SIR PETER GEOFFREY HALL (1932–2014)

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Rarely does the demise of a university professor attract such media coverage as followed the death of Sir Peter Hall. *The Economist* hailed him as the champion of cities; the *Financial Times* as the man who conceived the M25, 'most urbane of urbanists'; the *Guardian* as 'the planner with a vision of how peoples' lives would change, and cities with them'; the *Daily Telegraph* as 'the planning guru who loved urban life and championed enterprise zones, garden cities and new towns'; the *New York Times* as the British planner who devised Enterprise Zones; *The Times* as 'Britain's most influential postwar planner', shaper of London's Docklands and begetter of a transport revolution. It was remarkable how few obituarists recalled that Hall was first if not foremost a geographer. Interviewed for the professional journal *Building Design,* the University of Pennsylvania's veteran architectural historian Joseph Rykwert hailed him as 'one of that all-too-rare breed, a geographer not content with surveying what exists, but wanting to determine and stimulate inevitable changes'. This was close to the mark. Geography provided the well-spring for everything he accomplished as a planner. Ron Johnston, Paul Knox, and Robert Freestone recognised as much in three outstanding appreciations for *Geographical Journal*, *Urban Geography* and *Progress in Human Geography* respectively. Only a geographical perspective can make sense of the singularly prolific and many-stranded achievements of Professor Sir Peter Hall.

Early life and Education

Peter Geoffrey Hall was born on 19 March 1932 in the London suburb of Hampstead to Arthur Hall, civil servant, and his wife Bertha, née Kelly: the elder of two sons. As with most families, the Second World War led to disruption, and in his case his family's relocation to Blackpool, Lancashire, where Hall had his secondary education at the local grammar school. Specialization begins early in the English educational system, and the launch of Hall's intellectual career occurred at the age of sixteen when he entered the sixth form of Blackpool Grammar School and selected economics, history, and geography as his options for the Higher National Certificate, forerunner of the A-level examination. Triangulation of those three disciplines would be the source of everything that followed, pre-eminence as a planning guru included. The secondary school offered inspirational teaching, often recalled in his memoirs, and it was in the library for those in the final two years of school that he first encountered Frank Borkeman's *The Totalitarian Enemy* (1940), Arthur Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* (1940), Lewis Mumford's *The Culture of* Cities (1938), George Orwell's *Essays* and Joseph Schumpeter's *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (1941). His teachers encouraged him to sit the entrance examination for the University of Cambridge. Undecided as between history and geography, his path was determined by the offer of a geography scholarship at St Catharine's College.

Hall found Cambridge initially uncongenial, what with the snobbery of privately educated undergraduates towards provincial grammar schoolboys, the relatively low

academic esteem of his chosen discipline, and the bias of first year teaching towards the physical geography he least enjoyed. But in 1951 the situation was transformed by the college's appointment of A.A.L. Caesar (an alumnus) to be Fellow and Director of Studies in Geography. As the only Cambridge college offering geography scholarships, St Catharine's attracted the pick of the crop and for the next 29 years Gus Caesar was their academic mentor. The weekly supervisions in which Caesar deployed his 'formidable powers of critical dissection and logical rearrangement' (Haggett 1965, ii) nurtured many rising stars of the discipline (Johnston and Williams 2003, 309) and Hall recollected them as the high point of his undergraduate career (2003b, 2014f). He had already learned from George Orwell how to write clearly without resort to jargon; now he learned how to construct arguments, marshal empirical evidence, and submit to relentless self-criticism—'progress is a mistake-making business' was one of Gus's aphorisms.

More than this, Caesar was a committed advocate of geography as an applied science, with regional planning as its practical outcome. He had coauthored the chapter on the 'North-east of England' and written those on 'Gloucester–Wiltshire–Somerset' and 'Devon and Cornwall' in G.H.J. Daysh's *Studies in Regional Planning: Outline Surveys and Proposals for the Development of Certain Regions of England and Scotland* (1949). The authors conceived regional planning to be a self-contained policy process in which the geographer ascertained trends, constraints, and requirements so that planner might devise proposals for administrators to implement. For his presidential address to section E of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Southampton in August 1964, A.A.L. Caesar spoke on 'Planning and the geography of Great Britain'. He

emphasized the inexorable geographical trends of economic centralization on South-east England and the midlands, the decline of peripheral regions, road transport growth and extensive railway closures. 'The Twentieth Century pattern must be accepted—there is need to contemplate that of the Twentyfirst Century. If Megalopolis is coming, let us at least be aware of it and let us plan for it'—a challenge for geography indeed (1964, 240). Caesar himself had little direct involvement in public policy, but his teaching of geography as an applied science was profoundly influential, as seven of his distinguished former students—Michael Chisholm, Peter Haggett, Peter Hall, David Keeble, Gerald Manners, Ray Pahl and Kenneth Warren—acknowledged in their *Spatial Policy Problems of the British Economy* (1971).

