Loss, Memory and New Beginnings

Coventry and its Democratic Built Heritage

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Erst mit der Fertigstellung der innerstädtischen Ringstraße von Coventry im Jahr 1974 galt der Wiederaufbau des Stadtzentrums als abgeschlossen. Mehr als dreißig Jahre zuvor hatte die deutsche Luftwaffe das historische Zentrum der Stadt in Schutt und Asche gelegt. Der Wiederaufbau von Coventry ist ein einzigartiges Beispiel für einen vorbildlichen Umgang mit der Kriegszerstörung. Verantwortungsbewusst Planende gestalteten eine Stadt, die aufgrund des industriellen Wachstums mit sozialen und infrastrukturellen Problemen belastet war, nach modernen und sozialreformerischen Grundsätzen neu. So wurde das Stadtbild von Coventry zu einer sichtbaren Manifestation demokratischer Werte wie soziale Gerechtigkeit und Teilhabe. Die Architektur brachte zum Ausdruck, dass die Stadt und das Land trotz der verheerenden Kriegszerstörungen den Neuanfang als Chance betrachtete und einen positiven Zukunftsentwurf für die Gesellschaft wagte.

In diesem Beitrag wird hervorgehoben, dass die Architektur von Coventry eine demokratische Idee verkörpern sollte, die die Grundlage für das Wiederaufbauprogramm der Stadt bildete. In der Tat ist die Nachkriegsarchitektur von Coventry ein demokratisches Erbe *avant la lettre*, da die Architektur der Stadt als Metapher gelesen werden muss: durch die Wiedergeburt der Stadt wurden auch die sozialen Beziehungen demokratisch erneuert.

SUMMARY

Only with the completion of Coventry's inner-city ring road in 1974, the rebuilding of the city centre was considered as finished. More than thirty years ago, the German *Luftwaffe* had reduced the city's historic centre to rubble. Coventry's rebuilding is a unique example of a progressive approach to wartime destruction. Responsible planners redesigned a city – burdened with social and infrastructural problems due to industrial growth – according to modern and social reform principles. Thus, Coventry's townscape sports visual manifestations of democratic values such as social justice, welfare, and participation. The architecture expressed that, indeed, the social fabric of both the city and country could emerge from wartime devastation strengthened, enlightened, and somewhat redeemed.

This paper emphasises that Coventry's architecture was intended to embody a democratic idea as the basis for the city's rebuilding programme. The task of this text is to strengthen the perspective on heritage and democracy as it unfolds, between built heritage made by democratic initiatives or heritage made to display democratic values. In fact, Coventry's post-war architecture is democratic heritage *avant la lettre*, as the city's architecture must be read as a metaphor: through the rebirth of the city, its social relations were also democratically renewed.

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Introduction – Democracy and Critical Heritage Studies

As the impact of globalisation elicits new forms of separation and belonging by appealing to a distinct cultural heritage, researchers of cultural heritage have turned to describing these scenarios within a framework of questions concerning the interplay of identity, community and memory.[1] In 2005, the Faro Convention by the Council of Europe had already highlighted the value of cultural heritage for the community and for democratic societies.[2] Its principles are reflected in a variety of initiatives that promote historic sites and cultural heritage as *social capital* as well as for public participation. Nevertheless, this also increases the scope for interpretation and thus opens up new possibilities for exploiting cultural heritage for political and ideological narratives. Therefore, the last two decades have seen a notable increase in the number of conferences and publications that critically revise memory politics and heritage policies. Recent studies have thus contributed to an analysis of the symbiotic relationship between cultural heritage, fostered local identities, and global politics.[3] Cultural heritage, understood by social anthropologists as material artefacts such as buildings, memorials, and everyday objects, but also intangible goods such as songs, rituals, and other elements of symbolic order, is thus deliberately exploited to create a sense of community that serves the legitimisation of current political narratives as well as economic interests. Cultural studies have also emphasised that the character of a place does not derive from the place itself but is instead the result of an ongoing process of transformation, migration, and determination of various meanings.[4] In other words, cultural objects are made to fit and to symbolise societal and political narratives.

