



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

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CHAPTER FIVE  
OUTDOOR SITTINGROOMS AND PLAYGROUNDS



This chapter considers some early attempts to redress the deficit of open space in the central areas of cities. The first part puts forward the general arguments for playground space and shows the half-hearted attempt of Glasgow in meeting them. The second considers the question of access to square gardens and concludes with a study of the attempts of Octavia Hill and her followers to provide local open space in London.

CITY PLAYGROUNDS AND THEIR PROVISION IN GLASGOW

In 1833 The Select Committee on Public Walks<sup>1</sup> had

reported that:

"with a rapidly increasing population lodged, for the most part in narrow courts and confined streets, the means of occasional exercise and recreation in the fresh air, are every day lessened, as inclosures take place and buildings spread themselves on every side..."

Here at last was a claim for urban open space provided for its own sake, although the Committee also added the arguments in favour of improved health and morality. This report was to serve as a valuable stimulus for much of the larger open space improvements and public parks created during the nineteenth century, and also for attempts to introduce a balance of local open space not only in all new housing but in the deprived inner areas of towns and cities.

Chadwick in 1842, well-prompted it seems by J. C. Loudon<sup>2</sup>, had advised the Poor Law Commissioner that such space was essential. And he made the following accusatory general statement on the recreational needs of children:

"The condition of the children in large districts where there are no squares, no gardens attached to the houses and no playgrounds even to their day-schools, and where they are of a condition of life to be withheld from playing in the streets, is pronounced to be a condition very injurious to their bodily development..."

He then pointed out that a shortage of playground space was not only to be met with in towns.

1. Report from Select Committee appointed to consider means of securing open spaces in the vicinity of populous towns, as public walks and places of exercise etc. with Minutes of Evidence. 1833. Vol XV. 337.
2. Chadwick's report made much of the success of Loudon's Derby Arboretum and included a detailed description and plan of it as an appendix.

"In the rural districts, the children and young persons of the villages have frequently no other places for recreation than the dusty road before their houses or the narrow and dirty lanes, and accidents frequently take place from the playing of children on the public highways. If they go into the fields they are trespassers and injure the farmer."

Chadwick went on to argue that the want of playground space in towns was detrimental to children's morals.

"The very scanty spaces which the children both of the middle and the lower classes, the ill as well as the respectably educated, can obtain, force all into one company to the detriment of the better children, for it is the rude who obtain the predominance....  
in the present state of many crowded neighbourhoods all the children of a court or of a street were forced to play, if they had any play whatsoever, on such scraps of ground as they could get, and all were brought into acquaintanceship, and the range and influence of the depraved was extended."<sup>1</sup>

Chadwick concluded that the best playgrounds, if not gardens, were those closest to children's own homes. In this, and in children's demands upon open space, and adult fears of delinquency, opinions do not appear to have changed much over the last two centuries.

Although the lobby of support for city playgrounds, at least for reasons of improved health, soon became widespread, little was actually provided in the poorer parts of towns, except by private benefaction. Most town councils throughout the nineteenth century

1. Chadwick op cit. p.277.

were not inclined to give the recreational need of the poor a high priority in their improvement programmes. For, once committed, the difficulty was how to meet these needs adequately without deliberate clearance and demolition, since the only other opportunities of provision were afforded by the chances of fire, structural failure or similar occasional mishaps.

Deliberate provision in the right places, except in new developments, therefore, meant compulsory purchase, and with it, the need to placate ratepayers and to face the expense of compensating dispossessed landlords and reaccommodating their tenants. And having provided the space it had to be managed so that the shared nature of its facilities did not degenerate, as common pump yards did, into a battleground of petty disputes. Few local authorities willingly faced these difficulties even to get rid of their worst housing, let alone to provide open space.

Glasgow was a typical case in point. In 1859 the city promoted a private act<sup>1</sup> to acquire lands for the purpose of forming public parks, and for levying a rate for their upkeep. The Act however, did not provide powers to acquire land for smaller open spaces, and this was not remedied until the city Improvement Acts of 1866 and subsequent years.<sup>2</sup>

1. The Glasgow Public Parks Act 1859, (22 Vict. cap. XVII); it only gave powers to form Kelvingrove & Queens Parks.
2. The Glasgow Improvements Act, 1866, (29 & 30 Vict. cap. LXXXX) see clause 24, giving power to acquire and improve ground up to the value of £40,000. For further details see Tam J. "Housing in Liverpool & Glasgow" TPR Vol. 39, No. 4, 1969. & Working Class Housing in Nineteenth Century Britain, Ch. 7

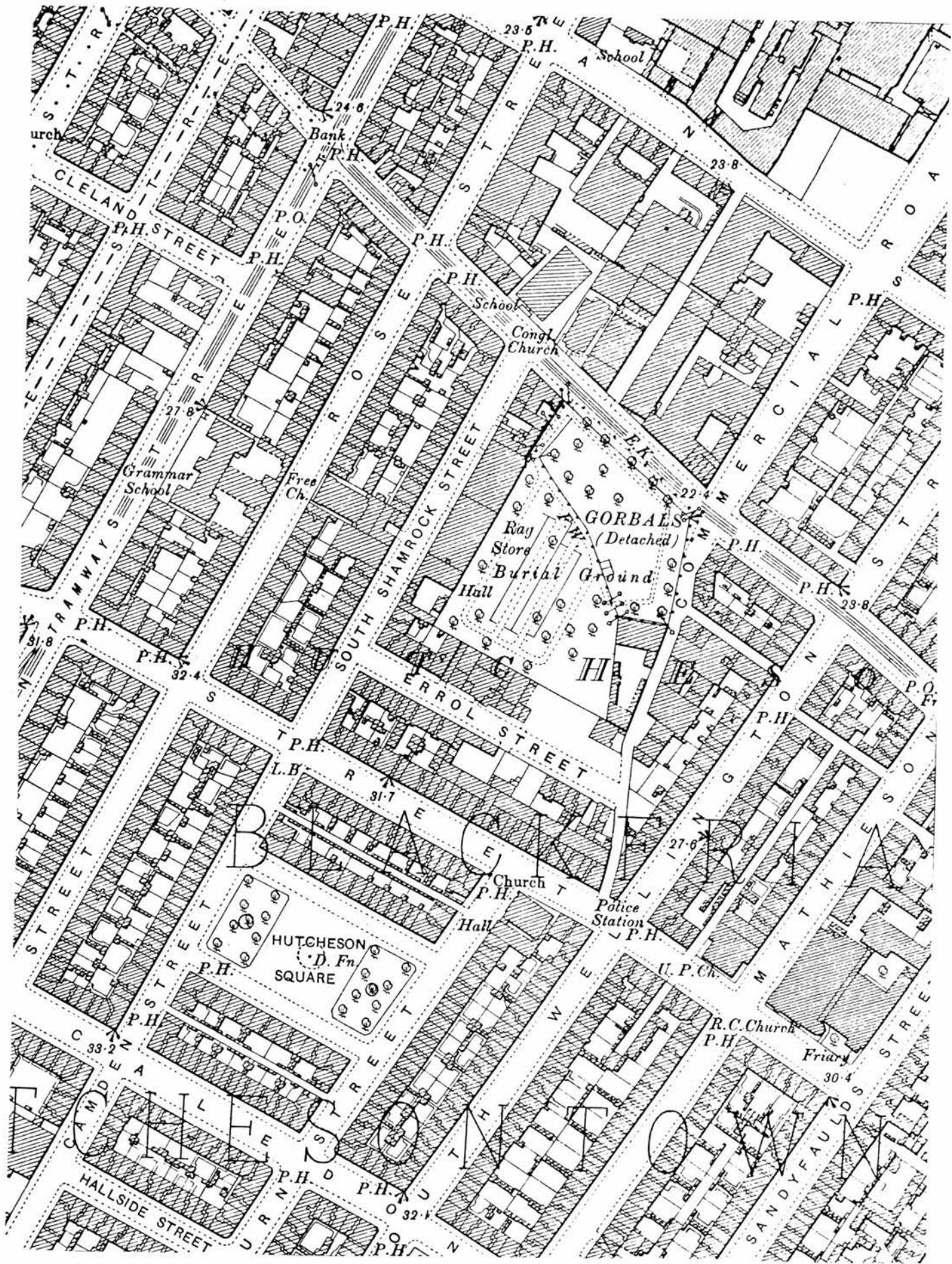


FIGURE 52 :  
 Gorbals Burial Ground & Hutcheson Square , laid out as public  
 open spaces , within densely populated tenement areas of inner Glasgow.  
 25" O.S. 1896 .

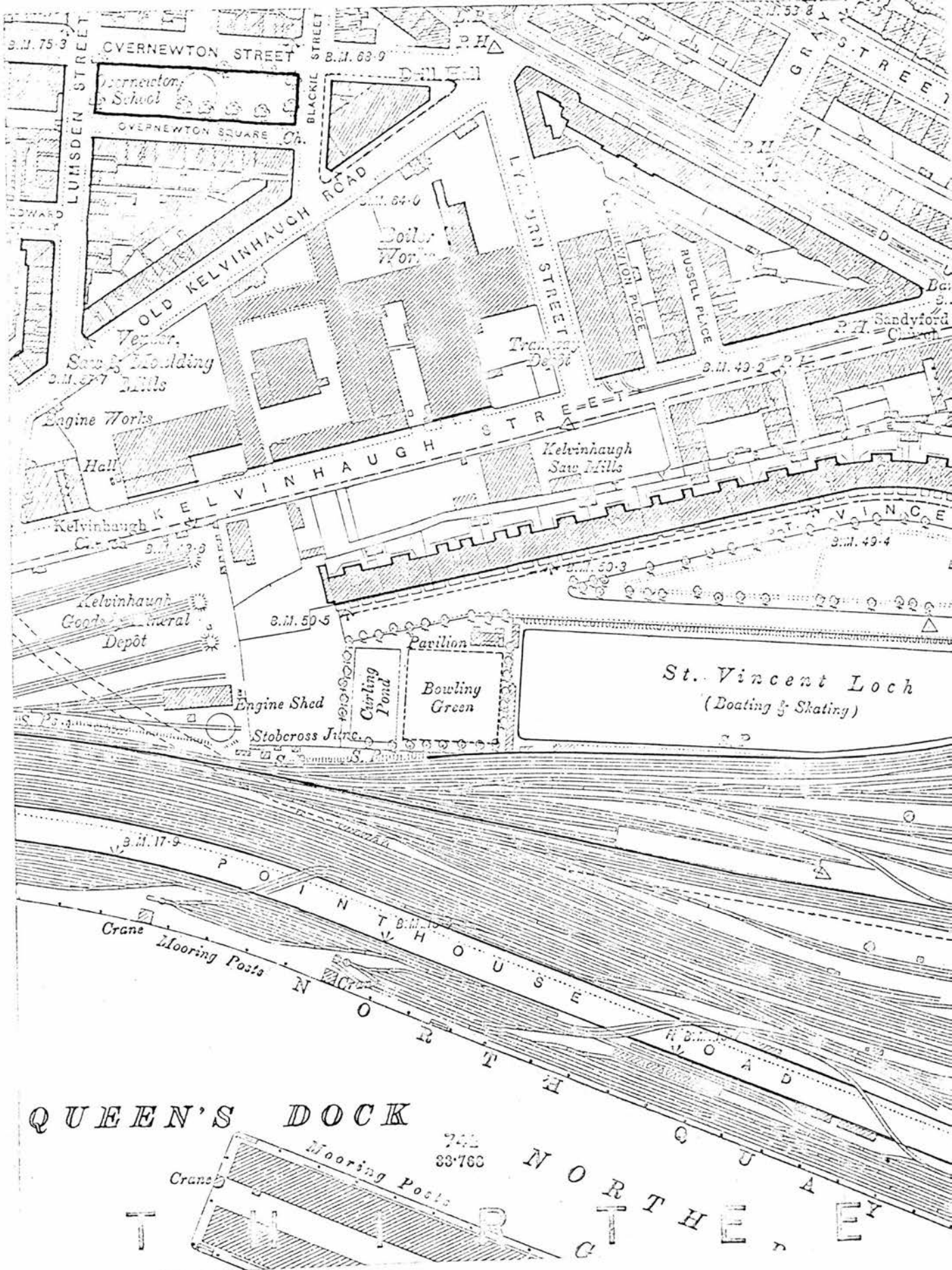


FIGURE 53 :  
 Overnewton Square public recreation ground ,  
 & St Vincent Loch , Glasgow .  
 25" O.S. 1896 .

Under this legislation the city took powers to open up and improve congested areas by forming wider streets and providing recreation grounds and public squares. These powers were as sweeping as any taken by Edinburgh in dealing with the Old Town, (p30) and they were used on a very much greater scale. Between 1866 and 1876 the improvement trustees displaced over 28,000 people, and during this same period it has been estimated that new housing was provided within extended city boundaries for more than 200,000.

The difficulty was that central area property, cleared under this legislation, was in most instances considered too valuable either to allocate as open space or for working class housing. The greater part of it was redeveloped for factory or commercial usage. Nevertheless, the City and Streets Improvements Committee did acquire & lay out, a number of small open spaces, either as layout playgrounds or for general recreation. The most important of these were Overnewton, Oatlands and Cathedral Squares, and also grounds to the north of Kelvingrove Park and near Weedlands Road and Blythswood Drive, (Figures 53 and 55).<sup>2</sup>

In 1878 the Corporation took a further step towards providing small open spaces, when they acquired power from Parliament to take over and convert burial grounds closed and disused under the Public Health (Scotland) Act of 1867.<sup>3</sup> Eight burial grounds totalling

2. McLellan D. "Public Squares, Open Spaces & Recreation Grounds". Glasgow Herald, 2 July, 1894.

3. 30 & 31 Vict. cap. ci. This Act was also important in giving the first statutory definition in Scotland to the term "nuisance".



FIGURE 54 :  
 John St & Clyde St burial grounds, before  
 and after conversion to recreational  
 public open space .  
 25" O.S. 1861 & 1896 .

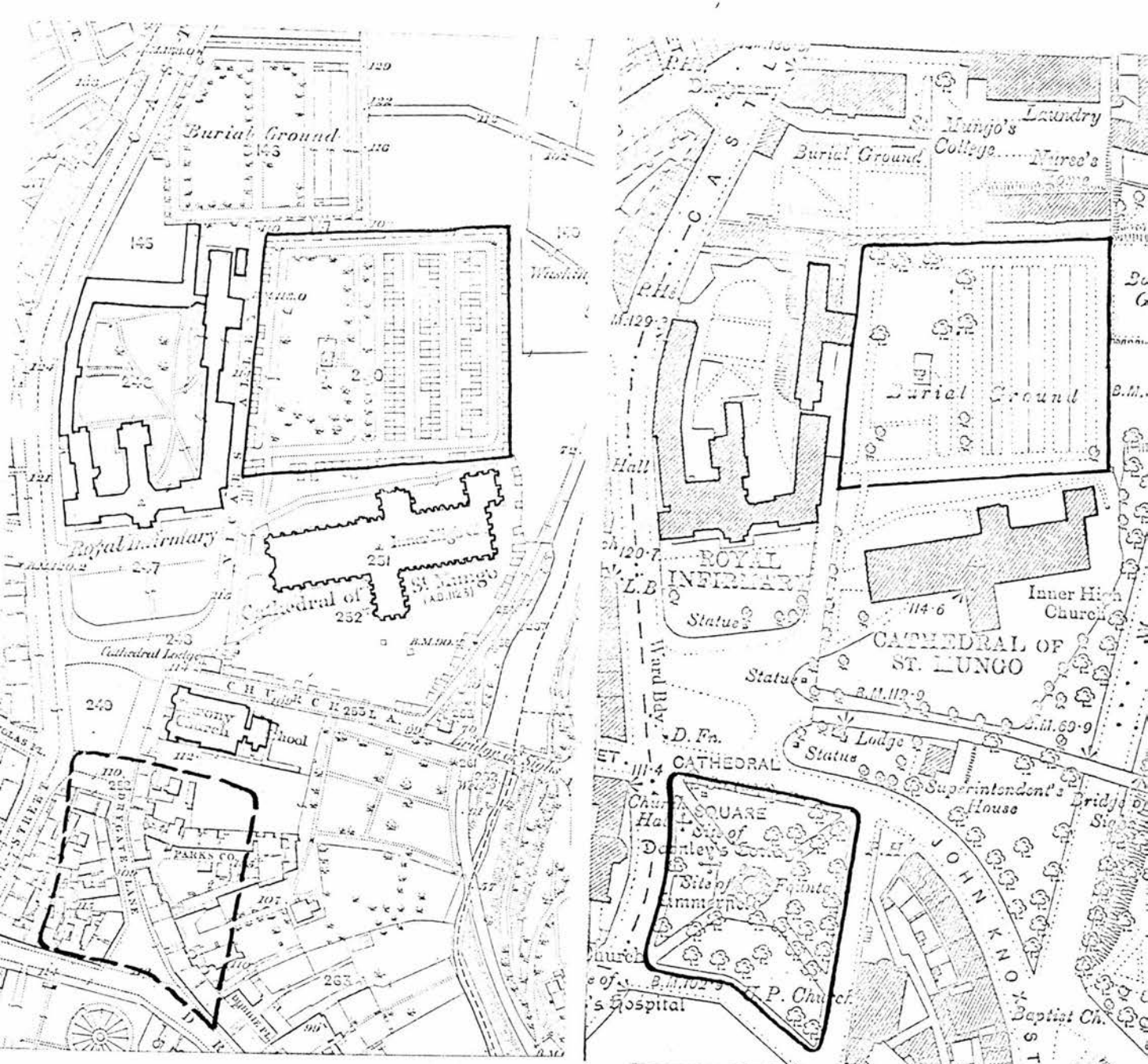


FIGURE 55 :  
 North Cathedral burial ground and Cathedral  
 Square before and after formation into public  
 open space , the latter being one of the few  
 involving large scale demolition .  
 25" O.S. 1861 & 1896 .

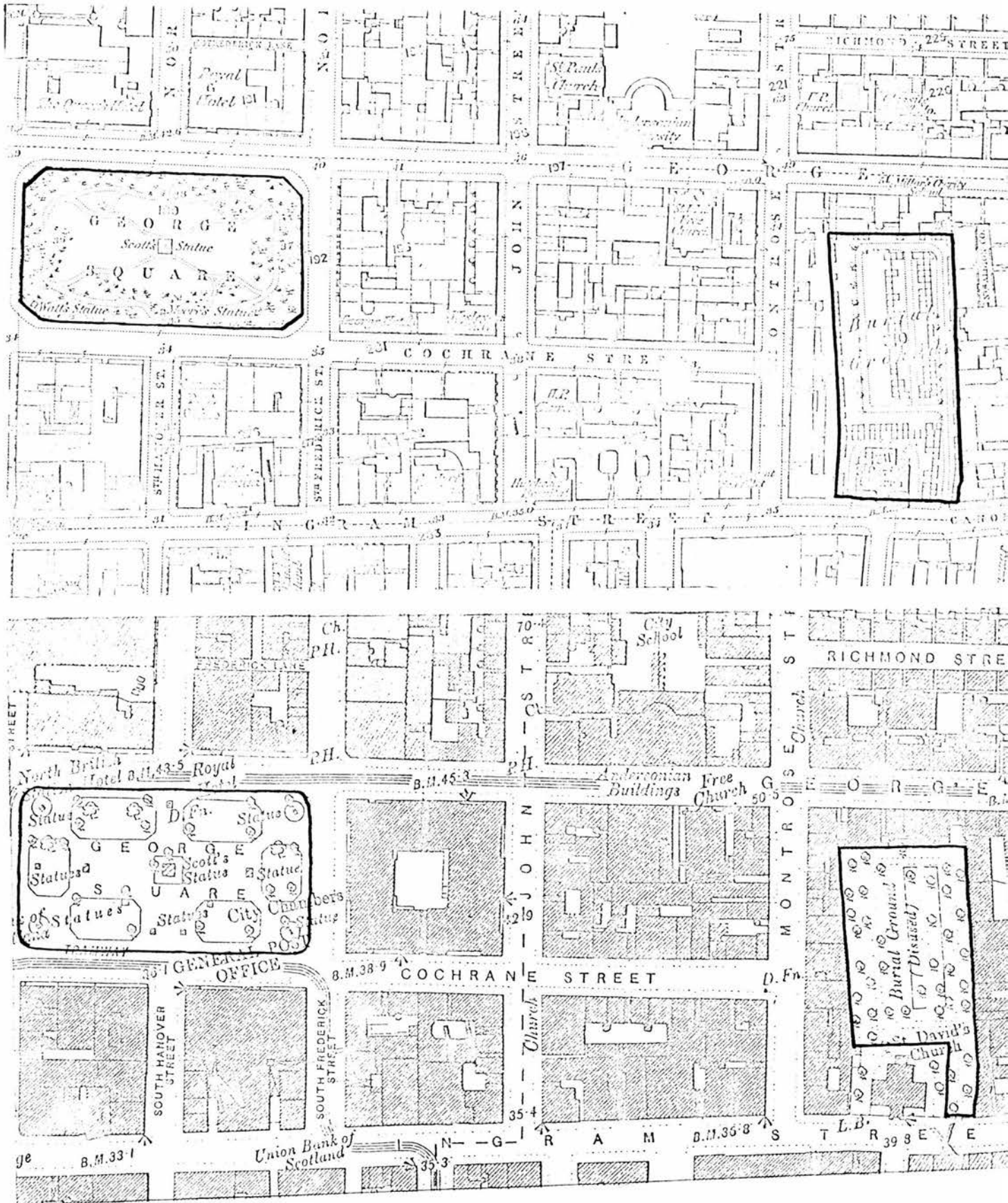


FIGURE 56 :  
 Ramshorn burial ground and George Square ,  
 Glasgow , before and after conversion to  
 recreational public open space .

nearly 12.5 acres were laid out under this legislation and of these the most needed were at Ramshorn and Old Gorbals, (Figures 52 & 56) The others were at North Street, Clyde Street (Anderston), Clyde Street (Calton), John Street, Cheapside Street and also the four acre ground to the north of the Cathedral (Figures 54 & 55).

Comparison of earlier and later Ordnance Sheets shows how few were the changes made. In the north cathedral ground the footpaths were reinstated, and upright gravestones laid flat; iron guards to the lairs, put up during the "resurrection" scare, were removed, and trees & shrubs planted. The space was opened to the public between 10am and 8 pm during the summer, and from 10am to dusk in the winter. The present bareness of this space and absence of trees and shrubs, its awkward position and relative isolation between the infirmary and the Necropolis does not suggest that it developed into a popular recreation ground. The other graveyards were treated in a similar manner, and had they not been difficult to redevelop for building purposes it is certain that most of them would have been built over.

By 1878 Glasgow Corporation had spent a total of £228,500 on open space acquisition and improvement, but the lion's share of this had been claimed by Alexandra, Kelvingrove and Queens Parks. The Parks Superintendant was nevertheless proud of the city's achievements in providing minor spaces and drew a parallel with London,



FIGURE 57 :  
 The Phoenix Foundry site at Cowcaddens Glasgow ,  
 developed into a recreation ground . Compare with  
 Figure 62 showing Wapping Recreation Ground .  
 25" O.S. 1861 & 1913 .

"where it has been left to private philanthropy to accomplish what is being done in Glasgow by the public authorities." <sup>1</sup>

In August 1894, he reported to his Committee on the condition of these minor spaces. <sup>2</sup> Apart from the reinstatement of a few areas of wear and tear, some further levelling needed in parts of the burial grounds and additional planting required, nothing seemed amiss. It was clear, however, that unlike Octavia Hill in London, he was content to regard these grounds only as places of retreat and with little formative educational value. He considered them particularly useful for the invalid and elderly unable to reach the larger parks, and as far as children's play was concerned, he perhaps accepted that most children would in any case have to play in the streets, whether or not they liked it.

Some effort had nevertheless been made to meet the needs of children. In 1892, three acres at the junction of Garscube Road and New City Road, and formerly occupied by the Phoenix Foundry, had been bought by the Public Health Committee at the instigation of Dr. Russell, the Medical Officer of Health. This was developed into the Phoenix Recreation Ground at a total cost of £25,000. (Figure 57).

The usual footpaths, lawns and planting were provided, but also "a gymnasium", in those days a common synonym for

1. McLellan D. op cit.

2. McLellan D. et al Report by the Subcommittee on Minor Open Spaces, 20 August, 1894

"playground". This was a paved play area with two divisions, one for boys and one for girls, with a caretaker to maintain order and prevent accidents. The situation of this playground in one of the most congested parts of Cowcaddens, was certainly well-considered, and in the best spirit of all that Dr. Russell, an ardent supporter of outdoor exercise, could have wished for.

But for all the Park Superintendent's pride of achievement, by 1894 the Corporation had acquired only twenty minor open spaces. These ranged in size from a quarter of an acre, up to four acres, and their total area was a mere twenty nine acres. They were a token gesture towards restoring a balance of open space in the city centre, but that was all.<sup>1</sup> In the decade 1881 to 1891 there were no landward extensions of the city, but the increase of population amounted to 76,996 (or 15.8%)<sup>2</sup>; in terms of the NPFA's later guiding space standard of 6 acres/1000(p298), this should have resulted in the creation of nearly 500 acres of open space; such then was the deficit of open space being accumulated in the expanding cities of Britain at this time.

1. By 1931 the number of minor open spaces in Glasgow had improved to upwards of 150, totalling 64 acres, but this was still a mere fraction of 1% of the city's total area. See Corporation of Glasgow Reports 1931-32 Town Clerk's Office Vol 15 p. 135.

2. Census of Scotland, 1911 Vol 1 pt. 2 p. 4 1.

OCTAVIA HILL AND LONDON'S PLAYGROUNDS.



FIGURE 58 :  
 The back streets of Dickens' Tom-All-Alones in St Giles London ,  
 with the site of what was to become Octavia Hill's Red Cross  
 Gardens. See also Figure 59 .

With little headway being made by urban local authorities in providing local open space, there remained great scope for enterprising individuals, and among them none was more formidable than the sharp-eyed Octavia Hill. In a long life dedicated to improving the quality of life for the urban poor, and among her many other interests, she was astonishingly successful in her quest for local open spaces. In an essay read to the National Health Society in May 1877 she explained that they were necessary to offset the evils of overcrowding and to provide planted areas.

"close to the homes of the people... which might be used by them in common as sitting rooms in Summer." <sup>1</sup>

She saw them as an essential alternative to the dusty inferno of London's backstreets, with their fighting and drunkenness, swarming with children, and

"with everyone in everyone else's way."

Typical of her successes was the creation of Red Cross Gardens, among the teeming backlands of Southwark, (Figure 58). She persuaded the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to provide the land, almost as a penance for having allowed their surrounding estates to be overdeveloped and for

"destroying so many cottages with yards and courts which were not thoroughfares... (and depriving) the children of playspace and the women of space for sitting out of doors." <sup>2</sup>

1. Hill O. "Open Spaces", Our Common Land, Loudon 1877.
2. Ovrny, E. Octavia Hill's Letters on Housing 1864-1911. incl extracts from "Letters to Fellow Workers" London 1933 p. 24.



FIGURE 59 :  
 Red Cross Gardens , London . Part of the site was a derelict and burnt out paper factory, and part a dump . Octavia Hill organised its clearance , burnt off the paper & rubbish to add to the topsoil , put up railings on the street frontage and an arcaded covered play area along the South boundary with brick pavings . Winding walks were put down within a grass lawn and leading to a bridge over a small pond . Two plane trees , some bulb planting a drinking fountain , and an octagonal bandstand completed this well-intentioned but rather over-wrought design .  
 60" O.S. 1896 .

Red Cross Gardens was used for both these purposes, and for many others, including an annual flower show. It formed the outdoor part of the adjoining Red Cross Hall, and both were intended as a kind of neighbourhood centre, (Figure 59). In 1888 she wrote of it:

"On Sunday afternoons we have opened the hall free to all grown-ups who like to come; we have been able to provide beautiful music, Sunday after Sunday; always we have been supplied with flowers and the hall looks really lovely, all lighted up, with its three great cheerful fires, especially when one turns in from the mud, fog and general dinginess of a London winter afternoon in Southwark; tea, coffee, warm drinks, cakes and oranges are sold and the hall becomes a bright drawing room for the neighbourhood, and pleasant groups congregate at various tables, looking at illustrated papers and books."

In addition to the hall and garden she provided a double row of twelve cottages, six facing onto the open space with six behind, and all linked directly to it. Here, perhaps by accident, but certainly well before its time, was a thoroughly modern group of dwellings, each with its own private garden, and sharing an adjoining common open space and community hall.

Opposite the development, on the other side of the road, but not part of her enterprise, were improved dwellings giving accommodation for a further five hundred families. The quarter acre of Red Cross Gardens was therefore scarcely even a gesture towards meeting the requirements of the surrounding locality; but

it remains today very much as intended, a haven of green within leaden surroundings.<sup>3</sup>

Octavia Hill's mentor, John Ruskin, once remarked that:

"the beauty of all towns depends on the waste of valuable ground space." <sup>1</sup>

He considered that this was essential in order to allow the experience of nature to penetrate the town. For him, this was of great importance since he sought to show that the inspiration of all art was to be found in the close limitation of natural forms. Morris and other members of the prerafaelite Brotherhood and the Arts and Crafts Movement, held similar views, and if one couples these with the broadly middleclass attitudes of the Church, in using the examples of nature to demonstrate an elevated purity and beauty, one begins to understand something of the social and moral value attaching to Octavia Hill's city gardens, in addition to their more obvious assumed practical value. Canon Barnett spoke for most urban missionaries when he said:

"to us townfolk, God's voice in Nature comes so fresh and strong." <sup>2</sup>

To their middleclass supporters then, Christian good was equated with all that was morally correct, and both were manifested in natural beauty.

This confusion of religion, morality and aesthetics had its

1. Ruskin, J. Seven Lamps of Architecture p. 215.
2. Barnett H. Canon Barnett his Life Work & Friends, 1921 p 49
3. *Now being built over under Phase 5 of Barbican Redevelopment.*

lighter moments. Thus the Rev. Dr. Begg, Minister of the Free Church of Newington, Edinburgh, in a stern reply to Lord Cockburn's celebrated letter to the Lord Provost, stated that as:

"a fixed principle... there can be no just perception or promotion of physical beauty, without a due regard to moral beauty." 1

Begg was referring to the essential needs of Edinburgh's poor for outdoor space to dry their washing. Cockburn had objected purely on aesthetic grounds to Calton Hill being used for this purpose, to which Begg had solemnly replied that there was a moral beauty in all processes of cleanliness, that cleanliness was next to Godliness, and that public taste should be tutored to accept that washing in public places

"was a lovely moral spectacle."

He would no doubt have agreed with Mrs Beecher Stowe who knew:

"of no circumstances more unfavourable to moral purity, than the necessity of being physically dirty." 2

Among earlier figures who realised the need for small local open spaces in cities was the little-known Edinburgh landscape designer C. H. J. Smith. In his book Parks and Pleasure Grounds published in 1852, he advocated the location of these at frequent intervals throughout towns. He considered, perhaps not very perceptively, that they served:

1. Begg Rev. How to Promote & Preserve the True Beauty of Edinburgh: being a few hints to the Hon. Lord Cockburn on his late letter to the Lord Provost Edinburgh 1849, p. 12
2. Quoted by Justitia. The Relative Rights & Interests of The Employer and the Employed. London 1885, p. 46

"to spread the inhabitants of large cities over a wider surface.... increas(ing) the purity of the air, and act(ing) in short, as miniature parks." <sup>1</sup>

In Edinburgh at least, his advice was little heeded until Chambers became Lord Provost in 1865.