In 1953 Hall completed the Geography tripos (Cambridge University examinations) with double first class honours and won a postgraduate research scholarship to continue at St Catharine's. His supervisor was the historical geographer Clifford Thorpe Smith, author of the textbook *Historical Geography of Western Europe Before 1800* (1967), and Hall initially intended to research the growth of provincial towns in the south of England during the industrial revolution. But after three months he switched topic, choosing instead to work on the changing industrial structure of London from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. It was an inspired decision that laid the basis for his research over the following six decades, though the immediate task of compiling longitudinal data posed an immense practical challenge, given shifts in the definitions used in official statistics and commercial trade directories. The work remained incomplete when his scholarship ran out in 1950, and, having failed to win a research

fellowship at Cambridge and unsuccessfully applied to University College, London, (where he was interviewed by Professor H.C. Darby but not offered a job), he followed his father into the civil service, and spent some miserable months working at the Board of Trade.

Hall was saved from this slough of despond by his Cambridge friend the economist John Vaizey. A charismatic, quirky politically networker, Vaizey had joined St Catharine's as a Research Fellow in 1953 and created a discussion club that gave Hall his first immersion in public policy controversies. Now Vaizey gave him contacts with the centre-left Fabian Society, got him writing for *Socialist Commentary*, and persuaded him to abandon the civil service, complete his doctorate, and return to an academic career.

Birkbeck College, University of London 1957–66

In 1957 Hall applied for an Assistant Lectureship at Birkbeck College. In Clyde Browning's *Conversations with Geographers* (1982, 61) he recalled the surprising job interview in which Professor Gordon East enquired if he spoke German and could teach the geography of Germany. Neither was the case, but he agreed to learn the language and teach the topic. So began his career as a professional geographer versed in both the locality-based *Landschaft* tradition of the regional school and in the abstract theoretical formulations of Johann Heinrich von Thünen, Alfred Weber, August Lösch, and Walter Christaller.

The following spring Hall returned to his historical geography of London industry, working intensively through the summer of 1958 in the old reading room of the British Museum. He completed his PhD thesis, the degree was awarded in 1959, Birkbeck promoted him to a full Lectureship in 1960, and the manuscript, updated and expanded, was published in the Hutchinson University Library Series as *The Industries of London* (1962). It is a meticulous empirical exercise, in which Hall mines the primary data to discover the interplay of materials, technology, labour, and ownership in each sector of London manufacturing and the shifting effect of proximity factors over the long span of time. *Industries of London* laid the foundation for Hall's subsequent interest in the dynamics of enterprise, and for his multifaceted research on Marshallian agglomeration factors, whether in the defence and high-tech industries, or the creative clusters of the information sector and all modes of artistic production. As he wrote in his 80th birthday *Festschrift*:

> The industries which my first students could see for themselves on field trips tramping round Shoreditch and Whitechapel have long gone but the principle remains, embodied in the thousands of successor workshops that now cater for the knowledge economy (2014, 270).

Writing up the PhD thesis also piqued Hall's interest in urban policy. Through John Vaizey's introduction he had joined *Socialist Commentary*'s study groups on town planning and transport, editing—and largely writing—the resulting monographs *The Face of Britain* (September 1961) and *Transport is Everyone's Problem* (April 1963). He knew from the evidence of his own research that the interwar expansion of manufacturing

industry in and around London had been misunderstood within the town and country planning movement, not least by Sir Patrick Abercrombie in the *Greater London Plan* of 1945. Hall addressed this error in his first published paper, a comparison of the 1861 and 1951 distributions of the rag [cheap clothing] trades of London's east and west ends (1960). He was struck by the blindness to economic geography in plans that treated industrial employment as a land use that could be parcelled up and rearranged at will. John Vaizey, once again playing the role of academic godfather, encouraged him to attempt a second book on London that would look forwards instead of backwards, and engage directly with this and other spatial misconceptions of town planners.

London 2000, published by Faber in 1963 (with a revised second edition six years later) was the remarkable outcome. Written when the 1961 census results were still unobtainable, the book was inordinately ambitious, a one-man project covering the entirety of London's hinterland in and beyond south-east England, and combining analysis of current demographic and employment trends with futurological projection into the next century, and planning proposals to match. It contrasted present humdrum reality with a compelling vision of a modernist metropolis. Its image of a future London involved transformations of Canterbury, Dover, Hastings, Eastbourne, Brighton, Worthing, Portsmouth, Southampton, Reading, Swindon, Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, Kettering, Peterborough, Cambridge, Norwich and Ipswich, each to be planned by a development corporation so their centres 'can be rebuilt totally, coherently and imaginatively as part of a plan of town expansion' (1969, 170). The clean-sweep utopianism of the text was matched by the confident imagery of Aerofilms survey

photographs marked up in white ink with diagnostic notes and rather chilling

prescriptions: 'unrelated piecemeal redevelopment'; 'obsolescent Victorian houses';

'Finchley Road confusion of functions'; 'muddle of land uses'; 'area needing

comprehensive development'; 'line of motorway that should be built'.

