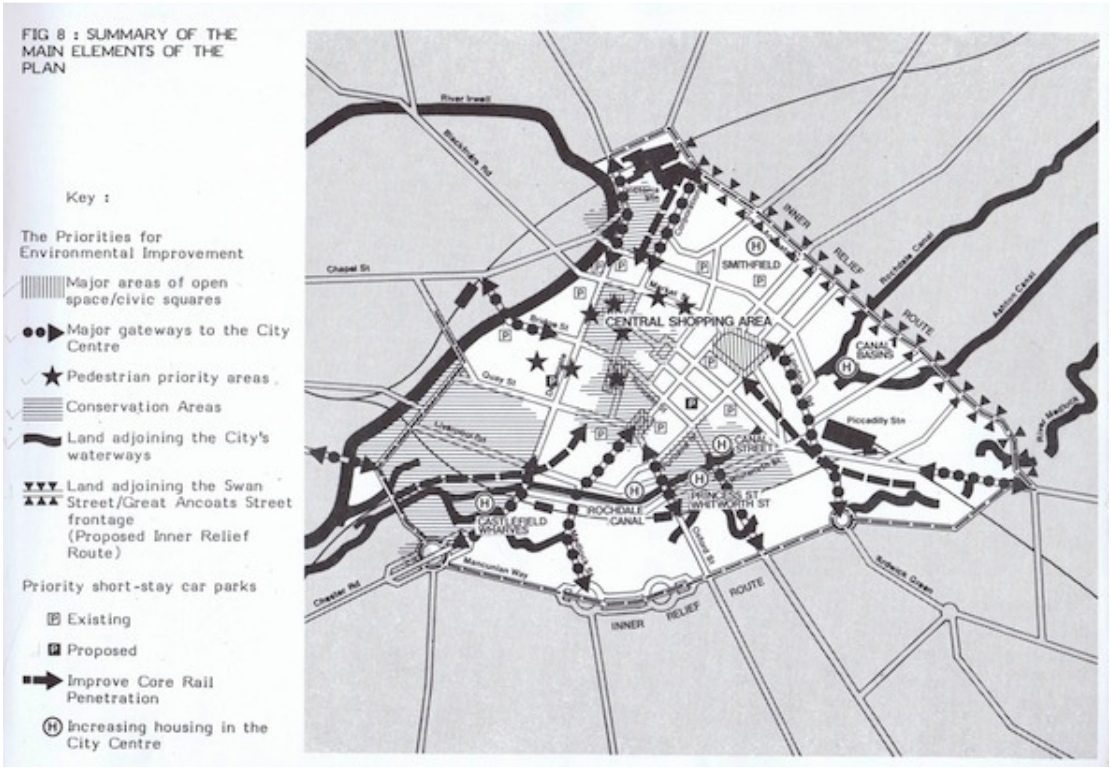


Figure 19. The proposed network (Manchester City Council, 1984).

In 1984, the *City Centre Local Plan* was planned (Manchester City Council, 1984). Together with the GMC's *County Structure Plan* (Greater Manchester Council, 1979),[20] it formed the new Development Plan for the city centre. Unlike city plans of the past, the transportation proposals were heavily weighted towards public transport and the environment, which the Plan described as being "vital to a thriving and active city centre" (Manchester City Council, 1984, p. 10). The proposed Inner Relief Route was barely mentioned, and the diagrams were seemingly deliberately abstract (Figure 19) and contained less precision and detail than the report of four years earlier. Another marked omission was the absence of the Inner Circulatory Route from the text and diagrams – another proposed road network consigned to the archives. There was a perceptible uncertainty in the text of the Report issued by the City, arguably stemming from bruised personnel who had failed in earlier road-building attempts; "it will be to no avail if it takes so long to come about and creates such utter chaos and confusion during the period of construction that by the time it becomes available, the City Centre has declined even further" (Manchester City Council, 1984, p. 11). This pessimistic phrasing may reflect the continued depressed state of the economy, and it is probable that the political relationships between City and County were also uncertain and, in some situations, untested.

