

The Civic Podium, Cumbernauld Town Centre,
Phase 1, sketch by Michael Evans, c. 1964

Občianske podium, Nové mesto Cumbernauld,
1. etapa, kresba Michael Evans, cca 1964



CUMBERNAULD NEW TOWN: RECEPTION & HERITAGE LEGACY

NOVÉ MESTO CUMBERNAULD: RECEPCIA A ODKAZ DEDIČSTVA

Nové mesto Cumbernauld sa zvyčajne vníma ako najambicióznejší projekt druhej generácie Nových miest vo Veľkej Británii. Napriek tomu, že išlo o medzinárodne uznávaný projekt, získal na začiatku deväťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia povest' jedného z najproblematickejších produktov britskej povojnovej architektúry a urbanizmu. Odvtedy, čo v roku 1993 došlo k likvidácii firmy Cumbernauld Development Corporation (CDC), boli stavby Nového mesta vo všeobecnosti zanedbávané, čo sa odrazilo na stave jednotlivých budov. Hoci sa v deväťdesiatych rokoch akademický záujem o Cumbernauld obnovil a nastolili sa aj otázky jeho pamiatkovej ochrany, v roku 1999 sa začala postupná demolácia centra mesta. V roku 2003 ICOMOS, medzinárodná organizácia na ochranu pamiatok, zaradila Cumbernauld, ktorý dovtedy nebol chránený ako pamiatka, do zoznamu dvadsiatich najohrozenejších pamiatok modernizmu 20. storočia v Británii. V ostatnom čase navrhované demolácie predstavujú vážnu hrozbu pre pôvodný návrh Nového mesta.

Príspevok približuje recepciu mesta od jeho kritického vnímania v čase projektovania a výstavby až po meniace sa reakcie naň v nasledujúcich dekádach. Príspevok si súčasne kladie za cieľ prezentovať širokú „populárnu recepciu“ mesta od začiatkov jeho využitia a obývania až po súčasnosť. Napriek tomu, že súčasný akademický výskum vedie k veľmi dobrému pochopeniu kontextu, v ktorom vznikol návrh pôvodného mesta Cumbernauld na začiatku šesťdesiatych rokov 20. storočia, stále chýbajú podrobné poznatky o jeho vývoji, využití a prijatí. Ak by sme chceli namietat' proti predpokladanému súčasnému verejnému odsúdeniu, musíme sa pokúsiť pochopiť jeho celkové prijatie. Napokon sa budeme krátko venovať špecifickým dilemám pamiatkovej ochrany v prípade Cumbernaulda.

Recepcia elity: centrum mesta Cumbernauld

Plánovanie, projektovanie a výstavba Cumbernaulda prebiehala v období bezprecedentných inovácií v architektúre a plánovaní. No svet architektúry s jeho večne meniacimi sa názormi, módnymi trendmi a polemikou reagoval aj proti jeho výstavbe. Hoci sa diskurz elity začal posúvať

z pozitívnej polohy platnej v polovici šesťdesiatych rokov k negatívnym postojom sedemdesiatych rokov, v medzinárodnom kontexte zostával Cumbernauld prominentnou stavbou. Obdobie pozitívneho entuziazmu, ktoré sa prekrývalo s výstavbou mesta, trvalo do konca šesťdesiatych rokov, keď začala rásť nespokojnosť s mestom a jeho centrom – všetko v rámci širšej anti-modernistickej kritiky v architektúre.

Integrovaný lineárny viacúčelový projekt centra mesta, vytvorený Geoffrem Copcuttom, sa pôvodne realizoval v dvoch fázach, z ktorých prvá spadala do obdobia 1963 – 1967. V architektonickom diskurze bol tento projekt dominantným, a takmer všetky jeho verejné hodnotenia boli pozitívne. V roku 1967 kulminovalo očarenie Cumbernauld v americkej architektúre ocenením R. S. Reynolds Memorial Award for Community Architecture. V tomto období však v rámci modernistického hnutia v architektonickej literatúre nastala ďalšia významná zmena utopickej módy. Po tom, čo na prelome šesťdesiatych a sedemdesiatych rokov pôvodné myšlienky modernistického hnutia upadli do nemilosti, nahradila pozitívne vízie futuristického úspechu Cumbernaulda neúprosná negatívna anti-modernistická a anti-paternalistická kritika.

Populárna recepcia: Nové mesto Cumbernauld

Debaty elitných architektov počas šesťdesiatych a sedemdesiatych rokov 20. storočia, zamerané na futuristické centrum mesta, mali dôležitú úlohu pri iniciovaní zmeny verejnej mienky proti Cumbernauldu ako celku, ktorá sa odohrala na konci osemdesiatych rokov. Ohňostroj architektonických foriem centra Nového mesta výrazne kontrastoval s okolitými pásmi domov, s krajinou a z vizuálnej stránky s menej dramatickými budovami škôl, fabrik a kostolov. „Populárna“ recepcia mesta, vyjadrená v šesťdesiatych a sedemdesiatych rokoch 20. storočia spoločenskými komentátormi, novinármi aj samotnými obyvateľmi, sa sústreďovala na vyváženejší a pragmatickejší pohľad na ráz mesta a jeho využitie, a to tak v pozitívnom, ako aj v negatívnom zmysle. Celkové pozitívne vnímanie bolo v kontraste s debatami architektov ohľadne centra Nového mesta. Táto diskusia pokračovala do začiatku osemdesiatych rokov,

MILES GLENDINNING, PhD.

Professor of Architectural Conservation
Scottish Centre for Conservation Studies
Edinburgh College of Art
University of Edinburgh
Edinburgh EH3 9DF
Scotland
m.glendinning@ed.ac.uk

DIANE M. WATTERS, MA

Buildings Investigator
The Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland
16 Bernard Terrace
Edinburgh EH8 9NX
Scotland
diane.watters@rahms.gov.uk

ale na začiatku deväťdesiatych rokov ju postupne pohltil anti-modernistický elitný diskurz.