Academic communities concerned with the analysis of modern reconstruction tend to approve narratives that foreground democratic values such as social justice, anti-authoritarianism, peace, humanism, participation, and accessibility. Nevertheless, within heritage preservation theories, the distinction between built democratic heritage and democratically built memory has been largely ignored. Heritage studies have only recently started to participate in research discourses on the democratisation of memory and built heritage. A key element in this regard is that official state agents of heritage conservation understand themselves first and foremost as preservers of a local and national built – or at least nationally defined – heritage. Thus, their legitimacy is derived directly from the mandate of the current and democratically elected government. In Western and European countries, most heritage concepts are explicitly democratic in approach, and appeal to a national audience in providing models for the legitimisation of current historiography. But this also implies that even obvious implications of public interaction or critiques of the state's sovereignty over defining heritage go unmentioned, are hidden, concealed, or even sometimes deliberately 'written out' of history. In summary, the methodological approach needs to consider that a discussion of democratic cultural and built heritage unfolds between *democratic sites of memory* on the one hand, and *sites of democratic memory* on the other. Critical heritage studies must ensure that the discussion of nationally defined democratic heritage provides scope to identify heritage conceptions that deviate from democratic values, even if the political system is legitimised through democratic processes. Challenging heritage regimes[5] and "democratising heritage by consciously rejecting elite cultural narratives and embracing the heritage insights of people, communities and cultures that have traditionally been marginalised in formulating heritage policy"[6] is considered one of the primary assignments of critical heritage studies and can therefore be applied to an investigation of transnational activities that resulted in shared architectural visions as well as in collectively created sites of democratic memory in post-war Europe.

Post-War Coventry

Coventry's post-war rebuilding is of great symbolic significance. Like no other British city, it combines the idea of urban reconstruction with that of democratic social renewal. Therefore, it is not only the testbed that invented the structure and organisation of post-war rebuilding in Britain. It is also the key to understanding the images and the metaphors that were created by the architecture of that era. Ultimately, this points to the real value of the rebuilding of Coventry as a social, political, and aesthetic endeavour. It is more than a mere rebuilding of the urban scape. Instead, it captures the essence of reconstruction as a process of solving fundamental urban challenges of the era for a lasting change.

Visually, the reconstruction model corresponded to the juxtaposition of medieval and modern architecture, through a reimagined townscape that celebrated the rebirth of the city from the ruins of

the war. The rebuilding of St Michael's Cathedral is particularly effective in this regard. The building, designed by Basil Spence (1907–1976), incorporates the ruins of the mediaeval cathedral destroyed in the war. The remains of the old cathedral were to indicate the loss caused by the destructive powers of war, while the new building was to express the triumph of rebirth. However, on closer inspection, old and new seem inextricably linked – not just by construction, but also metaphorically. The co-existence of old and new parts has been significantly converted into a dialogic, even dialectic, relationship that stages and reinvents Coventry's dramatic history.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the city was plagued by a number of structural problems resulting from hyper-accelerated industrialisation and associated social injustices. There was a deficit of adequate housing and welfare facilities. Roads and sewage systems remained at pre-industrial levels. The mass of workers lacked appropriate community facilities and were challenged by insufficient structures for self-determination and social participation. The serious deficiency in the urban structure, the economic decline after the First World War, and growing social problems caused a profound change in city politics: The newly elected city council, led by the (at that time socialist) Labour Party, sought to address these problems by appointing Donald Gibson (1908–1991), a young, radically modern member of the MARS (Modern Architectural Research) Group (Britain's wing of CIAM: Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne / International Congresses of Modern Architecture) to the newly created position of City Architect. Gibson's vision involved transforming the overcrowded and outdated city into a *working-class utopia* clearly rooted in modern urban planning principles, as documented through the *Athens Charter*. His first proposal (1939) envisaged the almost complete dismantling of the medieval city structure in favour of a city centre that offered open public areas, space for recreation, cultural, community, and civic institutions. Led by his principle that "human needs must be the starting point for good architecture and town planning",[7] Gibson's first attempt antedates the programmatic of *CIAM No. 8* (1951) on *The Heart of the City – Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*.[8] The planning material was adapted multiple times according to the need to rebuild Coventry after German air raids destroyed much of the city in November 1940, April 1941, and August 1942. Similarl to many architects and planners at the time, Gibson recognised the destruction as an opportunity to break with historical urban planning patterns. The possibility of the *tabula rasa* – the new beginning on a blank surface – encouraged many architects.[9] Gibson identified the core task of urban planning as "a generous organic and functional renovation."[10] By contrast, the end of World War II also expedited a longing to regain historical continuity. Described by Esther Charlesworth as the *facsimile method*, the historicist reconstruction of lost architectural ensembles and historic city centres[11] is exemplified, among others, by Warsaw's Old Town, Rothenburg ob der Tauber, and the Dutch town of Middelburg. The approach aims to abolish the historic ruptures embraced by modernists. The polarity among *tabula rasa* and *facsimile* is deliberately resolved in only a few cities. Instead of either/or, a simultaneity emerges from the reconstruction of historic buildings combined with radical rebuilding; Coventry is one such city. During the bombings of November 1940, Donald Gibson recognised his chance to re-propose his city vision, which was previously put on hold. Nevertheless, the rebuilt Coventry of today differs from the 1940 image of *Coventry of Tomorrow*. The revisited plans re-integrated historic buildings that Gibson had rendered worthless and marked for demolition to make way for his architectural utopia.