[20] The *Greater Manchester County Structure Plan* was approved by the Secretary of State for the Environment in March 1981.

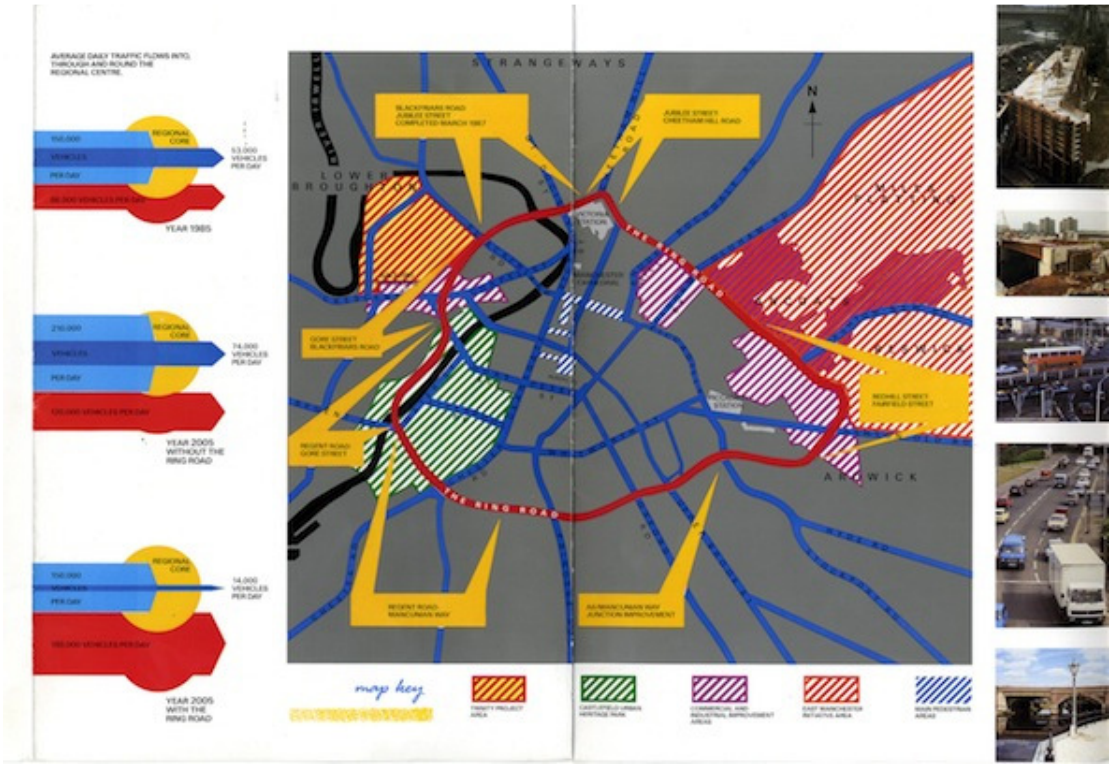


Figure 20. *The Ring*. Stylised graphical representation of the route of the Inner Relief Road (1987).

Nonetheless, prior to the abolition of the GMC in 1986,[21] work had commenced on the construction of the Inner Relief Route. Part of the ring road utilised Mancunian Way, an elevated motorway constructed in two main phases in the 1960s and 1970s. The remaining route was formed primarily from existing roads and dual carriageway sections, but also included a new section of carriageway to the north of the River Irwell. Though not the final route of the road, it is perhaps best visually represented from the period of its rebirthing in the late 1980s by a Ben Kelly-inspired graphic published in a brochure titled 'The Ring' in 1987 (Figure 20). Finally completed in 2004, the ring road adopted the catchy name of the Manchester and Salford Inner Relief Route.