<insert fig.1 about here>

Surprising as it might seem, Hall's urban futurology followed logically from his doctorate

in historical geography. *Industries of London* had concluded with the 1939 *Report of the*

Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population chaired by Sir

Montague Barlow. The Barlow Report formed the starting point of *London 2000.* As Hall

explained to the reader:

> These names like Barlow and Uthwatt and Abercrombie, Development of
>
> Industry Act and New Towns Act, Development Control and Development
>
> Charge, will become familiar as they are expounded and analysed in the course of
>
> this book. If the changing face of London is like a play constantly in performance,
>
> these reports and acts are like the original text against which the performance
>
> must be judged (Hall 1969, 23)

That quotation conveys the other outstanding attribute of *London 2000—* its sheer

readability. The book received wide media coverage, its futuristic enthusiasm for

technical modernization perfectly catching the mood of the moment on the eve of the

Labour Party's 1964 general election victory. Updating the second edition (fig.1) Hall

added some postscripts but left unchanged the body of the text, with its potent final chapter on everyday London life in the year 2000. No reader ever forgot the Dumill family, though they occupied only 5 pages out of more than 280. 'Londoners 2000' they lived at Hamstreet in Kent in a new town 61 miles from Charing Cross in London, but close to the Channel Tunnel, commuting daily to Brixton on the 8.28 semi-fast from Paris which had already picked up a few London-bound commuters in Boulogne. Hall's deft word-picture of life in a polycentric city-region encapsulates the entire argument of *London 2000*.

Just as the book was coming out in 1963 the weekly *New Society* was launched under the editorship of Paul Barker. Hall became a regular contributor from the outset until the journal's demise in 1987, continuing as a columnist and commentator for *Planning*, *The Planner, Regeneration & Renewal* and *Town and Country Planning* right to the end of his life. Inevitably, the bibliography included at the end of this essay lists only a fraction of these pieces, but they were the first legacy recalled by the journalist Peter Hetherington as he welcomed guests to the commemorative event at the Royal Geographical Society on 22 October 2014:

> For me, above all, Peter was the finest of writers, with a considerable literary and cultural hinterland—an academic who didn't write like an academic. Such people are a rare breed . . . His writing, while insightful, was also delightfully informative, digestible, revelatory, occasionally impish, sometimes amusing, and never— absolutely never—dull.

Hall showed himself to be as prolific as he was fluent. In his late twenties he had already settled into the habit of combining weekly journalism with longer term book projects. Through John Vaizey he became involved with an Acton Society Trust symposium on the land market and edited the resulting volume *Land Values* (1965). A further Vaizey introduction led to a commission from the publisher George Weidenfeld to write *The World Cities* (1966)— a study of metropolitan growth management—for the newly launched World University Library. Ambitious in both its comparative scope and its mode of publication, involving simultaneous translations in French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Swedish, it found immediate success as a teaching text, running through successive editions and translations. An international collaboration of strictly geographical character was his work with Belgian educationist G. Quencez of compiling the *Vocabularium Geographicum* (1968), a thesaurus of more than 3,000 terms in five languages published by the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe. Another notable outcome of Hall's time at Birkbeck was the first English translation of the 1826 classic of German location theory *Von Thünen's Isolated State* (1966a), with a substantial introduction that connected the historic German school of spatial analysis with the fresh stirrings of regional science in the USA. The translation was made together with his wife Carla Wartenberg. They had married in 1962 and by 1966 were in the process of an amicable divorce.

It seems odd that A.A.L. Caesar's 1964 Southampton address made no reference to Peter Hall, the young geographer who perhaps most fully embodied his ideal of applied science. Two years after single-handedly devising a regional plan for south-east England

in *London 2000*, Hall was invited to join the newly-formed South-East Economic

Planning Council and do it for real. At the same time he was promoting the cause of

regional planning through the launch of a Regional Studies Association which, unlike its

predecessor the American-based Regional Science Association was intended to play an

active lobbying role (Hopkins 2015). These real-world involvements showed up the

shortage of planners trained in social science analysis and rational decision techniques.

The accredited planning schools were locked into traditional models of specialization

based on project work in design studios, and practice requirements designed to protect

occupational monopolies. The University Grants Commission (the UK University

research funding body) responded by funding a pioneer one-year master's programme at

the London School of Economics, open to applicants with a good first degree in any

social science, and taught as a 'modern Greats' course (a multidisciplinary course

modelled on Oxford's classics or 'Greats' curriculum) from within the disciplines of

economics, geography, and government (Hebbert 1994). As Hall noted (2003b, 551),

LSE geography under Professor Michael Wise (see *Geographers* 36) taught the same

values of relevance and practicality as A.A.L. Caesar at Cambridge; and within the

school this ethos was uniquely shared across the social sciences (Robson 1972). The job

of Programme Director seemed tailor-made for him.

<insert fig.2 about here>

London School of Economics and Political Science 1966–8

Appointed Reader in Geography with special reference to regional planning, Hall

designed an elegant interdepartmental master's programme, one of the first in the school's history, involving basic and applied courses in the three contributory social sciences. Everything was compulsory—the programme had no 'core' of planning theory and offered no options. Its spare functionalism extended to the pinholes—for notice-board display—of Hall's course brochure (fig.2). With the establishment of a master's in Planning Studies came the potential for research degrees. First of the long line of distinguished doctoral students was John Goddard, whom Hall set to work analysing the geography of London's booming tertiary sector, the topic highlighted in *Industries of London* as 'virtually ignored by economists, economic historians and economic geographers' (1962, 180). Goddard vividly recalls how Hall opened doors to official data-sources, led him to the methodological innovations of Swedish researchers Gunnar Tornqvist and Bertil Thorngren, encouraged early publication in *Urban Studies* and *Regional Studies,* and made immediate use of his findings within the South East Economic Planning Council (Goddard 2015, 9–16).