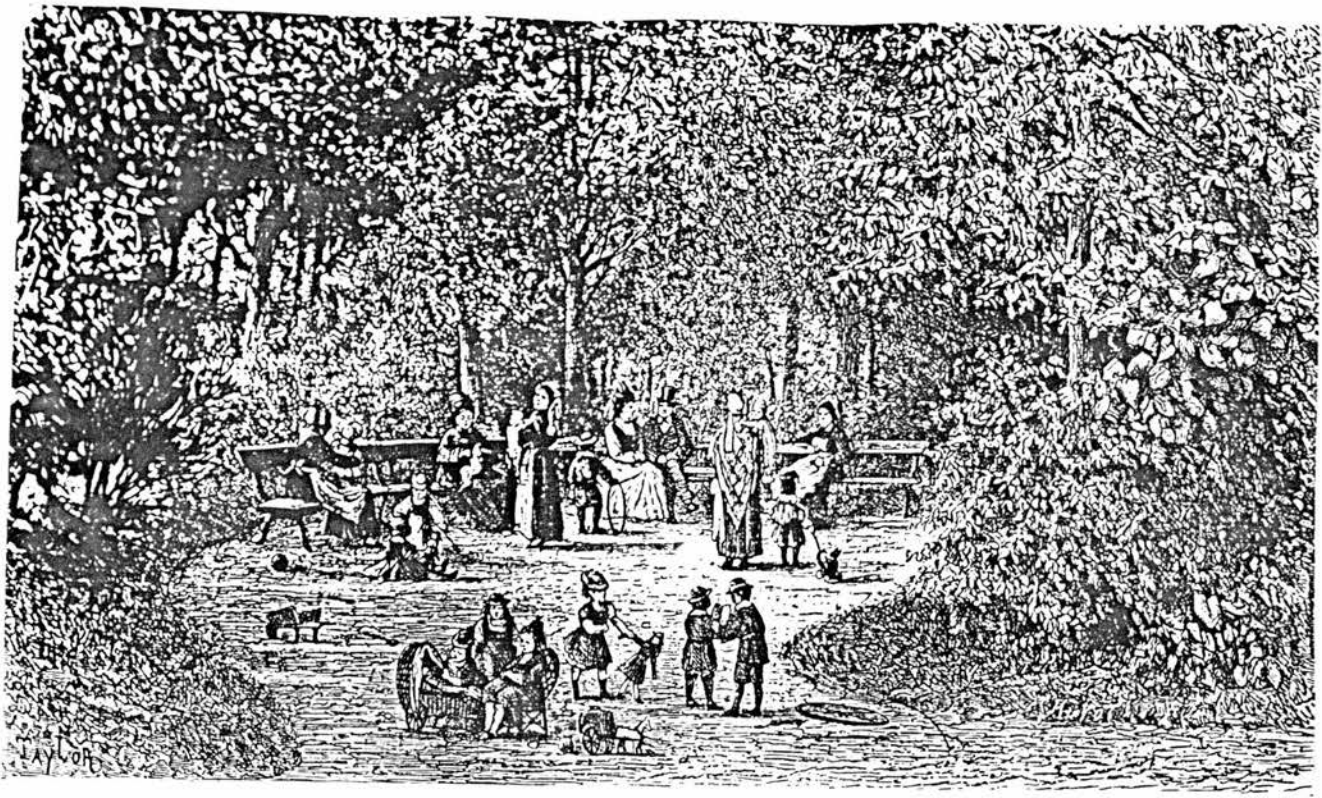
Smith also regretted that the square gardens of Edinburgh's New Town were railed off to exclude public access. In this he followed the Rev. Begg who had delivered a withering attack against this practice in his letter to Lord Cockburn. <sup>2</sup> Cockburn had complained at the low state of public spirit in safeguarding Edinburgh's beauty. Begg had cuttingly replied that there could be no public spirit without public rights. He drew particular attention to the lack of public rights of access to the gardens of the New Town, and he cited a legal judgement in Aberdeen actually given by Lord Cockburn in favour of public access to open space for recreation. <sup>3</sup>

Smith had reserved milder criticism for such exclusiveness, but he had some sharp things to say, gained no doubt from painful experience, about the damage possible by:

a directory of worthy citizens with a jobbing gardener." <sup>4</sup>

William Robinson was a far stronger supporter of the cause of public access. In his Parks and Gardens of Paris, he quoted with approval the author of Guesses at Truth as follows, on the throwing open of London's square gardens:

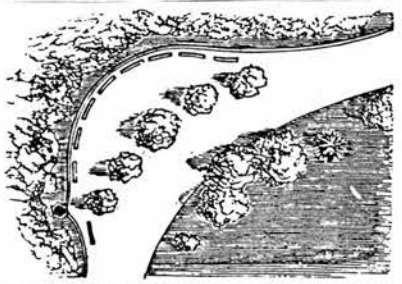
1. Op cit p. 166. Smith was in practice for some twenty years from 1834: he was a man of fairly limited vision, and unlike Olmsted, Alphand and others, he did not see such minor open space as part of a larger park network.
2. Begg Rev. Op cit pp 6-9.
3. Cockburn had concluded that "a servitude of recreation may arise a little later than others in the progress of society: but, in its course, it is just as natural and useful, and flows as legitimately from the rights and the obligations of property". Begg ibed p8.
4. Smith G.H.S. op cit pp 166-169.



CORNER FOR PLAY IN THE SQUARE MONTROUGE.



"Thieves without and nothing to steal within."  
Margin of a London Square, with Edge of Plantation designed to cut off the View (Park Crescent).



Showing widening of Walk for Playground, with Seats and Shade-giving Trees.



In the Square des Batignolles.

FIGURE 60 :  
Illustrations from Robinson's Parks and Gardens of Paris , indicating the kind of character he advocated for the squares of London .

"The same reasons which call for the restoration of our village greens, call no less imperiously in London for the throwing open of the gardens in all the squares. What bright refreshing spots would these be in the midst of our huge brick and stone labyrinths, if we saw them crowded on summer evenings with the tradespeople and mechanics from the neighbouring streets, and if the poor children who now grow up amid the filth and impurities of the alleys and cowls, were allowed to turn about these playgrounds, so much healthier both for the body and the mind!"<sup>1</sup>

What the irascible Robinson appeared to have forgotten was that the squares of London's West End were in any case scarcely accessible to the children of the East End. Nevertheless he attacked them as

"painful mementos of exclusiveness... monopolised by those who least needed them."<sup>2</sup>

He recommended removing the outer shrubberies and railings, and putting down wide public walks among a carpet of fresh lawns. Those squares likely to be most popular were to be planted only with large trees to allow unimpeded circulation of large crowds. He advocated forming playspaces by widening the shaded corner of the outer walks (Figure 60) as in the squares of Paris, and he compared the boulevard and open space improvements of Haussmann with the mean backstreets of St Giles and Whitechapel.

Robinson's book appeared at a time of great general interest in Haussmann's improvements. Among them were twenty or so small squares, formed between 1855 and 1868. Somewhat ironically, these had been designed by Alphand to recreate the spirit of the squares of

1. Robinson W. Parks & Gardens of Paris. p.111

2. ibid.

London's West End, in order to please and remind the Emperor, Napoleon III, of his sojourn in England. Typical were the Square de la Tour St Jacques (1855), the Square des Arts et Metiers (1863), and the Square des Batignoles (1862). They were anything but English and they were all open to the public.

Playing on a spirit of national competition, Robinson quoted a correspondent's opinion that the effect of these Parisian open spaces among the most crowded parts of the city would be to produce a future race of Frenchmen who would be excellent soldiers, farm labourers and factory workers. Robinson ended his polemic with the following plea to his own countrymen:

"Parks for play and exercise, and beautiful garden scenery let us have by all means; but our great want is the smaller open spaces called squares, and wide roads planted with trees." <sup>1</sup>

Octavia Hill was more restrained in her criticism of the privileged Westenders. She hoped that they would soon realise that:

"during August and September not one in fifty of their families is in town, and that it is a rather awful responsibility to lock up the only little bit of earth which is unbuilt over, which is within reach of the very old, the very feeble or the very young." <sup>2</sup>

To her the question of access was no more than a matter of providing adequate supervision, and she had had sufficient practical experience to know that Robinson's suggestion of removing the

1. Robinson W. ibid p. 121

2. Hill O. Our Common Land op cit pp 137-138

railings would merely court other problems. All her own playgrounds and open spaces were railed and provided with a gatekeeper for their own protection. In some instances like Leicester Square where the space was large enough, she felt that unrestricted public access would be possible if a full-time attendant was provided, while admission to smaller grounds might be given to certain numbers by tickets placed in the hands of guardians, schoolmasters, clergymen, Bible-women and district visitors.<sup>1</sup>

By the early years of the present century, many of the London square gardens had been made fully accessible to the public,<sup>2</sup> often by default through the change from residential to commercial usage of the surrounding property. In Glasgow, the most important of these was George Square, (Figure 56); in 1876 the railings were removed and it received the kind of treatment advocated by Robinson. In Edinburgh however, there were few such changes, as most of the New Town square gardens remained, as we have seen, in residential usage.

Octavia Hill's battles on behalf of London's commons and larger parks have tended to overshadow her achievements in the provision of more minor open spaces. To her detractors the latter were merely acts of misplaced piety, like the flowers distributed

1. ibid p 112

2. No adequate account of these transfers has yet been published. Several, including Leicester Square had been opened before 1890, and by December 1891 The Metropolitan Public Gardens Association had marked down a further eighteen for suggested opening, including Golden Sq. Soho Sq. Finsbury Sq. Belgrave Sq. Eaton Sq. and a number of smaller squares in the East End among the latter were York Sq(Stepney), Bridgewater Sq. (Barbican), & Vernon Sq. (Clerkenwell). Red Lion Square was handed over to the LCC in 1895. All these are barely mentioned in contemporary accounts. Beresford Chancellor's History of the Squares of London (1907) is little more than a snob's vade mecum. Cecil's London Parks and Gardens (1907) has only one very sketchy chapter on the squares. Other accounts by Cole (1877) and Larwood (1881) are too early, while William Robinson in later life does not appear to have followed up his interest in the subject, at least in print.

by her lady rent collectors, or Canon Barnett's Whitechapel Gallery, with its pictures for the workers

"as good as sermons..."

But it was rather too easy to mock the improving spirit which brought her to blazon in mosaic across one of her garden boundary walls, Herbert's lines:

"All may have,  
If they dare a glorious life or grave."

If anyone doubted that she sought merely to provide an uplifting prettiness, they had only to attend one of her public lectures and listen to her scourge officialdom, or to exhort her audience to unstinting support, and to appeal to the owners of the open lands around London to set aside generous amounts for the recreation of future generations.

Her energy was astonishing. She campaigned to have the fifty seven acres of London's School Board playgrounds opened to the children at weekends. She took children for country excursions or rowing on the lake at Regents Park and she organised country holidays for them. She called on the wealthy with large gardens to have flower shows and garden parties for the poor. She promoted and carried through many improvements, like the tree planting of the Mile End Road, and larger works like the conversion to public spaces of the disused burial grounds at Drury

FIGURE 61 :  
Open Space Improvements in London by M. P. G. A. 1882-1891.

INDEX TO MAP, SHOWING WORK DONE, 1882-1891.

Work Completed.

- 1 Playground on site of Horsemonger Lane Gaol, S.E.
2 Ebury Square, Pimlico, S.W.
3 Anonbury Square, N.
4 Carlton Square, Mile End, E.
5 St. Bartholomew's Churchyard, Bethnal Green, E.
Christ Church Garden, Battersea, S.W.
Trafalgar Square, E.
East London Cemetery, E.
Northampton Square, Clerkenwell, E.O.
Wilmington Square, Clerkenwell, W.O.
Spa Fields, Clerkenwell, E.C.
St. Paul's Garden and Playground, Rotherhithe, S.E.
Holy Trinity Churchyard, Rotherhithe, S.E.
St. Philip's Garden, Old Kent Road, S.E.
Red Lion Square, W.C.
Lower Grosvenor Gardens, S.W. (open during the summer).
St. Mary-le-Strand disused Burial-ground, Drury Lane, W.O.
St. Paul's Churchyard, Shadwell, E.
St. John-at-Hackney Churchyard, E.
Ravensbourne Recreation Ground, Deptford, S.E.
St. James' Churchyard, Bermondsey, S.E.
Haverstock Hill Playground, N.W.
Holy Trinity Churchyard, Mile End, E.
Winthrop Street Playground, Whitechapel, E.
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields Churchyard, S.W.
St. Clement's Ground, Notting Hill, W.
St. George's Churchyard, Camberwell, S.E.
St. Dunstan's Churchyard, Stepney, E.
St. Anne's Churchyard, Limehouse, E.
All Saints' Ground, Notting Hill, W.
St. Silas' Ground, Pentonville, N.
The Tower Garden, E.
Edward Square, Islington, N.
St. Alban's Ground, Fulham, S.W.
Trinity Congregational Chapel Ground, Poplar, E.
Myatt's Fields, Camberwell, S.E.
St. Alphege Churchyard, Greenwich, S.E.
St. Clement's Ground, Fulham, S.W.
Barnsbury Square, N.
Labour paid for at Paddington St. Churchyard, W., seats given, and £186.
Labour paid for at St. Mary's Churchyard, Lewisham, S.E., and 24 seats.
Labour paid for at St. John's, Haggerston, E.
Labour paid for at St. John's, Waterloo Road, S.E., £4 for Gymnasium, six seats given, and £6.
Labour paid for at St. George-the-Martyr, Southwark, S.E., and six seats.
Labour paid for at the Lock Burial-ground, Borough, S.E., and six seats.
Labour paid for at Putney Old Burial-ground, S.W., and twelve seats.
Labour paid for at Muswell Hill, N.
Labour paid for in improvement of Putney Lower Common, S.W.
Labour paid for in improvement of Wandsworth Common, S.W.
Labour paid for at Finsbury Polytechnic, E.C.
Labour paid for at Whitechapel Working Lads' Institute, E.
Labour paid for in Tree-planting in Kennington Park Road, S.E.
£100 given to Vestry for Tree-planting in Kennington Park Road, S.E.
£100 given to Vestry for Tree-planting in Clerkenwell, E.C.
Twenty Trees planted in Mile End Road, E.
Seventeen Trees planted in Breakspare Road, Brockley, S.E.
Three Trees planted, and three seats placed, Marlborough Square, S.W.
Labour paid for at West Hackney Churchyard, E.
Labour paid for at St. George's-in-the-East Churchyard, E., and seats.
Three seats at St. Michael's, South Bromley, E.

- 122 Blackfriars Bridge Gardens, laid out at suggestion of Association.
123 Bunhill Fields, opened at suggestion of Association.
124 Opening of St. George's Churchyard, Bayswater Road, at suggestion of Association.
125 Preservation of disused Burial-ground, Cartwright Street, E.
126 Building stopped on disused Burial-ground, Peel Grove, E.
127 Building stopped on disused Burial-ground, Mill Yard, E.
128 Assistance given to Local Committee re Highgate Woods, N.
129 Assistance given to Local Committee re Kilburn Park, N.W.
130 Assistance given to Local Committee re Little Scrubbs, W.
131 Preservation of Trees belonging to London County Council.
132 Negotiations in respect of Holy Trinity Garden, Gray's Inn Road, W.O.
133 Negotiations in respect of the opening of the Enclosures in Regent's Park.
134 Assistance given to Vestry for Open Space, Piccadilly Circus.
135 Plan supplied for Benjamin Street Garden, E.C.
136 Seats placed in St. John's Wood Chapel Garden, at suggestion of Association.
137 Successful opposition to Paris' Railway Bill.
138 Successful opposition to appropriation of part of Barnes Common.
139 Successful opposition to appropriation of the Battersea Lachmere Allotment Lands, S.W.
140 Successful opposition to fair on Whitfield's Tabernacle disused Burial-ground, W.C.
141 Successful opposition to provisions of Midland Railway Bill.
142 Negotiations respecting Shortlands and Nunhead Railway Bill.
143 Successful opposition to Post Office (Prison Sites) Bill.
144 Site secured for Pottery Lane Recreation Ground, W.
145 Ground for football secured on Hampstead Heath, N.W.
146 Successful opposition to appropriation of part of St. James' Churchyard, Hampstead Road, N.W.
147 Opposition to the provisions of the Charterhouse Bill.
148 Negotiations in respect of St. Luke's Churchyard, Chelsea, S.W.
149 Opposition to appropriation of part of Shepherd's Bush Green, W.
150 Negotiations respecting Ravenscourt Park, W.
151 Opposition to building on Mount Street Burial-ground, W.
152 Negotiations respecting Clissold Park, N.
153 Opposition to Brickton Market Bill.
154 Seats placed round garden where Channing's Statue stands, at suggestion of Association.
155 Seats placed in Staple Inn Garden, at suggestion of Association.
156 Conversion of Main Drainage Embankment into a public promenade, promoted by Association.
157 Open Space by New Law Courts, laid out at suggestion of Association.
158 £200 granted towards securing North Woolwich Gardens, E.
159 Opening of Christ Church, Newgate, Burial-ground in King Edward Street, at suggestion of Association.
160 Trees planted in All Saints' Ground, Haggerston, E.
161 Trees planted in St. Jude's Ground, Bethnal Green, E.
162 Trees planted in New Gravel Pit Unitarian Church Ground, Hackney, E.
163 Trees planted in Old Gravel Pit Chapel Ground, Hackney, E.
164 Trees planted in St. Michael's Ground, South Bromley, E.
165 Trees planted in Brunwick Chapel Ground, Wapping, E.
166 Trees planted in Brunwick Chapel Ground, Limehouse, E.
167 Trees planted in St. Stephen's Ground, Poplar, S.E.
168 Trees planted in City Road Baptist Chapel Ground, F.C.
169 Trees planted in St. Philip's Ground, Clerkenwell, E.C.
170 Trees planted in St. Andrew's Ground, West Kensington, W.
171 Trees planted in St. Andrew's Ground, Kensal New Town.
172 Trees planted in St. Andrew's Ground, Fulham, S.W.
173 Trees planted in Stockwell Road Congregational Chapel Ground, S.W.
174 Trees planted in East Street Baptist Chapel Ground, Walworth, S.E.
175 Trees planted in St. Philip's Ground, Kennington, S.E.
176 Trees planted in Christ Church Ground, Rotherhithe, S.E.
177 Trees planted in West End Chapel Ground, Hammersmith.
178 Trees planted in Wesleyan Chapel Ground, Chesterfield Street, W.O.

Offers and Suggestions made by the Association, but not as yet considered practicable by Trustees, etc.

- Opening of Triangle, Columbia Market, E.
Formation of a Cricket-ground, East Hampstead Heath, N.W.
Placing of Seats outside Orme Square, W.
Planting Trees in Rotherhithe, S.E.
Offer of Labour in laying out of Highbury Fields, N.
Opposition to building a wall on Cross Bones Burial-ground, S.E.
Opposition to building on St. George-the-Martyr Burial-ground, W.O.
Opening of Stationers' Hall Court, E.C.
Opening of Triangle by St. Thomas' Hospital, S.E.
Opening of St. Philip's Ground, Kennington, S.E.
Opening of St. Mary Abbots disused Burial-ground, Kennington, W.
Preservation of Forecours in Euston Road.
Preservation of Open Space, Hemming's Row, S.W.
Seats on the South side of St. George's Chapel, Bayswater Road.
Seats in space adjoining Old Street Chapel, E.C.
Opening of St. James' Churchyard, Pentonville, N.
Opening of Goldington Crescent, N.W.
Formation of a Recreation-ground, in the Isle of Dogs, E.
Formation of a Playground in Oscar Street, Deptford, S.E.
Opening of the Rolls Yard, E.O.
Seats at St. George's Circus, S.E.
Offer of Labour for laying out Cricket-ground, Primrose Hill.
Seats in space adjoining Congregational Chapel, Greenwich Road.
Opening of Roman Catholic Ground, Wade's Place, Poplar.
Opening of central space in Columbia Market, E., as a playground.
Opening of St. Olave's Churchyard, Hart Street, E.C.
Opening of Soho Square, W.
Opening of Walcot Square, S.E.
Opening of St. Mary's Square, S.E.
Opening of Trinity Square, E.
Opening of Finsbury Square, E.C.
Opening of Queen's Square, W.O.
Opening of disused Burial-ground, Prince's Square, E.
Opening of disused Burial-ground, St. Matthew, Brixton, S.W.
Opening of disused Burial-ground, St. Matthias, Poplar, E.
Opening of disused Burial-ground, Mazonpode, Southwark, S.E.
Preservation of disused Burial-ground of St. Thomas' Hospital, Southwark.
Opening of Knightsbridge Green, S.W.
Formation of Playground, N., or placing Seats outside it.
Laying of Seats outside Bedford Chapel, W.O.
Laying of Seats on Stamford Hill, N.
Laying of Seats in Basinghall Street, E.O.
Laying of Seats in Kennington Road, S.E.
Offer of Labour for laying out Cricket-ground, Primrose Hill.
Opening of disused Burial-ground, Wycliffe Chapel, Stepney, E.
Opening of Grayville Square, E.C.

- 179 Improvements in St. Anne's Place, Thorburn Square, S.E.
Trees planted at the People's Palace, E.
180 Eight Seats placed in Harrow Road, W.
181 Trees and Seats on Embankment at Putney, S.W.
182 Three Trees planted on Triangle in Bayswater Road, W.
183 Trees planted in Roads in London "over the border."
184 Flower-beds placed in Trafalgar Square, S.W.
185 Shrubs placed at Piccadilly Circus, S.W.
186 Six Seats placed on Putney Hill, S.W.
187 £105 given to Whitechapel Public Swimming Bath.
188 £10 given for a Gymnasium at St. Stephen's, North Bow.
189 £10 given for a Gymnasium at Shepherd's Bush, W.
190 £10 given for a Gymnasium at St. Clement's, Notting Hill, W.
191 £10 given for a Gymnasium at St. Clement's, Notting Hill, W.
192 Opening on Saturdays of the Highway School Playground, E.
193 Seats placed in St. John's Garden, Horselydown, S.E.
194 Assistance in the preservation and laying out of Open Space, Hamamith, W.
195 Preservation of Open Space, Starb Green, W.
196 Seward Street disused Burial-ground, E.O.
197 St. James' Churchyard, Ratcliff, E.
198 Victoria Docks Congregational Chapel Ground, E.
199 Successful opposition to encroachment on Barnes Common.
200 Successful opposition to appropriation of Euston Square.
201 Negotiations in respect to an enclosed part of Wandsworth Common.
202 Trees placed in a space in Clevehand Street, W.
203 Trees placed in front of the National Gallery.
204 Tree-planting, London Road, Barking, E.
205 Tree-planting, Hammersmith, W.
206 Tree-planting, Mount Pleasant, Holborn.
207 Six Seats, King Street, Hammersmith.
208 Four Seats, Muswell Hill Road.
209 Four Seats for Garden of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, E.O.
210 Seats in Vauxhall Park, S.E.
211 Fifteen Seats for Bermondsey Churchyard, S.E.
212 Negotiations in respect to the Physic Garden, S.W.
213 Grant of £50 and Seats for St. James' Churchyard, Clerkenwell.
214 £10 given for a Gymnasium in Plumstead, S.E.
215 £10 given for a Gymnasium at St. Luke's, Shepherd's Bush, W.
216 Opening of site of Wellington College Mission Church, Walworth, as a Playground.
217 St. Botolph's Ground, Billingsgate, E.C.
218 Two Seats for Southall Churchyard.
219 Twelve seats placed in Uxbridge Road, Ealing.
220 Five seats placed in St. Sepulchre's Churchyard, E.O.
221 Seats placed round Obelisk, Old Street, E.C.
222 Twelve seats placed in St. Leonard's Churchyard, Shoreditch, E.
223 Twelve seats placed on the Customs House Quay, E.C.
224 Opening of the Tower Wharf, and fifteen seats placed there.
225 Temporary opening of St. Katherine Coleman Churchyard, E.O.
226 Preservation of the Bethnal Green Poor's Land, E.
227 Preservation of nine acres in Fulliam Palace Road, S.W.
228 Laying out of the Old Burial-ground, Hackney Road, E.
229 St. Botolph's Churchyard, Aldgate, E.
230 De Beauvoir Square, N.
231 Preservation of Goldsmith Square, E.
232 Opening of the Highgate Road Enclosures, N.
233 Preservation of a part of Telegraph Hill, S.E.
234 Successful opposition to Kennington Park Bill.
235 Successful opposition to Kennington Park Bill.
236 Tree-planting, Plumstead, S.E.
237 Tree-planting, Shoreditch, E., and St. Luke's, E.O.
238 Tree-planting, Paddington, W.
239 Tree-planting, Poplar, E., and Mile End, E.
240 Tree-planting, Wandsworth.
241 Twelve seats granted for thoroughfares, and £100 given for tree-planting in St. Giles' district, W.C.

- Utilization of vacant building sites, Tooley Street, S.E.
Utilization of vacant building sites, Clerkenwell Road, E.O.
Formation of a Playground at West Brompton, S.W.
Formation of a Recreation-ground, Fulham, S.W.
Formation of Playground in Camden Town, N.W.
Formation of Playground, Orb Street, Walworth, S.E.
Formation of Playground, Christ Street, Poplar, E.
Tree-planting in front of the British Museum, W.O.
Opening of St. Michael's Church-ground, York Road, N.
Formation of a Playground in Station Road, Walworth, S.E.
Preservation of a Road in Battersea, S.W.
Seats for streets in the City.
Offer of Seats for Hyde Park Corner, S.W.
Preservation of the Forecours in Marylebone Road, W.
Opening of St. Mary's Churchyard, Stoke Newington, N.
Opening of St. Peter's Churchyard, Walworth, S.E.
Opening of St. John's Churchyard, Wapping, E.
Opening of St. Clement Dance Churchyard, W.O.
Opening of Sidney Square, E.
Opening of Christ Church Churchyard, Blackfriars Road, S.E.
Opening of Nelson Square, S.E.
Opening of Lorraine St., S.E. (now open to many parties).
Opening of The Paragon and Union Crescent, S.E.
Opening of Guy's Hospital disused Burial-ground, S.E.

- 179 Improvements in St. Anne's Ground, Thorburn Square, S.E.
- 180 Trees planted at the People's Palace, E.
- 181 Eight Seats placed in Harrow Road, W.
- 182 Trees and Seats on Embankment at Putney, S.W.
- 183 Three Trees planted on Triangle in Bayswater Road, W.
- 184 Trees planted in Roads in London "over the border."
- 185 Flower-beds placed in Trafalgar Square, S.W.
- 186 Shrubs placed at Piccadilly Circus, S.W.
- 187 Six Seats placed on Putney Hill, S.W.
- 188 £105 given to Whitechapel Public Swimming Bath. /
- 189 £10 given for a Gymnasium at St. Stephen's, North Bow.
- 190 £10 given for a Gymnasium at Shepherd's Bush, W.
- 191 £10 given for Gymnasias at St. Clement's, Notting Hill, W.
- 192 Opening on Saturdays of the Highway School Playground, E.
- 193 Seats placed in St. John's Garden, Horselydown, S.E.
- 194 Assistance in the preservation and laying out of Open Space, Ham'smith, W.
- 195 Preservation of Open Space, Starch Green, W.
- 196 Seward Street disused Burial-ground, E.O.
- 197 St. James' Churchyard, Ratcliff, E.
- 198 Victoria Docks Congregational Chapel Ground, E.
- 199 Successful opposition to encroachment on Barnes Common.
- 200 Successful opposition to appropriation of Euston Square.
- 201 Negotiations in respect to an enclosed part of Wandsworth Common.
- 202 Trees placed in a space in Cleveland Street, W.
- 203 Trees placed in front of the National Gallery.
- 204 Tree-planting, London Road, Barking, E.
- 205 Tree-planting, Hammersmith, W.
- 206 Tree-planting, Mount Pleasant, Holborn.
- 207 Six Seats, King Street, Hammersmith.
- 208 Four Seats, Muswell Hill Road.
- 209 Four Seats for Garden of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, E.O.
- 210 Seats in Vauxhall Park, S.E.
- 211 Fifteen Seats for Bermondsey Churchyard, S.E.
- 212 Negotiations in respect to the Physic Garden, S.W.
- 213 Grant of £50 and Seats for St. James' Churchyard, Clerkenwell.
- 214 £10 given for a Gymnasium in Plumstead, S.E.
- 215 £10 given for a Gymnasium at St. Luke's, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- 216 Opening of site of Wellington College Mission Church, Walworth, as a Playground.
- 217 St. Botolph's Ground, Billingsgate, E.C.
- 218 Two Seats for Southall Churchyard.
- 219 Twelve seats placed in Uxbridge Road, Ealing.
- 220 Five seats placed in St. Sepulchre's Churchyard, E.C.
- 221 Seats placed round Obelisk, Old Street, E.C.
- 222 Twelve seats placed in St. Leonard's Churchyard, Shoreditch, E.
- 223 Twelve seats placed on the Customs House Quay, E.C.
- 224 Opening of the Tower Wharf, and fifteen seats placed there.
- 225 Temporary opening of St. Katherine Coleman Churchyard, E.O.
- 226 Preservation of the Bethnal Green Poor's Land, E.
- 227 Preservation of nine acres in Fulham Palace Road, S.W.
- 228 Laying out of the Old Burial Ground, Hackney Road, E.
- 229 St. Botolph's Churchyard, Aldgate, E.
- 230 De Beauvoir Square, N.
- 231 Preservation of Goldsmith Square, E.
- 232 Opening of the Highgate Road Enclosures, N.
- 233 Preservation of a part of Telegraph Hill, S.E.
- 234 Successful opposition to Alexandra Park Bill.
- 235 Successful opposition to Kensington and Paddington Subway Bill.
- 236 Tree-planting, Plumstead, S.E.
- 237 Tree-planting, Shoreditch, E., and St. Luke's, E.O.
- 238 Tree-planting, Paddington, W.
- 239 Tree-planting, Poplar, E., and Mile End, E.
- 240 Tree-planting, Wandsworth.
- 241 Twelve seats granted for thoroughfares, and £100 given for tree-planting in St. Giles' district, W.C.

- 242 Twelve seats granted for St. Giles' Churchyard, W.C.
- 243 Improvement of Cricket Grounds, Regent's Park.
- 244 Preservation of Forecourts, Pentonville Road, N.
- 245 Opposition to new roads across Hampstead Heath.
- 246 Grant for Shrubs, Regent's Circus.

### Unfinished Work of the Association;

and offers and suggestions at present under consideration.



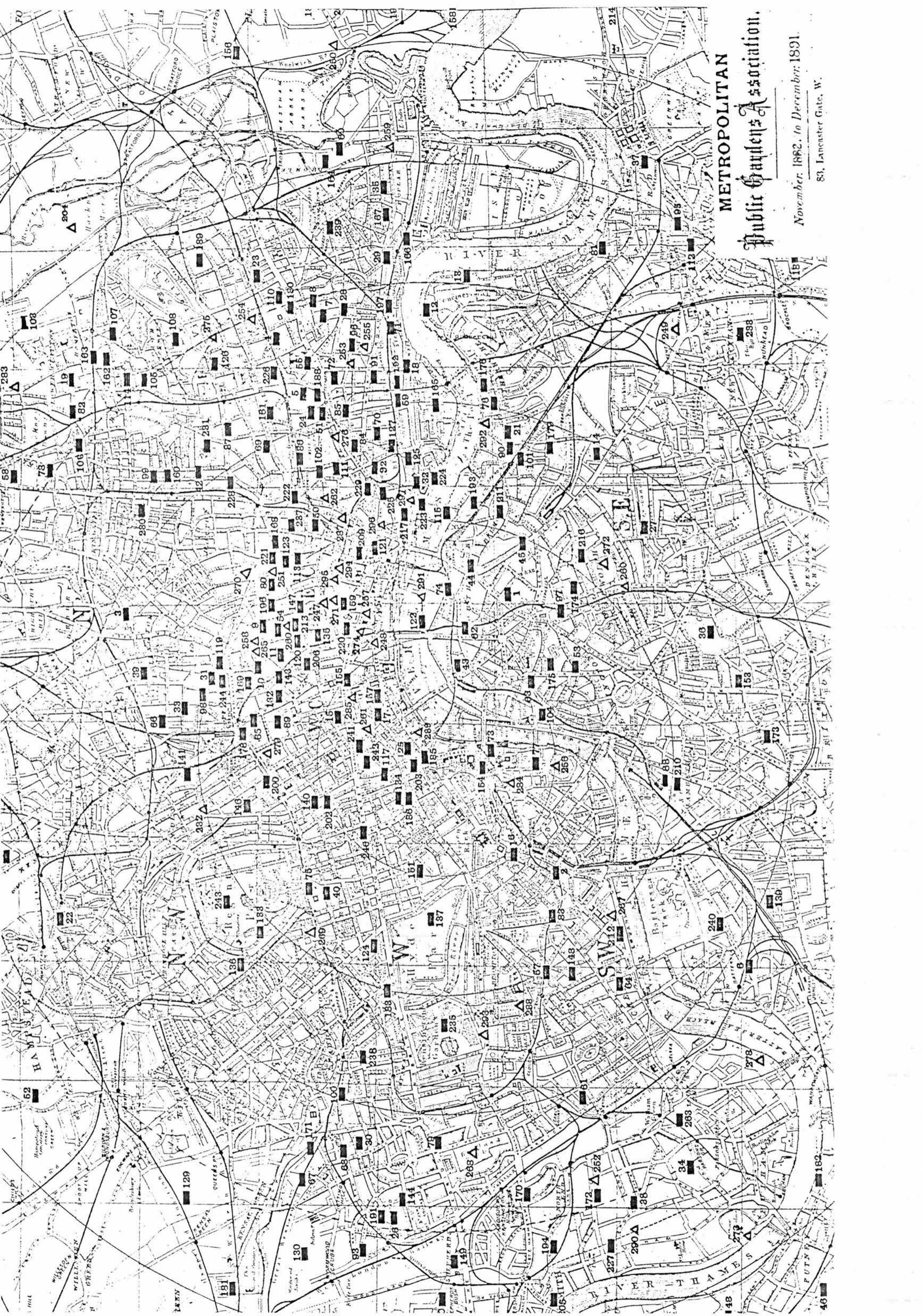
- 247 Laying out of St. Bartholomew-the-Great disused Burial-ground, E.O.
- 248 Laying out of St. Bride's Churchyard, E.C.
- 249 Laying out of a Recreation-ground at New Cross, S.E.
- 250 Laying out of a Chapel-ground in Canning Town, E.
- 251 Laying out of Bartholomew Square, E.C.
- 252 Laying out of St. Andrew's-ground, Fulham, S.W.
- 253 Laying out of Bedford Square, E.
- 254 Laying out of Victoria Park Cemetery, E.
- 255 Opening of Arbour Square, E.
- 256 Preservation as Open Space of part of the site of Millbank Prison.
- 257 Preservation as Open Space of part of the site of Newgate Prison.
- 258 Preservation as Open Space of Green Terrace, Clerkenwell, W.C.
- 259 Opening of All Saints' Ground, Poplar, E.
- 260 Enlargement of St. James' Ground, Clerkenwell, E.C.
- 261 Improvement of St. Martin's Ground, Drury Lane, E.C.
- 262 Opening of Christ Church Ground, Spitalfields, E.
- 263 Laying out of St. Peter's Church Ground, Fulham, S.W.
- 264 Securing of the Hackney Marshes, E.
- 265 Opening out of Reservoir in Clerkenwell.
- 266 Preservation of Hilly Fields, Lewisham, S.E.
- 267 Preservation of Gordon House Grounds, Chelsea, S.W.
- 268 Preservation of Holland Park, W.
- 269 Formation of a Boulevard in Marylebone and Euston Roads.
- 270 Opening of the Oval, City Road, E.C.
- 271 Maintenance of St. Botolph's Garden, Aldersgate Street, E.C.
- 272 Opening of Molesworth Square, S.E.
- 273 Improvement of the Bishop's Mead and Walk, Fulham, S.W.
- 274 Preservation of a part of the site of the Farringdon Market, E.O.
- 275 Opening of St. James-the-Less Ground, Bethnal Green, E.
- 276 Offer of trees for Whitechapel Road.
- 277 Seats offered for proposed Recreation-ground, Acton, W.
- 278 Preservation of Fulham Town Meadows or Lammas Land.
- 279 Preservation of Site of Poplar Place, W.C.
- 280 Offer of seats for Norwood Road.
- 281 Opening of enclosed parts of Wandsworth Common, S.W.
- 282 Preservation of Fields at Clapton, E.
- 283 Preservation of Open Space and Pond, Clapton Road.
- 284 Preservation of the Grounds of Emmanuel Hospital, Westminster, S.W.
- 285 Opening of Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
- 286 Opening of a plot of Land adjoining Tooting Bec Common, S.W.
- 287 Opening of St. Botolph's Ground, Bishopsgate, E.C.
- 288 Offer of seats and trees for Cromwell Road, S.W.
- 289 Enlargement of Charing Cross Embankment Gardens.
- 290 Laying out of St. Augustine's Ground, Lillie Road, S.W.
- 291 Formation of Gymnasium, Southwark, S.E.
- 292 Formation of Playground, Bermondsey, S.E.
- 293 Offer of seats outside Park Railings.
- 294 Opening of St. Olave's Churchyard, Silver Street, E.C.
- 295 Opening of St. Mary Staining Ground, Oat Lane, E.C.
- 296 Opening of St. Gabriel's Churchyard, Fen Court, E.O.
- 297 Preservation of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, Churchyard, E.C.