Closing the loop

The period of highway works from the late 1980s to 2004 also impacted upon development, but did not shape the city in the manner of the proposals in the years 1945-1974. Much of the later work concentrated on the connection of existing tissue rather than replacement routes and the outer fringe of the city centre was, in effect, a more malleable urban field than the close quarters of the inner core. It should also be noted that issues related to environment and heritage were much more prominent from the mid-1970s onwards and the utopian driven schemes of complete central

[21] In 1986, the GMC was abolished following the Local Government Act 1985, with its powers devolved to the ten district councils of Greater Manchester.

reconstruction of the immediate post-war years were not subject to the same forces of objection and mediation. The primacy of highways planning was also beginning to fade as the true impact of mass motoring was realised in the form of air and noise pollution. Thus one may suppose that it is no surprise that both during the early years of recovery and in the energetic boom of the 1960s the focus on design for the motor vehicle had its own significant effect on urban form on this and on many other cities. The particular 'citadel' form of Manchester was actually a result of the lack of bomb damage in the city centre and the unwavering adhesion to the ambition of creating the ring roads, but each renewal city[22] has its own peculiar formal narrative bound to physical, political and economic factors specific to that place.

Less considered in the discourse surrounding post-war planning, urbanism and architecture is the role and status of the planner and the profession of planning. At the University of Manchester, as at many other institutions, the study of planning was closely allied or embedded within the School of Architecture. Many of the first wave of Chief Planners in local government were trained as designers, as architect-planners, and John Millar was one such figure. As planning departments became independent and strategic planning at a range of scales, up to that of regional planning, became the normal operative context for the study and practice of the discipline, the economic-planner replaced the architect-planner. As such the means of representation within the discipline altered – tables and diagrams replaced models and drawings, the specific became the abstracted. This is clearly apparent when examining the various images published in Manchester under the various officers and across the decades following 1945.

Rowland Nicholas's 1945 Plan was heavily illustrated and employed the services of the City Architect, G. Noel Hill FRIBA, Hubert Worthington and the Director of Housing, John Hughes, also an architect. The illustrations of the schemes presented in 1945 were detailed and showed architectural styling that borrowed a little from Art Deco and a little from Scandinavian modern – a form of proto-Festival style (Figure 21). The work of Millar's department in the 1960s was slightly less committed in terms of style, the three dimensional models produced and presented publicly and as illustrations in the departmental reports were formal massing exercises that made little or no allusion to detail or materiality (Figure 22). The sketches that accompanied the models were suggestive, not definitive. After the creation of the GMC, reports published under Parnell's watch in the 1980s contained even more abstracted diagrams and artists' 'impressions' were the order of the day (Figure 23) – an impression by a third party could not be held up against a realised project as a means of comparison!

The above observations are contextualised by the overarching narrative of Western European urban and planning history in the post-war years. Uppermost is the shift towards regionalism as a mode of thought and as a political unit. This transition in the scale of planning necessitated a migration from traditional forms of visual representation towards a more abstracted and diagrammatic vision, or version, of the world. Second is the rise of consumer capitalism; it may well be that Britain appeared to have a strong socialist bias in the institution of the NHS and the rest of the welfare state in the years

[22] 'Renewal city' here is used to describe the cities of the UK that only really started their central area reconstruction after 1959. This is in contrast to the more heavily bomb-damaged 'recovery cities' that had ostensibly completed their major acts of rebuilding by 1959.