The Blitz of November 1940 destroyed most buildings in inner-city Coventry. The catastrophic situation presented the opportunity to implement plans for modern redevelopment of the city. In this regard, the erection of Coventry's modern inner-city buildings between the 1950s and 1970s could be read as an alternative to the *facsimile* reconstruction of old houses. It is necessary to stress that this antagonistic juxtaposition of old and new is only partially justified by local planning ideas. Rather, old and new emerge as a delicate and dialogic post-war composition. Gibson's appointment as *City Architect* responsible for radical urban renewal, and subsequently chief planner of post-war reconstruction, is decisive here – and somewhat ironic in retrospect. Because in Coventry, the person in charge of the reconstruction, that is Gibson, would still have given the main stock of medieval structures over to demolition without consideration in 1939/1940. After the Blitz, however, he was endowed with the responsibility of both rebuilding and renewal of the inner city at the same time. Consequently, public discourse forced him to reconsider the historic heritage of Coventry

as important assets in the context of post-war nostalgia and assertion of urban identity. It was the experience of local wartime destruction that contributed to an awareness on Gibson's part, concerning the usefulness of a dialogue between historical and modern buildings.

Gibson's major project remained the reorganisation of the built urban context, constituting no less than the reorganisation of urban life itself. As a consequence, Coventry's city centre was designed as the central area for consumption, culture, and administration, to meet general modern ideas of the city centre. Strict separation of car traffic and urban areas reserved for pedestrians became the main feature of the plan.[12] Correspondingly, Gibson subjected the city centre to a revision of traffic routes. The planning approach here favoured a radial road system and the creation of a ring highway. At the same time, attention was paid from the outset to the need for more parking facilities.[13] Construction of the Ring Road finally started in 1962. In addition to the shopping precinct, which takes up almost a third of the entire city centre, the Ring Road became the most important project in the reconstruction phase.

The shopping precinct built by Gibson has become a project of some historical significance. It was the first post-war building project completed in Coventry. Opened in 1955, it was also the first building complex of this type and size in Great Britain.[14] The Precinct is an urban dominant of inner-city Coventry. Its facade design, the use of red bricks, and cubic shape determined the design of other buildings at the time in Coventry, the most important example in this context being the Herbert Art Gallery (1959). The precinct complex has a cruciform structure with skyscrapers accentuating the end of each branch. The tower of the famous St Michael's Cathedral is used as the eastern reference point for the precinct's central axis. The passageway begins at Broadgate and is framed by two five-storey buildings that open up into a wider inner district. The buildings in the inner yard area of the shopping precinct are kept low, and the yard is framed by an arcade that opens up space for a gallery and additional shops on the second floor. The appearance of the buildings is unified by the shared use of brick masonry, and the size and arrangement of windows, stairs, and balconies.