### acticable by Trustees, etc.

- Place, W.C.
- iccadilly, S.W.
- ill, W.C.
- ean, E.C.
- pplegate, E.O. (partly open).
- ground, Bromley, E.
- Lower Clapton, E.
- ard, Walham Green, S.W.
- ground, Camberwell, S.E.
- Islington, N.
- E.
- Churchyard, S.W.
- S.E.
- Churchyards, Lee, S.E.
- hnal Green, E.
- et, E.
- und, Whitechapel, E.
- oad, Bromley, E.
- a Meadows, E.

- Utilization of vacant building sites, Tooley Street, S.E.
- Utilization of vacant building sites, Clerkenwell Road, E.C.
- Formation of a Playground at West Brompton, S.W.
- Formation of a Recreation-ground, Fulham, S.W.
- Formation of Playground in Camden Town, N.W.
- Formation of Playground, Orb Street, Walworth, S.E.
- Formation of Playground, Chrisp Street, Poplar, E.
- Tree-planting in front of the British Museum, W.C.
- Opening of St. Michael's Church-ground, York Road, N.
- Formation of a Playground in Station Road, Walworth, S.E.
- Preservation of a Road in Battersea, S.W.
- Seats for streets in the City.
- Offer of Seats for Hyde Park Corner, S.W.
- Preservation of the Forecourts in Marylebone Road, W.
- Opening of St. Mary's Churchyard, Stoke Newington, N.
- Opening of St. Peter's Churchyard, Walworth, S.E.
- Opening of St. John's Churchyard, Wapping, E.
- Opening of St. Clement Danes' Churchyard, W.C.
- Opening of Sidney Square, E.
- Opening of Christ Church Churchyard, Blackfriars Road, S.E.
- Opening of Nelson Square, S.E.
- Opening of Lorrivore Sq., S.E. (now open to many parishioners. &c.)
- Opening of The Paragon and Union Crescent, S.E.
- Opening of Guy's Hospital disused Burial-ground, S.E.

- Opening of Golden Square, W.
- Acquisition of Wilkinson's Nursery-ground, Bow, E.
- Seats for All Saints' Churchyard, Fulham, S.W.
- Opposition to enclosure of part of Wormwood Scrubbs, W.
- Opposition to erection of Ventilators in Embankment Gardens.
- Autumnal opening of Belgrave Square, S.W.
- Autumnal opening of Eaton Square, S.W.
- Autumnal opening of Chester Square, S.W.
- Autumnal opening of Eccleston Square, S.W.
- Autumnal opening of St. George's Square, S.W.
- Opening of Beaumont Square, E.
- Formation of Bathing Place, Battersea Park, S.W.
- Formation of Cricket-ground, Kensington Gardens, W.
- Opening of Triangle, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- Tree-planting, Chalk Farm Road, N.W.
- Improvements in Victoria Town Garden.
- Opening of College Churchyard, Borough, S.E.
- Improvements in Poplar Recreation ground, E.
- Opening of the Long Lane Burial-grounds, Bermondsey, S.E.
- Tree-planting, Deptford Green, S.E.
- Opening of Peel Grove disused Burial-ground, E.
- Seats for High Street and Marlow Road Kensington, W.
- Seats outside Park Railings and in Mile End Road.
- Offer of Seats for Mount Pleasant, Holborn, W.C.



**METROPOLITAN**  
**Public Gardens Association.**

November, 1882, to December, 1891.

83, Lancaster Gate, W.

Lane, Bishopsgate, and St. George in the East.<sup>1</sup>

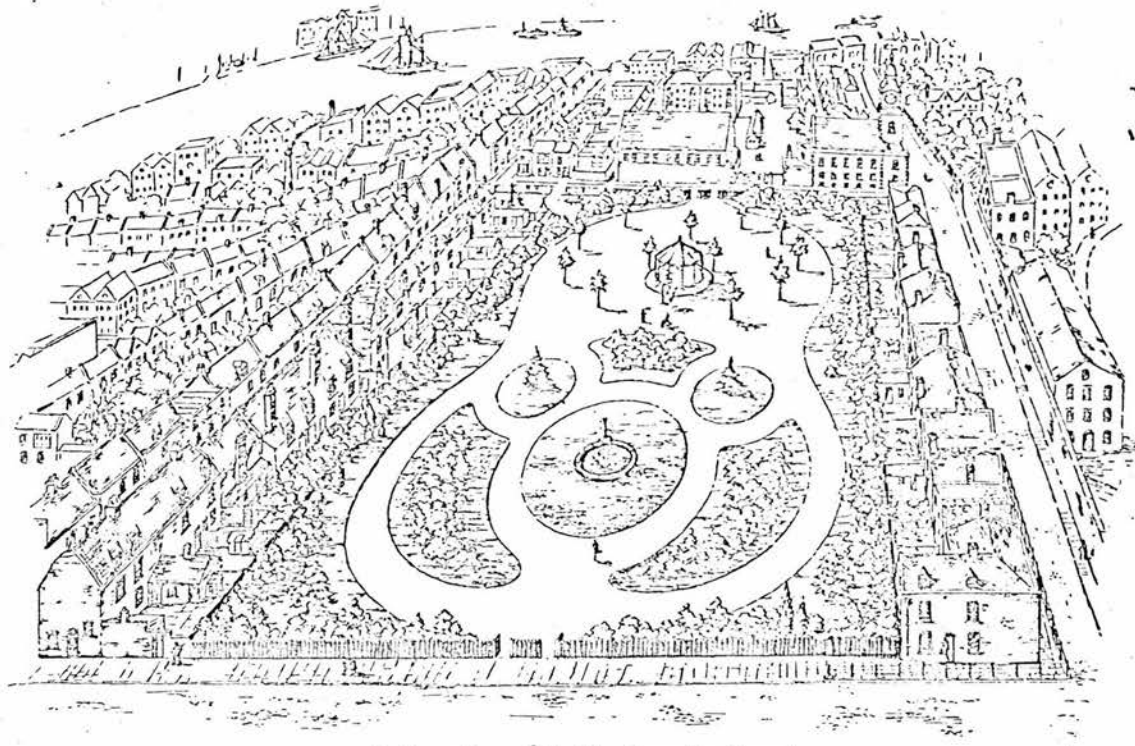
The natural outcome of her prodigious advocacy was the formation in 1882<sup>2</sup> of the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association under the Chairmanship of the Earl of Meath. Like the National Trust, and also many earlier local park improvement trusts<sup>3</sup> it came into being to administer funds subscribed by well-wishers. Within nine years it had contributed to the improvement of nearly three hundred of London's smaller open spaces in the central metropolitan area, (Figure 61)

Among the works funded by the Association were the full cost of laying out many new spaces and also disused burial grounds; much of this work was actually carried out by the Kyle Society, founded by Octavia Hill's sister Miranda,

"to bring beauty to the haunts of the poor"  
and in emulation of the Man of Ross.<sup>4</sup> Other funds were used to meet the cost of employing supervisors to keep open school playgrounds on Saturdays, and to mount campaigns against threatened commons inclosures and railway intrusions. While still other works were concerned with planting or equipping, and with providing children's gymnasia.

The Association continues to this day to champion open space improvement in London, but in its early days in particular, it acted

1. Hill O. Our Common Land op.cit. pp 137-138
2. Not 1883 as given by Chadwick in The Park & the Town: Octavia Hill was a founding member.
3. A typical example being the Trust set up in 1883 to raise subscriptions to purchase Haugh Park for Inverness. See Nat. Lib. Scot. J. 133 c.i. (1-44)
4. In a lecture given in 1884 (Hill O. Colour, Space & Music for the People pp 7-8) she described this work. Each area was drained, put down to grass and provided with wide paths and a few flowerbeds. Boundary walls were often replaced by railings to improve ventilation, and to allow adjoining houses to have open views. The spaces were then handed back to the parish vestries for caretaking and maintenance. By 1898 over sixty churchyards had been opened to the London public.



Bird's-eye View of Wapping Recreation Ground.

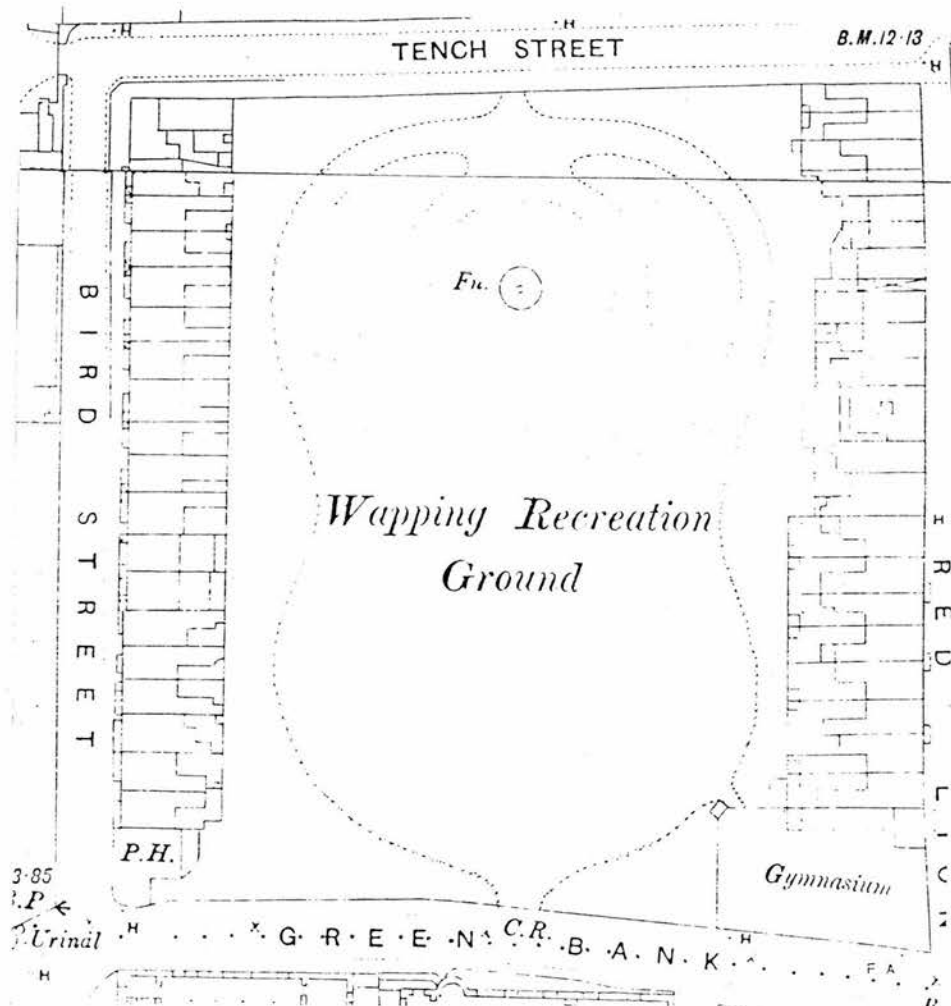
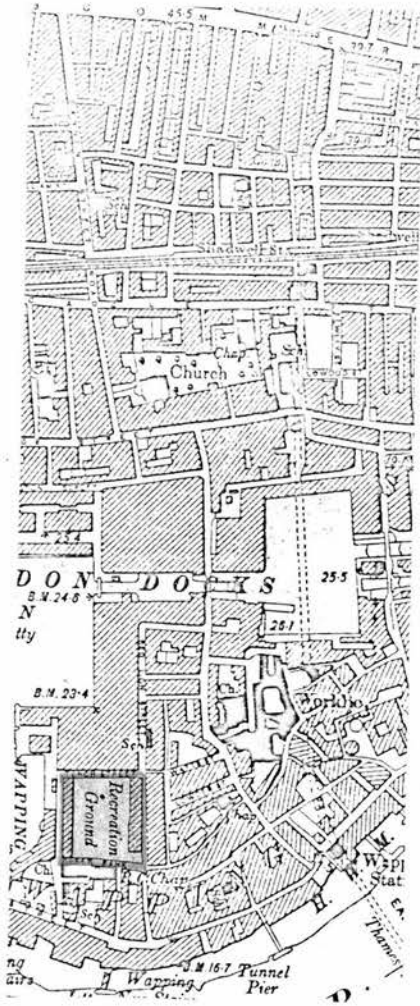


FIGURE 62 :  
 Wapping Recreation Ground  
 larger in scale than Red  
 Cross Gardens , ( Fig 59 ) ,  
 but with many similarities ;  
 front railings to encourage  
 good ventilation ; a bandstand  
 and a gymnasium .

as the conscience of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the indispensable prop and partner of the Board's successor, the London County Council. Very few town gardens would have been achieved by the local authority without their help; Spa Green Gardens perhaps, in Clerkenwell (1889), and a few others by gift, or through exchanges with property developers, but otherwise little except Wapping Recreation Ground. (Figure 62).

The latter was created by one of the first of the painfully slow and expensive slum clearances carried out under the 1875 Artizans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act. It consisted of two and a half acres of dockland housing, cleared at a cost of £52,000.<sup>1</sup> The original intention as required by the Act had been to build improved housing, but working class accommodation was an increasingly poor speculation<sup>2</sup> and no developer came forward. Authority was, therefore, given under the 1889 Metropolitan Improvements Act to form it into a recreation ground. It was opened two years later, most of the space being put down in gravelled walks, and with a bandstand, gymnasium and planting very much as at Glasgow's Phoenix Recreation Ground (Figure 62b). Many ratepayers must have considered its provision, bearing in mind the cost of clearance, to have been a wicked extravagance.

In spite of their critics such town gardens did help to alleviate

1. Almost as much as it cost to purchase the 32 acres of Ravenscourt Park, Hammersmith, in 1887. See Sexby J.J. op cit pp 615-620.
2. For an account of the dwindling returns to be had from working class housing, see Tarn J. Working Class Housing in Nineteenth Century Britain. London 1971 pp 44-50

the effects of overcrowding among those poorest housed. They might not have provided the moral uplift Octavia Hill had intended, but they were certainly used as she had hoped by the ragged street children as

"summer nurseries, playrooms, sittingrooms and diningrooms...."<sup>1</sup>

Women did bring their work baskets to sit there in comfort, and at least some of the men preferred to bring their dinners there instead of going to the pub. But the general attitude of all these town sparrows born and bred, must have been similar to that of the Tynesider who once remarked to Canon Barnett:

"My children look out onto seventy six chimney pots, and they're a fine lot." <sup>2</sup>

At the very least these town gardens did them no harm.



FIGURE 63 :  
Punch satirizing Octavia Hill's  
"flower power". The drawing  
is titled :  
" Elgaics concerning possible  
Elysia for the city children "

In his Parks and Gardens of Paris, Robinson was critical of:

"several small spaces and squares opened of late in London," <sup>1</sup>

which he felt had been too much put down to flower beds and elaborate gardening, at the expense of space for children to play. It is unlikely that he was referring to Octavia Hill's work, although she herself complained on occasions that her superintendants were

"a little inclined to think more of the flowers than of those for whom they were planted... it is less trouble to have playgrounds empty than full, but they hardly fulfil their purpose so." <sup>2</sup>

It must also at times have been difficult imposing a discipline upon the generosity of well-intentioned supporters. One gave an aviary, another a fountain, another a summerhouse, while others gave presents of trees, shrubs and bulbs, or seats, or periodicals to be lent by the gatekeepers.

All this now seems so much like the Good Lady Bountiful stepping forward as Dickens' Esther Summerson, or dressed up as Flora and parodied by Punch, (Figure 63), that we perhaps hesitate to accept Octavia Hill's understanding of what she sought to achieve. Her achievements were real enough, although seldom matching her expectations. Real understanding and communication with the poor remained limited and uneasy, and Canon Barnett, during a lifetime of such work, begun as an assistant of Octavia Hill, and continued

1.       ibid p. 126.

2.       Ouvry E.     Op cit p.21

with his wife Henrietta, truthfully summarised the position in commenting that:

"As a rule the poor are not entertained as other guests are. Their bodies are fed, and perhaps they are made to laugh, but all that higher nature which longs for company, is uncared for." <sup>1</sup>

His wife illustrated the difficulties with the following account of their work at the Wentworth Street Playground:

"The playground with its swings and giant slide is growing into popularity; and the more as tar paving has by means of a grant from the Kyrle Society, been substituted for the gravel which hurt naked or badly shod feet. It is a matter of time though, to teach children that there is more fun to be found in an open space than in the sights of the crowded street. I wish more young children able to play, would come to our playground to show the children how to do so..." <sup>2</sup>

And later, on a more hazardous occasion:

"We had gone to the playground with some helpful young people to give the children a good time... but as we started, a crowd of the abandoned girls of the neighbourhood with their "chaps" came in, pushed the children aside, and rushed into lawless dancing. A Bacchanalian scene ensued. We tried talking, Mr Barnett to the lads, I to the girls, but excited evil was in the ascendancy and they would not desist. So the band was stopped, the playground cleared, and the gate locked, and he and I started to go home... But the street was full of angry people who so blocked the pathway that we had to walk in the road. They howled and they hooted and threw stones, at first a few, then many..." <sup>3</sup>

1. Barnett H. op cit. p. 157

2. ibid.

3. ibid pp 141-142

In spite of these difficulties, the provision of play grounds in deprived areas was taken up vigorously not just by the MPGA but also as we have seen by the National Playing Fields Association , (p. 58). Apart from providing substantial funds, the NPFA took the initiative in extending Octavia Hill's play leadership ideas. In 1936 the Association commented that

"it is part of the work of a playleader to make a playground a magnetic force to draw children away from the dangers and excitements of the streets." <sup>1</sup>

and it was instrumental in having included in the Education Act (1944) a section allowing local authorities to train and employ playleaders.

In a curious way all of these supervised town gardens may be seen as the direct descendants of the playground provided by Robert Owen in front of his New Institution for the Formation of Character, at New Lanark. In 1814 he had described this enclosure as:

"intended as a playground for the children of the village , from the time they can walk alone until they enter the school.... they are to be superintended by a person properly instructed... The area is.... to be a place of meeting for the children from 5 to 10 years of age, previous to and after school hours, and to serve for a drill-ground..... where local circumstances admit, a shade should be formed, under which in stormy weather the children might retire for shelter." <sup>2</sup>

Owen's self-interest was of course admirably served by this

1. NPFA Playing Fields July-Sept 1975 p. 34

2. Owen R. A New View of Society op. cit pp 3 - 7

preschool day nursery since it allowed the village housewives to work in his mill, but his interest in education was genuine enough. For him, as for Octavia Hill, recreation was not just a casual activity but a carefully supervised part of a child's education.

Inevitably, the contribution of individuals like the Barnetts, towards meeting the needs of London's poor was daily proved less and less adequate. In the ten years from 1891 the population of London increased by more than a quarter of a million, (p167). The Barnetts found sanctuary from their tiring work in their weekend cottage at Palmer's Green, and it was there appropriately, during long country walks, that the idea of Hampstead Garden Suburb was born. It is tempting to see in this their last venture, a kind of Earthly Paradise created to make up for any sense of failure in their urban missionary work. But this is perhaps too cynical a view.

Henrietta Barnett certainly had few illusions about "doing good". She described it as a pernicious practice, commonly an early infirmity of all noble minds.

"but the young, the weak, the ill, the ignorant, need the influence of a wide sky, a clear air, of flowers and beauty." <sup>1</sup>

There were at least some compensations, like the little girl on a country outing, caught with a bag of gooseberries,

"Have you been buying those in a shop?"

She was asked; and with immense scorn she replied:

"There ain't no gooseberry shops down 'ere." <sup>2</sup>

1. Barnett H. op.cit. p 710

2. ibid p. 181

CHAPTER SIX.  
URBAN MIGRATION.

This Chapter examines two aspects of urban migration during the Nineteenth Century. Both illustrate something of the nature of the flight from the cramped and supposedly insanitary city centre to the outer suburbs and the rural fringe, a flight much influenced by the health arguments discussed in Chapter Two. The first is concerned with the general development of the so called "home colony" concept, and the second is a case study examination of a middle class outer suburban estate and the effect upon it of two shared local open spaces.

HOME COLONY

The mainstream of ideas contributing to modern British town planning has long received the attentions of historians, and it is, therefore, unnecessary to detail the background to the garden city movement, or to the public housing or new town programmes. One tributary of these developments however, of particular interest to attitudes to urban open space has not yet received sufficient attention, and that is the part played by the concept of the "home colony". Since this concept bears closely upon community land provision, it is examined here in some detail, and as a convenient means of helping to place the modern British town planning movement in a general context.

In studying such a complex subject there is an obvious hazard of attributing too much natural progression and orderly development of particular themes to a mere succession of events; and yet in the case of the "home colony", the idea gathered a compelling momentum throughout the nineteenth century which gives strong conviction to the historical process.

The first impulse to the idea lay in the act of emigration as a means of achieving a better life in a new society. It mattered little in principle whether the emigration was overseas or not, for as James Loch in 1820 observed of displaced Highlanders,

"it cost them nearly the same effort to remove from the spot in which they were born.... as it cost them to make an exertion equal to transporting themselves across the Atlantic";<sup>1</sup>

1. Loch J. An account of the Improvements on the Estates of the Marquis of Stafford, 1820 p64, quoted by Jones D. L. in The Background & Motives of Scottish Emigration to the United States of America in the period 1815-1861, Phd. Edinburgh 1970.

and whether at home or abroad, the means of a fresh start raised and renewed hopes - hopes that were expressed in the names New Harmony, New South Wales, Dunedin and so on. As late as the 1880's emigration touts such as William Hay were describing New Zealand as "Brighter Britain", and Trollope in his novel The Fixed Period described the fictitious "Britannula" as the brightest and fairest colony ever to be settled by the British.

Underlying the emigration impulse was a need for land. In the century following the Hanoverian peace, the opportunities of meeting this need became more and more restricted. Sinclair, in his Analysis of the Statistical Account<sup>1</sup> estimated that by 1825 at least one half of the whole hereditary property of the Kingdom, and in Scotland between one third and one fifth of all land, was controlled by entail, that is, restricted by law to a particular line of heirs who had limited rights of sale.<sup>2</sup> Under the settled conditions of the Union and at a time of relative prosperity, with the stimulating of agricultural improvement, land had become a strongly favoured form of investment and its turnover on the open market increasingly limited by entail.

In effect, entail was a convenient device for maintaining the status quo since the possession of land alone conferred voting power and with it, economic opportunity and social prestige.

1. Sinclair Sir J. Analysis of the Statistical Account of Scotland 1826; 244.

2. see Reports of Select Committee on Scotch Entails, p.p. 1828

Saunders<sup>1</sup> noted that society was based on a franchise limited on average to a mere seventy-one voters a county, and of this Adam Smith observed caustically that the supposition that every successive generation did not have an equal right to the soil, was the most absurd of all suppositions.<sup>2</sup>

But in Scotland, the restrictions of entail upon the land market were by no means the only impulse to emigration. In the Highlands, many were displaced for sheep farming purposes under the so-called Clearances. The effects of the Clearances have, however, often been exaggerated. They were merely part, albeit an important part, of a fundamental restructuring of society which inevitably followed the suppression of the private armies of the clans, after the Disarming Act of 1747. Emigration of surplus retainers was unavoidable as the land simply could not offer more than a bare subsistence.

An immediate large-scale exodus was only forestalled by the introduction of the croft system of smallholding, partly supported by the kelp industry. But with the collapse of this industry after 1820, and the increasingly poor returns from the traditional cottage industries, the failure of a grain or potato crop or a poor fishing season drove increasing numbers of Highlanders to choose between emigration and utter destitution. As tenants

1. Saunders L.J. Studies in the Social & Intellectual Background of Scottish Democracy 1815-1840.

2. Smith A. The Wealth of Nations World Classics Edit ii 84 quoted by Saunders.

with no security of tenure, and a diet, if they were lucky, of oatmeal and herring, many could hardly have failed to be swayed by tales of fertile North American land at five dollars an acre, with fruit pies and meat with every meal.<sup>1</sup>

In 1840, Dr. Balfour, after a tour of the Highlands and Islands, reported to the government<sup>2</sup> that over one hundred thousand people were totally destitute, and could only be saved by state-assisted emigration on a large scale. Belatedly this assistance was authorised by Lord Glenelg, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The effect of this situation was generally reflected in statistics of mobility; for in 1841 it was shown that forty percent of the Scottish population of Dumbarton had been born outside the county. Such then was the social background to the experiments of Owen previously mentioned, and others like Wakefield, involved in the problems of resettlement.

One aspect of colonialism which was to have a fundamental influence on town planning, was the idea of salvation by flight to the country. Blake's emotional appeal for the building of a New Jerusalem in a green and pleasant land was made practicable by the railways. Robert Marnock as early as 1836 expressed this promise when he prophesied that:

"Railways... will - we think we may say must - in process of time form a most complete check to the

1. Jones D.L. op cit. p 217

2. Report of Select Committee on Emigration pp. 1841 p 58 also Sinclair Sir J. op cit 1799 xiii 317-318 for earlier details.

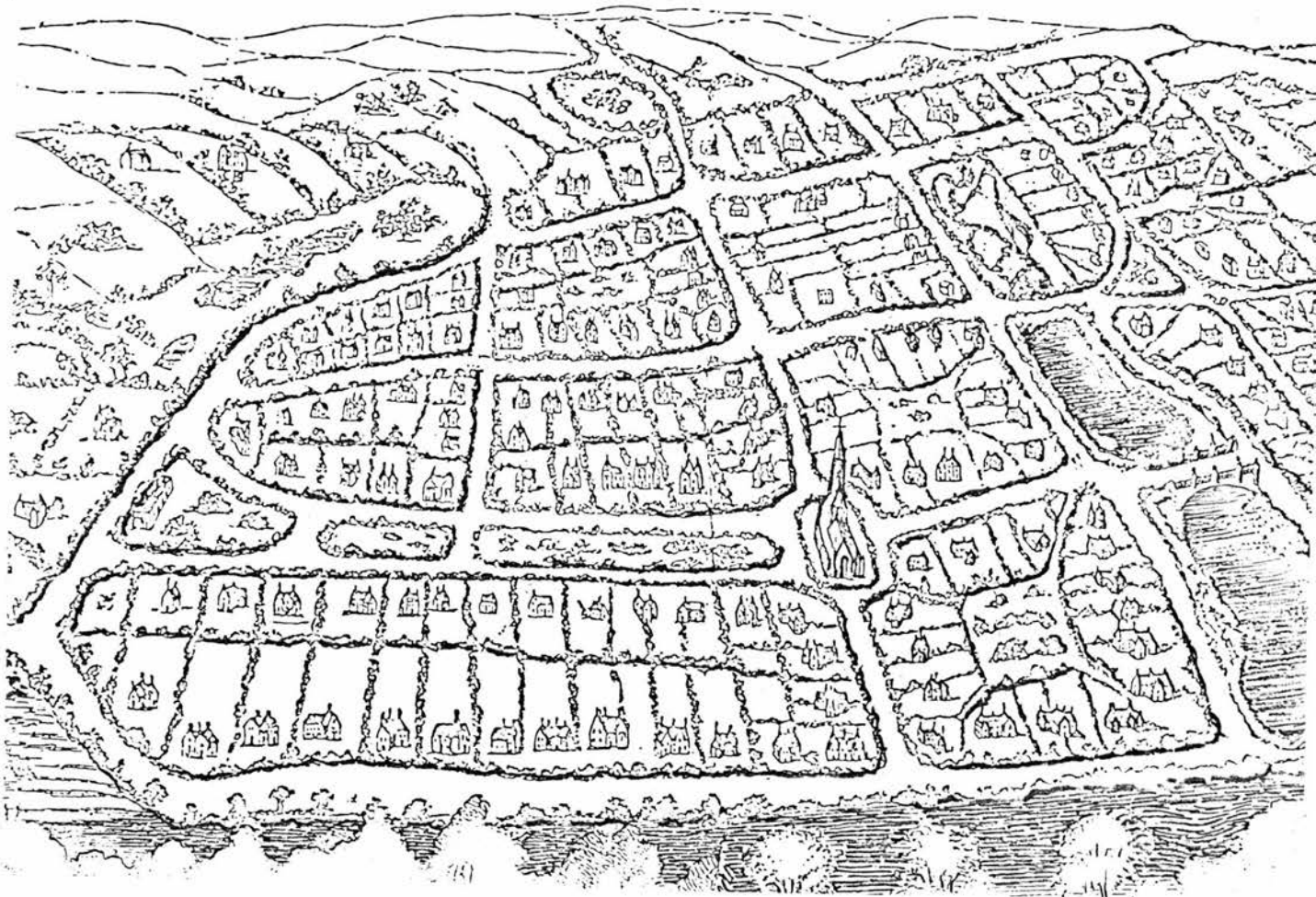


FIGURE 64:  
Proposed railway commuter village  
at Ilford 1840.

rapid extension of manufacturing towns; and instead of the thousands and tens of thousands of human beings who in many large towns are at present . . . . cooped up in hovels where filth, vice and dissipation are under no restraint, begetting results which scorn human control, - many of these hovels will be given up. . . . and their former tenants (select) for themselves, in some distant village on the line of railway, dwellings which, in most cases, shall afford all that is attainable for the improvement of health and morals. That years must elapse before a change of this nature can be extensively felt is certain, but that it will take place. . . we think no one will deny. We therefore view the introduction of railways as the means by which important and desirable changes are to be brought about in society." <sup>1</sup>

It was but a short step from this to proposals for setting up completely new rural colonies served by railways, and these were not long in coming. Among the first was a scheme published in the Edinburgh Gazette for 1848; it proposed to raise a share capital of £250,000 to build a middle class elysium for five thousand people at Ilford, (Figure 64). The new railway was to be its life line and those taking houses were to be entitled to first, second or third class season tickets to and from London, according to the size of their house.

Colonists were to have:

"air and space, wood and water, schools and churches, shrubberies and gardens, around pretty self-contained cottages, in a group neither too large to deprive it of a country character, nor too small to diminish the probabilities of social intercourse."

1. Mamock R. editorial comment, Floricultural Magazine vol 1 1836 p 152.

The Ilford proposal was of course only a colonial dormitory but of a type to become all too familiar.

But it was less easy to make similar proposals for worker colonies. In Liverpool for instance in 1864 it was practicable to build workers' cottages with gardens and to let them for a weekly rent of as little as  $3/8$ , including the railfare to and from the city centre. The Health Committee noted, however, that suburban landowners were reluctant to encourage the construction of such housing lest their tenants should become a charge upon the parish in times of unemployment.<sup>1</sup>

The safe and acceptable colonist remained Edward Kemp's "middleclass town merchant or man of business", able by virtue of the railway,

"to locate himself from ten to twenty or even thirty miles from the town, and thus get the benefit of country air and rural pleasure." <sup>2</sup>

The only acceptable way for the poor to emigrate to the country in any numbers was under the wing of an industrialist. In the absence of any effective government initiative, the deliberate plantation of worker colonies by Akroyd, Salt, Cadbury, Lever and others, established an important precedent in seeking to break with the frustrations of trying to achieve better conditions in existing cities, and in beginning afresh on their own terms.