It was a time of change in Hall's personal life: he married Magdalena (Magda) Mróz on February 13th 1967. Brought up in Poland, she had degrees in English Philology (Warsaw), Philosophy (Uppsala) and Psychology (UCL), and would henceforth be a much-acknowledged collaborator in all of Peter's projects. His next undertaking was just beginning: a massive programme under the aegis of Political and Economic Planning (PEP), funded by the Leverhulme Trust. This four-year investigation into the operation and effectiveness of the system established under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 was matched by a parallel study at Resources for the Future in Washington DC

under Marion Clawson, confirming his growing interest in the trans-Atlantic world he had first encountered in 1964.

Legendary for its intellectual independence, internationalism and public influence, the London School of Economics might have seemed an ideal base all these activities, but it did not prove so. These were turbulent times of militancy, sit-ins and lock-outs— the school's much-publicized era of troubles (Dahrendorf 1995). The pioneering interdepartmental programme in Planning Studies lacked direct administrative support. Other members of Gus Caesar's praetorian guard were taking faster tracks to promotion with Peter Haggett in the lead through his appointment as Professor of Geography at the University of Bristol aged only 33. For whatever reason, in the summer of 1968 Hall moved from LSE to a traditional geography department in a small university, accepting the chair of geography at the University of Reading. At the age of 36 his return to his mother discipline was felicitously accompanied by the award of the Gill Memorial Prize of the Royal Geographical Society 'for his many valuable and imaginative contributions to industrial and urban geography and planning' (Laithwaite 1968)—a flow of contributions that in retrospect had hardly begun.

University of Reading, 1968–88

Reading was unglamorous. Geography was housed in a single-storey prefab on the suburban Whiteknights campus, with annexes in wartime army huts. New arrivals (such as the present author in 1970) wondered momentarily if they had made the right choice.

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But Peter Hall was a charismatic head of department and his leadership was transformative. Reading geography became, in Peter Williams's words,

> almost a model of what academic departments should be in terms of commitment to teaching, research and publication. Peter was central to this. His unbounded energy and enthusiasm, his probing and challenge, his ability to think synoptically and to bring the worlds of academic and policy together, and his vast network of contacts meant that we were constantly being pushed to think outside of the box (Williams 2015 18).

Michael Batty's commemorative essay for the *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy* (2016) captures the physical ambience of the geography department's Terrapin buildings where Peter Hall—arriving at speed from Bedford Park, London, in his yellow Audi—held court in his black leather chair (fig.3). On Wednesdays at 5pm he ushered the leading lights of Anglo–American geography along the dingy corridor (with buckets for the roof-drips) for the weekly research seminar, starting around the long table in the staff common room and continuing across the park in the bar of the Queen's Head pub. These were seminars in the true sense, seeding ideas—about planning and markets, or futurology, or mathematical modelling, or garden cities, or housing markets, or trains and busses—for subsequent gestation in the columns of *New Society* column, development in conference papers and invited lectures, and eventual exposition in full-length monographs. Hall's method of working simultaneously and cumulatively on multiple strands of research can be glimpsed in the year-by-year publication listings below, and is clearly evident in the thematic bibliography compiled by Robert Freestone

(Tewdwr-Jones, Phelps and Freestone 2014, 285–301). What a bibliography cannot show are the earliest stages of conversation at the heart of a creative university environment. As Professor of Geography and Head of Department from 1968 to 1988, Peter Hall sustained such a milieu at Reading.

<insert fig.3 about here>

The first *magnum opus* of these years was the project he had planned and launched while at LSE, the four-year enquiry into the impact of statutory town and country planning, undertaken with three full-time researchers at PEP, Roy Drewett, Harry Gracey and Ray Thomas. Magda Hall checked for press a manuscript of over half a million words. The work was published in two volumes as *The Containment of Urban England* (1973). Tony Champion recalls the magisterial summary of findings which Peter Hall presented to an afternoon meeting of the Royal Geographical Society in February 1974: planning had produced three outcomes only one of which (physical containment) was intended, the other two (leap-frog suburbanisation and house price inflation) being unintended, perverse and a betrayal of the people (Tewdwr-Jones, Phelps and Freestone 2014, 126). The cogency of this argument, elaborated over the span of 1,100 pages and more than half a million words, gave no hint of the preceding disagreements within the research team or the inchoate state of the manuscript before Hall pulled it into shape. By contrast the collaboration with Marion Clawson in Washington over the summer of 1971, fashioning an Anglo-American comparison out of the PEP material and the sister project

at Resources for the Future (1973a), was remembered by Hall as a deeply happy cooperative experience (Browning 1982, 65).