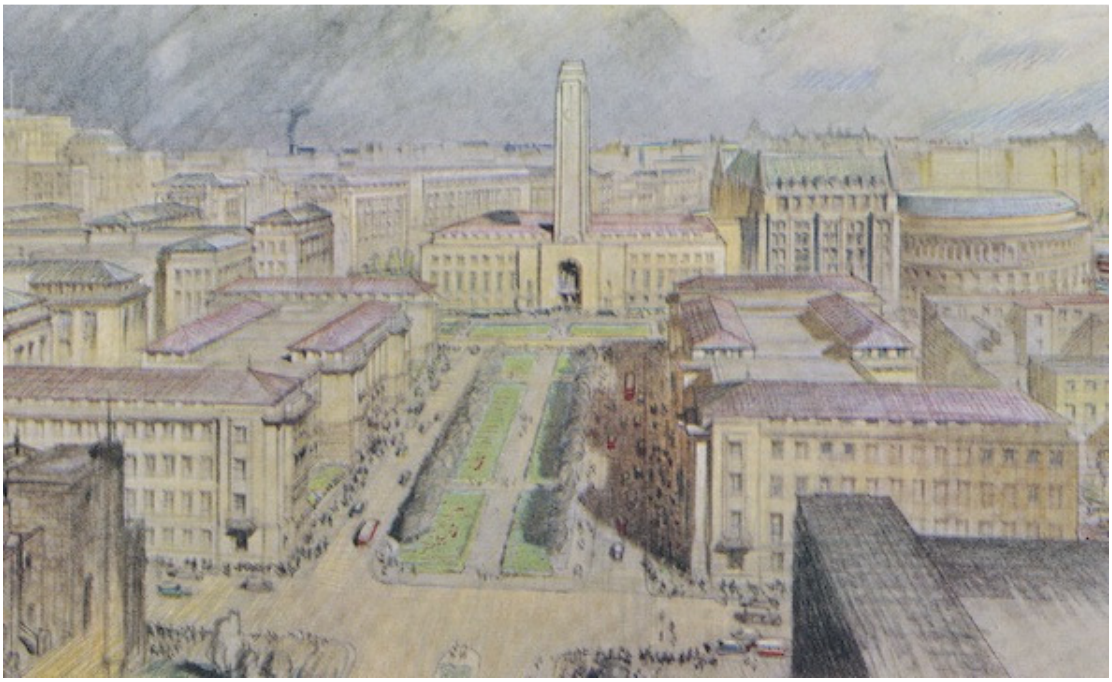


Figure 21. Manchester's new Town Hall (centre) as envisaged in the 1945 Plan, drawn by J.D.M. Harvey (Nicholas, 1945a).