1. Tarn J. "Housing in Liverpool & Glasgow : The Growth of Civic Responsibility" Town Planning Review, vol 39 no 4 January 1969 p 324.
2. Kemp E. How to lay out a garden 3rd ed. 1864 p 1.

London's suburban growth, stimulated by the railways as Marnock had predicted, but even more so by the tramways, was by the 1890's beginning to cause serious concern. There was a growing sense of helplessness at the sheer physical size of the Wen, and of despair for the means of checking further growth. During the decade of the 'nineties it has been estimated that London grew two fold in size<sup>1</sup> as successive waves of settlers moved further from the centre to a promised but short-lived semi-rural solitude. And on both sides of the Atlantic there was a growing disillusionment with the power of capitalist materialism to level inequalities and to bring happiness and a better life for all in the rough and tumble of free enterprise. In London, Glasgow and the bigger midland cities the questions of urban poverty, unemployment and political unrest began to have an increasingly serious and threatening appearance.

In these circumstances there was a spate of escapist utopian novels. Among them were many lurid fantasies. One, entitled How Glasgow Ceased to Flourish: A Tale of the 1890's described a Russian bombardment of the Clyde followed by mass unemployment, food riots and starvation through a severe winter. Colonisation was eventually proposed as relief from the crisis and

"passages were provided and free transits guaranteed to the fertile districts in the North West (of Canada).

1. In terms of population an increase of 308,224 in a mere ten years . see Census of England & Wales 1901; (63 Vict c4) HMSO 1904 Command 2174

And thus thousands of starving wretches were transferred to a country which only required ordinary industry to produce food in abundance."<sup>1</sup>

As it turned out, this proved to be remarkably prophetic of the civil unrest, unemployment and starvation in Glasgow during the hard winter of 1892-93. But there was no Russian fleet or programme of colonisation, only a public charitable subscription and the presence of the army, hurriedly drafted in at the request of the Lord Provost.<sup>2</sup>

Even in America, the decade 1885-1895 produced over forty utopian novels<sup>3</sup>; and among them, Edward Bellamy's futuristic fantasy Looking Backward: 2000 - 1887. In it Bellamy recast the capitalist society of Boston into a cooperative, organised as an industrial army;

"citizens" he said, discard their personal belongings which have ceased to express their personalities, and invest instead in architecture, sculpture, landscape gardens, and other public symbols."<sup>4</sup>

Ebenezer Howard read the book in the American edition and was instrumental in having it published in London. It was Bellamy's belief in an equalitarian society that fired Howard's own faith in a socialist home colony in the form of a garden city.

1. Anon. op cit Glasgow 1884 p 63. By this time there had been of course much emigration from Glasgow to Canada, stimulated by men like William Coia. Coia's work, however, was concerned with the placing of orphans and abandoned waifs on Canadian farms, rather than with general emigration.
2. Letters Town Clerk to Mr. Campbell Bannerman, Undersecretary of State at War Office, December 2 & 22nd 1892. Glasgow City Archives.
3. Fisher D. : Home Colony. An Experiment in Anarchism Phd. Edinburgh 1971 p 36.
4. Bellamy. op cit, London 1888 p 65.

Howard, however, was not alone in his faith, for during the 1890's there was an increasing consensus that home colony settlements offered the most promising means of checking urban poverty and uncontrolled urban growth.<sup>1</sup> General Booth of the Salvation Army contributed greatly to this debate. He expressed sympathy for the ideas of Bellamy, and also with Henry George's land tax proposals, but as a pragmatist, in daily touch with the worst problems of London's poor, he wanted an immediate and not a visionary solution - and he saw it in a system of colonisation.

In 1890 he published his ideas in In Darkest England and the Way Out. His plan was to assist the three hundred thousand in London who were living on less than subsistence wages -

"the submerged tenth"

as he called them - by establishing three kinds of settlement for them.

"As the race from the country to the city," he said, has been the cause of much of the distress we have to battle with, we propose to find a substantial part of our remedy by transferring these same people back to the country, that is back to the Garden."<sup>2</sup>

This was to be done by forming self-sustaining communities each being a kind of cooperative society, or patriarchal family. The first of these were to be "city colonies," that is, temporary

1. See for example, the Sheffield handicraft colonies of John Ruskin & Edward Carpenter.

2. Booth op cit. p 92.

refuges which would act as training centres for settlers who would then emigrate to "farm colonies" outside the cities, and thence still further to "overseas colonies."

The idea of the farm colony was of course certainly not original, but it was timely. Booth's intention was to take an estate of five hundred to a thousand acres, within reasonable distance of London, suitable for market gardening, on a railway line, well away from any public house, and to found a farm cooperative run by a kind of land army, which would grow all the food needed by the Salvation Army.

The simplicity of this concept was rather compromised by a further proposal to encourage allotment settlements around the periphery of each colony; these he also described as colonies, and they were to be provided with detached cottages, each one in its own grounds. The weakness of Booth's proposal was that it was far from balanced in providing only for the subsistence of the submerged tenth, and also his naive supposition that the one hundred thousand pounds needed could be raised by public subscription.

Howard, although he never acknowledged Booth's influence, took the essentially attractive idea of a home colony, stripped off the evangelical quaintnesses and gave it practical financial viability as an essentially middle class settlement founded like Justitia's proposals on the share capital of a joint stock company. His own important contribution was in the introduction of a green belt, an

idea not in itself original,<sup>1</sup> but attractive and well judged in giving those with the means and choice, the opportunity to enjoy the benefits of commuting from a rural elysium freed from the fear of engulfment. It did nothing for the submerged tenth.

In retrospect it seems quite likely that if Howard had not come forward with his garden city proposal someone else would have done so; the way had long since been prepared by the many successful companies inspired by Wakefield, that had raised capital to establish their own colonies overseas, and often with very little help from government.

Wakefield's theory of systematic colonisation based on land sales, selected immigration and self-government, had of course set in flow the tide of free overseas emigration. It was paid for by land sales and it had transformed the typical land-grab and labour-scarce early days of colonial settlement into a balanced and orderly process of growth. The success of his method in the settlement of South Australia and New Zealand, and his advocacy of colonial self-government, became powerful influences on British political thought, and they encouraged many like Booth to propose in home colonisation a solution to the problem of the urban poor. Wakefield himself would probably have dismissed most of Booth's proposals as purely

"the shovelling out of paupers."<sup>2</sup>

1. See More's Utopia : it was most probably developed from Silk Buckingham's proposal to surround his model town Victoria by 9000 acres of farmland; see National Evils & Practical Remedies 1849.
2. Wakefield E.G. A letter from Sydney & other writings on colonisation Everyman Edition 1929.

Booth's proposals for a farming cooperative appear to have derived from earlier proposals made for the setting up of labour colonies in the country, to provide work for London's unemployed during the severe winters of 1880 and 1881.<sup>1</sup> and earlier; these it seems were but a short step from the pauper colonies studied by the Highland Society in their tour of 1828<sup>2</sup> (Figure 20). In 1825 the London cooperative Society had proposed to found a similar farming settlement within fifty miles of London, but was unable to raise the share capital;<sup>3</sup> while in 1893 Dr Poore had proposed a market allotment colony for London's unemployed, kept fertile with the city's nightsoil.<sup>4</sup>

A further proposal close to Booth's, had been put forward by Canon Barnett in 1886, when he tried to persuade London's guardians to request authority to buy uncultivated land near one of their partially empty country workhouses. They should then he said:

"offer residence to able-bodied men willing to remain for six months and work on the land with the hope of one day being accepted as fixed tenants of some portion of the reclaimed land, or of being emigrated." <sup>5</sup>

Their families were meantime to receive adequate relief in London.

1. Barnett H. op cit p 638.
2. An Account of the Poor Colonies & Agricultural Workhouses of the Benevolent Society of Holland. by a member of the Highland Society of Scotland, Edinburgh 1828.
3. Pollard S. Nineteenth Century Cooperation : From Community Building to Shopkeeping Edinburgh p 81.
4. Poore G. V. "Light, Air & Fog". Transactions of the Sanitary Institute vol xiv 1893 p 38.
5. Barnett H. op cit p 638.

The Mansion House Relief Committee were not however to be persuaded, and it remained for the Salvation Army to found a training farm at Hadleigh. The Union of Christian Social Service followed suit at Marple Dale, and the West Ham Corporation at Letchworth. But the closest Booth came to seeing realised his ideal farm cooperative was in the labour colony started in 1905 at Hollesley Bay by the Central Committee for the Relief of the Unemployed.

It occupied thirteen hundred acres of land, and was ideally provided with buildings once used as an agricultural training College. There were four sets of farm buildings, workshops, a large open air swimming pool and thirty farm cottages. Canon Barnett, visiting the colony in 1911 noted in his journal that

"every sort of stock is kept and every branch of agriculture is followed. There are two hundred acres of gardens admirably planned and planted, with eight glass houses from which fruit and flowers are supplied to the market. The bare outlines of its advantages suggest a thousand possibilities..."<sup>1</sup>

The colony was managed by the Central Committee of the London Unemployment Fund, to provide work in a farming cooperative for the temporarily unemployed, and it was also intended to give training to those who showed aptitude for country life - and this was to extend to wives and families who in suitable cases were to occupy the farm cottages. Once trained they would

1. Barnett H. ibid p 641.

be encouraged to settle on the land either at home or overseas.

Unfortunately the local Government Board would not support the training programme or any cooperative proposals. They chose instead to regard the colony merely as an agricultural poorhouse for the reception of work parties for a few weeks at a time. The West Ham Colony at Letchworth fared no better.<sup>1</sup> This took over a disused brewery and, with the help of the Salvation Army and an ex-army cook, it functioned as a temporary labour camp, to ease unemployment in London during the winter of 1904-5. It gave employment on road building and other public works, in return for full board, six shillings a week, and also a benefit payment to the workers' families in London. Several of the men liked it and moved their families into cheap cottages each with a one-eighth-acre allotment, built for the purpose of attracting labour to the garden city; but for most of them, their stay at Letchworth was no more than a holiday. They failed to respond to the New Jerusalem as Booth and Barnett had hoped. They were city-dwellers and they wanted back to London.

Since that time the home colony idea has influenced many undertakings; not least among them the soldier settlement and retraining programmes after the two world wars, and the self-help allotment communities formed during the depression under the 1931

1. Howarth E., Collier G. & Miller G. Report of a Temporary Colony at Garden City : for unemployed workmen mainly from West Ham, during February, March & April 1905; carried out by the Trinity College Oxford Settlement. London 1905.

Agricultural land Utilization Act. It has in addition provided the impetus for a great diversity of smaller and specialised communities, from children's villages to tuberculosis settlements; but most importantly, through the examples of Letchworth and Welwyn it inspired the setting up of balanced and self-sufficient communities under the British New Towns programme. Unlike the smaller enterprises which have sought only to reproduce a limb of the parent body, these communities have attempted full colonial status in the Greek sense, as replicas in miniature; this was the real achievement of the home colony enthusiasts.

The ideas of the self-sufficient farm colony have meanwhile never died. Although they are only on the fringe of this enquiry they have much to do with the development of agrarian communism and stretch back at least as far as the experiments of Gerard Winstanley and his diggers during the Commonwealth. In this century, more radical influences have included the anarchist Kropotkin<sup>1</sup> who proposed a self-sufficient commune based on one acre to a family; while even the famous Peckham experiment, at least in name, had its home farm<sup>2</sup>. These and other proposals have encouraged a steady stream of experimental drop-out communities which shows little sign of diminishing.

1. Kropotkin. Field Factories & Workshops, London 1899 & 1912 particularly chapters vi, vii & conclusions.
2. Pearce I. & Crocker L. The Peckham Experiment, a study in the Living Structure of Society, 3rd ed. 1944, p 305.

WAVERLEY PARK : A MIDDLECLASS SANCTUARY

Edinburgh's Waverley Park is of great interest in being among the very few Victorian villa estates in Scotland to include shared open space in a form recognisably influenced both by the Georgian Square gardens, and by the English traditions of the village green. It is also an early precursor of the so-called pedestrian-segregated "Greenheart" planning of the present century, and a typical example of a successful speculative estate developed to tempt the middle class to migrate to the outer suburbs. For all these reasons, but particularly for the last, the estate has been made the subject of the following case-study.



FIGURE 65 :  
Waverley Park Estate , Edinburgh.  
Central Pleasure Ground.  
Planair , 12 October 1972.

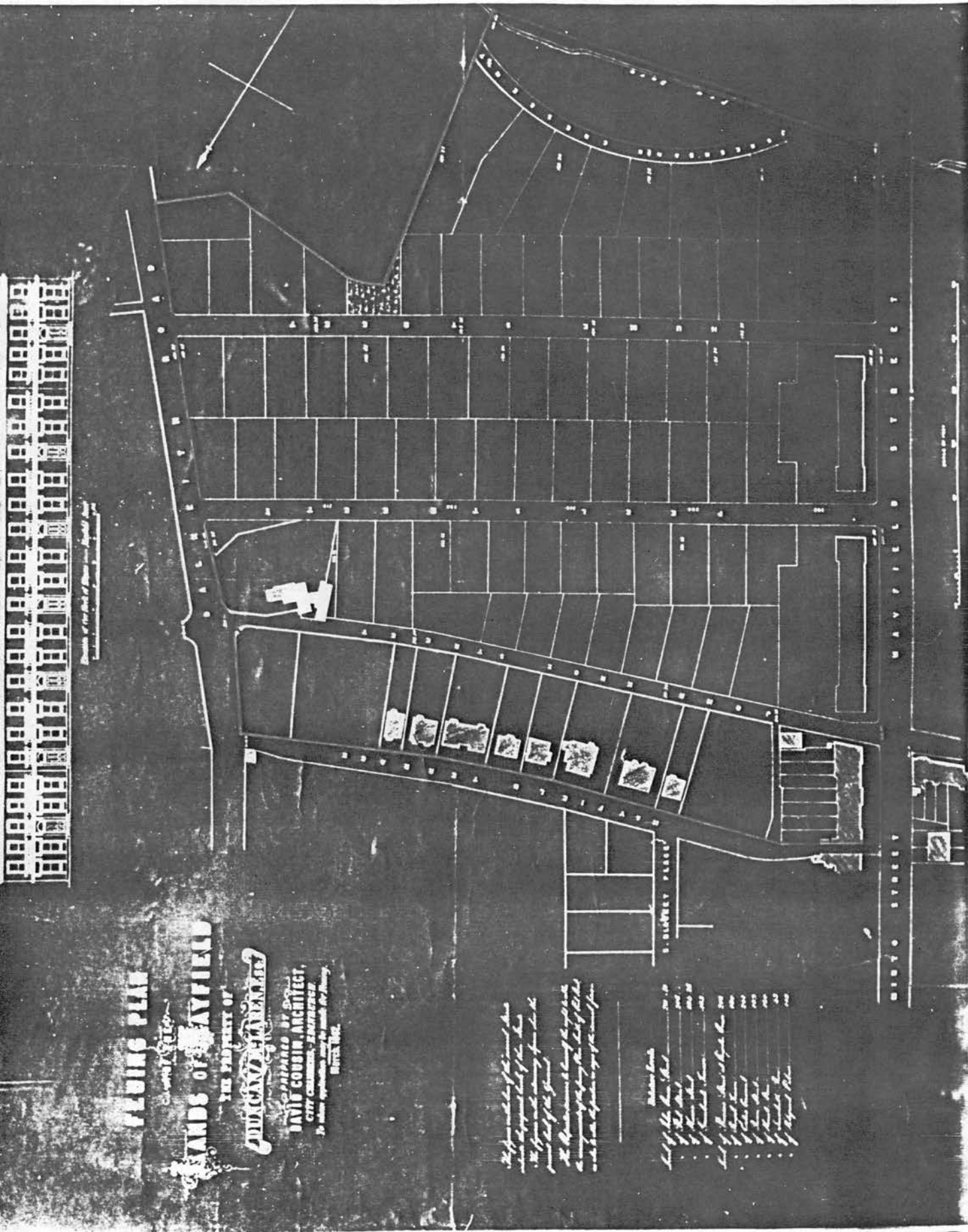


FIGURE 66 :  
 First feuing plan of Waverley Park E state ,  
 dated March 1862 .



FIGURE 67 :  
 Feuing plan of Waverley Park Estate ,  
 as reworked (centre part only)

Waverley Park Estate was developed by Duncan McLaren and his son between 1863 and 1880, on twenty one acres of the lands of Mayfield on the Southside of Edinburgh, McLaren was a prosperous and prominent businessman, Lord Provost from 1851-1854 and later a liberal MP for the city for some sixteen years. Following the success of the villa feuing plans of the Blacket and Dick Lander Estates, the South side had become a desirable residential area; it was on healthy high ground, close to the University and a safe but not inconvenient distance from the Old Town. The astute McLaren in developing the Waverley Park Estate as a middle-class elysium sought to attract those able to afford more than a Warrender tenement (Figure 33), and wanting at least something of the illusion of the spaciousness, convenience and privacy of a country residence.

The first feuing plan, dated March 1862<sup>2</sup> (Figure 66), showed a conventional grid of streets with lot subdivision for detached and semidetached villas, and with no shared open space except for a crescent in the Georgian manner tucked into the south western corner. This design was evidently completely reworked, for the feuing plan published in 1864<sup>3</sup> (Figure 67) abandoned the grid in preference for an asymmetrical design arranged around a central pleasure ground, and incorporating a second smaller ground giving a setback from the railway similar to that of the crescent in the first plan.

1. The land was bought by him from Edinburgh Corporation; the Charter of Confirmation & Novodamus in his favour is dated 3 March 1863 see City Chartulary no 18.
2. Lodged in Register House, Edinburgh.
3. Held by The General Trustees of the Church of Scotland, who took over feudal superiority from McLaren's Trustees in 1909.



FIGURE 68:  
Waverley Park Estate, Edinburgh  
The controversial tenements are those on the  
cemetery side of Dalkeith Road  
2511 09 1999

The City Architect, David Cousin,<sup>1</sup> was responsible for both plans, and one can assume that the idea of the pleasure grounds was worked up in collaboration with McLaren; the second plan has about it a clumsiness which suggests that Cousin was making the best of a bad job out of a thumbnail sketch from his client. McLaren in earlier days had enjoyed the privileges of being a key holder of West Princes Street Gardens and apparently considered these to be still desirable in contemporary housing; it was evident also that he sought to emulate the leafy arcadia of the Blacket Estate<sup>2</sup> surrounding his own villa and protected and withdrawn behind two gatehouses.

The estate as developed by McLaren, consisted of a total of eighty-two detached, semi-detached and terraced villas, occupying just over twenty one acres, (Figure 68)<sup>3</sup> McLaren himself built the first house, at No. 1 Peel Terrace in 1864. Those on the North side of Queens Crescent followed and were entered in the rating lists between 1864 and 1878, The houses on the south side of Queens Crescent and in Cobden Crescent, enclosing the central pleasure ground, followed in 1877-78, and most of the remaining houses were completed by 1887.<sup>4</sup>

In the terms of feu, McLaren had included a clause stipulating that as soon as two-thirds of the plots had been feued, he would hand over the spaces set aside for the pleasure grounds to the feuars to lay out and manage through a Committee of Management.<sup>5</sup>

1. Born 1809, died 1878 in Louisiana USA.

2. Since 1825 McLaren had lived at Newington House in the centre of the Blacket Estate.

3. The feuing plan provided eighty five plots, but three remained undeveloped; the total site area was 21.5 acres & the villas were to be of a value of not less than £1300 cash.

4. Rating Lists 1864-1887 ; Records Office, Register House, Edinburgh.

5. Articles & Conditions of Feu p 2 also letter from McLaren to the feuars, dated 6 April 1883. The pleasure gardens & other matters of common interest were to be taken over, completed and managed by an annually elected committee of management of between five & seven feuars. Expenses were to be covered by a yearly assessment on the feuars, levied, collected & administered by the Committee. The Committee were to take over from five trustees appointed earlier from among the feuars when half of the plots had been sold.

*REGULATIONS to be observed by Proprietors and others  
having access to Waverley Park Pleasure-Grounds.*

I. Proprietors and Tenants of Houses within the Park, and their Families, have alone the right of access to the Pleasure-Grounds.

II. The Keys supplied by the Committee shall alone be used, and must not be lent or transferred. The Gardener is authorised to require inspection of Keys, and to retain such as have not been supplied by the Committee, or those in possession of parties having no right of access.

III. In case of a Key being lost, the Clerk to the Committee will furnish a new Key at the expense of those requiring it.

IV. Private Doors from the Back Greens of Houses adjoining the Pleasure-Grounds may continue to be used during the pleasure of the Committee, but the Committee reserve power to deal with them in the event of the privilege being abused.

V. Heads of Families are responsible for offences committed by their children, or servants, or others introduced by them, and shall be bound to make good all damage done, and to pay all fines imposed upon them. They are also bound to take care that no children who have lately passed through any infectious disease are allowed to enter the Pleasure-Grounds until it may be done with safety.

VI. Bicycling, and Games such as Cricket, Football, Golf, and the like, the use of Bows and Arrows, Catapults, and the throwing or slinging of stones and other missiles, are strictly prohibited.

VII. Tennis is permitted under rules specially framed from year to year by the Committee.

VIII. Climbing the Railings, treading upon the edges or Borders, cutting or injuring the Trees or Shrubs, and plucking the Flowers, are forbidden.

IX. No Dogs are allowed to be brought into the Pleasure-Grounds, unless held in leash.

X. The Committee have power to impose Fines, not exceeding Ten Shillings, for any infringement of the Regulations. The Fines shall be recoverable by the Committee, who shall have full power to sue for recovery, and the amount shall be paid over to the Clerk, to be applied as the Committee shall appoint. The Committee have also full power to insist for payment of damages done to the Pleasure-Grounds by such infringement or otherwise, over and above said Fines.

XI. The Committee have power to add to, alter, or delete any of these Regulations from time to time, as may be found advisable, but due notice shall be given of such changes.

The Gardener has received orders to enforce these Regulations, but it is hoped that heads of families will assist the Committee in giving effect to them, so as to secure the comfort of all those frequenting the Pleasure-Grounds.

By order of the Committee,

FIGURE 69 :  
Earliest surviving regulations for the  
Waverley Park pleasure grounds .

In April 1883 he did so, and the transfer took place smoothly. Within a month, the feuars had commissioned, received and approved a costed design for both spaces, each prepared by J. McLachlan, an architect member of the Committee.<sup>1</sup> The feuars accepted these at a general meeting,<sup>2</sup> and the Committee were instructed to approve a tender of £77.8.8 from Dicksons, for carrying out the work; full-height gates and railings were to cost a further £98.14, and the total cost, including general equipment and commissioning, was estimated at approximately £300.

A bank loan was raised to allow work to begin, and costs were met by an obligatory levy from every feuar on the basis of £7 for every quarter acre of ground feued. By July 10th, the Contractor had applied for payment of most of the contract sum, and during the following month a full time gardener was appointed. A set of regulations for the use of the grounds was printed, (Figure 69), and issued to every feuar, notice boards were put up and an annual maintenance assessment of 2d in the pound made<sup>3</sup>, based on the total rateable value. All this prompt and efficient activity on behalf of the feuars seems to have led to a rapid loss in their active participation; most of the feuars and their wives had attended the first meeting with Duncan McLaren, but within three

1. Little is known of McLachlan except that he lived previously at 2 Queen Street. According to the Records Office he died in 1894. He seems to have speculated in no 28 Queens Crescent, & to have built no 33 Queens Crescent for himself.

2. Sederunt Book Minute 14 May 1883.

3. also covering road, pavement & sewer maintenance until adopted by the Corporation. McLaren's feu charter bound him to provide in front of every feu "a metallad carriage road, and a footpath and water channel", ... "a main drain pipe" & sewage to the Powburn" on the south boundary, for all of which the Feuar was required to pay his share.

years, the advertised Annual General Meeting had to be abandoned for lack of a quorum.<sup>1</sup>

Both pleasure grounds were levelled and treated very simply. The central garden, known as Waverley Park, (Figure 65), was graded out as a broad flat grass lawn, bounded by a five foot path. The path was set eight feet inside the six foot high stone boundary wall to give room for a perimeter belt of trees. A specimen horse chestnut was planted in the centre, bounded by shrubberies and with a circular walk on each side leading to gated access points on the east and west boundaries. Feuars of plots immediately adjoining the space were entitled to form a gated opening in the wall giving direct access from their own private gardens<sup>2</sup>; -all other feuars had right of access by key at the east and west gates.

The second space, Ventnor Terrace Gardens, unlike Waverley Park, appears at first sight to have been very much less deliberately placed, but the reason for its being detached from the houses and on the south west boundary, may have been affected by a desire to keep an open flank to the carriageway approach to Newington Cemetery, and an adequate setback from the railway beyond. The space was enlarged to its present size after negotiation with the Feu Superior in order to forestall any future building development. It was levelled and laid out as a simple close-cut lawn, surrounded by a shrubbery and a belt of trees, and all enclosed by a railing.

1. ibid CO. M 28 May 1886.

2. See Regulation 4, Figure. 69

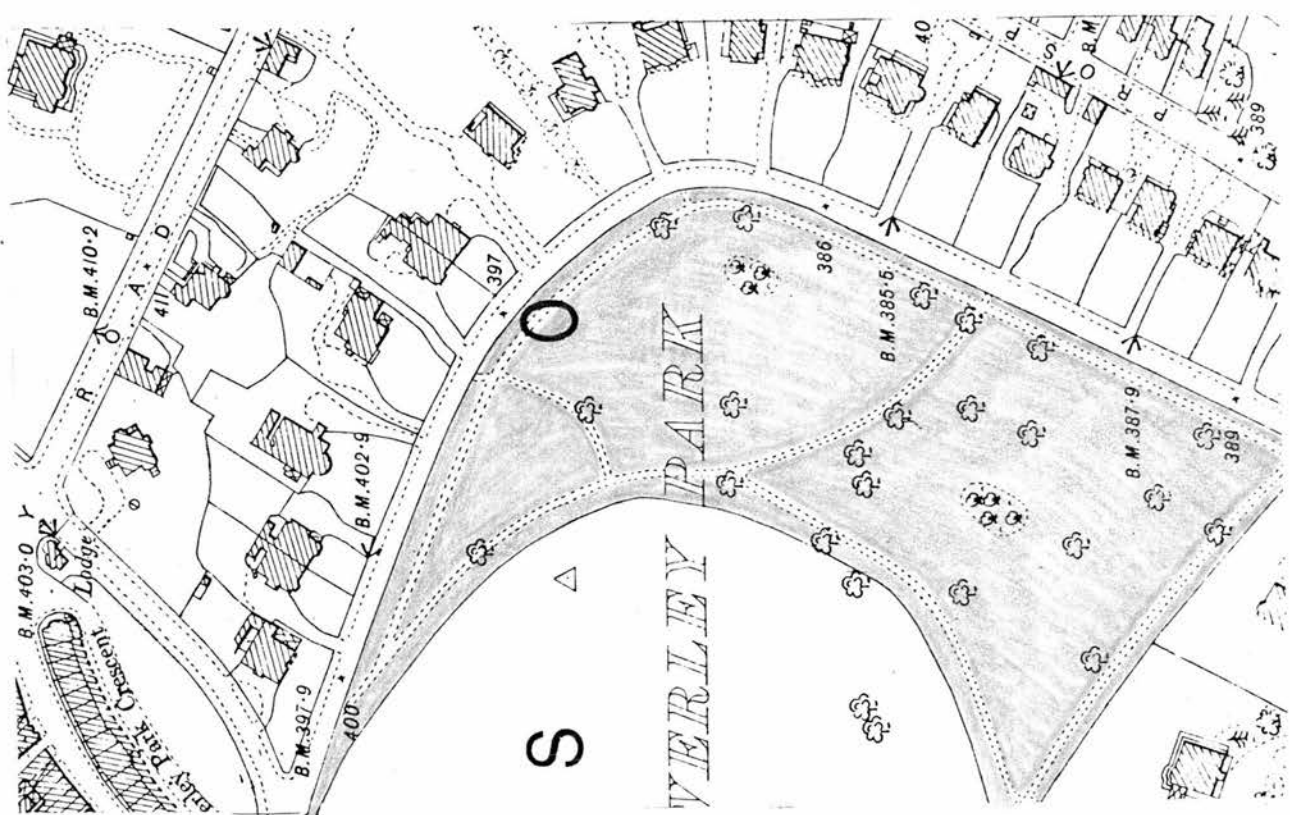


FIGURE 70 :  
 Calverley Park , Tunbridge Wells , 1828 , by Decimus Burton .  
 An early example of a villa estate with a completely private front  
 carriageway between a group of villas and a small shared parkland  
 adjoining the public common . Service access was from a separate  
 road to the rear .  
 25" O . S . 1st edit .

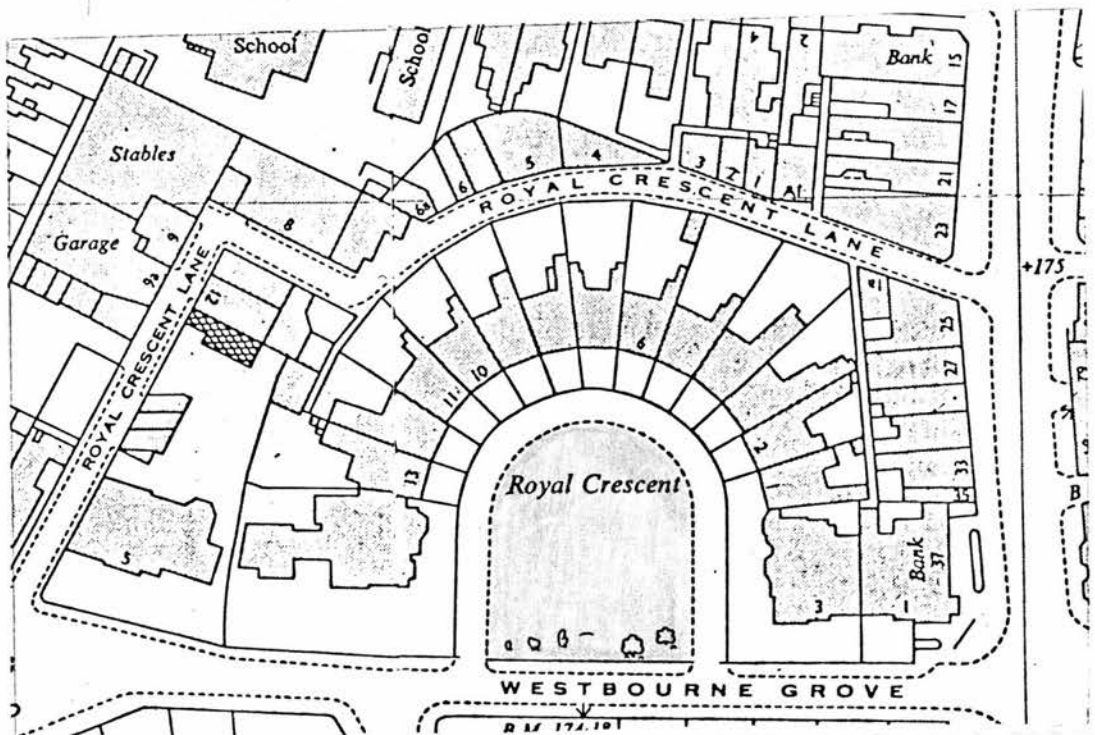


FIGURE 71 :  
 Royal Crescent Scarborough , 1864 , by Paxton , and very similar  
 in principle to Calverley Park ( Fig 70 ) , but on a much reduced  
 scale . In Waverley Park ( Fig 68 ) , the carriageway between the  
 houses and the shared open space is omitted and the " front " side  
 of the houses is turned towards a combined service access and main  
 carriageway . Both the Royal Crescent and Calverley Park Estates  
 were developed to accommodate the fashionable seasonal visitor  
 25" O . S .

The houses immediately surrounding the central open space were arranged in plan as in a Georgian Square, but with the very significant difference that the carriageways did not adjoin the pleasure ground (Figure 65). The smart side of each house, in Loudonesque neo-Italianate, therefore faces the street, while the rather lumpish late Georgian backs overlook the pleasure ground. Except for its trees, the pleasure ground cannot even be seen from the street;<sup>1</sup> visually therefore it is of very local value, an outstanding amenity to the twenty-two surrounding houses, but of little obvious amenity to those in adjoining streets. To help make up for this, the feu charters stipulated that all front gardens should be at least twentyfive feet deep to allow for adequate tree planting.<sup>2</sup> Unlike earlier estates having pleasure grounds contiguous with houses (Figure 70 and 71), no rear access was provided at Waverley Park for servicing or to give access to stables and other offices. Under the terms of their charter, feuars were permitted to build coachhouses and stables, but with few exceptions the original residents were "persons not possessing carriages", a social distinction which excluded them from the "upper ten thousand."