Architectural criticism was voiced particularly for the lack of radicalism in the designs.[15] In this regard, the Precinct is a continuation of traditional strands and a translation of historical sources of the same construction task into a more modern presence. References can be made to the Royal Exchange in London or the shopping rows in Chester. The use of traditional building materials such as brick references local building traditions dating from the 19th to early 20th century. Increasingly radical divergence from traditional lines of architectural development occurred when Arthur Ling (1913–1995) succeeded Gibson as City Architect shortly after completion of the Precinct in 1955. Ling was largely responsible for the construction of the Belgrade Theatre, a building much clearer in its facade design when compared to the Precinct – dispensing with brick masonry in favour of exposed concrete and glass. Nevertheless, Coventry's train station (1962) was the only modern building from this urban construction phase to gain heritage listing up to 2018 and to be more widely considered beyond the city as one of the most notable designs of the era.[16] The station was constructed as one huge concrete slab spanning tracks, platforms, and entrance area. Set on concrete columns with no load-bearing walls, it provided for a facade made almost completely of large glass surfaces.

However, it is not so much the individual building projects that are characteristic of Gibson's planning, but the composition and relation of different architectures to each other. According to Gibson's planning ideas, the inner city is segregated and zoned into functional spheres: the cathedral district, university, shopping, recreation, and administration.[17] However, the independent urban landscapes or zones so created were designed to communicate visually with each other. The university is situated east of the cathedral, sporting an inner-city campus with a main building and several faculty institutions. Gibson had a similar intention when planning the layout of city administration buildings, which form a collection of various buildings in the southern inner-city area. The Council House remained the main site of the city administration, followed by individual buildings, each with different urban administrative areas, acting "rather like a University Campus."[18]

The locations of individual buildings in this constructed townscape should not be misconstrued as coincidental or merely pragmatic. Likewise, the buildings preserved were not simply the ones least damaged (on the contrary: Gibson's urban planning is accused of having destroyed more historic buildings than the Nazi bombs).[19] Yet, although his pre-war redevelopment plan would have sacrificed

prominent historic buildings, there was no escape from rebuilding some famous objects after the enormous level of destruction experienced in the war. As reminders of a national history continued, attention was focussed on preserving such *keepers of the past*. Speaking for the many, architect Philip Boughton Chatwin thus noted in 1946: "Coventry without Ford's Hospital is unthinkable."[20]

The city map reveals a regular arrangement of the buildings. In addition, the arrangement of individual buildings and ensembles of mediaeval timbered houses forms a repeating pattern when walking the city. Visual axes and significant views were composed towards historic architectures and linked to the presence of medieval buildings. The constant correspondence between old and new architecture resulting from this careful composition overcomes the apparent antagonism between the two. Instead of *facsimile* or *tabula rasa*, Coventry's urban ensemble is an example of a functioning and readable juxtaposition of both architectures (Figs. 1 and 2).

Towards a Heritage of Democratic Coventry

Coventry's post-war townscape figuratively orchestrates the dialogue between the past and the future of the city. The symbolism of post-war modernism expressed war remembrance, the overcoming of loss and destruction, but also stages the democratic rebirth of city and society. The deliberate composition and juxtaposition of historical and modern buildings constitutes the relationship between the old and the new. Visual axes underline the dialectical dependence of past and present. The arrangement of historical urban landscapes offers a tangible city history that on the one hand has been destroyed, but on the other hand was overcome by modern planning. Nevertheless the musealisation of the city's history – either in the form of so-called *islands of the past*, as

Key to plan
Building periods and construction phases

- 1043 to 1355
- 1355 to 1451
- 1451 to 1600
- 1600 to 1835
- 1835 to 1900
- 1900 to 1940
- 1940 to 1974
- since 1975

Fig. 1: Coventry, city centre, building period survey.

inner-city open-air museums, or as preserved ruins – is not unique to Coventry but common to rebuilt cities across Europe. Showcasing an often-idealised past, it offers both to stage loss and to emphasise the democratic foundations of the modern city. By contrast, as if *building tomorrow* had become the ultimate purpose of the war, the architecture of the reconstruction era embodies the utopia of modern society. The democratic aspect is displayed throughout Coventry. It is pragmatic, technical, spacious, and permits equal access to light, air, and all the amenities of the post-war culture. It offers the prospect of social justice and communal welfare.