Správy o meste v národnej tlači počas šesťdesiatych a sedemdesiatych rokov sa výrazne líšili od komplexných protichodných intelektuálnych debát ohľadne centra Nového mesta v architektonickej tlači. Napriek kritike architektonickej elity, ktorá sa v sedemdesiatych rokoch rýchlo posúvala k negatívnejšiemu vnímaniu mesta, propagačná literatúra ohľadne spoločnosti CDC sa stále vyznačovala rétorikou materiálneho pokroku. Na konci sedemdesiatych rokov nastalo prehodnotenie pôvodného priemyselného významu mesta a neskorších ambícií Cumbernaulda stať sa regionálnym centrom. „Populárna“ recepcia však ostala napriek týmto problémom vcelku pozitívna. Na začiatku osemdesiatych rokov sa populárna recepcia stále líšila od tmavých búrkových mrakov kritickej architektonickej mienky. Už samotný fakt, že dej pozitívne naladeného filmu Gregory's Girl (Gregoryho dievča, 1981, režisér Bill Forsyth) sa odohrával v Cumbernaulde, hovorí sám za seba. Približne od konca osemdesiatych rokov nastal výrazný demografický posun v zložení obyvateľstva mesta. Mladí ambiciózní ľudia odchádzali úplne alebo sa sťahovali do severovýchodných oblastí širšieho mesta. Táto tendencia bola dôsledkom politiky sociálneho bývania Margaret Thatcherovej, v rámci ktorej mali ľudia právo odkúpiť svoje obydlie, a ktorú v Cumbernaulde prijali s entuziazmom. Na konci osemdesiatych rokov zrušili správu spoločnosti CDC. Dá sa povedať, že približne v tom istom období sa v médiách ustálil všeobecne prijatý obraz Cumbernaulda ako „zanedbanej“ komunity.

Chátranie, odsúdenie a architektonické dedičstvo: Cumbernauld dnes

V rokoch 1995 – 1996 spoločnosť CDC postupne zanikla a mesto sa dostalo pod správu Mestskej rady Severného Lanarkshiru. Vyzeralo to tak, že pre Cumbernauld nastali ťažké časy: nepriateľská nová správa, kde dominovali predstavitelia takých tradičných miest ako Motherwell a Coatbridge, pravdepodobne mienila pripraviť rozmazané Nové mesto o jeho rozmery tým, že by nechala chátrať jeho starostlivo naplánovanú krajinu a urbanistickú štruktúru. V priebehu deväťdesiatych rokov jednotný dizajn budov naštrbili

procesy privatizácie a fragmentácie. Zdalo sa, že medzinárodná reputácia Cumbernaulda v architektúre upadla do zabudnutia. Paralelne s odmietnutím modernizmu však nastala vo Veľkej Británii chronologická expanzia ochrany pamiatok, ktorá s týmto odmietnutím bola tesne spojená a ktorá sa zameriavala na ochranu „nedávneho“ kultúrneho dedičstva. V deväťdesiatych rokoch sa znova prebudil akademický záujem o Cumbernauld ako súčasť pamiatok z obdobia po roku 1945. Vzťah medzi Cumbernauld a ochranou pamiatok však doteraz nie je úspešne vyriešený. V roku 1999 v dôsledku zdlhavej demolácie bola zbúraná terasovitá južná sekcia mestského centra, postavená počas prvej fázy; na prednej strane južnej časti sa objavilo nové kamenné nákupné centrum Antonine, ktoré otvorili v roku 2007. Prístup inštitútu na ochranu pamiatok – Historické Škótsko – ku Cumbernauldu poukazuje na ťažkosti, ktoré má ochrana tradičných umeleckých a historických pamiatok pri kontakte s prostredím architektúry druhej polovice 20. storočia. V roku 2003 ICOMOS, vplyvná medzinárodná organizácia na ochranu pamiatok, zaradila Cumbernauld do zoznamu dvadsiatich najohrozenejších pamiatok modernizmu 20. storočia v Británii. Ochranný prístup sa však ukázal ako rozdeľujúci a neinkluzívny – ako prúd negatívnych hodnotení mesta a jeho centra počas prvej dekády nového milénia. Demolácia, ktorá hrozí dvanástim vežiakom – orientačným bodom severozápadnej časti mesta – predstavuje najväčšiu hrozbu geniusu loci Cumbernaulda ako osobitého mesta na kopci.

Keď tieto trendy budú pokračovať bez obmedzenia, je zrejme, že architektonická forma mesta časom prestane byť jednotná. Ak má byť Nové mesto Cumbernauld zachované, jedinou realistickou možnosťou zostáva jeho zaznamenávanie a dokumentácia pre nasledujúce generácie. Ako ukazuje súčasná akademická analýza architektúry a urbanistickej štruktúry Cumbernaulda, je potrebné hĺbkové historické zhodnotenie jeho existencie, komplexná podrobná história mesta, ktorá by zahŕňala predovšetkým spoločenské dejiny tohto ambiciózneho projektu vo všetkých detailoch. Práve také zhodnotenie môže byť užitočné ako reakcia na mediálne útoky proti mestu, ktoré majú vplyv na jeho predošlých, súčasných aj budúcich obyvateľov.

Introduction ^{1/1}

Cumbernauld New Town, widely regarded as the most ambitious of the second generation of planned New Towns in the UK, was designated in 1955 with an initial target population of 50,000, was begun in 1957, and was largely built during the 1960s and '70s. Yet despite being internationally acclaimed – receiving the prestigious American Institute of Architects R S Reynolds Award for Community Architecture in 1967 – by the early 1990s Cumbernauld had acquired a notorious reputation as one of Britain's most reviled products of post-war architecture and planning, and duly became the target for media-generated 'worst town' awards and game-show-format architectural competitions, such as Channel 4's *Demolition* programme in 2005. Overall, the town's fabric had been much-neglected since the winding up of the governing Cumbernauld Development Corporation (CDC) in 1993, and rampant neglect of the housing had overtaken it. Despite renewed academic and preservation interest in the 1990s, the phased demolition of the Town Centre began in 1999. In 2003, Cumbernauld, with no significant targeted heritage protection, was placed in the 'top-twenty' of endangered twentieth century UK modern heritage by international conservation-body ICOMOS. More recently, proposed demolitions pose a severe threat to the design unity of the original New Town: in particular the imminent demolition of all twelve of the 'landmark' tower blocks situated on the north-west side of the town, which are arguably essential to its unique hilltop town *genius loci* ^{12/}.

This paper briefly charts the 'reception' of the town, tracing how it was critically received after its design and construction, and how that architectural-planning response shifted in the decades following the 1960s. The second focus of this paper will be the broader 'popular reception' of the town from its early use and habitation, up to the present day ^{13/}. Although recent academic research has established a very good understanding of the context and design history of the original Cumbernauld New Town from designation to revised plan of 1959, including strategy shifts into the early 1960s, knowledge of its detailed development, use, and reception is still



Source Zdroj: RCAHMS

Cumbernauld New Town, 1991 aerial view of Seafar residential area. Seafar 2, with its irregularly aligned terraces, is at the centre; also clearly visible are the Bison point blocks which are due for demolition

Nové mesto Cumbernauld, pohľad zhora na obytnú štvrť Seafar, 1991. Seafar 2 s jej nepravidelne usporiadanými terasami je v centre. Jasne vidieť aj bloky Bison point, ktoré majú byť zbúrané

limited^{14/}. Yet some attempt at understanding the complex reception of the town must be made if the recent supposedly 'popular' condemnations are to be contested. Finally, we will briefly consider the specific preservation dilemmas confronting Cumbernauld.