These two books confirmed Hall's standing as the leading authority on land use planning. He had already published a short textbook on the theory and practice of regional planning, based on a series of lectures at Ruskin College, Oxford (1970). While in Washington in 1971 he started work on a more general textbook, *Urban and Regional Planning* (1975) which became and remains staple reading for students in the field. No doubt this was also based on lecture material, for in the same year he had launched a planning programme at Reading based on the same interdepartmental concept as his previous LSE course. He chaired the School of Planning Studies from 1971 to 1977 and again from 1983 to 1986. He also served as Dean of the Faculty of Urban and Regional Studies, which incorporated the College of Estate Management, Britain's premier school for property professionals, on its relocation from Kensington to Reading in 1972. Hall's understanding of the relationship between planning and geography at this time was set out in the opening chapter of the *Festschrift* prepared by Reading geographers for their retiring colleague Andrew McKie Frood: geographers understand process, and without that understanding there can be no intelligent planning (1979b, 13). In *Conversations with Geographers* Hall hazarded an estimate that the two fields overlapped by 80 or 90% (Browning 1982 ,73). The overlap was evident in his investigations into the European urban system, combining the functional-urban-area approach of *Containment* with the futures orientation of *London 2000.* In 1971–4 he chaired a major study of urbanization for the European Cultural Foundation in

Amsterdam: the resulting monograph *Europe 2000* (1977) won the Bentinck Prize as an outstanding contribution to European integration. With sponsorship from the Ford Foundation and the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, Hall continued this line of research into the geography of urban growth in Europe in collaboration with Dennis Hay (1980a). Meanwhile his British research focus had shifted to the geographies of urban decline, depopulation and disinvestment—the topic of a major programme of 'inner city' studies funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (1981). 'Green fields and grey areas', his address to the 1977 annual conference of the Royal Town Planning Institute started a trail that was to lead to Margaret Thatcher's Enterprise Zone experiment. Hall maintained a longstanding interest in transport geography (1963a, 1970a) straying briefly in the mid 1970s into libertarian advocacy of road over rail (1977e), before collaborations with David Banister of UCL (1981a) and the German researcher Carmen Hass-Klau (1986d,e) brought him back on track to the railway and tram specialism to which he dedicated much of his work over the next three decades (Knowles and Rozenblat 2016).

Alongside these geographical research strands Hall had begun to work on planning from a more abstract institutional perspective. With striking originality he marshalled seven investigations of apparent policy failure—*Great Planning Disasters*—within a conceptual framework provided by the public choice theory of Charles Lindblom, Mancur Olson and James Buchanan (1980). One of the case studies in planning disaster was the Bay Area Rapid Transit. The research took him in 1974 to the Department of City and Regional Planning in the College of Environmental Design of the University of

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California at Berkeley. Within the USA he had previously worked in New York, Washington DC and Aspen Colorado, and he was an inveterate traveller on all continents, but he enjoyed an immediate and special rapport with Berkeley's planning faculty, particularly Ann Markusen, and returned in the autumn of 1978 to give a long-remembered lecture in Wurster Hall (Glasmeier 2015, 46)   It led directly to his appointment in 1980 as Deputy Director of Berkeley's Institute for Urban and Regional Development. In his autobiographical essays (2014f, 2017) Hall described the move as the most fundamental break in his entire academic career. It seemed more a supplementation than a rupture, as he kept his home with Magda in London and his departmental headship at Reading, maintaining a full-scale research programme with colleagues there, and continuing to alternate between the Thames Valley and San Francisco Bay on a broadly six-monthly basis until 1988: and all this, as Amy Glasmeier reminds us, without the help of the internet—a mystery indeed (2015, 47).

University of California at Berkeley 1980–92

Hall's partial relocation at the age of 42 opened rich new seams in his academic career, as the bibliography bears witness.

> For me the move to Berkeley was the consummation of my long affair with America and with California. It plunged me into an extraordinary encounter with American society in one of its most exhilaratingly dynamic eras. Silicon Valley— the name had been coined by a journalist in 1971—was burgeoning. Steve Jobs amd Steve Wozniak had invented the Apple 1, the first commercially-successful personal computer, four years earlier. The San Francisco Bay Area offered a unique combination of innovation and zaniness: next door to the house we first

rented, a parked truck advertised *Trans-Time Inc: Cryogenic Suspension,* which would freeze you just before you expired of your terminal illness, to wait for the medical advance that would bring you back to the land of the living. And that sort of said it all. (2014, 276)

Hall developed two distinct lines of work at Berkeley. On the one hand, he was now—for the first time—teaching the history and theory of town planning in the context of a professional design school, with all that implied in terms of a practice ethos; at Reading he had taught planning as a geographer, now he spoke *ex cathedra* as Professor of Urban and Regional Planning, inculcating 'spirit and purpose'. His approach to planning theory reflected both his personal interest in historical research, and the emergence—at just this time—of an international scholarly network of historians with a shared interest in the field (Freestone 2015) : Hall played an active role in their journal *Planning Perspectives* right up to the month of his death (2015a). His Berkeley lectures followed a historical framework. As usual the spoken word soon took shape as written papers, which in turn developed into a book project: *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* (1988). The contract was signed in 1984 and over the next few years he seized every opportunity to visit the places he was describing. Sabina Dietrick and Scott Campbell, his collaborators in *Rise of the Gunbelt* (1991), describe how their research trips to the weaponry and avionics complexes of the Connecticut Valley and Long Island, and to military contracting officers in and around the Pentagon in Washington, DC, involved ingenious detours to neglected shrines of planning history: Sunnyside, Radburn, Reston and Greenbelt (2015, 58–9). On home

ground Hall found himself ever more enthusiastic about Sir Ebenezer Howard and the legacy of the Garden City movement, and Sir Patrick Geddes's role in promoting awareness of the city-region as unit of study and action.