However, the preceding paragraphs also make clear that the notion of democratic reconstruction of the war-torn city was not an original concern of Gibson's urban renewal. Understandably, the task of transforming the unusable city in accordance with modern social and political concerns arose from newly defined democratic demands of the urban society in the years before the Second World War. In order to meet these demands, Gibson made his planning ideas available to public discourse via open exhibitions, pamphlets, and publications. The city's cultural and democratic heritage is therefore also defined by the unprecedented effort that Gibson and his planning staff made to balance public calls for conservation and well-intended but unpopular renewal prospects.

Nevertheless, the rebuilt Coventry is a powerful symbol of the democratisation of urban architecture and the search for social participation and acceptance in the city. The layout offers an urban experience that is mainly influenced by the idea of flattening hierarchies in conventional urban structures. Instead of the car-friendly city, Gibson's focus is on accessibility, user-friendliness, short distances, and easy access to public, cultural, and civic amenities. The permanent social participation and the transparency of the

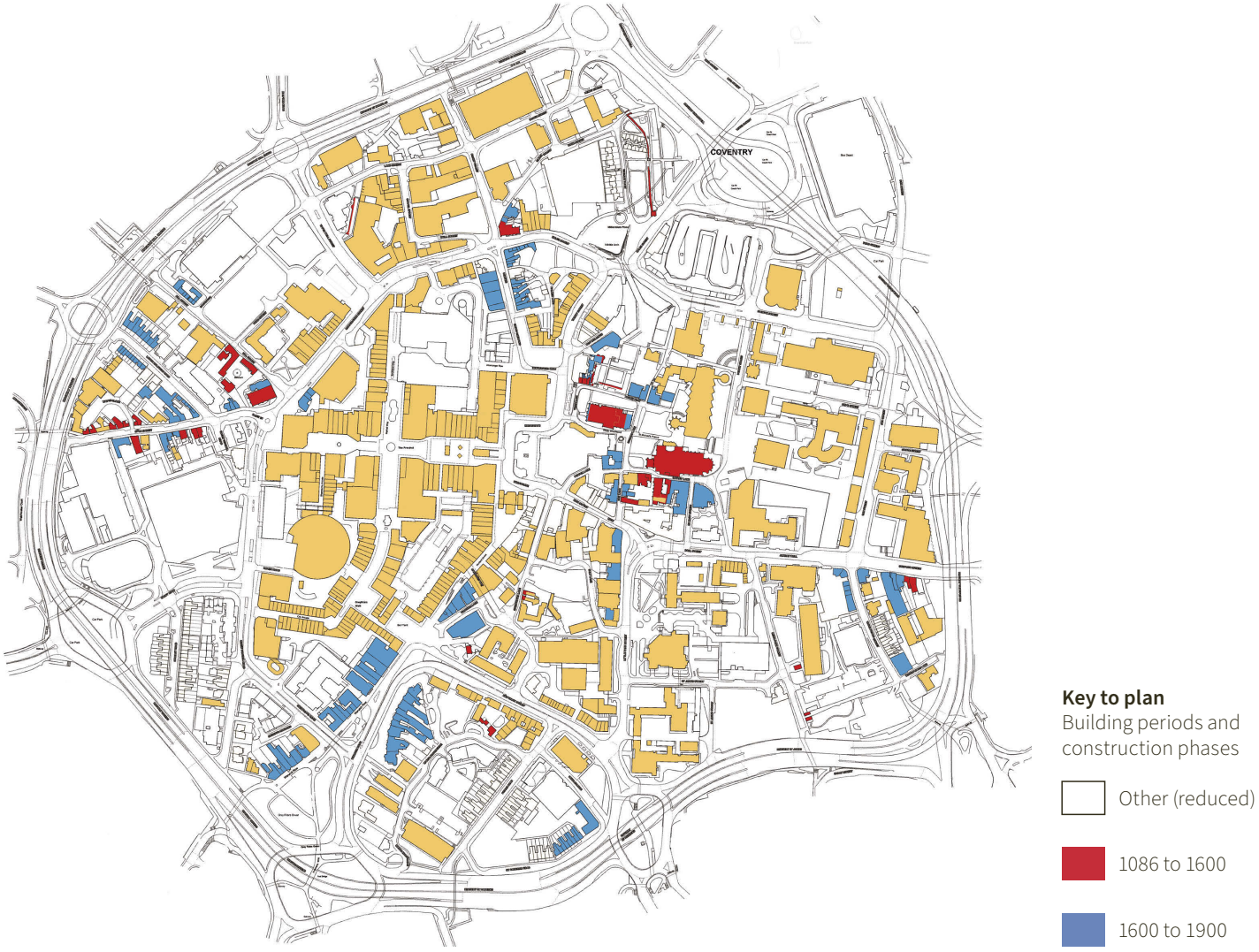

Fig. 2: Coventry, city centre, intended building age. The purpose of this plan is to illustrate the relationship between modern and historic architecture in rebuilt Coventry. The composition of old buildings into so-called *Islands of the Past* is clearly evident here.

planning considerations are evidence of the intention to make the planning process itself an act of democratic and collective agency. His first proposal was made available to the public and deliberately subjected to public discourse and participation. The plans were presented in an open space exhibition named *Coventry of Tomorrow – Towards a Beautiful City*, held over one week in 6–13 May 1940, pre-dating the World War II bombings. The repeated revisions of the proposal culminated in a second exhibition in October 1945, entitled *Coventry of the Future*. The first exhibition in 1940 was clearly titled to emphasise the intellectual link between Coventry planners and Le Corbusier's *City of Tomorrow* (1929), whereas *Coventry of the Future* reveals a newfound assertiveness and formulated an individual planning approach that emancipated itself from Corbusian paradigms. Gibson's shift away from the often-authoritarian attitude of modern architects and urban planners actually seems to be the most important achievement of his rebuilding process. The visual manifestation of the public discourse provides the perfect scope to discuss the City as presenting among the most tangible evidence of a post-war democratic agenda.

Conclusion: Devaluation and Revaluation

In a 1967 episode of the famous British TV show *The Avengers*, a hostile communist nation built a clandestine underground city on British territory. The city, located in a collapsed mine, was intended to serve as an infiltration base, supporting their army until it was ready to stage the final invasion of England. The city's appearance is most remarkable, featuring modern-style buildings, pedestrian areas, balconies, and the typical homogeneity of modern architecture. Although staged on a film set, this fictional, idealised socialist city referred to a real existing prototype – one located neither in the Soviet Union, nor any other state of the Eastern Bloc. Instead, the scenery was modelled after Coventry's inner-city shopping precinct, and cited the prominent view towards the destroyed spire of Coventry Cathedral.