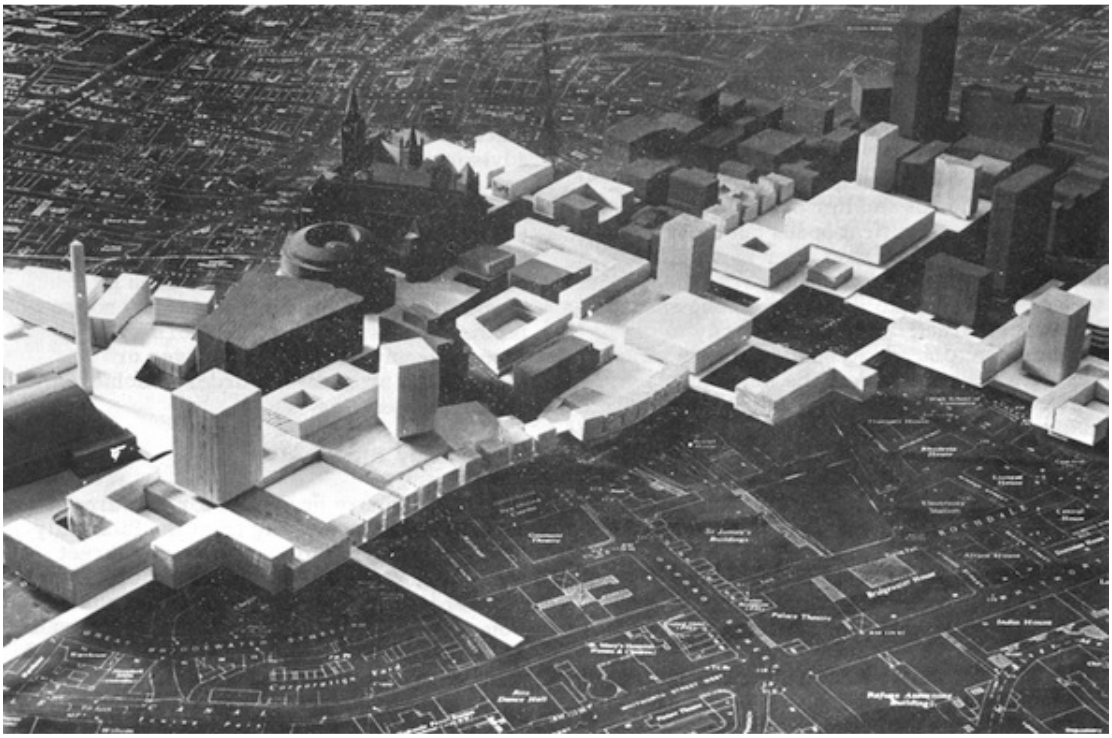


Figure 22. The Arts Centre between Portland Street and Mosley Street (Millar, 1967).

Figure 23. Artist's impression of pedestrianised zones in Manchester City Centre in the 1980s (Greater Manchester Council, Planning Department, 1986).

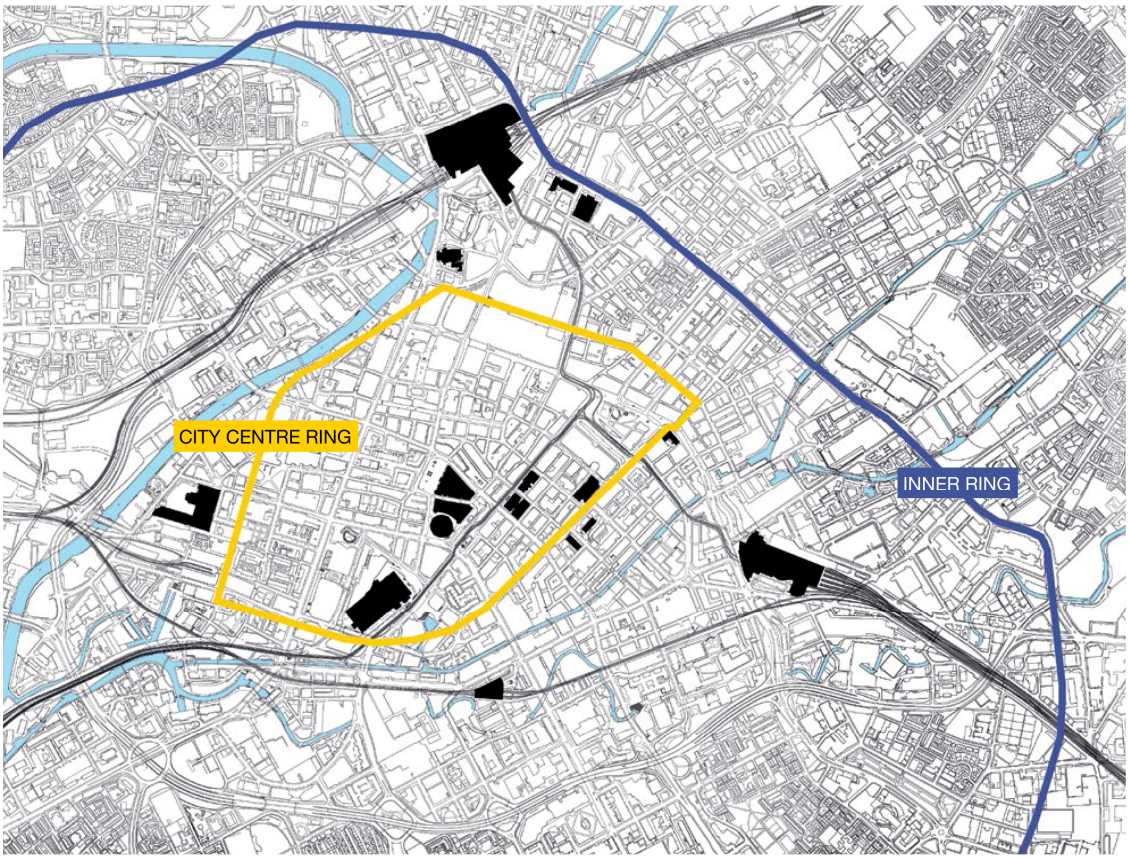
after 1945. The reality is that the renewal of central areas in many cities was largely dependent on the private sector and early forms of municipal entrepreneurial activity. The ascendency of the economic-planner is therefore not surprising in either of these settings. Finally there is the relationship between representation and realisation. Immediately after the war there was a desire to be forward looking, to renew, to plan boldly and comprehensive proposals that were realistic in their representation were tinged with the aspiration and optimism requisite for social, as well as physical, repair. Similarly, a socio-cultural explosion that was also about renewal and revitalisation accompanied the economic boom of the early 1960s. The more sombre and sober modes of communication employed after the mid-1970s not only reflected new political