As an overall planning concept, this first 'Mark II' new town reacted against the spaced out 'neighbourhood unit' of the Mark I new towns, by attempting to increase density within a more restricted site, and plan more varied close-knit urban layouts. Located on a low ridge-like hill south of the existing village of Cumbernauld, the original new town was a compact oval-shape, with a towering Town Centre at the top of the ridge. The key principles of the overall town plan of 1959, drawn up by the staff of Hugh Wilson (first Chief Architect and Planning Officer) were: increased density and urbanity in the clusters of residential units (which contrasted with the spacious segregated neighbourhood units of Mark I new towns); separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic; one single town centre; and the knitting together of all the units with innovative hard and soft landscaping^{15/}. It was hoped that the residents, although living in an urban setting, would also be aware of their 'close visual and physical contact with the surrounding countryside'^{16/}.

The residential zones formed an elongated doughnut-shape surrounding the Town Centre, and were divided into two – the north-west side on the ridge looking towards the Campsie Fells (Muirhead, Seafar and Ravenswood areas), and the flatter south-east side sloping away from Town Centre (Carbrain, Kildrum, and Park areas). The residential areas were mostly of low-rise groupings of rather 'traditional' appearance, but punctuated by high towers. The seven areas, slotted together around the centre, were in turn sub-divided into numbered individual sites (most of less than twenty acres). Throughout the entire town there were 100 of these individual units clumped together under the seven areas, and the Town Centre, slotted jigsaw-like together with no real overlap. In 1964 – 1968, the first planned expansion created the Abrohill area unit. Set on a smaller ridge site further to the south, it was in essence a mini-replica of the main town, with a single town centre.

Elite Reception: Cumbernauld Town Centre

Cumbernauld was designated, designed and built in a period of unprecedented innovation in architecture and planning. Yet it was that same architectural world, with its ever-shifting opinions, fashions, and polemical debate, which also reacted against its construction. Even as the elite discourses began to slide from positive to negative through the mid-1960s and into the 1970s, Cumbernauld remained internationally prominent. In a single typical week in 1968, for example, the town was visited by 18 French architect-planners, 13 Danish engineers, 23 Dutch members of the International Society of City and Regional Planners, the city architect and deputy city engineer of Auckland, and three delegations of US architects and estate consultants^{17/}. A period of positive enthusiasm, which overlapped with the construction of the town, continued up until the late-1960s, when a growing negativity towards the town and its centre emerged – all within the broader anti-modern critiques of architectural critics.

Geoffrey Copcutt's integrated, linear multi-purpose design for the Town Centre, built initially in two phases, the first in 1963 – 1967, dominated architectural discourse, with published evaluations almost entirely positive. The only slightly querying tone emerged in an *Architect's Journal* article of December 1962: 'There are only slight doubts about whether the technique of planning in detail is really the right answer – that this type of biological form wrapped round functions which are imprecisely known may not be the best approach'^{18/}. Far more typical was the language of technological enthusiasm and New Brutalism, inspired by Copcutt's own piece in the May 1963 special issue of *Architectural Design*. A montage of a big American car (with number plate 'GC 1963' was set against the backdrop of the Phase I model, and Copcutt enthusiastically listed the possibilities of his creation: 'Roads come in and continue through level and all decks are perforated and interpenetrating... Within the centre all planes are inhabited both above and below until the final statement is made by long terraces of penthouses'^{19/}. This language was adapted to suit a more corporate public-relations aim by the Cumbernauld Development Corporation. As Phase I neared completion during 1966, the CDC newsletter

reported the 'motor-age' structure that 'Air hostesses admired the model of Cumbernauld Town Centre when it was on display at the West London Air Terminal, where it attracted wide attention'^{110/}. The *Architects' Journal* described the carcass as 'rather like some vast exhibition space before the stands are finished'....It might well be the setting for some futuristic film and no doubt will be when this stage is fully operational next year'^{111/}. The 1967 CDC promotional brochure, *Welcome to Cumbernauld*, noted that the completed Phase 1 included 'the largest supermarket in Scotland', claiming that 'There is nothing like it in Britain, or, for that matter, in the world'^{112/}.

As early as 1960 there were the first international reactions: for example Pier Luigi Nervi praised the project as 'the most wonderful design concept he had encountered – outside his own Italy'^{113/}. Overseas coverage included, for example, a significant number of articles in Germany^{114/}. But the centre above all caused a stir among architects in the United States, for its combination of a strong image with 'motor-age' planning, all-weather enclosure, and commercialism. *Architectural Forum* (New York) in 1964, in an international feature on multi-level centre planning, fused machine futurist and traditional townscape evaluations, hailing the centre as 'a citadel of many levels for both men and machines'... a giant, all-purpose drive-in, perched atop its ridge like an Italian hill town'^{115/}. *Architectural Forum* returned in 1966 with an update on construction describing the 'bristling concrete structure' of the Centre as 'a mammoth exercise in car-people separation built on the 'town within town' principle. All the centre facilities are packed in under cover in a giant, labyrinthine, gritty concrete layer cake... the centre is urban in intention, urban in scale, urban in feeling. As one of the most ambitious examples of a single structure multifunctional place, it is assured of its compliment of eager visitors from Tucson to Vladivostok'^{116/}.

In the same year a team of researchers from the Urban Design Program at the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, singled out the entire town for a case study of 'performance characteristics for city design' on grounds partly of 'the international attention that it has attracted' but also more 'objectively' because of 'its uniqueness, both as a form and as a milestone in the development

of attitudes towards new towns in Britain'. ... Of all the New Towns in the British Isles, the hilltown of Cumbernauld in Scotland is by far the most interesting'^{117/}. The US infatuation with Cumbernauld culminated in mid 1967 with the R. S. Reynolds Memorial Award for Community Architecture, which preferred Cumbernauld to Stockholm and Tapiola, Finland: '... From this lofty triumvirate would come the winner. After much down-to-earth discussion, it was decided that the brilliant urban architectural achievement of Cumbernauld was the most significant current contribution to the art and science of urban design in the Western world... Cumbernauld – in urban design, the greatest!'^{118/}. According to the judge's it was only in the centre's integration within the overall town concept that the true richness of the conception could be appreciated: 'The town centre and the roadway system, the heart and circulation system of Cumbernauld, bring together the urban environment and the automobile into a powerful statement and resolution.... It [the Centre] is designed for the millennium and the dreams of the 1920s and 1930s are being built on a hill near Glasgow'.