The aforementioned example is just one of many that illustrate the challenges that Coventry's post-war architecture has been facing. During the second half of the 20th century, conservative political forces in particular sought to discredit the achievements of modern urban planning. The formal and aesthetic results were consistently used to delegitimise the social contexts and motivations behind the renewal, claiming them to be undemocratic or even socialist. This constant devaluation process erased the democratic merits of Coventry's reconstruction plans from the city's consciousness, if not architectural history altogether. It is the task of heritage conservation to unearth these contextual layers with regard to democracy and cultural heritage.

The city of Coventry provides one of the most telling examples of how democratic values are visualised through architecture, how those narratives came to be reviled, and how they were transformed back into democratic heritage. The rebuilding of Coventry is a unique example of progressive approaches to addressing wartime destruction. Essentially, the post-war cityscape conveys two main notions of rebuilding. On the one hand, the city was burdened by industrial growth, especially around the turn of the 20th century, which deepened social and infrastructural problems. As such, the urban fabric needed redesigning from the perspective of realising social reforms. On the other hand, specific urban landscapes were created in the course of Coventry's reconstruction, in order to represent an imagined urban history. The process of architectural development after Gibson's appointment as *City Architect* in 1939, a position that put him in charge of all public building activities, is well documented and the city's post-war architectural history thoroughly researched. This is due not least to the work of the charities *English Heritage* and the *Twentieth Century Society*, raising awareness of the importance of the Coventry model for modern urban reconstruction. Attention increased from 2012 onwards, with *English Heritage* adding Coventry Cathedral to the national 'at risk' list. Surveys and campaigns to chart and publicise the heritage values of Coventry Market and the shopping precinct area followed. Finally, in 2018, Coventry's post-war shopping centre was earmarked for Grade II designation in a "rare listing move."[21] The final listing of some heritage buildings was preceded by a comprehensive investigation into their heritage value by *Historic England*, the public body that lists UK heritage sites. The survey was commissioned as a methodological instrument to record the value of Coventry's post-war architecture and urban planning. Published in 2016, the authors concluded that the post-war reconstruction is the most important phase of the city's urban development.[22] Against this backdrop, the city's rebuilding received belated recognition. We are called upon to ensure that its democratic principles are also allowed to survive.