Cities of Tomorrow was an instant classic, lucidly written with good-quality archival images and a freshness of perception that came from direct field observation. More than just a history of the practice of city design, it was an affirmation of purpose, articulating the linkage—positive or regressive—between planners' visions and real-world inequality and exclusion. True, as Peter Hall ruefully conceded, most of the coverage was confined to the Anglo-American world; and it was liable to criticism too for a focus on male actors and hegemonic institutional forces that sat oddly with his invocation of the planning movement's Kropotkian affinities to anarchism and grassroots mobilization (Sandercock 1998). But as Freestone concludes in a thoughtful review of this much-reprinted and translated text, the narrative has stood the test of time: it remains 'commanding, compelling and convincing', an obligatory reference point for students and practitioners of planning (Tewdwr-Jones, Phelps and Freestone 2014, 50).

The other path taken by Hall led back to his earliest interests in economic geography. The new Californian arrived at a moment of structural upheaval in the regional economy, with San Francisco's industries in the throes of lay-offs and factory closures, while the hi-tech sector was starting its exponential expansion in Santa Clara Valley just to the south. Through a network known as the Western Urban and Regional Collective, led by Anne Markusen, Berkeley planning faculty and students were deeply involved in monitoring

the transformation and giving support to unions and affected communities. Peter Hall

joined with enthusiasm, bringing to bear all his *Industries of London* skills of data

collection, plant-mapping and industrial cluster analysis. Funding from the California

Commission on Industrial Innovation (co-chaired by Steve Jobs of Apple and David

Packard of HP, no less) led to the publication of fresh discoveries about the

agglomeration effect of science parks in *Silicon Landscapes* (1985). Then with National

Science Foundation support, came Hall's collaboration with Ann Markusen and Amy

Glasmeier in *High-Tech America: The What, How, Where and Why of the Sunrise*

Industries (1986). Another NSF grant to Hall and Markusen followed immediately to

support seminal work with Scott Campbell and Sabine Dietrich on the locational

dimension of US defence procurement, *The Rise of the Gunbelt: The Military Remapping*

of Industrial America (1991). In a period of extraordinary intellectual fecundity, these

projects laid the basis for two further lines of research.

The first was comparative. The economic geography of American high-tech industry was

quite clearly presaged of global shifts. Thanks to his parallel life in England, Hall could

initiate directly comparable studies of information, technology and communication

industry development along the M4 corridor of the Thames Valley with Reading

colleagues Michael Breheny, Douglas Hart and Ron McQuaid (1987). A project with his

Berkeley colleague Manuel Castels and a team of Spanish collaborators involved Hall in

field visits to hi-tech clusters in France, Germany, Japan, Russia, South Korea, Spain,

Taiwan and the United Kingdom for the book *Technopoles of the World* (1994). A

fifteen-year collaboration with the Australian John Brotchie produced five volumes under

the auspices of the Conseil International du Bâtiment (CIB) beginning with *The Future of Urban Form: The Impact of New Technology* (1985b). These collective works (1987a, 1991a, 1995 and1998b) would be prophetic of many aspects of the twenty-first-century urban condition, with the awkward exception of the internet.

The other spin-off was historical. Hall's Californian experience rekindled an interest in long-run patterns of investment and innovation. He engaged afresh with Joseph Schumpeter, first encountered in the library of Blackpool Grammar School, and with the long-wave theory of Nikolai Kondratieff (1981f, 1983f). *The Carrier Wave* (1988a), coauthored with his student Paschal Preston, offered a geographical panorama of technological innovation stretching back to 1846 and forwards to 2003. As an exercise in futurology it was not so prescient, giving prominence to France rather than China, but it offered a fascinating perspective on the historical milieux of innovation, that highlighted the role of large cities as crucibles of new techniques. From this finding sprang Hall's largest and most ambitious work, *Cities in Civilization*, published after he had left Berkeley (1998) but best seen as the culminating contribution to his Californian sequence. Hall's canvas now stretched over 2,500 years, and the definition of 'innovation' was widened to embrace all forms of cultural creativity, as well the necessary conditions for urban coexistence in terms of social order and physical infrastructure. The book was based on twenty-one case studies of cities which acted as crucibles in the history of civilization: obvious candidates such as Periclean Athens, Florence in the *quattrocento*, Tudor London, and Manchester in the industrial revolution sat alongside less predictable instances such as nineteenth-century Vienna, Glasgow

between 1770 and 1890, and Memphis, Tennessee, between 1948 and 1956. The chronology chops and changes disconcertingly, and while London, Paris and Berlin get a double treatment, many world cities get none. Hall's admittedly arbitrary selection evoked complaints of omissions, but also provided opportunities for virtuoso passages, such as the accounts of the Viennese Jewish bourgeois milieu in which Gustav Mahler brought his psychological problems to Dr Freud, or the respective contributions of Chicago and Memphis bands to the birth of rhythm and blues music (1988 184, 576). More than any other of his books, *Cities in Civilisation* gives a glimpse into the rich cultural hinterland that he shared with Magda, dedicatee of the work and also its effective coauthor: his acknowledgements end with the words, 'truly it is a joint labour of love' (1998, viii).