But by now, architectural writers were beginning their next major change in Modern Movement utopian fashion. In an April 1967 newspaper review, critic Ian Nairn cautioned against even an 'interim judgement' of Phase 1 of the centre, but pointed to excessively elaborate pedestrian-vehicular segregation as a possible problem^{119/}. In the *Architectural Review* in December 1967, Patrick Nuttgens balanced praise with suggestions of an unreasonable extremism: 'The town centre – the fifth of it that exists – rears up on legs like a huge vertebrate monster on the ridge of the hill...from the hills to the south-east... it beds firmly into the surrounding town and dominates it like a medieval cathedral... The architect's scheme... is fundamentally three-dimensional in concept and feels like the product of an exceptionally lucid if not eccentric mind' ... 'The place makes Piranesi's fantastic visions seem like a polite tea party in comparison'. And *Architectural Design*, in September 1968, turned the claims of flexibility and social sophistication on their head, in accusations of inflexibility: 'A metropolitan microcosm in concrete ... an approach which glorifies the pedestrian, yet omits to provide him with protection'^{120/}.

After the fall-from-grace of the original Modern Movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the positive claims of the futuristic success of Cumbernauld were inexorably replaced by negative anti-modernist, anti-paternalistic critiques. Lionel Esher, in *A Broken Wave*, 1981, argued of the Town Centre that ‘... only a state monopoly would have dared assault a female clientele with so much raw concrete’^[21]. An *Architects’ Journal* revisit in 1977 claimed ‘the brilliance of the design blinded people to certain practical weaknesses’^[22]. Perhaps the most sophisticated of the Modernist retrospective analyses was that of Reyner Banham, one of the leading figures in the movement epitomised by Cumbernauld Town Centre. In his 1976 book, *Megastructure – Urban Futures of the Recent Past*, he attempted a measured historical review of the Megastructure idea, a concept of ‘permanently dominating frame containing subordinate and transient accommodations’^[23]. In Banham’s book, Cumbernauld naturally took centre stage, for the first and last time in any historical monograph account to date, being ‘the most complete megastructure to be built, and the nearest thing yet to a canonical megastructure that one can actually visit or inhabit’. Banham summarised: ‘the kind of opinions, images and usages which were, so to speak, legitimised by Cumbernauld. Firstly, concentration: heaping up in one place of all the social facilities of the city, and all the commercial ones as well... Secondly, monumentality: sitting in the middle of a clear green space, the centre’s bulk is seen to almost crushing advantage... Symbolism is the third concept legitimised here: the visual aspect of the building symbolises levels and types of performance it cannot deliver in real life. One of these is indeterminacy... the extensibility of Cumbernauld is a symbolic promise, no more. Fourthly, a comprehensive traffic solution was offered by the Centre, and the offer was widely seen, especially in the USA, as legitimising the architectural profession’s preferred solution to the automobile problem – its burial!’

Popular Reception: Cumbernauld New Town

The elite architectural debates of the 1960s and 70s, dominated as they were by the futuristic Town Centre, played an important role in starting the broader more popular swing against

Cumbernauld as a whole in the late 1980s. Yet the architectural fireworks of the Town Centre contrasted strongly with the surrounding belts of housing, landscaping, and the less visually dramatic buildings such as schools, factories, and churches. The ‘popular’ reception of the town by social commentators, journalists, and the townsfolk themselves in the 1960s and 70s, focussed on a more balanced and pragmatic overview of the town’s character and performance: positive and negative. A generally positive perception, in contrast to the architectural-led debates surrounding the Town Centre, continued up until the early 1980s, but this was gradually swallowed up by the anti-Modernist elite discourse in the early 1990s.

Evaluating the shifting popular perception of a town over a period of fifty-odd-years, is of course outwith the scope of this paper. But an attempt to understand Cumbernauld’s story, by providing a brief chronology and development of the town is the basic aim of this second part of the paper. Through this, the impact of significant broader socio-political, architectural and cultural changes on that development, and reviewing contemporary accounts of this process, an initial assessment can be made. Although material targeted at residents is plentiful, including promotional CDC media, accounts from the local newspaper *Cumbernauld News*, from June 1961 onwards, and limited national press accounts, actual ‘user’ accounts are thin on the ground. A household survey of 1967, and a valuable small collection of detailed resident interviews were carried out by Cumbernauld-based architects Jim and Krystina Johnson in the mid-1970s, luckily survive today^[24]. One of the authors of this article was also brought up in Cumbernauld, and her own experiences contrast strongly with the media-generated concept of Cumbernauld as a deprived community by the late 1980s^[25]. Many of the original residents still reside in the town – although numbers are dwindling – and perhaps a new phase of oral history of the town’s people over the years could profitably be undertaken. This might highlight the real contrast between media perception and actual experience, and a long-overdue un-tapped non-elitist history of the town could emerge.

What, then, was the social and cultural character of the town, as it was developed through-

out the 1960s? One hint was presented in the short information film 'Cumbernauld New Town Inaugural Ceremony, 28 June 1957' which recorded the cutting of the first sod by John Scott Maclay, Secretary of State for Scotland, on a windy open hill site, surrounded by local worthies and ranks of press¹²⁶. Maclay's presence signified the controlling role played by central government, rather than local authorities, in Scotland's New Towns. Cumbernauld was built by a non-political, quasi-colonial Development Corporation, insulated from local political pressures in its country-house headquarters, the mid-eighteenth century Cumbernauld House, which was taken over as the CDC HQ in the late 1950s, and steadily expanded with system-built extensions into the mid 1980s.

From the very beginning the CDC prioritised 'high-quality design', and a team of architects under Wilson's control was responsible for the overall plan and design, with some private architects being employed for early housing projects, such as Gillespie Kidd & Coia's flatted and terraced blocks for Kildrum 1, 1956 – 1963. By 1957 the CDC design team was establishing itself. Architect Roy Hunter (who had come from Stevenage New Town) led the north side design team, and Derek Lyddon led the south side team. The plan was a typical 1960s continuous 'carpet', low in overall height, but deliberately more dense than the Mark I towns. The dwellings were not dissimilar to early new-town housing such as East Kilbride, but they were treated in a more dense way. The comprehensive network of footpaths, cul-de-sacs, bridges and underpasses which separated pedestrians from traffic, and meticulously designed hard and soft landscaping, set the town apart from its predecessors.