structures, but also the failures of the past and the hesitancy related to the limited resources of the period.

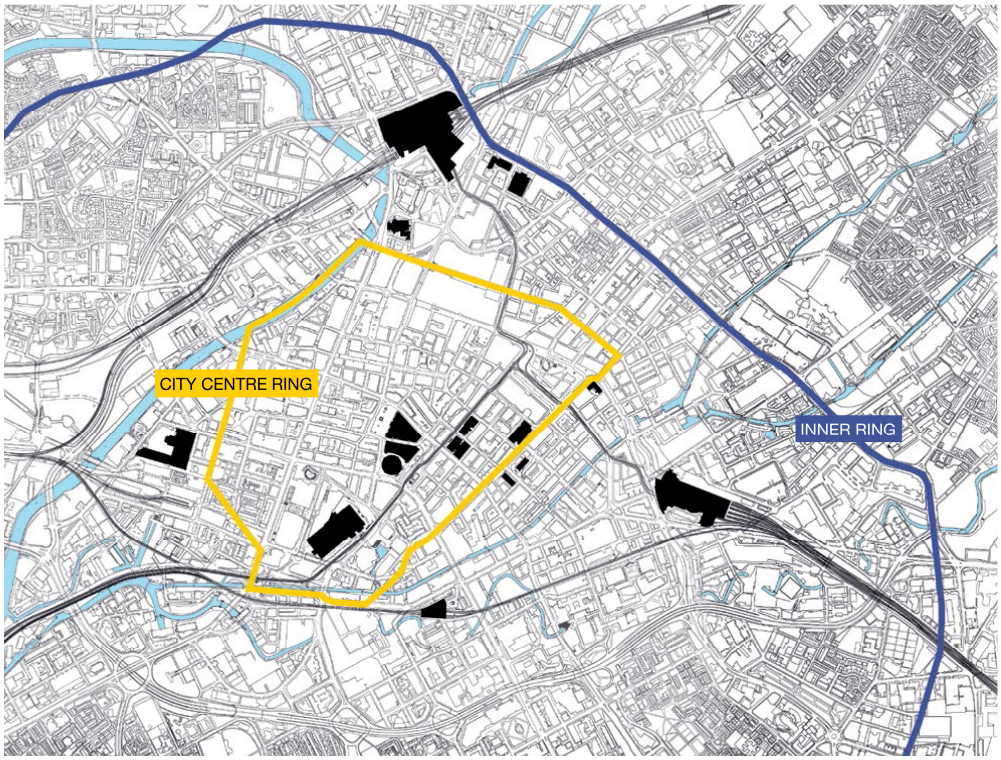
Amidst this set of exoteric forces that are difficult to quantify, and in the absence of approved statutory guidance, it appears logical that the city of Manchester and the planners employed by the Corporation grasped the apparent precise delineation of the ring roads as an organising device. Planning, by its nature, seeks to apply order to systems; and the absence of any mechanism to control development in the post-war years meant that the ring roads almost became 'the Plan' themselves. The general rise in the use and popularity of private motor transport converged with the policy void and the perennial issue of traffic congestion in Manchester to create a situation wherein the primacy of highway planning was apparently beneficial to politicians, the public and the planners alike. The various Transport Acts had placed the powers for road realignments into the hands of local authorities, who could thus exert change without central government involvement. As attitudes to cars, ecology and the heritage of the urban environment shifted in the late 1960s and early 1970s, so did the adhesion to the dream of the highways plan, but not before the shape of the city had assumed its ring.