University College London 1992–2014

In the late 1980s Hall began to take on more commitments back in the UK. The most onerous would have been his appointment in 1987 as chair of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) for a five year term, had he not resigned on learning of ESRC's relocation from London to Swindon, some fifty miles to the west. In 1985 he rejoined the executive committee of the Town and Country Planning Association, becoming its vice-president in 1989 and chairman for five years from 1995, and in 1991 he took on a national policy role as special adviser on strategic planning to Michael Heseltine, Conservative Secretary of State for the Environment. Hall's own political sympathies had shifted since the formation of the centrist Social Democratic Party in 1981, but in his policy engagements he was ever a pragmatist: as he explained to his colleague Robin

Hickman, 'you can sup with the Devil so long as the fare is tasty and the wine is well-chosen'. The collaboration with Heseltine influenced government policy towards London's East End, the industrial and port corridor of the Thames estuary, and the imminent high-speed rail link between London and the Channel Tunnel, whose strategic importance Hall was quick to grasp.

Despite relinquishing his chair at Reading University in 1988, the balance of his life was shifting back to Britain. In 1992 he bade farewell to Berkeley, transferring at the age of 60 to the prestigious chair formerly held by (among others) Sir Patrick Abercrombie and Sir William Holford, at University College London (UCL). He retired in 2000 to succeed the late Michael Young at the Institute of Community Studies, the experimental think-tank based in Bethnal Green in the east end of London which Young, the celebrated social entrepreneur, had directed since 1954. In 2003 he returned to UCL with a full portfolio of research projects, and remained there for the rest of his days.

Hall's inaugural lecture at UCL (1994e,1996q) presented a fresh perspective on a career path that could now be said to have led to the Bartlett Professorship of Planning and Urban Regeneration, Abercrombie's chair. Various episodes—reproducing Harry Beck's map of the London underground rail network with coloured crayons at the age of six, sitting in the back seat of the car while his parents house-hunted in prewar outer suburbia, touring postwar Sweden during Cambridge long vacations, his first encounter with Melvin Webber in 1966 and their collaboration on an automobile-centred design concept for the new city of Milton Keynes—fell into place within a narrative of a planner's life and times. Hall updated this autobiographical essay as the 'Apologia pro vita sua' in his

eightieth birthday *Festchrift* (2014), and finally reworked it for a seminar in Vienna just before his death (2017). Illness prevented his attending the meeting but the written paper was completed by his colleague Mike Batty for publication in Beatrix Haselsberger's *Encounters in Planning Thought: Sixteen Autobiographical Essays from Key Thinkers in Spatial Planning* (2017). A geographical vocation featured noticeably less in these career narratives, just as the word 'geography' disappeared from the titles of his publications. Back in 1988, when accepting the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society 'for contributions to the geography of cities and planning' he had thought of it as an award not just to him but to all his fellow-labourers 'in the adjoining vineyards of economic and applied geography' (1988f). But thereafter we find less about applied geography and its relationship to planning, hitherto a recurrent topic for him (1975, 1979b, 1981e; Browning 1982, 1984c, 1988, 2003b, 2009d) as it had been for A.A.L. Caesar and G.H.J. Daysh in their time.

Once settled in the Bartlett chair at UCL Hall assumed a unique eminence as the nation's premier town planner, adviser to Conservative and Labour governments alike, honoured with the George Stephenson Medal of the Institution of Civil Engineers in 1991, a knighthood (KB) in 1998 and the Ebenezer Howard Memorial Medal in 1999. His establishment status did not blunt his critical faculties or policy radicalism. He was uncompromisingly averse to intensification or 'town cramming' (1999), as Lord Rogers of Riverside discovered during contentious deliberations of the government's Urban Task Force in 1998–9. From the earliest days of *London 2000* (1963) and *World Cities* (1966) Hall took the line that urban growth is best managed at a regional scale, with settlements

built at liveable density like beads on the string of transport infrastructure—an approach perfectly aligned with the aims of the Town and Country Planning Association, of which he was President from 2004 onwards. Together with the anarchist writer Colin Ward, he revisited Ebenezer Howard's original manifestoes and revised them for contemporary advocacy (1998a, 2014b). Again with Ward and the TCPA historian Dennis Hardy he issued a high-quality annotated facsimile of Howard's *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (2003). These efforts to resurrect the teachings of an eminent Victorian would have seemed implausible without the support of an active programme of research. As ever there were multiple strands.

First, Hall continued to research the European urban system, a line of enquiry since his Reading collaboration with Dennis Hay (1980). With funding from the German ministry of transport he undertook a forecast of the twenty-first-century urban future (2000), and with heavyweight funding from the European Commission he directed an Interreg IIIB programme on 'sustainable management of European polycentric mega-city regions' (2006). The quest for environmental sustainability ran through many of his later writings on learning from Europe (2007e, 2010b, 2011d) and was at the centre of *Good Cities, Better Lives: How Europe rediscovered the Lost Art of Urbanism* (2014). Secondly, Hall continued to work on London. Hall had been a leading authority on the city since his doctorate, but around the turn of the century he returned to it afresh with a major ESRC-funded project in collaboration with colleagues at LSE and the University of Essex. Two books resulted: the statistically-based *Working Capital* (2002) and the remarkable compilation of oral testimonies *London Voices, London Lives* (2007). The third and

greatest focus of Hall's UCL years was on transport: on the role of infrastructure within polycentric urban systems (2010c); on the transformative impact of high-speed rail (2011, 2012, 2013c); and on trams, tubes and transit systems (2013). His last funded research project was a €24.4 million study of the integration of trams with trains in five regions of northern Europe; his last published paper was a cross-channel comparison of British and French high speed trains (2015); and his last PhD student was the railway expert Chia-Lin Chen (fig.4), whose tribute bookends that of John Goddard in the memorial issue of *Built Environment* compiled by his research students (Hebbert 2015).