Housing layout and design was site specific. The south was given a more homogeneous and overtly modern treatment, and many of its terraced houses were flat roofed. The steeper north side was given a more abrupt and even picturesque layout. Three housing types predominated in the 1960s: two-storey terraces; medium flats, and a number of multi-storey point blocks. Two-storey terraced cottages in Kildrum and Seafar were set in dense rows, with steep sweeping-down rows of repetitive outshots, suggestive of the nineteenth

century miners' housing found in nearby areas, or the older housing in small Scottish industrial towns. Low or medium height flats were built in slab form, or, as at Kildrum 5, 'Y' flats were grouped around open hexagonal courtyards. These, designed by CDC project architect Ron Simpson 1957 – 1958, were influenced by Backstrom & Reinius's Grondal project, Stockholm of 1946. The 12 point blocks were concentrated on the northwest side of the town, dotted among the terraces, to provide a skyline 'image'. These 12 and 20 storey towers were built as Kildrum 22 and Seafar 3 from 1964, using the contractor-designed 'Bison' prefabricated concrete panel system.

Housing construction aside, the town was establishing itself commercially and socially. Cumbernauld was not planned as a dormitory town, and it was anticipated that it would rely on its own manufacturing and service industry: in 1961 it was estimated that 45 % of the male workforce would be employed in manufacturing, with 48 % of employment being in the service and office sector. The newly-opened Burroughs Adding Machine Factory created 2,000 jobs for the town in the late 1950s, and a number of firms located in the town in the early 1960s. As early as 1962 problems

Cumbernauld Town Centre,
Phase one, c. 1963,
drawing by M. Evans

Centrum mesta
Cumbernauld, prvá fáza,
1963 kresba M. Evansa



Source Zdroj: RCAHMS



Cumbernauld Town
Centre, c. 1967
Centrum mesta
Cumbernauld, 1967

Source Zdroj: RCAHMS

with industry in the town began: the *Cumbernauld News* reported possible closure due to low productivity ¹²⁷¹. Despite industrial concerns, in 1961 there was a refocusing of New Towns in general to cater for anticipated economic expansion through planned 'growth areas'. The target population was raised to 70,000, and to accommodate the anticipated growth a new area, Abronhill, was built from 1964, and completed in 1968. But this target was never achieved, and the original population target, of 50,000, was not in fact reached until 1989.

The experiences of the new residents, 'all pioneering together', were given in accounts of opening facilities in the *Cumbernauld News* ¹²⁸¹. A temporary village centre in Muirhead, Seafar (the main town centre was under construction by 1962); a new local Kildrum Parish Church, and Kildrum Medical Centre (opened 1963); and, the Cottage Theatre, opened in February 1963 (extended 1970) ¹²⁹¹. Although there was initially a concerted effort to attract skilled workers and their families to the town, this policy later atrophied. One Carbrain resident recalled, for example, that the 'first hundred [residents] were picked', but later the CDC just let 'anybody in to Cumbernauld' ¹³⁰¹.

The general mix of population was from the outset considered broad. For example, in 1957, it was estimated that Cumbernauld would have a Catholic population of 12,000 – 13,000, and in 1960s larger houses, such as those in Carbrain 9, were designed to accommodate the larger families, and integration was seen as essential for this new West of Scotland community. This policy was recorded as a success in the interviews carried out by the Johnsons' in 1975, where religious bigotry was claimed to be minimal. One Kildrum resident claimed 'I think one good thing about Cumbernauld is that you tend to get a very mixed bag of people, in all that I have come across in the town, you get everything from the man who sweeps the streets to the man who runs things... and you seem to get the whole strata right through' ¹³¹¹.

Reports of the town in the broader national press were strikingly different from the complex oppositional intellectual debates in the architectural press surrounding the Town Centre. In October 1966, the London-based no-nonsense design-journalist and author, Mary Gilliaitt, wrote a personal evaluation of the town in *Country Life*: 'Is the town standing up firmly to the acid test of

daily living?' she asked. She claimed that aesthetic judgement was difficult because the town was in its infancy – showing a healthy 1960s respect for the architects' and planners' vision – but according to her it was *'still too much monotone, too much grey everywhere, too little change in the light and shade.'* She also praised the *'astonishing variety in house types and shapes with thoughtful gradations of roofs so that everyone gets a fair share of sunlight and a view down the hill to the woods'*, the *'brilliant'* landscaping, and hailed the vehicle segregation *'an enormous success'*, recalling a *'flawless walk between the centre and CDC HQ at Cumbernauld House.* She confidently reported on the *'good mixed population'* – mostly young people in their thirties who were *'hand-picked for levels of cleanliness!'* ^{/32/}. Scottish journalist and broadcaster Alastair Borthwick, summed up his impressions of the town: *'I saw houses with blank walls at street level and windows in unlikely places... And the children I saw (they went about in shoals) were having a whale of a time with never a car to bother them.'* For him its chief advantage was the totality of its plan *'which harmonised with the variety of patterns of movement...a different matter from starting at one end in the accepted fashion and churning out houses until they came out at the other end... the ingenuity of the thing attracts me'*. Although he claimed it was a *'one-class town where the boss lives elsewhere'* he concluded *'Cumbernauld is neither country nor town, but something completely new, a kind of town-country that has never happened before, a place that has the neighbourliness of Glasgow without its grubby streets and the privacy and freshness of the countryside without its loneliness'* ^{/33/}.

The polarisation between the generally positive reports on a developing town, and the architectural debates regarding the town centre as a *'metropolitan microcosms in concrete'* are seen at their best in a *'couthy'* January 1969 article in the *Scots Magazine* entitled *'Exciting Days at the Cottage [Theatre]'* ^{/34/}. The journalist John Sinclair admitted that *'First impressions of Cumbernauld can be a bit daunting. The mass of regimented concrete leaves the individual feeling he is pretty small bear. To come suddenly, on the little Cottage Theatre is an uplift to the spirit... I found something which in many ways was in great contrast to the*



Source Zdroj: RCAHMS/Saltire Society

rest of the town. Against a background of trees, stands a long white-washed building. He was *'doubly'* impressed during his visit that the theatre inside was built and finished almost entirely by the theatre's patrons themselves – talking to the people of Cumbernauld that evening in the bar, he

Cumbernauld New Town,
Kildrum 19 residential unit,
Clouden Road, c. 1964

Nové mesto Cumbernauld,
obytný celok Kildrum 19,
Clouden Road, 1964



Cumbernauld New Town, children playing on a roundabout, Maclehose Road Playpark, Kildrum, c. 1965
 Nové mesto Cumbernauld, deti hrajúce sa na kolotoči, Detské ihrisko Maclehose Road, Kildrum, 1965

Source Zdroj: Edinburgh College of Art Cumbernauld Archive

continued 'I had to revise my original verdict on the new town. While in the background other patrons argued over the meanings and merits of various art exhibits, person after person assured me that Cumbernauld was home to them, and that there definitely was a community spirit.'