APPENDIX 1

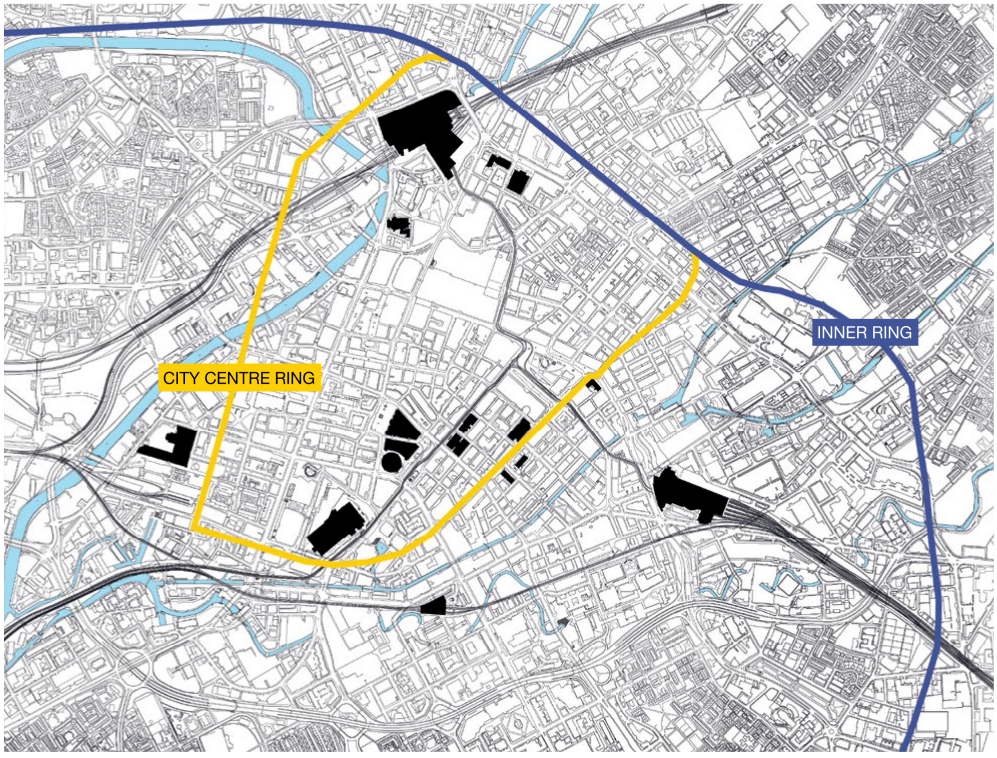
The various alignments of the city centre road and inner ring road, 1945-2004.
Maps prepared by Matthew Jarvis from municipal reports and documents. Base map © Crown Copyright/database right 2013. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service.