<insert fig.4 about here>

Despire prostate cancer Peter remained an active and engaged UCL colleague right up to the moment of his death from a sudden infection. He passed away at University College Hospital on July 30 2014. His body was cremated after a secular celebration of his life at Mortlake Crematorium, to musical interludes of his own choosing. He leaves Magda, his wife and collaborator; there are no children. On October 22 2014 friends and colleagues thronged to the Ondaatji Theatre, Royal Geographical Society, for a commemorative afternoon of reading, recollection and music, ending with a singing of W. H.Auden's 'Night Mail' (1936):

> *Now the dawn freshens,*
> *The climb is done*

Conclusion

An obvious difficulty in compiling the biobibliography of a geographer–planner is that the written publications are only half the story. A different essay would need to be written about the life of action which left—as noted by press obituarists—so many tangible facts on the ground. Yet the essayist struggles to cover even the writings. Hall was extremely prolific though never prolix. He prized clarity and conciseness and was distressed when younger academics lapsed into jargon and group-speak. Like any good conversationalist, he put as much energy into listening as speaking. A fine portrait by the late Tony Rudkin (fig.5) catches him in this mode, intensely attentive to what is being said around him (about trains, as it happens). When he did open his mouth to speak, whether socially, at a meeting, or in a seminar, he uttered fluent sentences that were fully-formed and fit to be set in print. Speaking as he thought and writing as he spoke, he was at home in every register of the written word, from weekly journalism to extended argument over many hundreds of pages. His Stakhanovite productivity throughout an active academic career of more than five and a half decades amazed generations of colleagues. But excellent though his weekly columns and feature articles were, to list all of them would overwhelm this essay. What follows is a selective bibliography of the main books, chapters, journal papers and reports, with just enough of the conversational pieces to suggest their flavour.

<insert fig.5 about here>

As for that other half of his legacy—the measurable impact on real-world geography— we shall have to make do with just one last image, celebrating the orbital Overground line

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he devised and lobbied for, a transport link that has transformed the daily lives of hundreds of thousands of Londoners since it opened in 2007. On 30 April 2014 Transport for London inaugurated their five-car train set, number 378 204, at Richmond Station. Uniquely it carries Peter's name, and the picture shows Lady Hall with her replica of the name-plate. Rarely does the life-work of a university professor attract such homage.

<insert fig.6 about here>

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CHRONOLOGY

1932   Born March 19th in Hampstead, North London

1940   Wartime relocation of the Hall family to Blackpool, Lancashire

1943   Leaves Blackpool Grammar School, enters St Catharine College, University of Cambridge

1953   Begins PhD investigation into historical geography of London industry under the supervision of Clifford Smith

1956   Leaves University of Cambridge, enters civil service (Board of Trade)

1957   Assistant Lecturer in Geography, Birkbeck College, University of London

1959   PhD graduation, publication of *The Industries of London* (1962)

1960   Lecturer in Geography, Birkbeck College

1962   Marries Carla Wartenberg (divorced 1966)

1964   Becomes regular contributor to the weekly *New Society*

1965   Founder-officer of the Regional Studies Association

1966   Founder-editor, *Regional Studies*

1966   Reader in Geography with Special Reference to Regional Planning, London
       School of Economics and Political Science

1967   Marries Magdalena (Magda) Mróz, February 13

1968   Professor of Geography and Head of Department, University of Reading

1968   Gill Memorial Prize of the Royal Geographical Society

1971   Chair, School of Planning Studies, University of Reading

1974   Visiting Professor, Department of City and Regional Planning, College of
       Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley

1978   Editor, *Built Environment* (to 2014)

1979   Adolph Bentinck Prize for Most Significant Contribution to European
       Integration

1980   Associate Director, Institute for Urban and Regional Development, University
       of California at Berkeley

1983   Elected Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society

1983   Commutes every six months between Berkely and Reading, until 1988

1986   Professor of City and Regional Planning and departmental chair, University of
       California at Berkeley

1988   Emeritus Professor, University of Reading

1988   Awarded Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society

1988   Honorary Fellow of St Catharine's College, University of Cambridge

1992   Bartlett Professor of Planning and Urban Regeneration, University College
       London (UCL)

1993 Emeritus Professor, University of California at Berkeley

1995 Chair, Town and Country Planning Association

1998 Appointed Knighted Bachelor (Kt) by H.M. Queen Elizabeith II

2000 Director, Institute of Community Studies (to 2003)

2004 Chair, ReBlackpool (to 2008)

2005 Awarded Prize of the Fondazione Internazionale Balzan 'for Social and Cultural History of Cities since the Beginning of the 16th Century'.

2005 Lifetime achievement award of the UK government for contributions to urban regeneration and planning

2014 30 July, dies in University College Hospital, London

2014 12 August, Celebration of his life, Mortlake Crematorium Richmond, and Cambridge Cottage, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew

2014 22 October, *Remembering Peter Hall*, Ondaatji Theatre, Royal Geographical Society