Most of them were successful merchants or self-employed traders, with a smattering of professions. They included jewellers,

1. The serpentine entry is curiously similar to the Minto St. entrance to the Blacket Estate, and also the entries to many of the new town gardens, where it was a device used to give privacy and add interest by forestalling views forward, (Figure 4)
2. Free charter condition No. 13.



stationers, clothiers and drapers, together with a doctor, a solicitor, a barber, an architect, two ministers and a publisher. They were the kind of people for whom Hobday had written on villa gardens,<sup>1</sup> and Mrs Beeton on household management. All but a few, had taken out their own charter and appear to have commissioned the building of their own houses.<sup>2</sup>

Over the century or so of the life of the estate, the social class and occupational status of residents has remained remarkably stable. It has continued to be solidly middleclass and has shown none of the changes through further emigration often associated with inner Victorian suburbs.<sup>3</sup> At the present time the residents include a number of senior civil servants, professionals, ministers, company directors and business branch managers; and also eight members of staff of Edinburgh University.<sup>4</sup>

Study of the management of the two pleasure grounds over such a long period is most instructive, and it reveals a number of traits distinctive of owner-occupiers in their attitude to shared open space. As in the case of most of Edinburgh's private pleasure grounds, the Convenor of the Committee of Management has been assisted by a solicitor or an accountant, acting as clerk. He has been responsible for routine correspondence, for collecting assessments, arranging meetings and keeping the minutes. But

1. Hobday E. Villa Gardening, London 1887.
2. At least nine of the eighty-two plots were feued by speculative builders; exact numbers are difficult to determine as the rating lists do not always give occupations.
3. See Dyos H. Victorian Suburb, Leicester University Press 1961 and Glass R. "Urban Sociology in Great Britain", in Readings in Urban Sociology ed. Paul R. 1968.
4. At time of survey, in summer of 1972.

perhaps his most valuable contribution has been in providing continuity to the management structure; over the ninety year life of Waverley Park Committee of Feuars, there have been only six clerks.<sup>1</sup>

Legal, architectural and horticultural advice has from time to time been sought from outside consultants by the Committee.<sup>2</sup> It was customary also at feuars meetings in the early days for solicitors to act as agents for feuars, and particularly for single women. Married women have been unable to vote unless property was held in their name. Somewhat surprisingly, the first woman member of the Committee was not elected until 1910, and the second not until 1956, but this seems to be something of an Edinburgh tradition.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most interesting points of management at Waverley Park has been the appointment, by the Committee, of a local resident to act as a ranger. The ranger's job is to help the Convenor keep an unobtrusive eye on the pleasure grounds, and usually also to assist in supervising the gardener. The most effective rangers have usually been young, able to get on easily with children and to enlist the ready services of other residents in casual supervision. A great deal has depended on the ranger in creating a fair balance of usage between all interests and age groups.

1. Messrs. Cotton, Robertson, Gardiner, Green W, Green A & Crerar, J.
2. for example, legal opinion over the tenements dispute with McLaren ; architectural opinion on building proposals along the east boundary, and also specialist advice from time to time on the lopping, topping or thinning of trees.
3. The first woman member of George Square Committee was not elected until well into the present century.

Since 1883 much of the Committee's work has been concerned with looking after the two gardens, and in dealing with matters bearing on the general amenity of the estate.<sup>1</sup> There has been a tendency throughout for residents with a grievance to come onto the Committee, and to either resign when the matter has been dealt with, or, occasionally, to develop a broader interest and stay on. The bulk of the Committee's work has usually fallen on a few dedicated and public-spirited individuals, serving on the Committee in some instances for over thirty years.

The overwhelming triviality of much of the day-to-day detail, and over so long a period, is nevertheless revealing, informative and often amusing. The Committee's strong sense of local pride has led it even to complain about dirty windows and untidy front gardens, and on one occasion to check the parking in Queen's Crescent of a resident's van blazoned with "Hurry to Murray". But this attention to detail is a real measure of the Committee's interested activity. A great deal of it has, however, been defensive and uncreative and may be looked upon as a purely self-interested response to threats either from within or without.

Outside threats have been very much concerned with the control of access. Duncan McLaren had originally intended this to be absolute, for he built lodge houses at each of the estate

entrances, anticipating that the feuars would exercise an option to purchase them and to erect gates supervised by lodge keepers, in order to keep the roads entirely private. As previously mentioned, the Blacket Estate nearby had been provided for in this way, but it had been developed much earlier in the century<sup>1</sup> when the Corporation took little responsibility for roads and services. The Waverley Park feuars, like those at George Square (p.16), chose not to exercise McLaren's option for it would have meant taking full responsibility for roads, pavements, drains and sewers.<sup>2</sup>

The estate was therefore freely exposed to its surroundings, (Figure 68). On the north and west boundaries similar villa developments posed little obvious threat, while the south boundary was protected by the railway and the private cemetery. To the east, however, tenements, were springing up along Dalkeith Road, and when McLaren himself proposed to speculate in them on the eastern edge of the estate, the feuars rose in indignant opposition.<sup>3</sup> Tenements were seen as cheapening the resale value of their villas and introducing an undesirable lower social order - the sinister vector of infectious disease, bad language and lowered amenity. These threatened to cancel the advantages of suburban migration.

Although the speculation was a violation of their feu charter, the feuars chose to keep their Superior's goodwill, rather than risk

1. Developed by Benjamin Bell and his son George, in the years following publication of the first feuing plan in 1806.
2. ibid. C.O.M. 13 December, 1883.
3. ibid. C.O.M. 28 November 1887 et seq.

an expensive law suit. They accepted McLaren's proposal to build tenements, but only in exchange for guarantees protecting them from further loss of amenity.<sup>1</sup> All future development in the estate was to be of a value at least equal to those already built, thus effectively excluding tenements. Unfeued land adjoining Ventnor Terrace Gardens was to be conveyed to the feuars and added to the gardens in exchange for ground lost to the tenements, and the Dalkeith Road tenement dwellers were to be forbidden access to the pleasure grounds, and barred from contributing to their upkeep.

The very people therefore who most needed access to the open space were denied it by the convenient inconsistency of a man who while Lord Provost had actively supported the Society for the Prevention of Alcoholism in their campaign to have West Princes Street Gardens opened to the public.<sup>2</sup> McLaren's intentions were also perhaps reflected in his preference for the second feuing plan. The circuitous estate roads, rather than the originally proposed grid, have undoubtedly tended to discourage the through movement of non-local pedestrians and vehicles which was so frequent a cause of complaint in the Georgian Squares, (p. 16).

Such intrusions remained slight until the nineteen sixties, when residents began to react against the steady increase in the

1. ibid. Meeting of Feuars 6 November 1888.

2. The 1844-5 accounts of West Princes Street Gardens list McLaren as one of ninety nine outside subscribers paying two guineas a year for the right of access to the gardens. McLaren was at that time living nearby at Ramsay Gardens.

numbers of vehicles shortcutting through the estate to avoid traffic lights on the adjoining main roads, and also to respond to the nuisance of the hotels in Minto Street using their estate roads for backstreet parking.

Pedestrian intrusion has a rather longer history. Use of the pleasure grounds by outsiders has always been a problem. Noticeboards at the entrances<sup>1</sup> have proved ineffective, and have been regularly defaced, and the high gates may be climbed without difficulty when locked. In the early years, one of the gardener's men was employed in evening supervision during the summer<sup>2</sup> but this also proved ineffective, and there has since been a tendency to tolerate the casual use of the grounds by outsiders, provided they cause no annoyance.<sup>3</sup> Unwanted visitors have usually been challenged by the ranger or a wary resident, and asked to leave.<sup>4</sup> The minutes record a number of instances where the police were called in, but there appears to have been only one serious incident and that was when the central garden became the regular territory of a

"foul-mouthed gang of hooligans armed with screwdrivers."<sup>5</sup>

Apart from this, most other outside threats have been more apparent than real.

1. put up in 1898.
2. ibid C.O.M. 1 May 1895.
3. ibid C.O.M. 26 October 1964.
4. ibid C.O.M. 16 August 1965.
5. ibid C.O.M. A.G.M. 24 October 1968.

# WAVERLEY PARK

## NOTES FOR THE GUIDANCE OF FEUARS

### Alterations and Additions to Buildings

For the guidance of Feuars who may be contemplating alterations upon, or additions to, their property, your Committee direct attention to certain terms of the Feu Charter, and, in particular, to the statement therein to the effect that work upon such alterations or additions may not be begun before the approval of the Superiors has been granted. The practice of the Superiors is to obtain the views of your Committee upon any scheme submitted for their approval.

The Superiors further require that, before a plan is submitted to the Dean of Guild Court, it be docketted to the effect that the plan is approved by them, or alternatively, that a letter containing such approval be attached to the plan.

At the time when the plan is submitted to the Superiors it is desirable that a copy be sent to the Clerk to the Feuars.

### Removal of Trees

The Feu Charter further states that no Feuar or his tenant shall cut down any tree without the consent of the Superiors being obtained in writing, and the Superiors have suggested that before application is made to them for their consent, the approval of your Committee should be obtained.

### Use of the Pleasure Grounds

Your Committee express the hope that Feuars will do all they can to secure that the Grounds, which are maintained only at considerable cost, be kept in good condition. While the behaviour of the young people has recently been satisfactory on the whole, there have been several cases of damage to trees and shrubs, and uprooting of plants. Parents can assist greatly in this matter. The minutes of the Annual Meetings record a Resolution of Feuars prohibiting the playing of football, golf, cricket with a hard ball, cycling, and games on Sundays. With regard to the prohibition of cycling, this was relaxed later to permit of young children using fairy cycles. The Resolution, as modified, is still in force.

For the Committee of Feuars,

A. MCWATT GREEN,  
*Clerk*

17 GREAT STUART STREET,  
EDINBURGH, *January 1947.*

FIGURE 72 :

Notes for the guidance of Feuars at Waverley Park .  
Issued by the Committee .

Threats to amenity from within the estate have usually arisen from individuals acting in ignorance, or deliberately challenging the Committee. One of the greatest sources of dissension has been a feu clause forbidding the removal of trees from private gardens without consent of the Committee. This has not been helped by the twenty-five foot minimum depth of front gardens, and by an often injudicious choice of species, including beech and horse chestnut. Few of the street trees have survived unmutilated except smaller species like birch and laburnum, and these provide little effective contrast to the buildings.

The minutes are full of angry contretemps with residents complaining about the overshadowing of trees, and the febian reluctance of the Committee to act. It has become something of a custom for frustrated householders to lop and top or cut down without permission and then to apologise and offer to plant something smaller.<sup>1</sup> And very occasionally they have gone beyond their own gardens to deal in similar ways with offending trees inside the pleasure grounds.<sup>2</sup> The trees in Waverley Park are set close to the surrounding private gardens and at an average distance of some fifteen metres from the houses; again the original choice of species was not entirely suitable, but even birch and hawthorn replacements have in some cases been thought too obstructive of light by adjoining owners. (Figure 72).

1. ibid. C.O.M. 12 October 1916, 22 October 1952.

2. ibid. C.O.M. 15 May, 1944.

Most of the other internal management matters dealt with by the Committee have concerned building extensions, garages, details like the siting of telegraph poles, and, more importantly, the subdivision of houses and their change of use to boarding houses and hotels.<sup>1</sup> Subdivision has inevitably increased firstly with the shortage of domestics, and latterly the shortage of furnished flats. In strict terms both subdivision and change of use are in violation of the feu charter, but where the change or transition has been gradual<sup>2</sup> there has often been little that the feuars or the superior could do, except to ensure that signs were not erected or licenses granted. The feuars meanwhile have watched warily the conversion of most of the nearby Minto Street properties into hotels, and are greatly concerned to stem this invasion and to maintain the present balance of residential usage with the help of Conservation Area status.

The costs of management and maintenance of the pleasure grounds have always been remarkably modest. Under the conditions of feu, each proprietor is bound to pay a share of estimated costs, and to do so a year in advance. The amount paid is calculated by the Committee of Management on the total rateable value of the estate, and the assessment has therefore tended to fall as rateable

1. The Committee's range of supervision was very wide; Clause 14 of the Feu Charter called for the restriction of "any occupation which may be a nuisance or occasion disturbance or aboyance to any of the neighbouring Feuars." In practice the Superior has long been content to delegate control to the local planning authority.
2. The distinction for instance between a house with one or two furnished rooms for letting, and another with fully self-contained flatlet accommodation.

value has increased. In 1894 a 2½d rate raised £72.14.6, while in 1927 a 2d rate yielded £72.12.7<sup>1</sup>. Both these figures represent the sums then needed to cover all estimated outgoings; they reflect the relatively low wages paid the gardener and the modest retainer paid the Clerk. Occasional exceptional expenses, as in replacing the railways and gates, have required a higher assessment, but the general assessment level has been low. As late as 1961 the total outgoings were estimated at only £215, or the equivalent of a 4d rate on the total rateable value of £12,722.<sup>3</sup>

Except for a few periods, the maintenance of both pleasure grounds has been carried out by a part time jobbing gardener. The estimated labour involved each year is just over four man weeks<sup>4</sup>, but this excludes any time spent in casual supervision - an item difficult to calculate, and one which has proved very important. In 1962 the Committee calculated the total time at sixteen hours a week in spring, summer and early autumn - that is, equivalent to a yearly total of approximately fourteen man weeks, allowing adequately for winter work.

Even allowing for the employment of a fairly elderly man working well below the standard rates, (Ap.l.), it is clear that for more than half of these sixteen hours a week he was providing little more than a service of supervision. With such emphasis on supervision the total job has therefore proved better suited to be undertaken on a full time basis by an elderly or pensioned gardener working at his own pace, than by a younger man working for a shorter

1. ibid C.O.M. 24 October 1894 and 13 July 1927.

2. The lump sum previously paid him, together with expenses, often failed to cover the time needed to deal with nonroutine matters; he is now paid on a time basis at 2/3rds of the Law Society rate.

3. ibid C.O.M. 27 October 1961.

4. See Appendix 1.

time or by outside contract labour, using greater mechanisation, and working at maximum efficiency.

This is very much how matters have been resolved over the years. The first gardener was paid a salary of £25 a year with a £5 bonus for satisfactory work; this represented at the time, about half the total annual earnings an able-bodied gardener could expect to earn, and he made up the balance by running a small nursery on nearby land leased from the Feu Superior. Successive gardeners have tended to be elderly; younger men, giving too much time to other interests, have caused difficulties for the Committee.

One of the best arrangements was when the gardener of the adjoining cemetery took on the estate grounds to round off his total workload. During the 1960's the Committee had the services of a pensioner wanting a spare time job, and who refused to work for more than three shillings an hour as it would have affected his pension. The wage he was paid was supplemented by cash presents, and although both seem derisory by present day standards, the method of employment appears to have answered very well the nature of the work involved.

Over the ninety years or so of their existence the pleasure grounds have developed a distinct and interesting pattern of usage. The Committee of Management have, from the first, tried jealously to maintain feuars' exclusive rights by controlling the means of access; they have also tried to encourage a balance of usage by all age groups. In neither have they been entirely successful and the main reason for this is undoubtedly the absence of comparable

local open spaces available either to feuars or to surrounding residents. The effect of this has been to place undue pressure on the pleasure grounds, particularly in meeting the recreational needs of older children wanting space for ball games. With or without permission, football, cricket and tennis have been played here from the beginning, and from time to time a range of other games, including shinty, hockey and golf. A summary of the development of these activities is instructive.

The estate was being built just at the time that tennis was gathering popularity. Most of the private gardens were too small to accommodate courts, and this brought into being the Waverley Park Lawn Tennis Club. The Club negotiated permission with the Committee to use both grounds, provided that they did not monopolise them. Membership was limited to feuars and their families, and each paid a five shilling season subscription to cover equipment expenses of the extra costs of grass cutting and court marking.<sup>1</sup> By 1887 there were fiftysix subscribers and evening demand became so great that all those who could were asked to use the courts by day, and short sets were played where necessary to reduce waiting.<sup>2</sup> Play was not allowed on Sunday, but at other times it must often have monopolised both pleasure grounds - sustained by a self-interested majority.

1. ibid. C.O.M. 28 May 1884.

2. ibid. C.O.M. 29 June, 1885.

But tennis was not the only organised sport played. In May 1918, an application was considered for use of the grounds by "The Waverley Park Cricket Club." Perhaps surprisingly, (as the space was less than one quarter of the necessary size), the request was granted, but to safeguard young children, it was not to be played before 7 p.m., wickets were to be placed so that balls were difficult to hit into gardens, and all damage was to be made good. The club captain, one of the feuars' sons, undertook to see that these conditions were carried out.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the residents were distinctly uneasy, and there were signs of approaching battle between those who did and those who did not consider cricket a legitimate use of the grounds. A nervous clergyman living at No. 4 Cobden Crescent and directly overlooking Waverley Park, arranged for an insurance indemnity of £500 to cover the feuars in case of accident.<sup>2</sup> Someone had meanwhile prompted the Feu Superiors, who were now the Church of Scotland, to write to the Committee that the pleasure grounds had not been intended for cricket.<sup>3</sup> A motion to this effect, by the nervous clergyman, was however, defeated at the next Annual General Meeting.

A further unsuccessful motion was put to the Committee by the same clergyman, proposing that an action of interdict be raised

1. ibid. A.G.M. 22 May 1918.

2. ibid. C.O.M. 17 October 1918.

3. ibid. A.G.M. 30 May 1919.

123 GEORGE STREET,  
EDINBURGH, 30th July, 1930.

WAVERLEY PARK

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,

At the Forty-Seventh Annual General Meeting of Feuars held in Rosehall Church Buildings on the evening of Wednesday, 23rd July, at 8 P.M., the undernoted Resolution was proposed and passed by the Feuars, formal intimation of which is hereby given to you.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM GREEN,  
Clerk.

Resolution passed by Feuars

"That the playing of football, golf, cricket with a hard ball, or cycling is prohibited, and the Committee are hereby authorised to take such steps as are necessary to enforce this resolution and to assess the parties liable for the expense incurred in connection therewith."

The foregoing notice was duly posted to all the Feuars on the 30th day of July, 1930.

*William Green Sec.*  
Clerk  
\_\_\_\_\_

FIGURE 73 :  
Waverley Park Feuars resolution outlawing hard ball games.

against those persisting in playing football or any other ball game in the park<sup>1</sup>. At the following Annual General Meeting, no doubt fearing a strengthening of the pro-games lobby on the Committee, he protested at the election of the Secretary of the local bowling club. Cricket using a hard ball continued to be allowed after 7 p.m., and the clergyman accepted defeat and resigned from the Committee.

Football was also much played, and there were sporadic complaints about the unruly and noisy behaviour of older children, and the nuisance of retrieving balls over the garden walls. A boys Committee, set up in 1926, did much to check these excesses and it even helped the gardener with ground maintenance;<sup>2</sup> but in 1930 it was disbanded through lack of support, and, after further complaints of abuses, the Annual General Meeting resolved that the grounds should not be used for cricket with a hard ball, football, golf or cycling, to the annoyance of feuars. The nervous clergyman had won his case, but posthumously. (Figure 73).

The prohibition on cycling was later lifted in favour of smaller children on "fairy cycles", but the size of "fairies" was not stipulated, and cycling by older children continued, with, on occasions even motor cycles being brought into the park. It might have been expected that the parents of smaller children should voice stronger claims on their behalf for usage of the parks, but the

1. ibid C.O.M. 25 November 1919.

2. ibid C.O.M. 20 July 1926.

minute books give little hint of this. There were no recorded requests for sandpits or play equipment, and the outdoor play needs of the youngest seem to have been largely met within individual private gardens. The main access gates in any case made it impractical for the parks to be included in the casual pattern of their play until they were old enough to manage the heavy locks. There had nevertheless always been at least some general use of the gardens by smaller children, for as early as 1895, the gates were being left unlocked by mothers, to allow children to come and go, and, at the present time, the lower gate of the central pleasure ground is left open during the day.

The dog-owning lobby at Waverley Park has not been as strong as might have been expected. There were occasional complaints against owners allowing their pets to foul the parks, but no confrontation with parents, presumably because, as mentioned, the spaces were not greatly used by small children. To stop casual nuisance by dogs, feuars were from time to time reminded by the Committee to keep the park gates closed.<sup>1</sup>

The even tenor of routine usage was little disturbed during the first world war, but with the approach of the Second War, changes were threatened. As early as 1938, a resident had suggested entrenching the park as a protection against "aerial

1. Complaints of nuisance certainly increased when the gates were removed during the second war.

bombardment". The Committee, however, felt such a move was premature, and instead recommended developing shelters in house basements. A year later came a proposal to subdivide both spaces into allotments for the usage of feuars. This was also rejected as likely to provide only a small area for cultivation, difficult to supervise and expensive to reinstate.

Soon afterwards the Corporation applied for permission to dig public trench shelters in both spaces, and the feuars suddenly had to come to terms with both the threat of outsiders, as well as enemy action. The Committee felt strongly that Waverley Park was a quite unsuitable location for public shelters: apart from the loss of amenity, full public access would have to be given, and there would be an increased risk of burglary through the back gardens of the surrounding houses; the shelters would also prove difficult to keep clean. The Corporation remained adamant, and, to rub salt into the wound, the Town Clerk explained that the shelters in the central ground were needed for the residents of the Dalkeith Road tenements.

The Corporation shortly, however, had reason to modify its plans, and Waverley Park was reprieved, but three shelters were dug in Ventnor Terrace Gardens, and an emergency fire fighting tank was also constructed. The Committee Secretary was instructed to write to the Town Clerk expressing appreciation at their careful siting and neat appearance.

21 HILL STREET,  
EDINBURGH, 3rd August 1940.

To the Feuars of Waverley Park.

DEAR SIR (MADAM),

Waverley Park.—Proposal for Allotments

The Committee has considered a proposal by a Feuar that the Parks be made available to Feuars as allotments for vegetable production during the War.

In the opinion of a representative of the College of Agriculture, who was asked by the Committee to view the ground, the Waverley Park is very suitable, in soil and aspect, for this purpose, but the soil in Ventnor Terrace Garden is too scanty and poor to recommend for cultivation. He considered that the laying-on of water was not essential, though it might be desirable.

It is obvious that the whole cost of any scheme of this nature, including the reinstatement of the ground after the War, would require to be met by those taking the allotments and that no part thereof should fall upon the general funds.

Waverley Park would accommodate 20 plots of 100 square yards each. Assuming that all were taken the cost per plot of laying-on water to one general tap would be unlikely to fall short of £1, 10s. On the same assumption an annual charge of 15s. per plot would probably, after two years, provide a sum at present considered sufficient to meet the cost of reinstatement. In this connection the difficulty of arriving now at the probable cost two or three years hence of an unascertained amount of work will be readily appreciated.

The Committee now wishes to know whether the number of Feuars likely to be interested in such a scheme is sufficient to justify further action, and I am to request, therefore, that if you would consider taking an allotment you be good enough to advise me accordingly by the 17th instant. If a sufficient number so indicate interest the proposal will be submitted to the Annual Meeting of Feuars which will be held early in September and if it is then decided to proceed the financial and other arrangements involved will fall to be discussed. It would be necessary, for instance, to decide whether the fund for reinstatement should be provided by an initial deposit or an annual charge, or a combination of both, and also to discuss measures to ensure that, once taken, plots shall not fall into disuse.

Yours faithfully,

A. McWATT GREEN,  
*Clerk.*

Non-Resident Feuars approving in general of the proposal will kindly pass this communication to the Occupiers concerned. A fresh copy will be supplied if desired.

I certify that I have to-day posted a copy of this circular to each of the Feuars of Waverley Park.  
3rd. August, 1940. *Camilla B. Ross.*

FIGURE 74 :  
Allotment proposals at Waverley Park .

Waverley Park had been saved for the time being, but, to forestall further threats, the possibility of forming private allotments was reconsidered. The College of Agriculture confirmed that the soil was suitable, a plan of subdivision was prepared, and feuars were invited to apply for the twenty-one plots to be formed. Only two came forward, and a further five showed tentative interest, so the matter was dropped. (Figure 74).

The Ministry of Works had meanwhile been compiling a schedule of the estate's cast iron railings to be requisitioned for scrap. There was some doubt among the Feuars' Committee as to whether or not the park gates had been included on the schedule. The Ministry received an anonymous request, asking that the gates be left intact to safeguard vegetables being cultivated in the park. It responded by sending down a lady inspector, who, finding no vegetables in the park, added the gates to the schedule, and they were removed. Grave concern was expressed by a number of feuars. A complaint was made to the Corporation and the Ministry. After patient enquiry, the Committee established that the gates had not been on the original schedule - but by then Waverley Park was open to the public, and there was little to be done about it. They need not have worried unduly. Dog exercisers certainly increased in number, and football, cricket and cycling continued as before, regardless of regulation, but with little apparent additional nuisance. A company of girl guides was given permission to arrange for a temporary fireplace in Waverley Park to provide hot

water in emergencies. The materials were stored in a neighbouring garden, and a public demonstration was given of its setting up. The guides were also permitted to use what was left of Ventnor Terrace Gardens for their guide sports, and the cadets of the A.T.C. were allowed to train there once a week in daylight hours and in small groups.

Further wartime inroads upon amenity came with the keeping of hens in private gardens. In giving their approval, the Committee solemnly noted that while cow and pig houses had been specifically forbidden by the feu charter, poultry had not been mentioned. Shortly afterwards, the motor mower broke down and could not be repaired as spare parts were not obtainable - so, for the duration of the war, it was arranged that the grounds would be scythed from time to time, and kept

"not as lawns but as decent fields"

But even this must have had its compensations in discouraging football and cricket.

After the war the old routine was gradually re-established, but it took time to reinstate Ventnor Terrace Gardens, and it was not until 1951 that the Committee were able to get a contractor to re-erect the railings and gates. Until these were in place, there were complaints of rubbish dumping in Ventnor Terrace Gardens, and attempts by the gardener to close the gaps in the boundary shrubbery failed as it lay directly across the desire lines into the park from the adjacent houses. The regulations were reissued,

and feuars again asked to cooperate in their observance. Tennis was revived, but had fallen in popularity, while cricket and football continued to be the main sources of nuisance and complaint, and served to underline the basic absence of a local public park.

One of the few real group usages of the pleasure grounds by the community have been the regular bonfires held in them to celebrate firstly Victoria Day and latterly, Guy Fawkes. These were usually supervised by the ranger, and older children were often involved in lifting and relaying the necessary turf, and in collecting materials and cleaning up. Materials have had to be stored privately until the day of the fire. Within reason, gate-crashers seem to have been tolerated, except on one occasion when the police were called to deal with "undesirable and aggressive strangers", these turned out to be friends of friends of Waverley Park children. The minute books make no mention of any other exceptional group usage of the pleasure grounds, such as, for barbecues or children's garden parties. These activities seem always to have been kept to a size small enough to be held in private gardens.

The contained and introverted nature of the estate has undoubtedly helped it to sustain itself as a successful middleclass colony, and the two pleasure grounds have given a local identity and sense of place to the otherwise very ordinary lot-by-lot villa subdivision. A survey of opinion carried out in 1971 confirmed that both grounds were considered well worth while, even by those who did not immediately adjoin them or make frequent use of them. Actual

usage of the spaces often seemed relatively unimportant in the weight of this opinion; indeed, to this day one of the houses overlooking the central open space is still without a connecting doorway onto it. Nor could a money value be put upon their amenity. An unsuccessful attempt, for example, was made to show that properties having a south frontage directly onto the central pleasure ground, had appreciated at a higher rate than comparable properties with only an ordinary street frontage.<sup>1</sup>

The jealous self-interest of residents in the pleasure grounds has been shown many times over in this study, but this by itself, would have proved insufficient in their management. The specific and binding conditions of the feu charter have given the necessary additional means of adequate control, and although many of the watchdog functions of the Committee have now passed to the local planning authority, it has nevertheless proved the value of including similar provisions in present day estates.

Finally a word should be said about the size of the pleasure grounds. They amount in area to a total of three-quarters of a hectare serving an estimated total population of some three hundred people. This is slightly more than twice as generous as the guiding standard recommended by the present Scottish Housing Handbook,<sup>2</sup> so by modern standards, and particularly bearing in

1. See Appendix 2 for full details.

2. 1,222 hectares/1000 population, see:  
Dept. of Health for Scotland, Housing layout; Scottish Housing Handbook, Part 1,  
H.M.S.O. 1953, republished 1958.

mind the ample size of the individual private gardens, Waverley Park could not be described as being deprived of local open space. Since, even at this very generous level of provision, there was a great deal of conflict of usage, it throws some doubt on the validity of using any such space recommendations, except as a very rough guide; the usage of space it seems, like work of time, will always expand to fill what is available.<sup>1</sup>

1. Chapter 9 examines this relationship in greater detail.

CHAPTER SEVEN

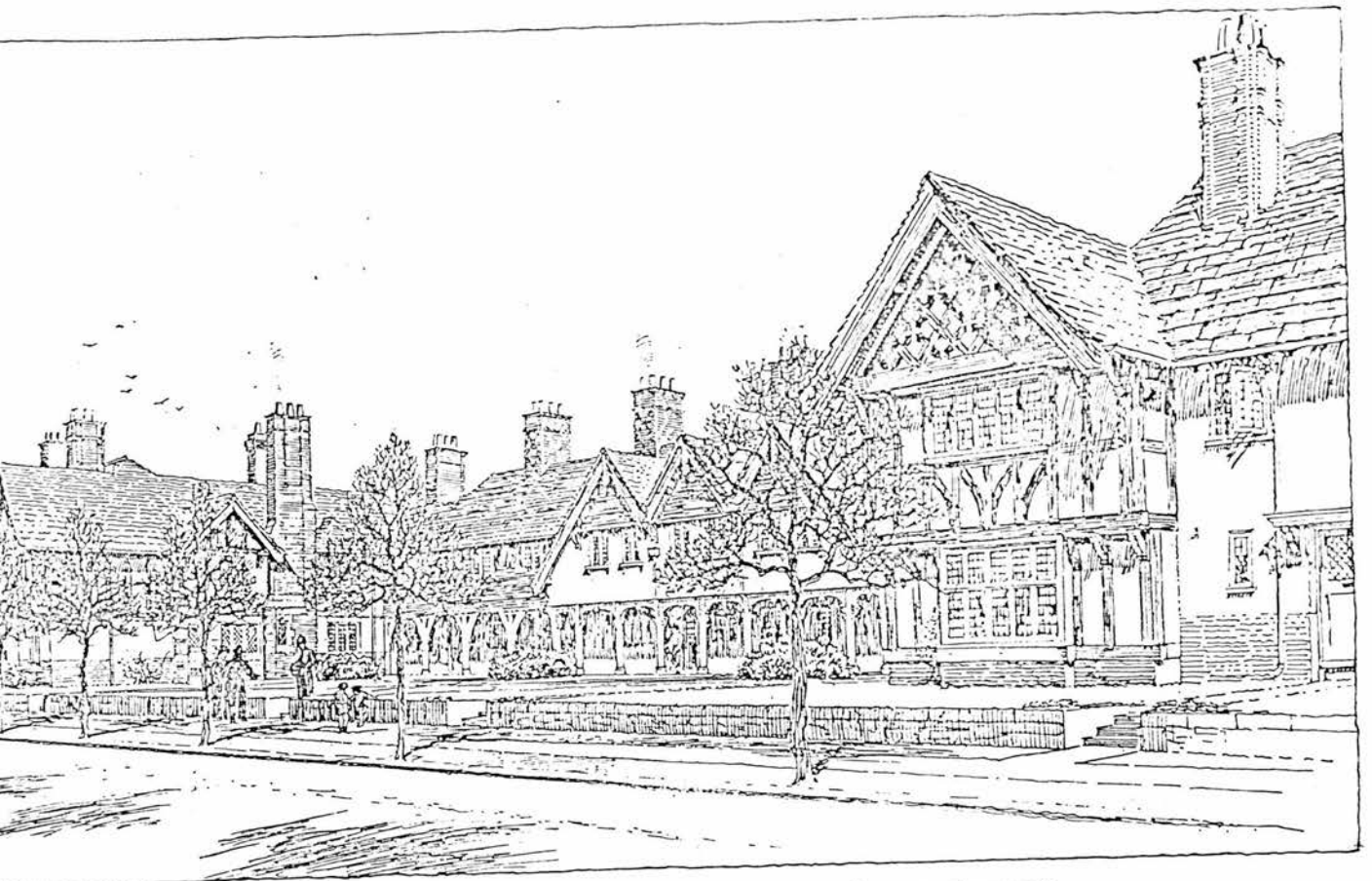
GARDEN SUBURBIA.

The impulse to emigrate from city to country, which was examined in the previous chapter, found its widest and most general expression in the ideals of the garden city movement. The first part of this chapter considers the very great contribution of Raymond Unwin in providing much of the image of British housing inspired by the garden city movement. The second considers the general degradation of this image in interwar local authority housing.

RAYMOND UNWIN AND THE IMAGE OF GARDEN SUBURBIA

The character of modern British housing, and in particular, the distribution and design of local open space, undoubtedly owes more to Raymond Unwin than to any other individual, and yet there has been curiously little critical assessment of his work. His career both as a practising planner and a theorist enabled him not only to develop and expand the image of the company town, into that of the garden city and suburb, but also to adapt this image to provide the form and physical identity of later municipal housing. Much of what was to become commonplace, both in public and private "garden suburbs", may be attributed to his influence.