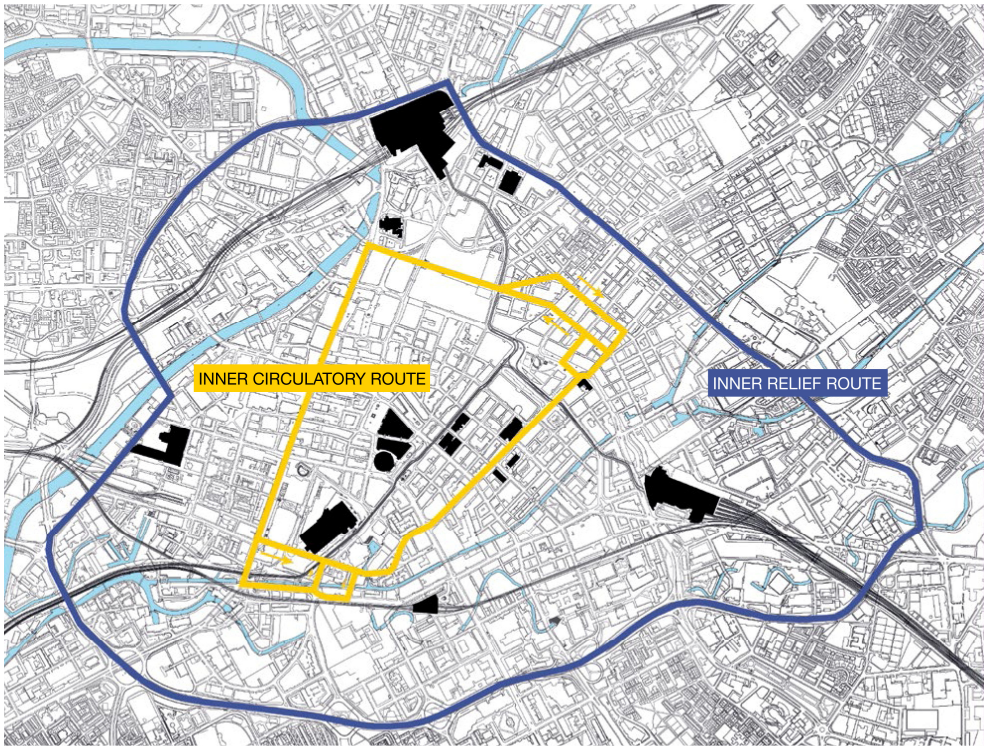
1945



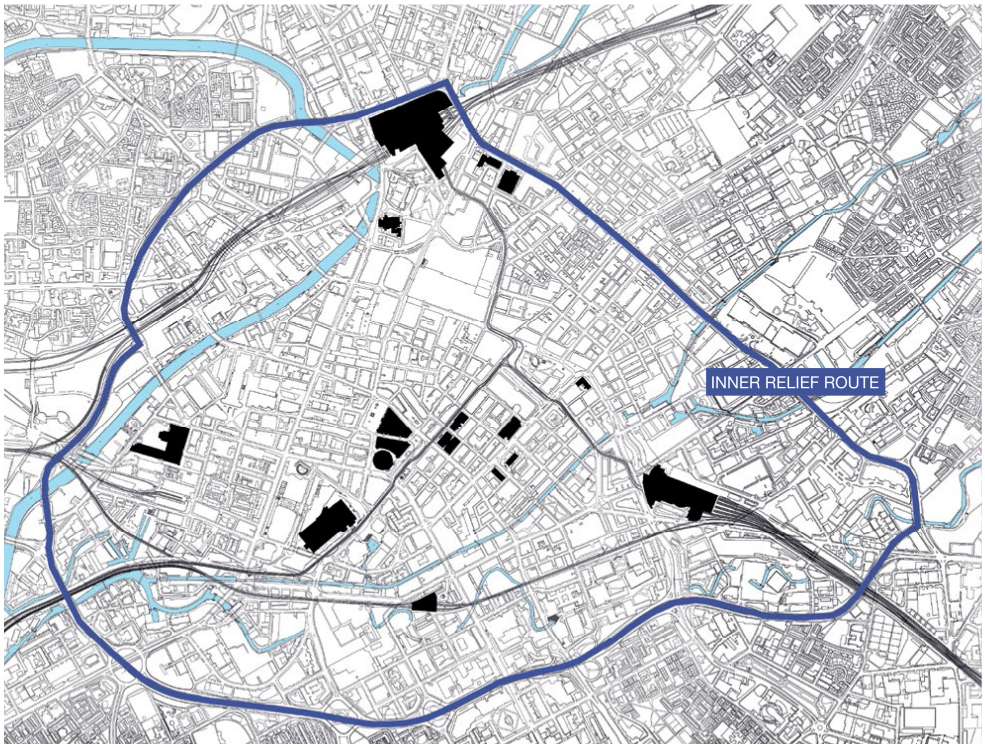
1961



1967


INNER CIRCULATORY ROUTE
INNER RELIEF ROUTE

1984


INNER RELIEF ROUTE

2004

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