Despite the elite architectural criticism quickly shifting towards a more negative view of the town in the 1970s, promotional CDC literature continued its rhetoric of material progress. The fantastic 1970 film *Cumbernauld Town for Tomorrow*, commissioned by the corporation, directed by Robin Crichton with a voice-over by Scottish broadcaster Magnus Magnusson, talked of 'small sturdy cottages set to the wind' and hailed its 'engineering for

pedestrians' – complete segregation of footpaths and roads – 'brilliantly legible'. But even here elements of doubt were sneaking in and criticisms were being answered – 'There is a limit to what planners can do. They provide the framework – and people make it live' concluded the film^{135/}. Yet, tension between the authoritative CDC, the elected town council, and of course the local residents grew in the 1970s. Jim Johnson recalled, that according to the *Cumbernauld News*, the CDC and town council 'were staged in some semi-armed war all of the time'^{136/}. On the one hand, the CDC was attacked for its culture of secrecy in decision-making, political unaccountability, and increasingly from residents suffering dampness

in their houses. On the other hand, some locals were accused of being over-dependent on the CDC. Further evidence of a growing rift between the town residents and the paternalistic CDC emerged. Whereas the CDC was firmly entrenched in the British New Town movement, for example it was originally staffed largely by English architects and planners, Cumbernauld soon adopted its own Scottish political identity. It played an important role in the 1960s and early 70s growth of the Scottish National Party, and in the 1968 local government elections, the SNP gained control of Cumbernauld (its first council), winning 18 from 21 seats. Cumbernauld's young electorate continued to embrace the SNP in 1974 when the constituency became the most marginal parliamentary seat in UK, with Margaret Bain (later Ewing, who worked as a teacher in the town) winning over the Conservatives by 22 votes.

In April 1973, the Secretary of State for Scotland confirmed the town's northern extension zone, and Cumbernauld's designated area was doubled in size by a 3,638 acre addition to the north-west, on the north side of the A80 trunk road. In 1975, the subsequent *Cumbernauld Extension Area Outline Plan*, specified that one-quarter of the housing built in the new Balloch and Eastfield areas would be for private ownership^{137/}. The aspirational spirit of many early Cumbernauld residents also impacted on the housing tenure of the original New Town, where homeownership was also increasing in the 1970s as residents took advantage of buying their own CDC property^{138/}. But in Cumbernauld the late-1970s were characterised by poor economic progress. There was a re-evaluation of the town's original industrial role and its later ambitions as a regional centre: its economy and, of course, its Town Centre were not performing as well in comparison to other Scottish new towns^{139/}.

Despite these problems, 'popular' reception remained, on the whole, positive. The *Cumbernauld News* attempted to reflect current views, and cartoons such as those illustrated in the mid-1970s hint only mildly at the ideas of over-complexity and alienation, by then being relentlessly peddled by the architectural critics. As the 1980s dawned, popular reception had still yet to catch up with the ever darker thunderclouds of critical architectural opinion. The very

fact that the 1981 'feel-good' film, *Gregory's Girl*, directed by Bill Forsyth, was set in Cumbernauld itself spoke volumes. Looking carefully at the backdrops of the film, it could be argued that Cumbernauld had actually reached something of a peak of well-being in the 1980s, with buildings still in relatively 'new' and cherished condition, the Town Centre tidy and newly extended, and the landscaping now approaching maturity. From around the late 1980s there was also a significant demographic shift in the town as younger ambitious people left or moved to the north-west extension areas. This trend was of course accentuated by the Thatcherite right-to-buy policy for social housing, which was embraced enthusiastically by Cumbernauld. By 1989 60 % of the houses in the much-expanded town were owner-occupied. In the late 1980s it was also decided to abolish the governing CDC – eventually implemented in 1995 – 1996.

It was also around the late 1980s, it could be argued, that the general media narrative of Cumbernauld as a 'deprived' community took hold. Within the context of architectural discourse, it was an easy ride downhill. By then the elite debates had moved so far away from, and against, the Modern Movement that the historical context and reality of Cumbernauld had become almost obscured. For example, the attacks of Rod Hackney, leading protagonist of the Prince Charles-sponsored 'community architecture' movement (a name it used in almost the opposite way to that of the Reynolds Award) lumped Cumbernauld together with the CIAM International Modernism it actually reacted against. Hackney argued in his 1990 book, *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*, that '*Here at Cumbernauld we saw the practical application of Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse... an unworkable jungle which [may] cripple the lives of those have to live and work in its hideous labyrinth... after the propaganda has been replaced by the stark reality of a failed dream*'^{140/}.

Dilapidation, Condemnation & Heritage

Legacy: Cumbernauld Today

The CDC was eventually abolished in 1995 – 1996, and the town passed under the authority of the municipal North Lanarkshire Council. Cumbernauld appeared to have fallen on hard

times: the generally unsympathetic new authority, dominated by traditional towns such as Motherwell and Coatbridge, was perhaps determined to cut the pampered New Town down to size by allowing its meticulous landscaping and urban design to slide into decay. As the 1990s progressed, the design unity of the housing areas was eroded by a process of privatisation and fragmentation. Owner-occupiers naturally customised their homes, and extensive new housing of a very different kind, small brick boxes designed by speculative builders, began to spread on the previously open hills around the original New Town.

It was almost as if Cumbernauld's international architectural reputation had been forgotten. But running parallel to the rejection of Modernism, and closely bound-up with it, was the chronological expansion of the Conservation Movement in the UK towards more 'recent heritage'. By the 1990s there was a re-invigorated academic interest in Cumbernauld – now as a piece of post-1945 heritage. But the relationship between Cumbernauld and heritage has not been a great success to date. This early interest was pioneered by the Scottish national group of Docomomo – a voluntary International body concerned with the documen-



Cumbernauld New Town,
Kildrum Primary School,
internal courtyard, 1961.
Demolished 2005

Nové mesto Cumbernauld,
základná škola Kildrum,
dvor, 1961. Zbúrané
v roku 2005

tation and conservation of the Modern Movement. In 1991 Docomomo Scotland attempted to get the town centre listed, but this was vetoed by the then Secretary of State for Scotland, and in 1996 North Lanarkshire Council claimed that the proposed handful of group-preservation 'Conservation Areas' proposals put forward by Docomomo (in Kildrum and Seafar) was an unrealistic option.