His first essay in practical town planning was at New Earswick, on 123 acres of land bought by Joseph Rowntree in 1901. Rowntree, in the tradition of Akroyd, Salt, Cadbury and Lever, wished to provide company accommodation for his workers close to his factory, and in doing so he wanted also to show that it was possible to provide a superior alternative to byelaw housing, at rents not exceeding 5/- a week. The planning of this village for nine hundred families gave Unwin the opportunity to acquaint himself with the low density formula used at Bourneville and Port Sunlight, (Figure 50). Like both the latter, New Earswick was provided mainly with two-storey houses or cottage flats, at a density of ten to the acre and in the idiom of Arts and Crafts half-timber and brick vernacular.



COTTAGES IN QUEEN MARY'S DRIVE.—J. L. SIMPSON, ARCHITECT.



PARLOUR HOUSES.—W. AND S. OWEN, ARCHITECTS.

FIGURE 75 :  
Three-sided shared greens fronting roads at Port Sunlight ,  
and very much as those used by Raymond Unwin .

The houses had small front gardens but generous back gardens to encourage a measure of outdoor recreation and self-subsistence. The streets were tree-fringed and the community was grouped about a folk hall community centre and a central green.<sup>1</sup> This kind of planning was already familiar enough (Figure 75), but Unwin gave it a sharper significance in his Fabian Tract "Cottage Plans and Commonsense" published in 1902.<sup>2</sup> In it he described as follows what was to become the basis of much of the detailed planning of Letchworth in 1905 and Hampstead Garden Suburb:

"If instead of being wasted in stuffy yards and dirty backstreets, the space which is available for a number of houses were kept together, it would make quite a respectable square or garden. The cottages could then be grouped around such open spaces, forming quadrangles opening one into the other.... In this manner from twenty to thirty houses according to size can be arranged to an acre including streets; and this number should nowhere be exceeded except under very great pressure. Even if it must be exceeded, probably it is better to go up and make extra floors let into flats, than to curtail the open space... The space in the centre would allow a few trees to grow, some gardens to be made, a safe place for the children to be provided, while it would offer a pleasant & interesting outlook for all the cottages."

1. Both Seebohm and Joseph Rowntree took care to master their subject. A clause in the Rowntree Village Trust deed required the trustees to provide open space for all dwellings and wherever possible, an individual garden for each; also that not less than 1/10th of the area of a housing site, excluding roads and buildings, should be set aside for parks recreation grounds and open spaces.
2. Unwin, R. "Cottage Plans and Commonsense". Fabian tract No. 109, Fabian Society, 1902.

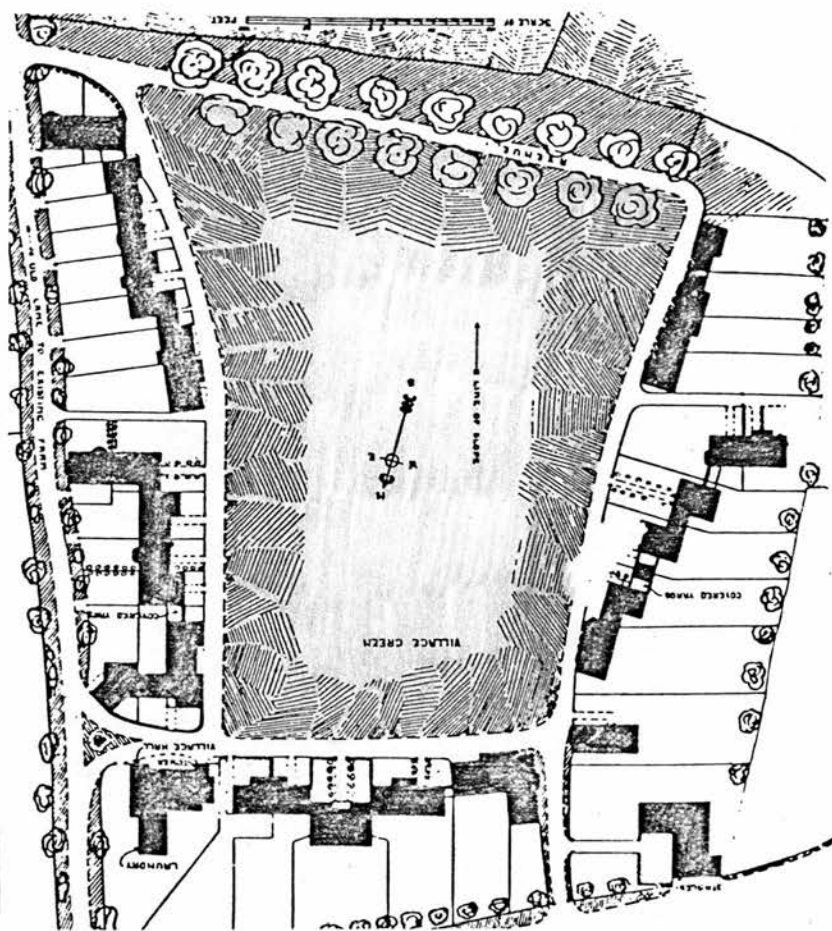


FIGURE 76 :  
 Plan of group of dwellings around a village green , published  
 by Raymond Unwin in The Art of Building a Home in 1901 ,  
 at the time New Earswick was being planned .

Unwin was apparently fond of quoting William Morris's demand that:

"we must turn this land from the grimy backyard of a workshop into a garden. If that seems difficult I cannot help it; I only know that it is necessary." <sup>1</sup>

Cottage Plans and Commonsense was Unwin's practical translation of the difficulty into reality; and it was a reality which provided at last a more or less complete and rounded justification for the provision of shared local open space in housing.

A paper given by him a year earlier <sup>2</sup> had illustrated his group concept as a small hamlet of cottages arranged around a village green (Figure 76). Like Robert Owen, Unwin hoped that this inward-looking quadrangular arrangement would draw people together, so that favourable and positive cooperation and community would result. Enclosed or quadrangular forms, similar to Owen's parallelogram, also offered substantial economies, and lent themselves

"to the provision of small laundries, baths, reading rooms, and other such simple and easily managed cooperative efforts." <sup>3</sup>

In his textbook on town planning <sup>4</sup> published in 1909 he illustrated the application of these ideas and in a further tract entitled Nothing Gained by Overcrowding <sup>5</sup> in 1912, he deliberately

1. Crease, W. The legacy of Raymond Unwin, 1967 p. 40.
2. Unwin, R. The Art of Building a Home, 1901.
3. Unwin, R. Cottage Plans and Common Sense. Crease attributes some of Unwin's fondness for quadrangular forms to his boyhood in Oxford, where his father was a tutor. (see Crease op cit. p.177).
4. Unwin, R. Town Planning in Practice London 1909.
5. Unwin, R. Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City type of development may benefit both owner and occupier. Garden Cities and Town Planning Association 1912.

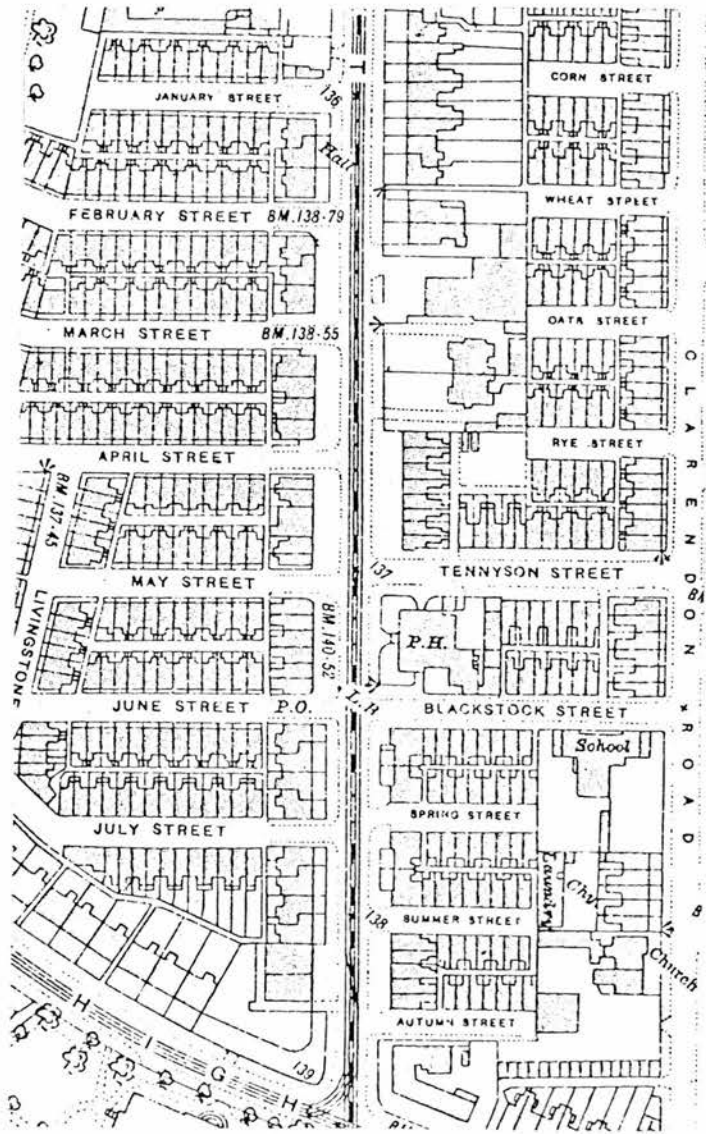


FIGURE 77 :  
 The repetitious monotony of typical byelaw planning , & which Unwin sought to counter .  
 (above ) Manchester : note position where open space might have been placed , occupied by a warehouse straddling three ward boundaries .  
 (below) Manchester : street names to match the developer's imagination .  
 25" O.S. 1922 & 1933 .

matched them against the kind of housing produced by the model byelaws.

The model byelaws had been framed by the Local Government Board primarily as a public health measure to safeguard what was considered to be a minimum ventilation space at the front and rear of all dwellings. They served to guide local authorities in framing their own byelaws, which were then subject to the Board's approval. The effect of such a centralised control, while it served to curb the worst abuses of the property speculators, encouraged the proliferation of highly stereotyped minimum-cost housing, (Figure 77). This was the price paid for Chadwick's efficient bureaucracy.

The byelaws required every dwelling to have a space at front of not less than 24 feet in depth.<sup>1</sup> All streets serving as carriageways were required to have a width of not less than 36 feet, and all houses to have at the rear a paved space of at least 150 square feet.<sup>2</sup> The depth of the space at rear was not to be less than 10 feet for two-storey construction, or 15 feet if an attic storey was used. These regulations, combined with floor height and cubage restrictions served to allow a range of terrace development at surprisingly high densities. The very smallest houses permitted, consisting of one up and one down could be used

1. M.B.L. No. 52

This effectively prevented back-to-back infill of the kind shown in Figure 78B, where the total depth was often less than 12 feet; but only in those parts of the country where the model byelaws had been adopted. Leeds was still building a modified form of this kind of back-to-back housing during the 1920's, and at densities of up to 40 dwellings to the acre, (see Raretz Model Estate 1974 p.18)

2. M.B.L. No. 53.

to achieve 57 dwellings to the acre (171 persons/acre), while a plan giving two rooms and scullery on the ground floor, with a first and attic floor of bedrooms might achieve 39 houses to the acre, or upwards of 200 persons to the acre.<sup>1</sup>

It was only natural for the thrifty tradesman, wishing to build himself a house or put his savings into rentable property, to take advantage of these densities and to look to the cheapest means of doing so. Costs were dictated principally by the area and the frontage needed to meet the minimum byelaws, and to provide a house of the right size. It was customary to refer not to a house plot size but to the total ground area including the space at rear, and half the space at front required by the byelaws. This was then related to the annual ground rent<sup>2</sup> charged by the owner of the freehold, and which might vary from as little as one penny a square yard, to up to ninepence or more.

At the turn of the century it was commonly assumed that a working man should not pay more than one shilling a week in ground rent, or a total of fifty two shillings a year. If the ground rent of land in a particular locality was sixpence a square yard he could therefore afford a total plot area of about one hundred square yards; the space required at front and rear would take about half of this, leaving him with a house plot size of fifty square yards.

1. Hasluck, P. Sanitary Construction in Building, London 1906 p. 112.

2. In the case of leasehold land, or land sold freehold, an annual apportionment of the capital cost allowing usually about 4% for interest charges.

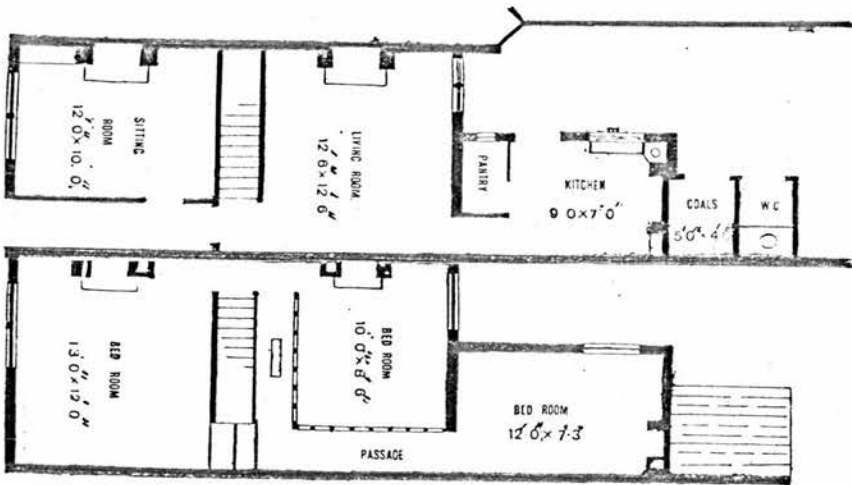
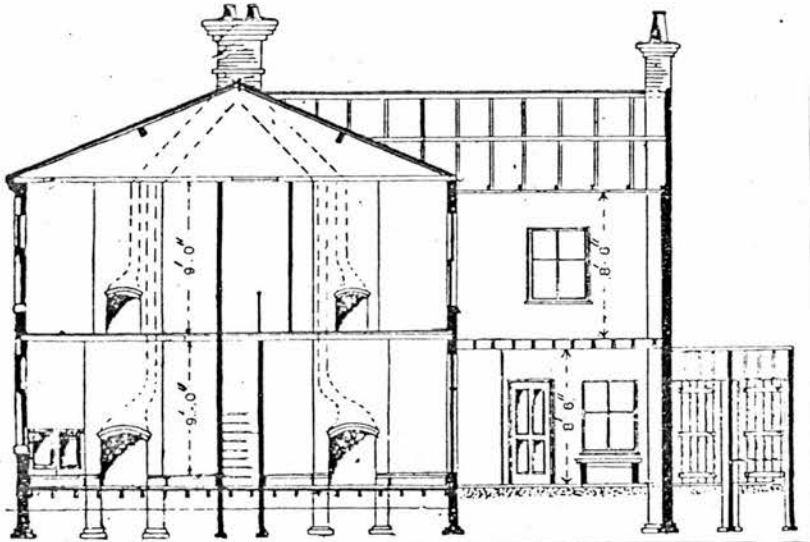
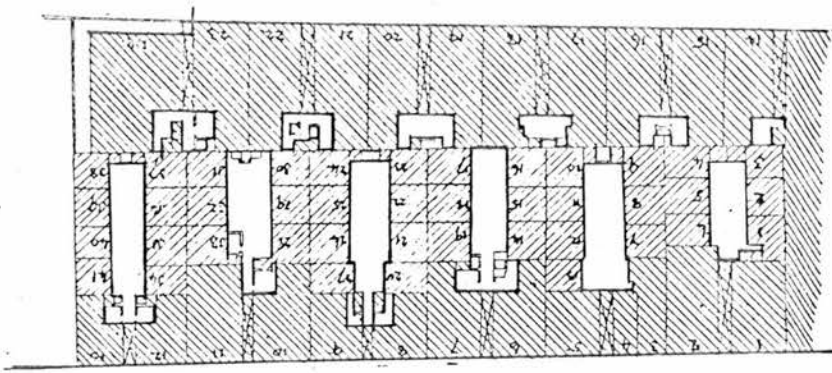


FIGURE 78 :

Typical back-to-back housing & later byelaw housing . .

( above ) 78b : early back-to-back infilling of rear courts which the Model Byelaws were specifically designed to prevent .

( centre right ) 78a : minimum-size byelaw house tight onto street frontage and with paved yard at rear , encroached on by W.C. and coal store .

( centre left & below ) 78c : byelaw house slightly larger than 78a but still without bathroom , and only a miniscule backyard giving access to coalstore and W.C.

Assuming a street frontage of fifteen feet, a working man could then build a two storey house similar in plan to that shown in Figure 78C. This would also allow him a slight surplus of ground which he might put down to garden space - the minimum paved area at rear being quite inadequate for such a purpose, as it not only had to be paved but could also be encroached upon by the WC and ashpit.

Since the streets were a major item of expenditure, developers naturally sought to make greatest use of their frontage. At the time of Unwin's attack on byelaw housing, a typical street in a provincial town cost on average approximately £1 a foot run,<sup>1</sup> so that a house with a frontage of twenty feet would cost £10 more in road costs than one with a frontage of only fifteen feet, allowing for both front and rear accesses.

A house with a frontage of fifteen feet might therefore have a total road charge of £30.<sup>2</sup> This would represent over ten percent of the total house cost, or over twice as much in end houses having a return frontage.<sup>3</sup> The incentive to reduce street frontage was thus very great, and this, together with the high ground rents of urban land, usually restricted the choice of the working man in towns and cities to a mean terrace house identical with its neighbours on both sides of the street, and utterly lacking in any more generous provision of open space of the kind advocated by Unwin - except for the alledgedly sanitary minimum at front and rear.

1. that is for half the width of the street. Unwin quotes a higher figure in Nothing Gained by Overcrowding, but probably for a higher specification than customary in provincial areas.
2. Such a sum represented approximately half of a working man's average annual wage.
3. Hasluck, P. op cit. p.152.

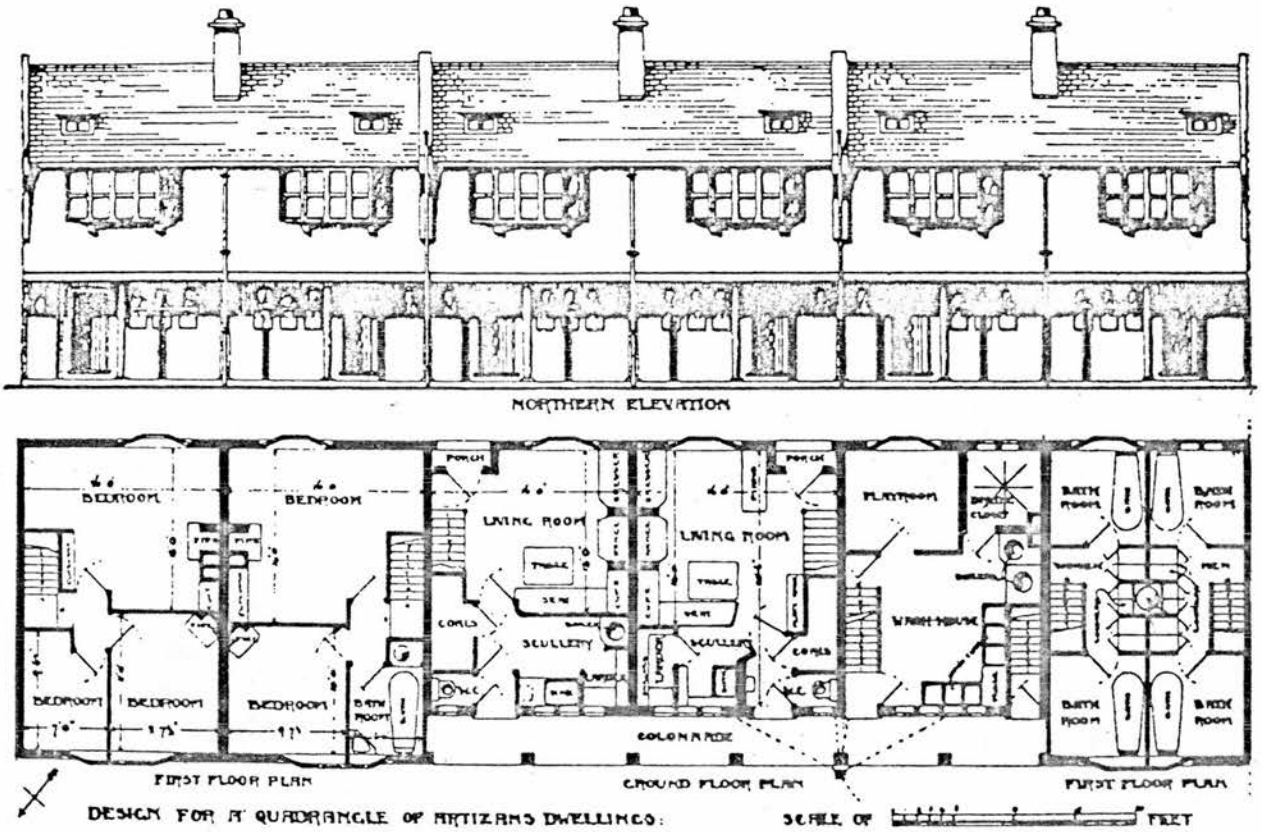
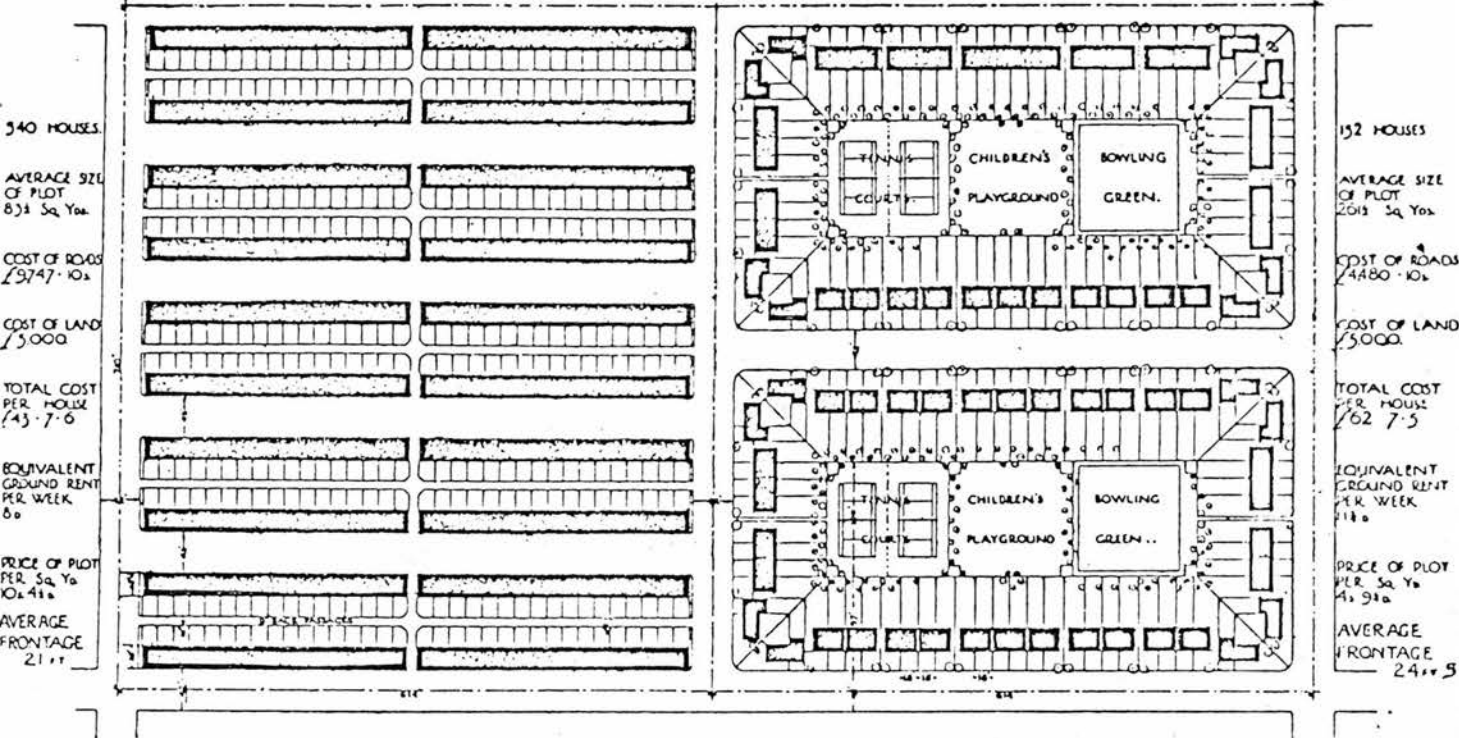


FIGURE 79:

A design by Unwin in 1902, based on a hollow square, and consisting of a quadrangle of artisans dwellings. It shows a commitment to the ideas of the central green stated in *Cottage Plans & Commonsense*, but is transitional to its full expression as illustrated in Figure 80. It reveals the influence of Port Sunlight and of a strongly "working class" idiom.

SCHEME I. 10 ACRES

SCHEME II. 10 ACRES.



TWO SYSTEMS OF DEVELOPMENT CONTRASTED

	SCHEME I. With land at £500 per acre.	SCHEME II. With land at £500 per acre.	SCHEME II. With land at £250 per acre.
Number of houses .. .. .	340	152	152
Average size of plot.. .. .	83½ sq. yds.	261½ sq. yds.	261½ sq. yds.
Cost of roads .. .. .	£9,747 10 0	£4,480 10 0	£4,480 10 0
Cost of land .. .. .	£5,000 0 0	£5,000 0 0	£2,500 0 0
Total cost of land and roads per house	£43 7 6	£62 7 5	£45 18 6
Equivalent ground rent per week ..	8d.	11½d.	8½d.
Price of plot per sq. yard .. .. .	10/4½	4/9½	3/6

FIGURE 80 :

Unwin's comparison of byelaw housing (left) , with the garden city formula advocated by him in Cottage Plans & Commonsense . The formula was realised at Hampstead and Letchworth and in countless imitations .

In Nothing Gained by Overcrowding Unwin compared two similar developments (Figure 80), each on a 10 acre site with land at £500 an acre; the first consisting of 10 rows of byelaw terrace houses, with minimum space at front and rear, and the second "developed in accordance with the Garden City principles" and made up of two blocks of houses arranged as he had described in Cottage Plans and Commonsense. In each case the size of house was the same, but the second scheme with its reduced road frontage provided only 152 dwellings as against the 340 of the byelaw scheme.

Unwin then went on to point to the superior attractions of the large gardens and shared central green of the garden city scheme, and to compare the ground rents, at 4%, of the garden city houses with those of the byelaw scheme, (Table see Figure 80). The ground rent for the former, with their larger plots worked out at  $11\frac{3}{4}$ d/sq. yd. and those of the latter at 8d/sq. yd, which prompted Unwin to ask

"whether in purchasing any other commodity the public are content to take such very bad value for their money."

What he entirely omitted to say was that the people at the bottom of the housing market, struggling to afford even a byelaw house, could certainly not afford the total ground rent for the much larger plots

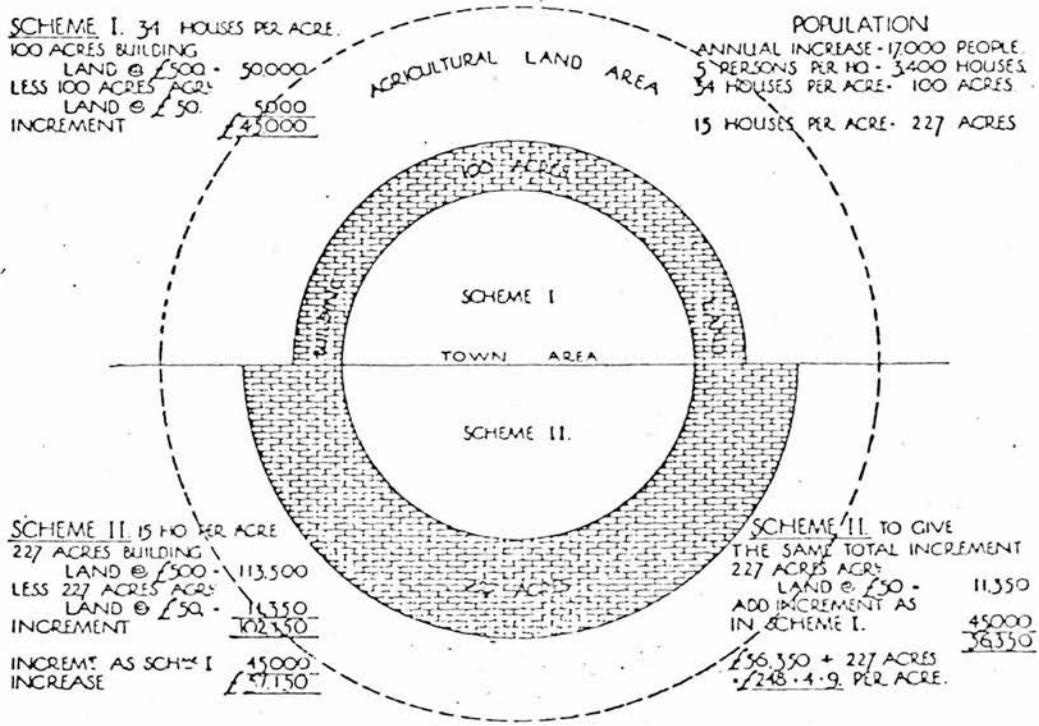


FIGURE 81 :

Diagram by Unwin showing the effect of byelaw housing ( at top ) and garden city housing ( at bottom ) on the radial growth of a city . In spite of Unwin's assertion that peripheral development did not require large radial increments, it is clear from the diagram that such outward growth could only result in sprawling low density suburbs consuming land at a prodigious rate .

of the garden city scheme. The annual ground rent of one of the byelaw houses was only £2.78, but that of the garden city houses was £12.80, a figure well beyond the means of all but the middleclass. Mumford<sup>1</sup> entirely overlooks this point in discussing the importance of Unwin's argument and also Creese, in his otherwise admirable essay on Unwin's work.

In his comparison, Unwin chose also to ignore the immensely more profitable rent to be derived from an acre of byelaw housing.<sup>3</sup> To a speculator, concerned with wresting as much housing out of his land as possible, his arguments must therefore have seemed very naive,<sup>4</sup> although, to those who could afford the standards of his garden city alternative, the amenities offered were undoubtedly very superior.

He ended his tract by reminding his readers that, in radial development, the travel distance towards the city centre from such low density peripheral development reduces as the circumference increases, (Figure 81). To him this confirmed the wisdom of promoting low density suburbs; it removed the excess population from crowded city centres, and enabled control to be regained over the growth of cities.

The truth was that Unwin's<sup>n's</sup> ideas assumed an unlimited supply of cheap building land - and this was not to be had in or around large

1. Mumford, L. The City in History 1961 p. 498.  
Mumford also incorrectly dates Nothing Gained by Overcrowding to c.1903; it was published for the first time in 1912.
2. Creese, W.L. The Legacy of Raymond Unwin. see introduction. 1967.
3. particularly when combined with the profits to be derived from remaining farmlands not taken out of cultivation.
4. the speculative advantages of narrow frontage terrace housing had been spelt out as long ago as 1690 by the unscrupulous son of Praisegod Barbon in two pamphlets, The Discourse of Trade 1690, and An Apology for the Builder, (see Summerson J. Georgian London)

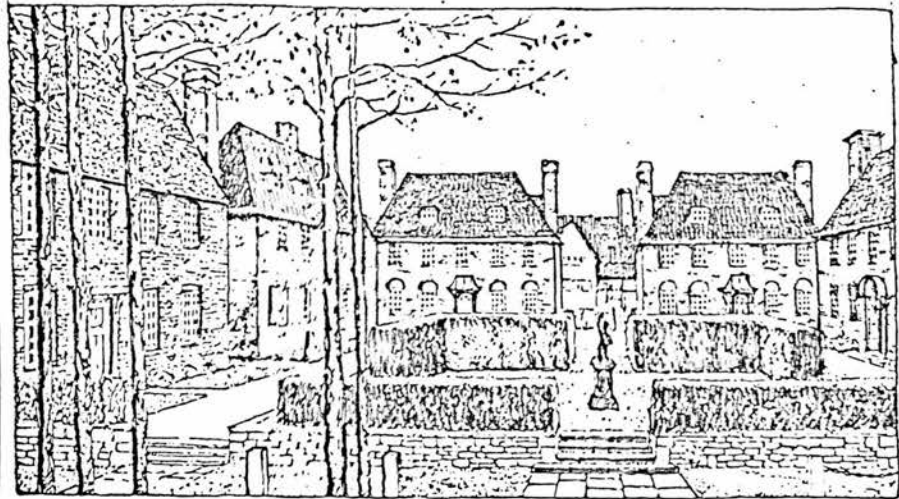
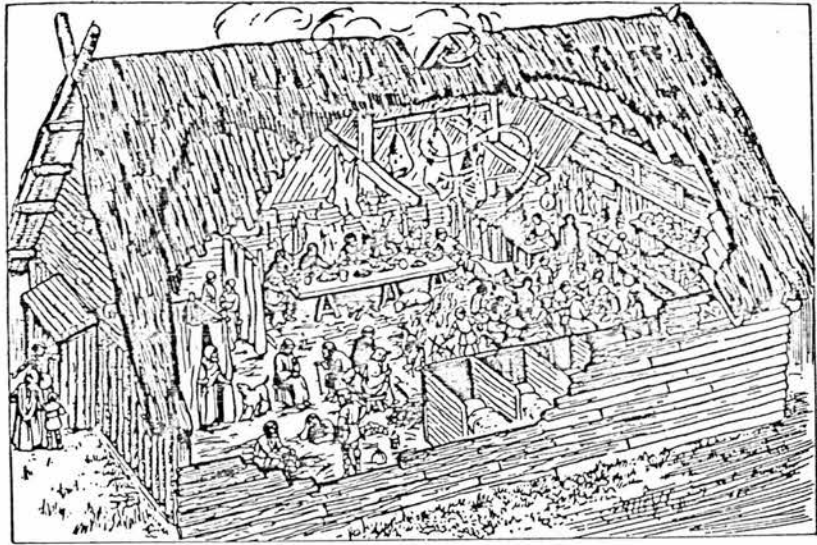


FIGURE 82 :

(above ) 82a : The great hall of a mediaeval manor . An illustration from Unwin's Columbia University lectures of 1936 , and intended to demonstrate the cooperative possibilities of shared space like that of the green below . ( from Creese op cit p71 ) .