Figures

1, 2 Michael Grass 2024

Endnotes

1 Examples include the work of the DFG Research Training Group 2227 *Identity and Heritage* at the Technical University of Berlin, the Bauhaus University Weimar, the Anhalt University of Applied Sciences Dessau, and the Erfurt University of Applied Sciences, which is dedicated to the critical research of identity and heritage constructions that weigh on buildings and historical sites. Among the ground-breaking works are the research by Tuuli Lähdesmäki, for example: Managing War Heritage in the European Union, in: Ihab Saloul and Britt Baillie (Eds.), *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Cultural Heritage and Conflict*, Cham 2024, p. 1–13; *Heritage Diplomacy: Discourses, Imaginaries and Practices of Heritage and Power* (co- edited with Viktorija Ceginskas), Abingdon 2024; Constructing Social Europe through European Cultural Heritage, in: *European Societies* 23 (2021) No. 5, p. 1–26; and, especially in the German context, the research by Anne Fuchs, for example: *After the Dresden Bombing: Pathways of Memory, 1945 to the Present, Basingstoke, Houndmills 2012; Debating German Cultural Identity since 1989* (co-edited with Kathleen James-Chakraborty and Linda Shortt), Rochester 2011.

2 Ibid.

3 Robert S. Peckham (Ed.), *Rethinking heritage: Cultures and politics in Europe,* London 2003.

4 Ibid.

5 Association of Critical Heritage Studies, Manifesto, http://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/history/ (10 February 2025).

6 Peckham 2003 (See note 4).

7 Jaqueline J. Tyrwhitt, José Luis Sert, and Ernesto N. Rogers (Eds), *CIAM 8. The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life*. London 1952; Additionally cf. Sigfried Giedion, CIAM 8: The Heart of the City: A Summing Up, in: *Ekistics*, 52 (1985), No. 314/315, p. 475–477.

8 See note 6.

9 Hans Scharoun, Ansprache zur Ausstellung ‘Berlin plant’, in: *Neue Bauwelt*, 10 (1946), p. 3.

10 Peckham 2003 (See note 4).

11 George Demidowicz and Marc Singlehurst, *Far Gosford Street: Historical Notes,* Coventry 2000, p. 15 and p. 37–40. Those features are also described by Gibson’s successor, Arthur Ling, cf. Arthur Ling, Retail market at Coventry, in: *Official Architecture and Planning*, 22 (1959), No. 1, p. 28–31.

12 Tyrwhitt et al., 1952 (See note 8); Giedion 1985 (See note 8). Jeremy Gould and Caroline Gould, *Coventry: The making of a modern city 1939-73*, Swindon, 2016.

13 Junichi Hasegawa, *Replanning the Blitzed City Centre. A Comparative Study of Bristol, Coventry and Southampton 1941–1950*, Buckingham/New York 1992, p. 250; George Demidowicz, *A Guide to the Buildings of Coventry,* Cheltenham 2003, p. 108–109.

14 Association of Critical Heritage Studies (See note 9).

15 Coventry City Council, *Listed Buildings,* 17/10018.

16 Scharoun 1946 (See note 10).

17 Ibid., p. 40.

18 Peckham 2003 (See note 4).

19 As Donald Gibson emphasised in March 1984, cf. Sarah Walford, Architecture in Tension. *An Examination of the Position of the Architect in the Private and Public Sectors, Focusing on the Training and Careers of Sir Basil Spence (1907–1976) and Sir Donald Gibson (1908–1991),* PhD thesis, Warwick 2009, p. 165.

20 Scharoun 1946 (See note 10), p. 3.

21 Gould & Gould 2016 (see note 13), p. 117–128.

22 Demidowicz and Singlehurst 2000 (See note 12); Those features are also described by Gibson’s successor, Arthur Ling 1959 (See note 12).