The historical context of building preservation in Scotland is complex, but programmes to survey and preserve Scotland's post-war environment in the last three decades have been dominated by state-funded initiatives. In Scotland, unlike almost all other western European countries, the state heritage system was sharply divided between the Royal Commission on the Ancient & Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS), undertaking survey and dissemination, and the much-larger Historic Scotland responsible for 'listing' and, in partnership with local authorities, historic building control. Throughout the twentieth century in Scotland there has been a recurring tension between the aspirations to widen the scope of heritage to embrace more and more of the built environment and cultural landscape, and the practical reality of extending preservation that far. This first came into focus with the growth of industrial archaeology in the mid-to-late 1980s, when Scotland's vanishing traditional nineteenth and twentieth century heavy industries became a heritage concern. But the relationship between broad documentation (to include non-elite buildings such as industrial archaeology and mass housing) and active preservation only really become a problem in Scotland in the early 1990s when the 'heritage' focus shifted to post-war architecture – only a decade after the drive behind the national programme of rebuilding had fallen away. The scope of recording and documentation has repeatedly found itself much wider than the scope of preservation, especially when dealing with the post-war era. Preserving or 'listing' large post-war ensembles such as New Towns is a difficult process, but surveying for posterity and archive gathering has proven less so⁴¹.

Therefore RCAHMS, free from conservation restraints, and in anticipation of the winding-up of the CDC, carried out an extensive ground and aerial photographic survey of the town and its cen-



Source Zdroj: RCAHMS

Cumbernauld Town Centre during partial demolition in 2000

Centrum mesta Cumbernauld počas búrania v roku 2000

tre between 1990 and 1991. The Town Centre was also extensively recorded as repeated attempts were made to alter and extend it. In 1999 the long-drawn-out demolition of the terraced southern section of Phase I was torn down, leaving still the main portion, including the penthouse range (no longer used as housing, and boxed-in with brown and beige sheeting). The new blocky stone-clad Antonine Shopping Centre was clipped on to the south front and opened in 2007. Historic Scotland's approach to Cumbernauld highlights the difficulty that the traditional art-historical conservation movement has had in accommodating itself to the collective environments of the post-1945 era. Historic Scotland were faced with the problem of how to adapt a system that focussed on individual monuments as works of art, to refocus on an era that insisted on the total picture. It was decided initially to list Modern Movement buildings closest to elite art history, such as churches and bespoke houses. The only buildings selected for Historic Scotland listing in Cumbernauld New Town in the 1990s were, perhaps perversely, churches and public buildings by private architects – among the least significant elements in the overall urban concept. Ironically, the most significant elements of the new town design – the layout, the housing patterns, and the landscape still have no protection whatsoever. The significant and ward winning innovations made in design terms are not to be found in the educational and religious set-pieces of the listed and protected elite buildings, but in the now demolished and re-clad town centre and crumbling housing-stock which is afforded no protection. In 2003, Cumbernauld was placed on the top-twenty endangered twentieth century modern heritage in the sites in the UK by influential international conservation-body ICOMOS.

Yet, the conservation approach has proved as divisive and non-inclusive as the stream of anti-awards which were bestowed upon the centre and its town in the first decade of the new millennium. Media-generated awards, such as the United Kingdom's second-most 'Crap Towns' in 2003, and the notorious 'carbuncle' 'Plook on a Plinth'

award of 2001, run by a Glasgow-based public relations firm which compared Cumbernauld to Kabul. In 2004 demolition of over 100 flats in Kildrum at Ainslie and Maclehose Roads, as being 'below tolerable standard', was fiercely opposed by a number of residents who did not wish their homes to be compulsory purchased^{/42/}. The heritage protected Kildrum Primary School, designed by Gillespie Kidd & Coia, 1960 – 1962, was part demolished in 2005 to enable new house building on the school site^{/43/}.

In the second decade of this century the remaining built fabric, and what survives of the town's unified design, dilapidated as it is, now faces a new wave of threat. The imminent demolition of all twelve of the 'landmark' tower blocks situated on the north-west side of the town, pose the greatest threat to Cumbernauld's unique hill-top town *genius loci*^{/44/}. The secondary school 'immortalised' in the 1981 film 'Gregory's Girl', will itself close in August 2013, and will be demolished alongside the main Cumbernauld High School if approved^{/45/}. Clearly, if all these trends continue unchecked, in due course the town will no longer appear a unified design of any sort.

In conclusion: within Scotland heritage professionals and academics alike have come to the conclusion that whilst the traditional framework of 'listing' can deal effectively with one-off architect-designed buildings, there still remain vast post-war schemes and new towns threatened with demolition and redevelopment, which have no realistic chance of heritage protection. If Cumbernauld New Town cannot be simply preserved, then all that is realistically open to us is recording and documentation for posterity. A back-to-basics historical evaluation of Cumbernauld, to compliment the recent academic analysis of the design and its context, is required: a broad, and detailed, history of the town, encompassing the all-important social history of this ambitious project through the decades, in all its complexity, might help counteract the media-generated attacks on the town, and by implication on its former, current and future residents.

NOTES POZNÁMKY

¹ This paper stems from a joint lecture given by Miles Glendinning and Diane Watters which was arranged by North Lanarkshire Archives to celebrate 50 years of Cumbernauld New Town, at Cumbernauld College, November 2007

The section entitled 'Elite Reception: Cumbernauld Town Centre' draws primarily on GLENDINNING, Miles: Chapter Two. The Centre in Print, Contemporary Evaluations. Cluster Citadel, The Architecture and Planning of Cumbernauld New Town, un-published thesis, September, 1991, pp. 57 – 84.

² Way's Paved for Flats Demolition. Cumbernauld News, 23 January 2012.

³ The town is included in the general overview COWLING, David: An Essay For Today: the Scottish New Towns, 1947 – 1997. 1997.

⁴ For context, design history and early development see: GLENDINNING, Miles: Cluster Homes: Planning & Housing in Cumbernauld New Town. Housing the Twentieth Century Nation, Twentieth Century Architecture 9, 2008 (ed.) HARWOOD, E. – POWERS, E., [pp. //]; TAYLOR, Jessica: Hybrid Density: Cumbernauld New Town and the Conceptions of Mixed Use in Mid-Twentieth Century Urbanism.

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⁵ Cumbernauld New Town Development Corporation (CNTDC): Cumbernauld New Town, Preliminary Planning Proposals. 1958; CNTDC: Cumbernauld New Town, Planning Proposals, First Revision. 1959. The initial landscape plan was prepared in 1957 by consultant Peter Youngman and Bill Gillespie.

⁶ CNTDC: Cumbernauld New Town. 1968.

⁷ Building, 4 October 1968.

⁸ Architect's Journal, 5 December 1962, pp. 1248, 1279 – 1288.