( below ) 82b : Three-sided development at Hampstead Garden Suburb around a shared green intended to foster a spirit of cooperation . Compare with Figure 75 . ( from Unwin R . TownPlanning in Practice p331 )

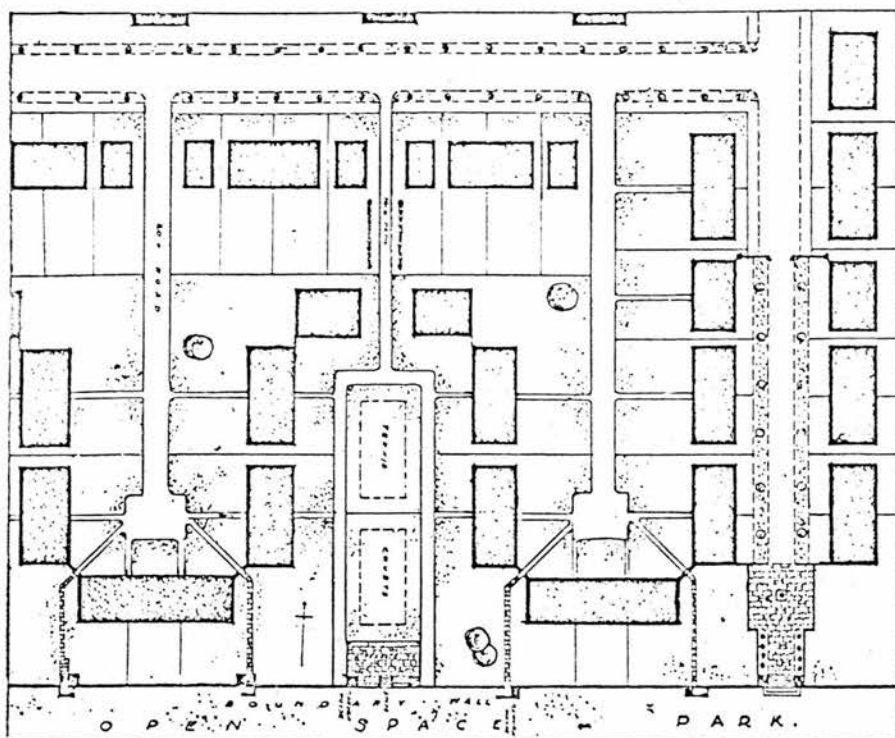
cities; and the effect of introducing the town planning density controls he called for, using the 1909 legislation,<sup>1</sup> far from ensuring a supply of cheap land, merely pushed up its price to offset the lower densities required. The effect of such price rises was to make it less and less feasible to house the working classes at these lower densities. Unwin's claim that he had

"proved that the overcrowding system is injurious to all parties and really beneficial to nobody"

was therefore quite untrue. At the same time, his arguments in favour of low density gave a licence of respectability to many quick-profit developers, eager to exploit the ever-increasing middle class preference for a commuter's cottage, and an illusory semi-rural existence supported by the tramways and suburban trains.

The distinguishing marks of Parker and Unwin's work, and of its prolific limitations, are easy to recognise. It was based firstly on the garden city's ideal of contact with Nature, and on a strict adherence to low density planning. Even the cheapest houses at Letchworth and New Earswick occupied no more than one-fifth of their site, and at a density no higher than twelve to the acre. It was distinctive also in its attempt to arrange groups of houses to enclose local shared open space in the form of greens, playgrounds, and allotments; and these spaces were given a strongly symbolic cooperative meaning, for which Unwin found a parallel in the great hall

1. Act to amend the law relating to the Housing of the Working Classes, to provide for the making of Town Planning Schemes.....9 Edw 7 cap 44.



*Illus. 241.—Diagram showing how the view of an open space may be secured to a large number of houses, also how the land may be developed by roads at the back of the houses.*

FIGURE 83 :

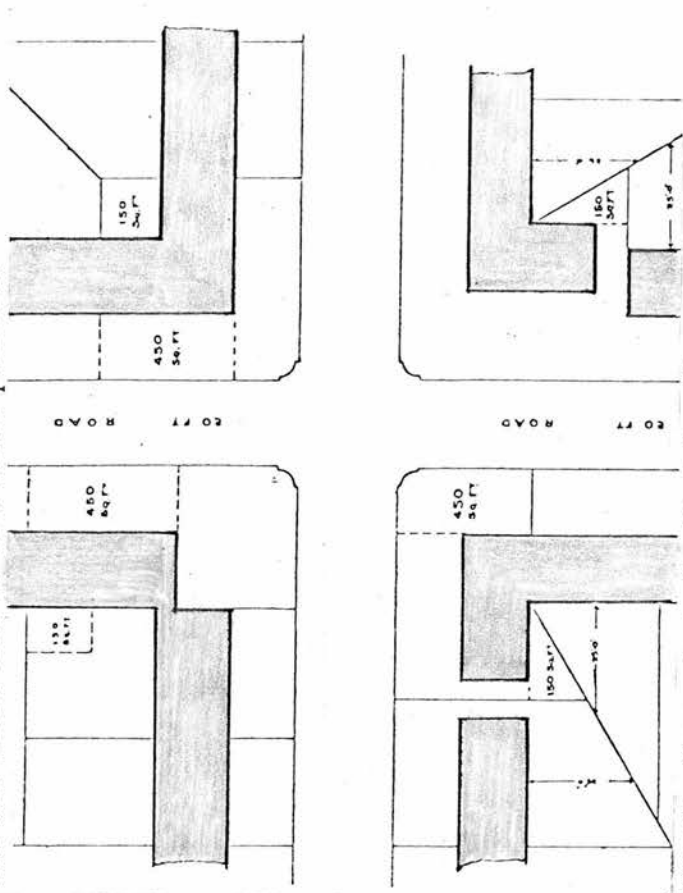
Typical court and cul de sac device used by Unwin to allow quadrangles to be serviced from the rear . Compare with Figure 96 and 97 . Note clumsily positioned tennis courts too close to building frontages .

“Provided that in the case of a new domestic building erected in the Garden Suburb upon a corner site the requirements of this bye-law shall be deemed to be satisfied if the following conditions are complied with—

“(1) There shall be provided at the rear of such building an open space of at least *one hundred and fifty square feet* exclusively belonging thereto. Such open space shall extend throughout not less than *ten feet* of the width of such building, and shall be free from any erection thereon above the level of the ground except a water closet, earth closet, or privy, and an asphalt constructed respectively in accordance with the requirements of the bye-law in that behalf.

“(2) One side of such building other than the front shall abut on a further open space (not being a street) of such an extent as together with the open space provided at the rear of the building will amount to not less than six hundred square feet.”

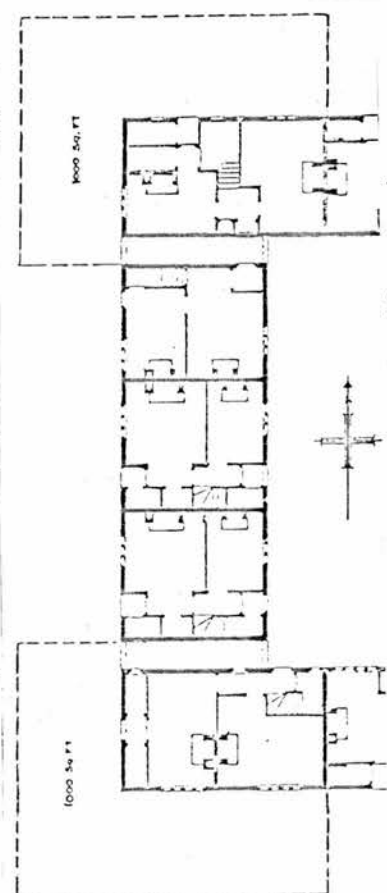
It will be seen from this that a very generous provision of open space was agreed upon in exchange for the permission to arrange it in a different form to that required under the ordinary bye-law, and this would seem to be a useful precedent.



Illus. 297.—Diagrams showing the effect of the modifications in the usual space by-laws permitting the completion of an external angle in buildings showing four different arrangements.

tained a clause allowing for the average measurement across the open space to be taken : thus for a building requiring a space 30 feet across, if rectangular and extending the full width of the building, a triangular site measuring 60 feet to the apex of the triangle would give the average measurement of 30 feet and would be taken to satisfy the bye-law. But the bye-laws contained no provision on corner sites for counting space at the side of the building as part of the open space to be provided, and in the form suggested it was not possible to turn the corner of a street with a continuous group of buildings, nor to build a quadrangular block, or a part quadrangle of houses, without omitting the corner houses, and thus causing a gap in the roof line quite destructive of the quadrangular, enclosed effect. The local authorities were unwilling to adopt over the whole of their district a bye-law permitting the creation of corner houses in the way desired, but on account of the large amount of open space in proportion to the houses provided on the Garden Suburb estate, they agreed to bye-laws upon this matter applying to this estate only, and to this the Local Government Board also agreed, so that the following two bye-laws were inserted :—

(a) To provide for an internal corner house.  
 “Provided further that in the case of a new domestic building erected in the Garden Suburb the open space hereinbefore mentioned shall not be required to be provided throughout a frontage of more than *eight feet* if two sides of the building other than the front shall abut on an open space of not less than *one thousand square feet* exclusively belonging to the building, the distance across which, measured at right angles from each of such sides to the boundary of any adjoining land or premises, shall not at any point be less than *twenty feet*.”



Illus. 297a.—Diagram showing completion of internal angle.

FIGURE 84a :

Unwin's specially modified byelaw allowing an internal corner house in quadrangular hollow square development in order to maintain visual continuity . Many later developments carried out under Town Planning Schemes were permitted to follow suit .

( from Town Planning in Practice . pp 397-399 ) .

of the mediaeval manor as the focus of community life, (Figure 82A).

Without such spaces Unwin felt that

"towns and suburbs.... express by their ugliness the passion for individual gain which so dominates their creation." <sup>1</sup>

Typical of his generous treatment were the three-sided groups served either by a cul de sac or by a narrow access road, often only thirteen or fourteen feet wide, and linking with the main road on the fourth side, (Figure 83). As Creese notes, this was a device curiously similar to the livingroom inglenook much used in their house planning. It flouted the minimum street width of the model byelaws, and at Hampstead needed the backing of a special private Act of Parliament. <sup>2</sup>

Great attention was also given to the spaces between buildings, in order to concentrate vistas and achieve strong spatial enclosure. This brought Unwin into further conflict with the byelaws, and particularly those designed to prevent hollow squares. Quadrangular and continuous corner planning were only possible at Hampstead by a byelaw specially approved by the local Government Board, and restricted to housing of no more than eight to the acre, (Figure 84A and B).

Finally Parker and Unwin's work was typically ambivalent in

1. Unwin, R. Town Planning in Practice 1909 Ch. 1.
2. New Earswick & Letchworth were both in areas where the model byelaws had yet to be adopted. Many later developments carried out under Town Planning Schemes, were often permitted to adopt the byelaws as modified by Unwin and were therefore able to follow his example in using three sided groups set back from roads.



FIGURE 85:  
Hampstead Garden Suburb showing the ambivalence  
in Unwin's work of its uneasy combination of  
boulevard planning with a village informality.  
1:1056 OS 1935

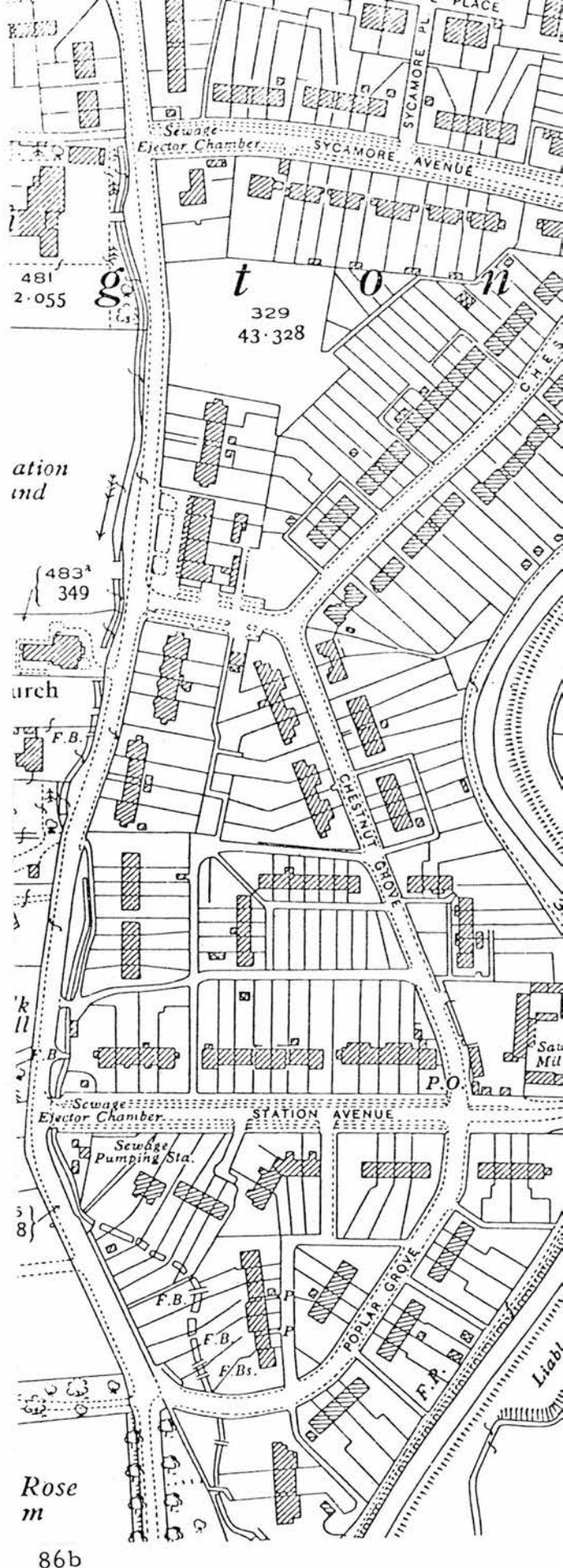
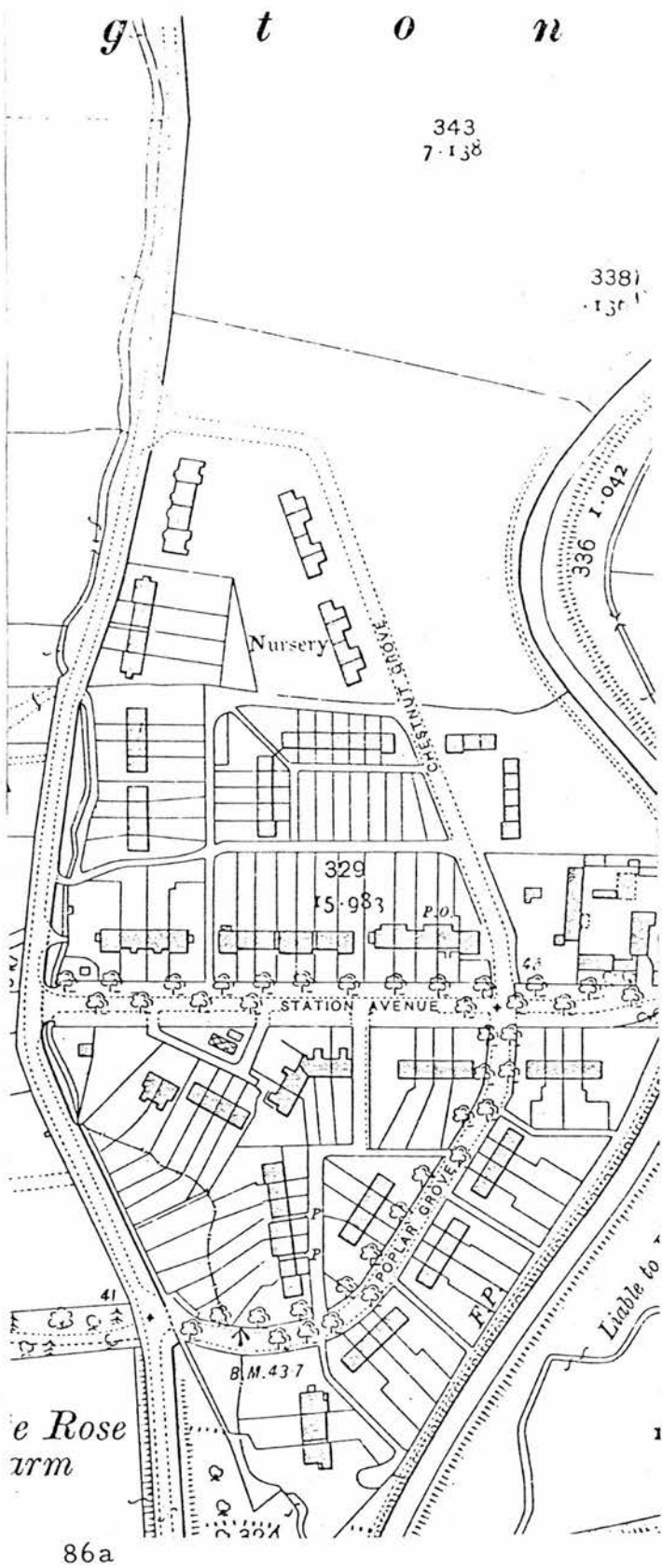


FIGURE 86 :  
 The earliest part of New Earswick , interesting in Parker & Unwin's attempt to develop a studied asymmetry ; later phases , ( Figure 86b) lost this quality , and the whole tended to suffer from the uniformity also to be seen in the Pixmore Estate , Letchworth , ( Figure 87 ) .  
 1:2500 O . S . 1911 .

its attempt to combine informal village planning with the very much more formal treatment of the centres of Hampstead and Letchworth, with their axial, highly-symmetrical and fan-shaped boulevard patterns (Figure 85). Parker commented on this in his talks reported in the RIBAJ.<sup>1</sup> It was a common failing of his generation, and marked a strangely misguided attempt to resolve the much-admired work of Haussmann and the Second Empire planners, with the ideas of men like Camillo Sitte. In the hands of most provincial borough engineers it expressed only a pompous banality, (Figure 98B).

The strengths and weaknesses of Parker and Unwin's garden city formula are evident even in their earliest work at New Earswick (Figure 86). To a visitor from the urban Midlands its relative spaciousness is at once a marked and attractive improvement on the cramped monotony<sup>of</sup> byelaw street planning, but this favourable first impression is affected by a monotony of a different kind. The physical size of the town with its nine hundred dwellings is just too large for the flat and featureless site and the even manner in which it is treated. In spite of the designers' ingenuity in staggering the buildings forward and backward, the two-storey forms adopted, have insufficient variety to allow groups of dwellings to develop a distinct sense of place; while the streets, with their small-scale verge tree planting of Rowan, Hawthorn, Cherry and other "garden" species, achieve only a monotonous prettiness. (Figure 87)

1. Parker's own particular contribution to British planning was made long after his partnership with Unwin had been dissolved. It was the introduction of the American urban parkway as the means of isolating his satellite Wythenshawe from its parent Manchester. The Princess Parkway, apart from demonstrating how the impact of ribbon development could be overcome, was one of the first attempts to impose a disciplined road hierarchy according to traffic loading - a hierarchy to be fully developed in the post war new town programmes.



FIGURE 87 :

Pixmore Estate , Letchworth Garden City . Unwin used details from this estate to illustrate his book on townplanning . Letchworth does not appear to have adopted the street corner byelaw favoured by Unwin , and one wonders if this contributed to his break with Letchworth . The weakness of Unwin s approach to residential planning was that it often failed , as here , to use open spaces and the road network to define and link discrete housing groups ; everything has been reduced to a uniform sameness .

When supervised by a master, like Lutyens at Hampstead, the formula might avoid the banal with effortless ease, but in the hands of countless minor imitators, in innumerable so called garden suburbs, it became thoroughly debased. If Unwin had succeeded just once in achieving the elusive subtleties he set down so lucidly in his writing it would be easier to forgive this prodigious amount of inferior imitation, but his own work never rose above the promise of competent mediocrity. It would, however, be absurd to lay the failings of the garden city movement entirely at his feet. Many of the distinguishing marks of his own work were independently developed by others, from the same models he had used - Bourneville and Port Sunlight. But he remained their most successful practitioner and through his writings, their most notable spokesman.

Unwin's prodigious success at Letchworth and Hampstead might have tempted many lesser men to remain content to serve the interests of these essentially middle class communities, but he had a strong social conscience. He was aware that for all their professed equalitarianism these ventures were making little real contribution to the urban housing problem. Hampstead admittedly had its cheap housing, but it was for those of the working class needed to service the interests of the middleclass community; cottages for chauffeurs, a home for workhouse girls training to go into service, and so on. With the upper-income housing occupying the best and most advantageous sites around the central square and elsewhere.

Beyond these limitations of private practice, Unwin saw the opportunity to influence large-scale housing improvement for the working classes as a senior government official. In 1914 he became Chief Inspector of the local Government Board, in 1915 Director of Housing at the Ministry of Munitions, and in 1918 Chief Architect to the Ministry of Health.

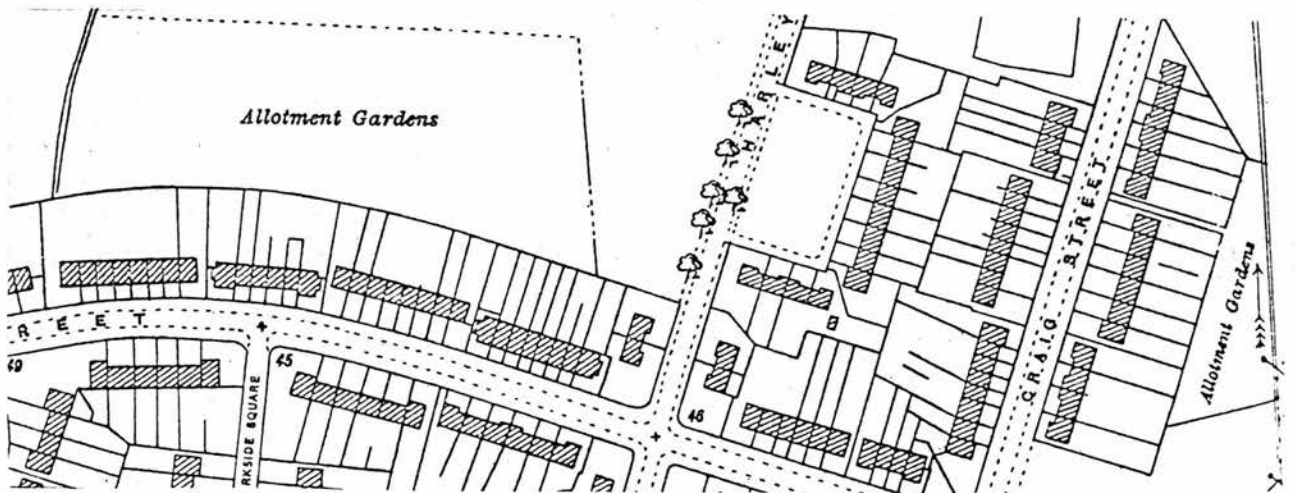
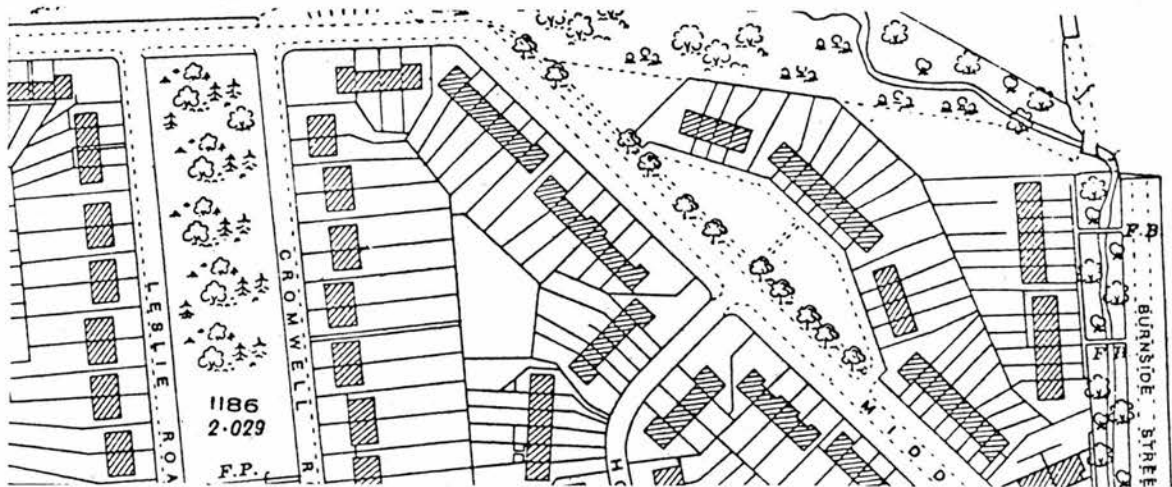


FIGURE 88 :

Parts of Rosyth, showing the strong influence of Unwin in the greens, allotments, and setbacks, but not in the broken "ventilated" corners. 1:2500 O.S. 1927

While he was at the Ministry of Munitions, he had his first important opportunity to design for the working classes on a large scale. The Scottish Munitions Board Estates at Annan, Rosyth and Gretna date from this period and were important in giving him the wider practical experience he later needed at the Ministry of Health. The Rosyth estate was typical,<sup>1</sup> (Figure 88): it has a generosity of treatment & an immediately English quality about it; tenements are avoided in preference for two storey houses and cottage flats,<sup>2</sup> each with garden ground with clipped hedges at the front and cabbages and even pigeons at the back. Many of the housing groups are arranged around the three sides of a square, and fifty years after construction remain sound and successful; they are obviously well cared for by their tenants and there is a pride of identity which compares very favourably with later council housing. Apart from modernisation of the house interiors, the only deficiency appears to be in resolving the demands for peace and quiet of the ageing population with the overuse of the greens by noisy children.

Unwin's influence with the Local Government Board may be judged from a Scottish memorandum published in 1918, on the provision and planning of houses for the working classes.<sup>3</sup> It admits openly to being based

1. The masterplan was by A. H. Mottram who had worked with Unwin at Hampstead and also at Chepstow. see Stevenson F. R. op cit.
2. the upper flats have a front door at ground level and a piece of garden ground - a plan form typical of early state and municipal housing and which Unwin did much to promote.
3. Local Government Board for Scotland. Provision of Houses for the Working Classes after the War: the housing of the working classes Acts 1890 to 1909. Memorandum . . . . . with suggestions in regard to the provision and planning of houses for the Working Classes. H. M. S. O. 1918.

"on the experience gained by the Board's staff during two to three years, in connection with the erection on behalf of the Admiralty and Ministry of Munitions of houses for - government employees and for persons engaged in munitions."

In many ways this document appears to have served as a draft for the ideas set down shortly after in the Tudor Walters Report and which were to guide the post-war housing programme. It called for housing at twelve to the acre and argued that extra land costs from lower densities were, over the eighty year loan repayment period, so small as to be negligible.<sup>1</sup> For economy and amenity it suggested the grouping of homes around three sides of a quadrangle, and with the houses having road access from the rear and a public footpath connection exactly in the manner illustrated by Unwin in 1909. (Figure 83); and in many other matters of detail which promote the cottage suburb "garden city manner". Unwin's influence is unmistakable.

Meanwhile his colleague, Patrick Geddes, a planner of a very different sort,<sup>2</sup> was doing his best to prevent Edinburgh building any more tenements. His solution to expanding the city, and rehousing the poor from the city centre, was to build "industrial garden villages" over the coalfields to the east of Duddingston. He noted with disgust the construction of an isolated block of tenements set in open country near Duddingston to service a brewery. Geddes saw, instead, the eastern boundary of the city

1. Assuming that freehold land was available at £100 an acre; a very optimistic assumption.
2. Described by the Glasgow Sanitary Inspector as the Haroun Al Raschid of modern city improvement - like his Arab counterpart, wandering in disguise through Old Baghdad to gain the knowledge and insight necessary to transform it. A more apt description might have been that of a Scots Don Quixote tilting at tenements.

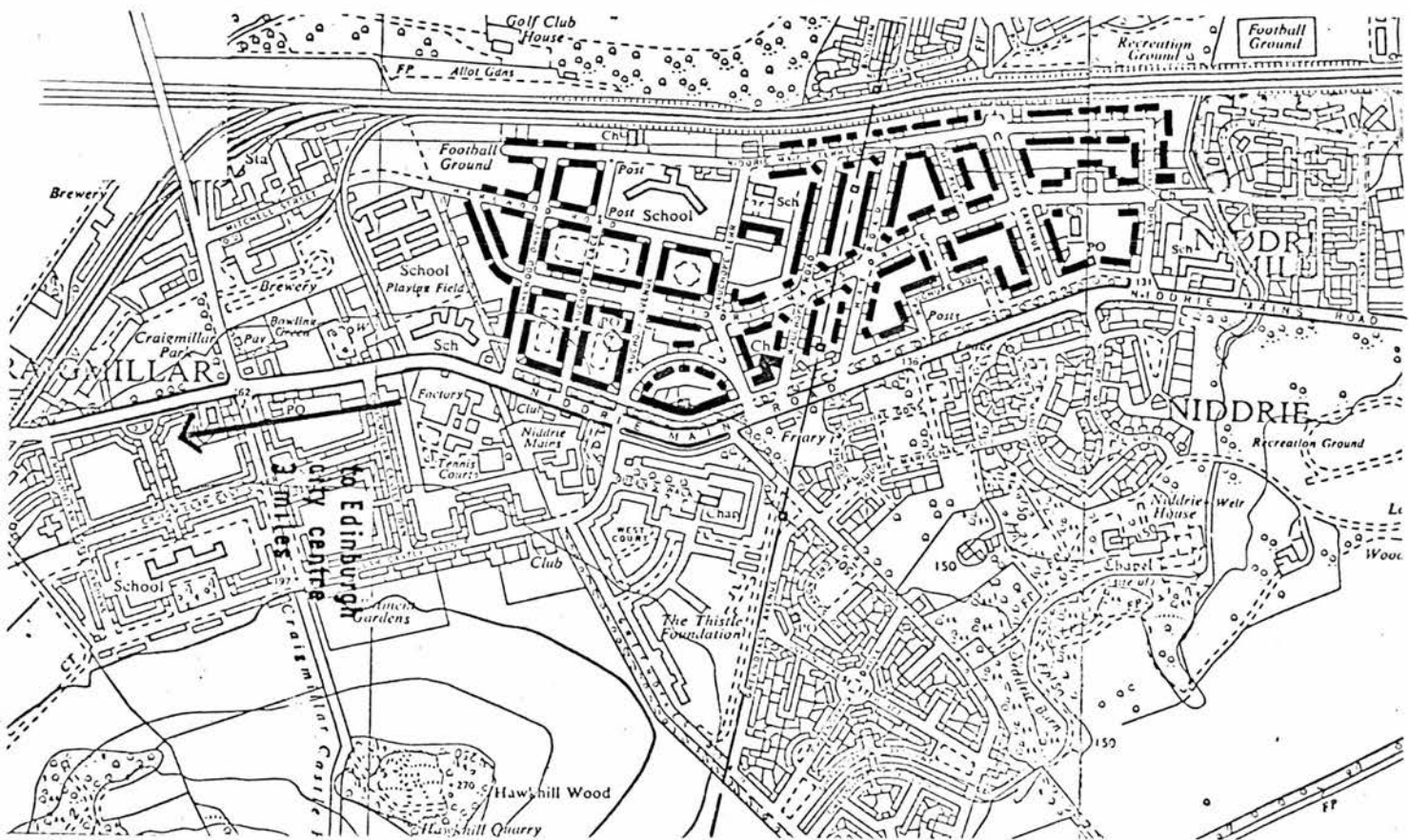


FIGURE 89:

The Poorman's Tenement Estate, at Niddrie Mains, Edinburgh. Ventilated hollow squares intended as drying greens and children's play spaces, but long derelict; the site orientated about a formal central boulevard, the axis of which is a high tension electricity cable.

developing into a

"Newer Edinburgh - an industrial city and garden city in one, and this realisable within a reasonable period, which our friend Mr. Ebenezer Howard may I trust live to see." <sup>1</sup>

It is probably as well that neither of them lived to see the poor man's tenement suburb which was eventually built on this site, (Figure 89).