⁹ Architectural Design, May 1963, pp. 206 – 225 (with Spanish and French synopses)

¹⁰ CNTDC: Enterprise Newsletter, May 1966, pp. 1 – 3.

¹¹ Architects' Journal, 21 September, 1966, p. 718.

¹² CNTDC: Welcome to Cumbernauld, 1967.

¹³ Pier Luigi Nervi quoted: Cumbernauld New Town. Concrete Quarterly, April – June 1963, pp. 22 – 25.

¹⁴ STUMME, H.: Das Zentrum der "Neuen Stadt" Cumbernauld in Schottland. Buawelt 54, 1963, p. 995; Cumbernauld: Neue Stadt mit neuer Konzeption. Baumeister, October 1965, p. 1104.

¹⁵ Architectural Forum (New York), August – September 1964, p. 207.

¹⁶ DONAT, James: Cumbernauld. Architectural Forum (New York), November 1966, pp. 52 – 59.

¹⁷ ANDERSON, B. – BRAMMAH, M. – STEVENS, K.: Cumbernauld New Town Case Study. Urban Design Program, Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, June 1966.

¹⁸ Report of the Jury for the 1967 R. S. Reynolds Memorial Award for Community Architecture awarded to Cumbernauld. American Institute of Architects Journal, July 1967, pp. 36 – 58.

¹⁹ NUTTGENS, Patrick: Cumbernauld Town Centre. Architectural Review, December 1967, pp. 41 – 45.

²⁰ MULLIN, Stephen: Day Tripper. Architectural Design, September, 1968, pp. 408 – 411.

²¹ ESHER, Lionel: A Broken Wave, 1981, pp. 249 – 250.

²² Building Revisited: Cumbernauld New Town. Architects' Journal, 5 October, 1977, pp. 637 – 639.

23 BANHAM, Reyner: *Megastructure – Urban Futures of the Recent Past*, 1976, pp. 168 – 172.

24 The authors would like to thank Jim Johnson for access to his un-published resident survey carried out by Jim and Krystina Johnson, c. 1975, copies held in Edinburgh College of Art Cumbernauld Archive; Sykes, A J M: *Cumbernauld 67, A Household Survey*, 1967.

25 WATTERS, Diane: 'New Town – My Town', extract of un-published account of new town life compiled for students participating seminar held in Cumbernauld by Bauhaus Kolleg X/Cumbernauld, 2008 – 2009: 'In February 1967, I was brought back as a new-born to my family home in Clouden Road, Kildrum (area Kildrum 17 as it was formally identified in the CDC plan). My family (mum, dad, brother and sister) had moved from Govanhill, Glasgow to our new three-bedroom Cumbernauld terrace house in early 1964, after an inspection of the their tenement flat to establish 'levels of cleanliness' – which according to Watters family folklore involved checking under the beds. In comparison to the earliest pioneering Kildrum residents (Kildrum was the first housing area to be built in the town, and the first flats and houses at Kildrum 1 were completed in September 1961), my family, in 1964 had a variety of amenities provided for them: a temporary village centre in Muirhead, Seafar (the main town centre was under construction by 1962); a new local Kildrum Parish Church, and Kildrum Medical Centre (opened 1963); and, of course, the all-important Cottage Theatre, opened in February 1963 (extended 1970). There was even a temporary library housed in the Kildrum community centre. My dad commuted to Glasgow for work, and my mum later recalled 'feeling like a princess in a white palace' in her brand new home (unable to decorate the newly plastered walls for a specified period), and my brother recalls lots of mud and busy construction work!

So, amongst the young families (with adults mostly in their thirties) the future was bright, and optimism high – as typified in the fantastic 1970 promotional film *Cumbernauld Town for Tomorrow*. What of my own experience of New Town life? In hindsight, two overriding memories dominate: the townscape pattern, and a shared sense of community optimism. I was christened in Kildrum Parish Church – Alan Reiach's Scandinavian-inspired design of 1960 – 1962. At five, I toddled-off to Kildrum Primary School, also designed by a private architectural firm

Gillespie Kidd & Coia in 1960 – 1962. In contrast to the clarity and brightness of my local church, the infant wing of my new school, built round a sculptured courtyard, had a dark and mystical quality. But it was not these bespoke architect-designs that typified my overall experience in the town. In my opinion, Cumbernauld was a very 'democratic' townscape – yes, there were prominent public building, and of course the striking Town Centre, but on the whole the environment was planned and sorted out – everything modestly had a place within the broader plan, and no one building shouted out at you. Looking back I felt very strongly that I was living, walking, and playing in a carefully constructed (and safe) environment. My own childhood surroundings were later reinforced in a positive way when I went on to University to study Modern Movement art and architecture, and pursue a career as an architectural historian specializing in the twentieth century.

The socially 'democratic' ethos of Cumbernauld is difficult to pinpoint, but from a child's perspective, my happy 'mixed' community typified the town, and later profoundly shaped my views of society. Most significantly, our next door neighbours were a 'big' Catholic family (the Clarks) from Glasgow, and despite being at different denominational schools the children from both families were virtually brought-up together. For me, that included regular visits to the local Catholic chapel, despite being a Presbyterian, and of course becoming a keen supporter of Glasgow Celtic Football Club. In 1957, it was estimated that Cumbernauld would have a Catholic population of 12,000 – 13,000, larger houses were designed to accommodate the larger families, and integration was seen as essential for this new west of Scotland community. Of course, with no fee-paying education available, all children attended local schools, with the sons and daughters of medics, architects, planners and managers mixing happily with blue- and white-collar workers. The spirit of 'mobility' fostered by Cumbernauld had more difficult consequences too: my dad left our family home for good in early 1968, but I believe it was that strong community of new friends, that supported my mum when she returned to work, and ultimately helped her raise three children. Despite our own personal family dream initially collapsing, the spirit and community ethos of Cumbernauld New Town, I'd argue, provided a social continuity and optimism for my brother and sister and me to move forward.' For Bauhaus Kolleg X/Cumbernauld see: *Cumbernauld: one man's Kabul of the north is another man's triumph of design*. The Scotsman, 24 January 2009.

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- 35 Cumbernauld Town for Tomorrow, film directed by Robin Chrichton, 1970, National Library of Scotland.
- 36 Interview between Jim Johnson and Dot and David McIntosh, 31 January 1975, copies in Edinburgh College of Art Cumbernauld Archive.
- 37 CNTDC: Cumbernauld Extension Area, Outline Plan, 1974.
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- 44 Way's Paved for Flats Demolition. Cumbernauld News, 23 January 2012.
- 45 Gregory's Girl school Abronhill to close by 2013. Cumbernauld News, BBC News Glasgow & West Scotland, 19 September 2012, www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-19648064.