Unwin's real chance to promote his views on the planning of residential areas came, when as chief architect of the Ministry of Health - he served on the Tudor Walters Committee and played a major part in the drafting of its report on the provision of dwellings for the working classes. <sup>2</sup> The implications of the report upon open space design in residential areas were very far-reaching and throughout the whole of Britain.

It called for spacious suburbs with convenient and attractive houses designed by competent architects at densities of up to twelve to the acre and on belts of undeveloped land on the outskirts of towns. The houses were not to be spaced closely together simply to economise on roads, but it was suggested that savings on road frontage might be made by placing playgrounds, allotments and greens in backland areas. In addition to this very familiar formula it offered one curiously insensitive piece of advice in suggesting that houses on sloping sites were not to stagger with the contours in

"expensive and ugly steps in the roof",

1. Geddes, P. "The Civic Survey of Edinburgh", reprinted from Transactions of the Town Planning Conference for the Civics Department, Outlook Tower, Edinburgh. 1911 p.363.
2. Tudor Walters Committee. Report of the Committee appointed by the President of the local Government Board, and the Secretary of State for Scotland, to consider questions of building construction in connection with the provision of dwellings for the working classes in England, Wales and Scotland. 1918 H.M.S.O.

but that rooflines be maintained by introducing additional storeys to take up the slope. Is it coincidence that Unwin in his own work seems to have deliberately avoided stepping buildings down the contours and yet this is often one of the most obvious characteristics of the traditional English village which he so much admired? This is the ambivalence of the formal boulevard influence reasserting itself.

But apart from these minor quirks, the Tudor Walters Report was a remarkably farsighted document. It recommended for instance that houses should be built sufficiently above minimum standard to safely outlast the loan repayment period, for

"to do otherwise might prove anything but economical, in the long run."

And still more presciently, it warned that:

"it is generally agreed that to cover large areas with houses, all of one size, and likely to be occupied by one class of tenant, unrelieved by any other types of dwelling and occupied by different classes of society, is most undesirable."

Unwin himself had warned of such dangers in his Town Planning in Practice (1909).

In 1920 the local Government Board published a manual of advice to local housing authorities on the preparation of state-aided housing schemes. It spelt out in further detail the advice of the Tudor Walters Report. Great importance was to be attached to the provision of an adequate, total site area, to allow sufficient

space for gardens, allotments, playgrounds and greens. In urban areas, an average of about four hundred square yards was to be allocated to each house to allow these spaces to be provided at densities of twelve to the acre.<sup>1</sup> It reiterated the economies of the "garden city" formula and stressed the great importance of sunlight and the dangers of reducing it too much by spacing buildings any closer than seventy feet; and, as in the Tudor Walters Report, it at long last conspicuously omitted any mention of ventilation as a justification for providing open space. The lessons of medical research were it seems at last causing a reappraisal of housing design policy.

1. Local Government Board, Manual on the Preparation of State-aided Housing Schemes, H. M. S. O. 1920.

POOR MAN'S GARDEN SUBURB.

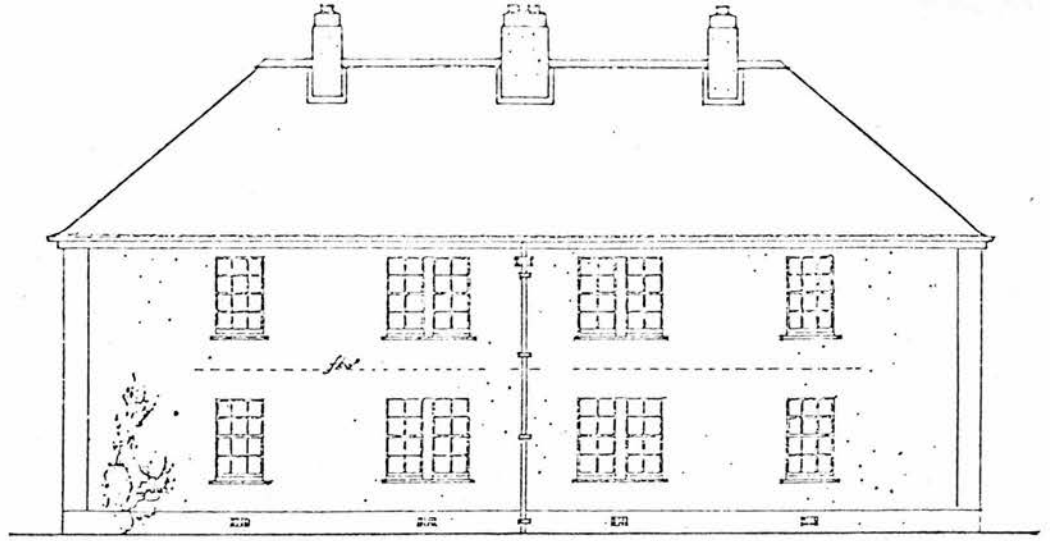
By the time the Royal Commission on Housing in Scotland reported<sup>1</sup> in 1917, the questions of

"who were the urban poor?" "how poor were they?"  
and "were they poor enough to need housing subsidy"?

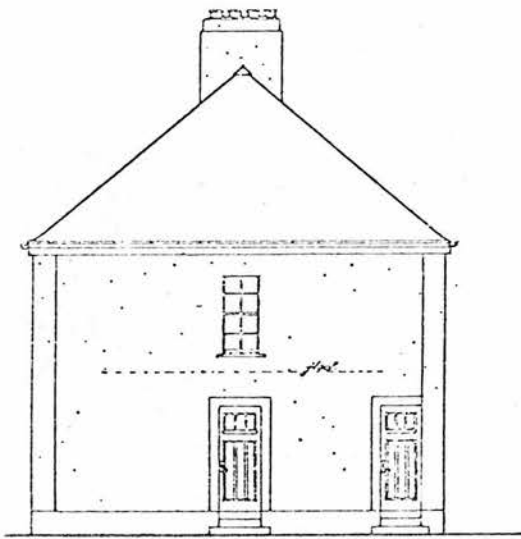
had long been exhaustively discussed. Tarn and others have since shown how, both in Scotland and the South, through the latter part of the Nineteenth Century, the progressively smaller returns to be derived from working class housing had virtually halted all private investment. The profit in building for sale to the middle classes was much more certain and secure than that to be had from building to rack rent the industrious poor, while, in providing shelter for Booth's "submerged tenth," there was no hope at all of building for profit. The Royal Commissioners reported that nearly half of the Scottish population were living in dwellings of only one or two rooms and that since open market rents were not sufficient to cover building costs, rates, feu duty, repairs and insurance, unassisted private enterprise was in no position to tackle the housing problem. They therefore concluded that working class housing should become an obligatory responsibility of local authorities, and assisted by massive support in the form of subsidy administered by a central government board.<sup>3</sup>

The vision of the Royal Commissioners, and of the Tudor Walters Committee, in framing this responsibility, was of a sweeping

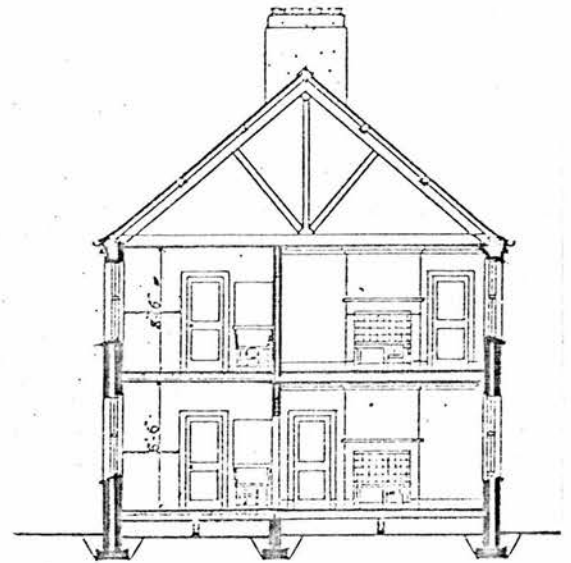
1. Report of The Royal Commission on the Housing of the Industrial Population of Scotland, Rural and Urban Command 8731 H, M.S.O. 1917.
2. Tarn, J. Working-class Housing in Nineteenth Century Britain, Chapters 8 and 9.
3. Between 1918 and 1962 this huge programme was administered by the Scottish Board of Health later the Department of Health for Scotland, with its own technical officers; and since 1962 this has been one of the major responsibilities of the Scottish Development Department, set up in that year.



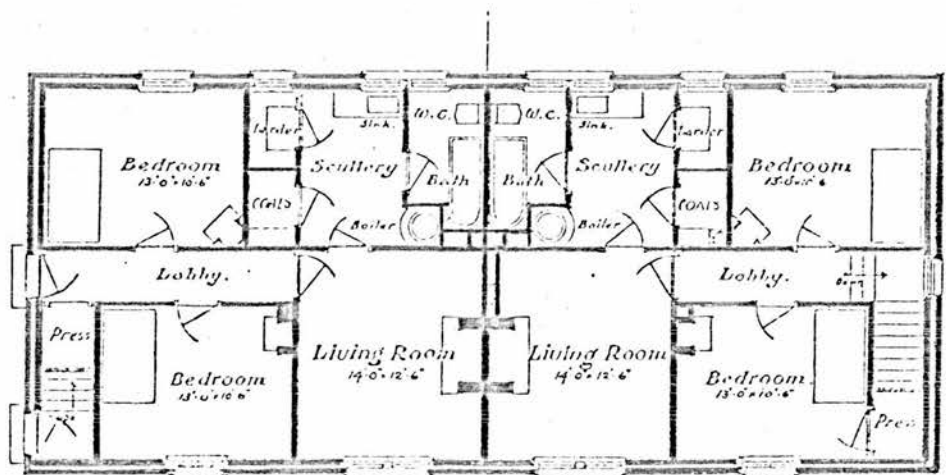
• Front Elevation •



• Side Elevation •



• Section •



• Ground Floor Plan •

• Upper Floor Plan •

Scale of Feet.



FIGURE 90 :

Cottage flats illustrated in the 1917 Royal Commission Report ,  
and of a kind to become common in Scotland during the 1920 ' s .

programme of rehousing which would take the working classes from their overcrowded city centre quarters to low density outlying garden suburbs. Like Henrietta Barnett, their expectation was that:

"... every road may have its own characteristic, that small open spaces may be within the reach of every child and old person, that no house may darken or offend a neighbour's house, that the whole may be grouped round central features and central buildings, that from every part there shall be good views or glimpses of distant country."<sup>1</sup>

The shape of things to come was clearly to be seen in the designs submitted in 1919, in response to a competition for working class housing authorised by the local Government Board for Scotland, and promoted by the Institute of Scottish Architects. The competition was in three sections, the first for two storey cottages at 10 to the acre, the second for flats at 14 to the acre, and lastly for dwellings at 24 to the acre - the latter being a Scottish tenement density, and well beyond anything recommended by the Tudor Walters Committee.<sup>2</sup> A selection of the prize-winning entries for the latter two categories is given in Figures 91, 92, 93 and 94.

Those in the second category, at 14 dwellings to the acre, were typical of what was to become the image of Scottish local authority housing during the 'twenties. This image consisted principally of two storey "cottage flats", four to a block, each with

1. Barnett, H. O. op cit p. 706

2. The Royal Commission's report like that of the Tudor Walters Committee had strongly favoured cottage development and although very critical of the tenement, had not condemned it outright.

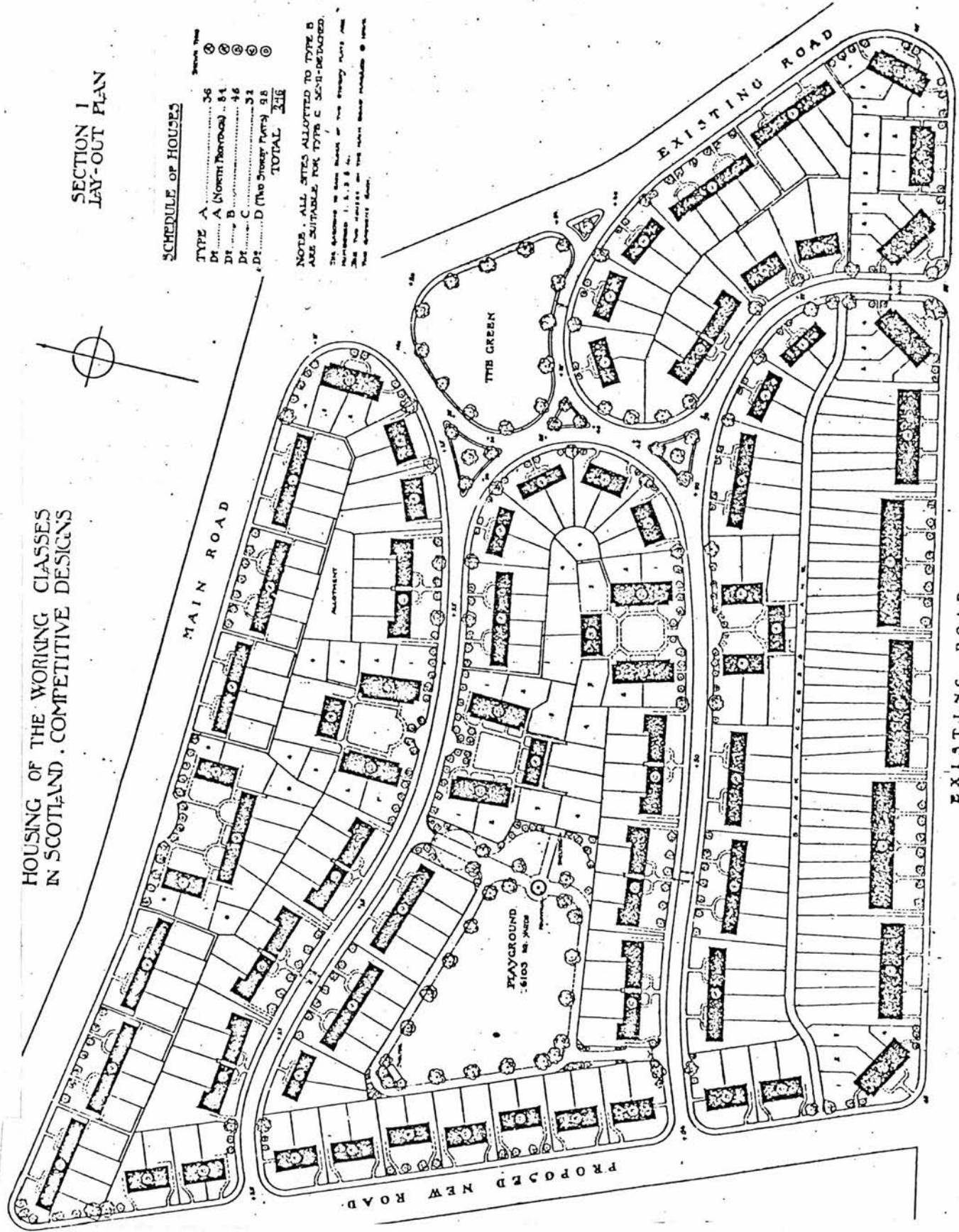
HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES  
IN SCOTLAND . COMPETITIVE DESIGNS

SECTION I  
LAY-OUT PLAN

SCHEDULE OF HOUSES

TYPE	NO.	AREA
A	36	10,800
B	84	25,200
C	46	13,800
D	32	9,600
TOTAL	198	59,400

NOTE . ALL SITES ALLOTTED TO TYPE B ARE SUITABLE FOR TYPE C SEC-II-DETACHED.  
The following is the block of the street plan and the number of houses in each block.  
The total number of houses is 198.



EXISTING ROAD

I. SECTION I. LAYOUT PLAN: FIRST PREMIUM  
Miss E. D. Blacker and H. Heathman (Bristol)

FIGURE 91 :  
1919 LGB Scottish Housing Competition . The winning solution in the section given to two storey cottage planning ; not at all Scottish in ancestry and significantly by English-based architects . Note the familiar tree-planted street verges and Unwinesque setbacks , also the large well-handled back green with its direct access from private gardens , the green at the main entry ( no doubt intended to impart a " village " atmosphere ) , and the clumsy road junctions at the east .

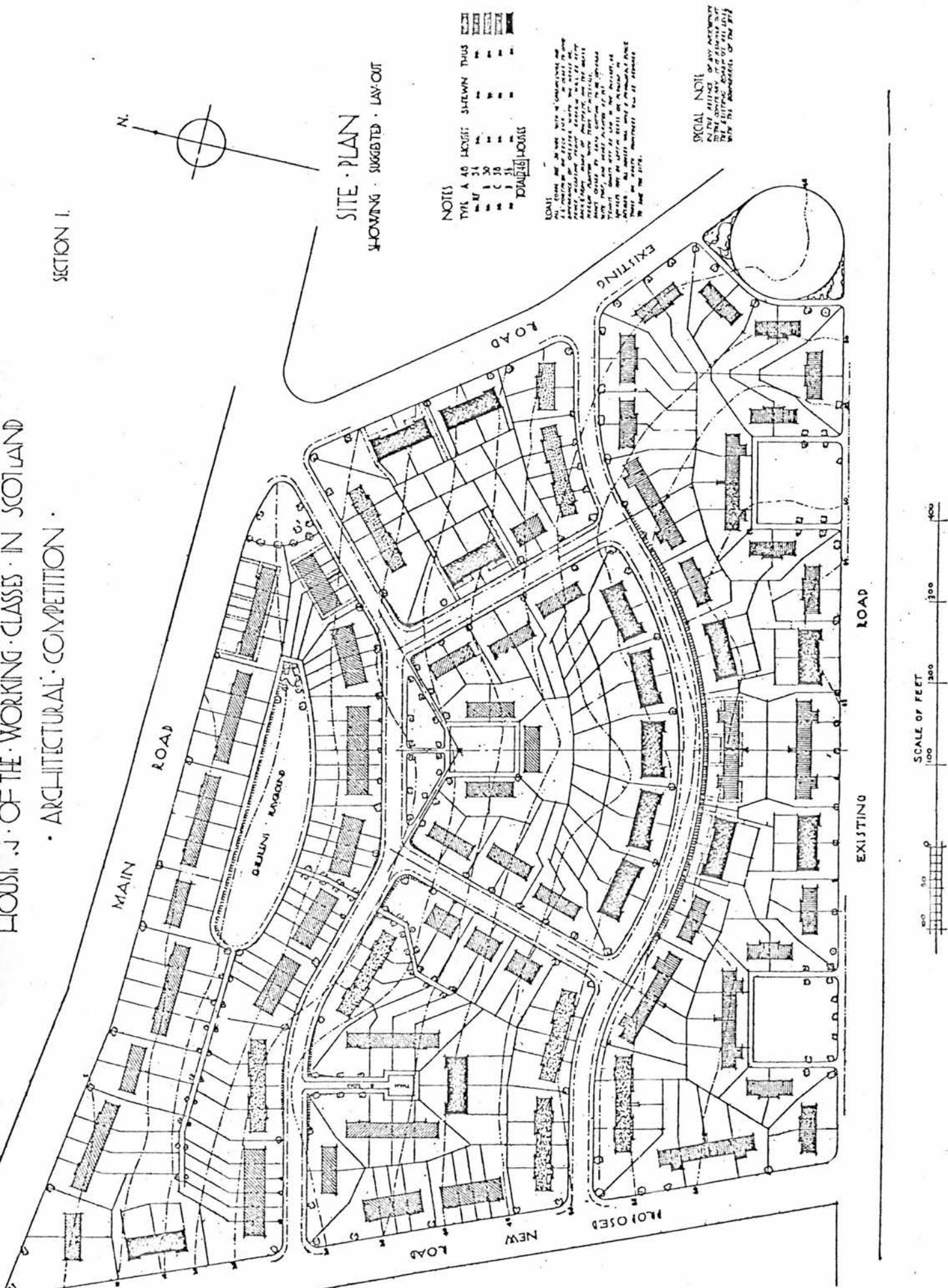


FIGURE 92 :  
1919 LGB Scottish Housing Competition ; two storey cottage entry similar to winner and to Unwin's planning in not applying consistent principles in the distribution of open space . Children's playspace , for example , very arbitrarily placed and with varying convenience of access .

Housing of the Working Classes in Scotland Section I  
 Block Plan

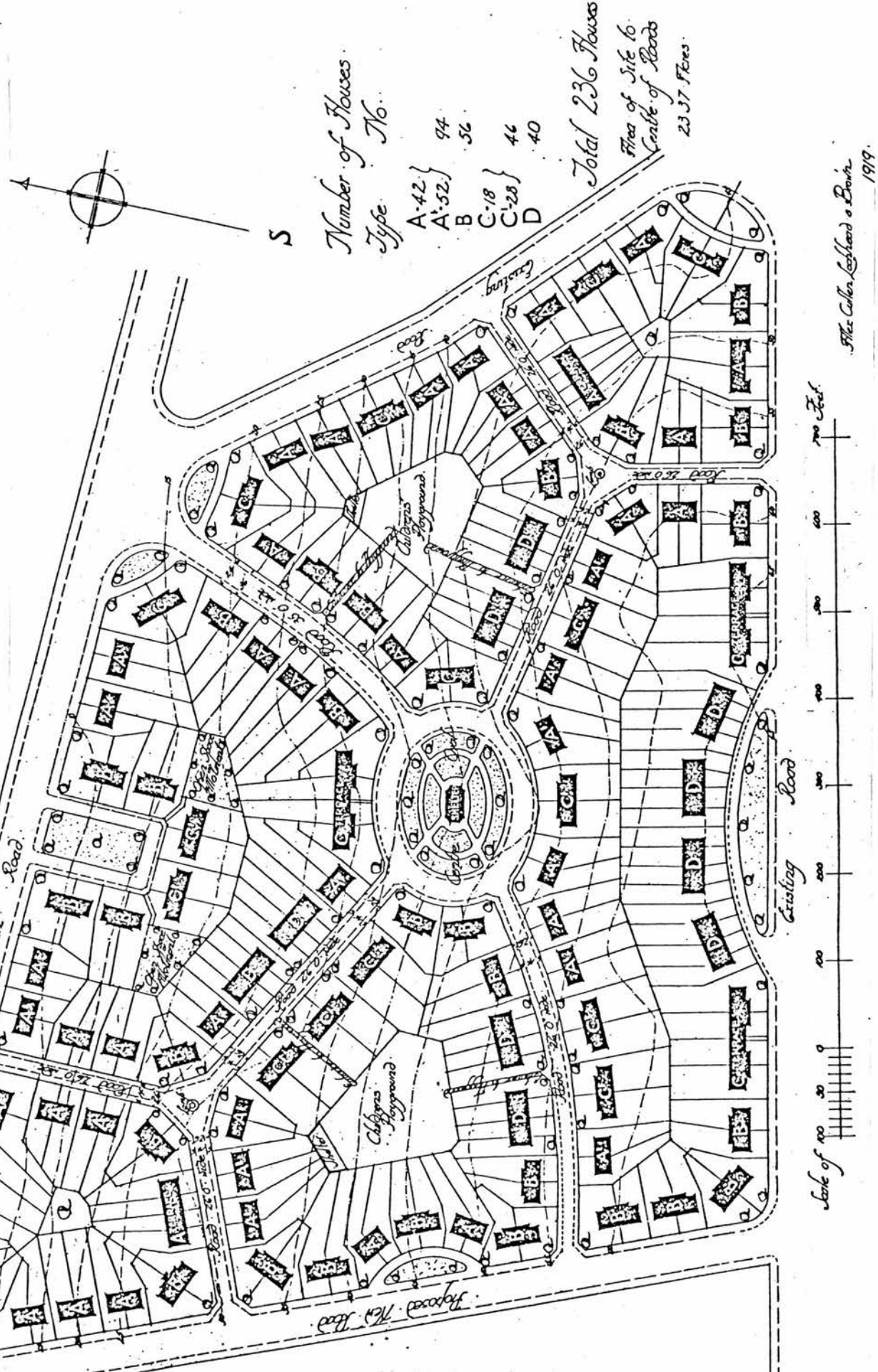


FIGURE 93 :  
 1919 LGB Scottish Housing Competition . Two storey cottage entry premiated design ; similar to Figure 92 but a coarser and poorer relative , like Fig. 96 .

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN SCOTLAND.  
 ARCHITECTURAL COMPETITION.  
 LAY-OUT PLAN FOR COTTAGES AND FLATTED HOUSES  
 SECTION I.

NUMBER OF HOUSES 216.  
 AREA 23 ACRES.

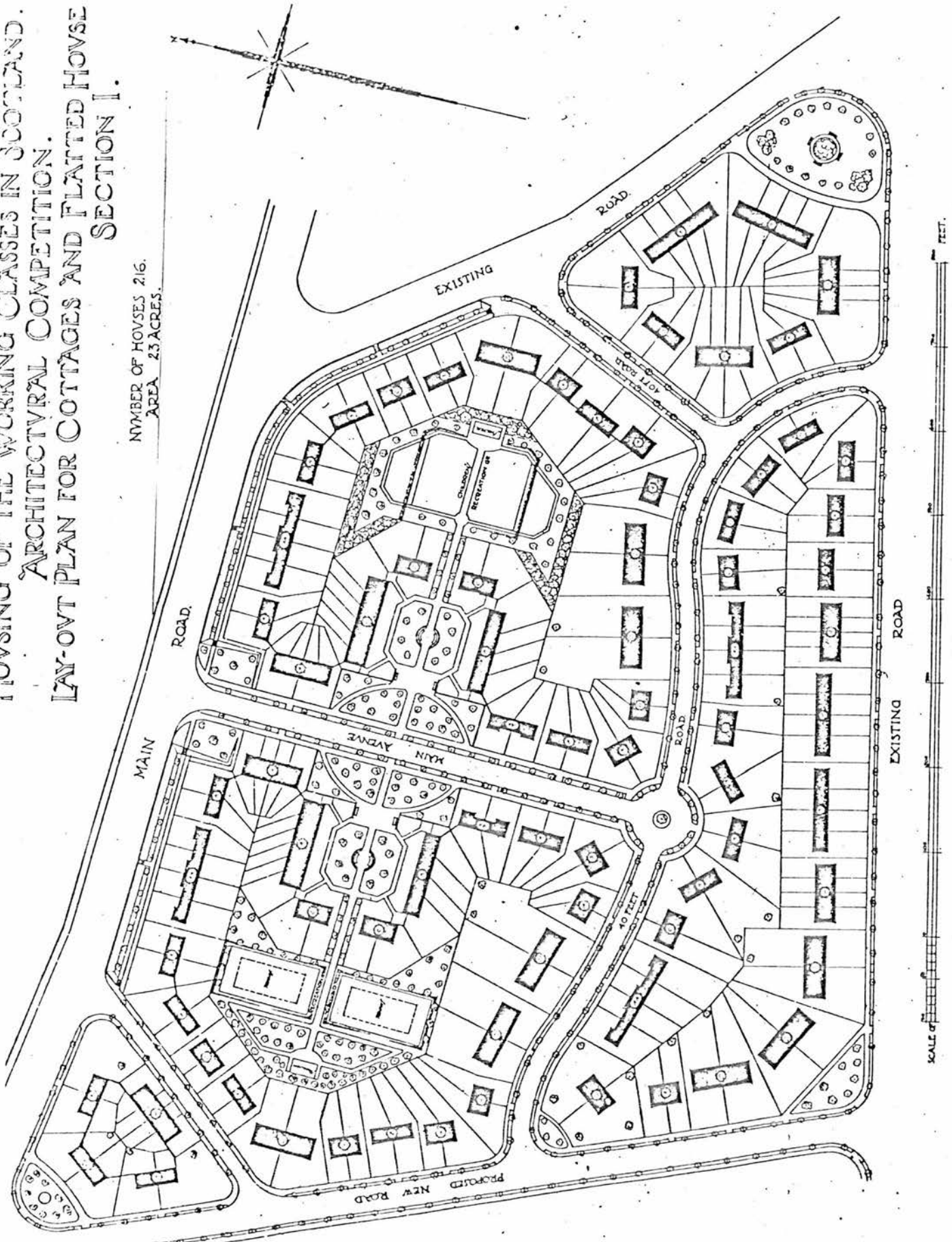


FIGURE 94 :  
 1919 LGB Scottish Housing Competition . Two storey entry premiated design . The housing subordinated to a banal , formal & grandiloquent road pattern , similar in character to Figure 93 , and of a scale and character quite at odds with the village ideal behind the cottage house plans . This kind of planning was to become all too familiar and often reflected a divided design situation , the roads being the responsibility of the local authority engineer or surveyor , and the houses the responsibility of an architect working under the engineer 's or surveyor 's control .

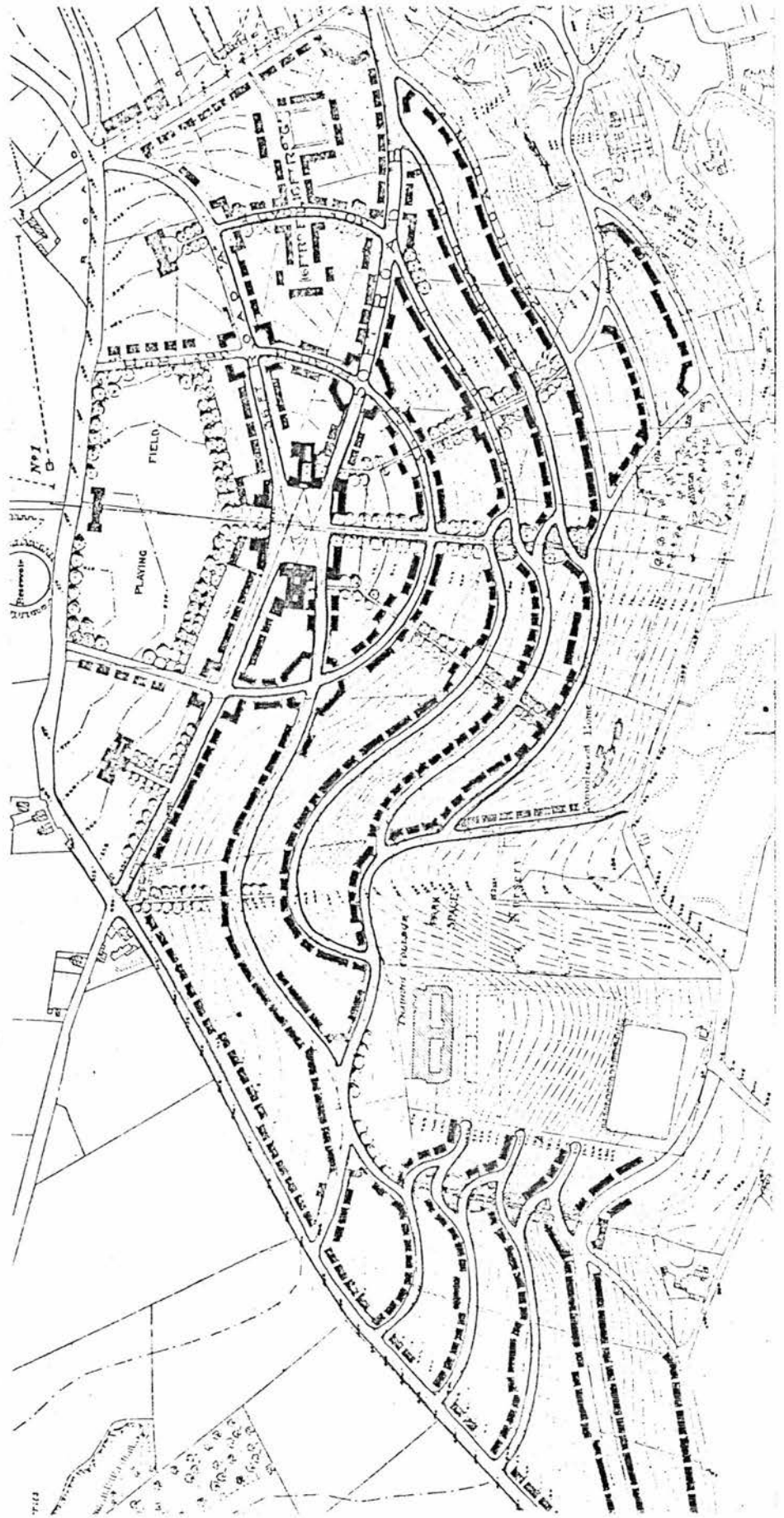


FIGURE 95:

Site plan illustrated in the 1920 LGB Manual on the Preparation of State Aided Housing. The plan at least shows ground contours which the housing tends to follow, but otherwise suffers from an absurdly extravagant single-frontage road plan, and from a great monotony through a lack of grouping, and insufficient variation of building form.

an entrance at ground level and usually with the lower flat having the front garden and the upper flat the back garden; they were of harled brick and with tiled or slated hip roofs, (Figure 90). The model for this form in Scotland was to be found at Gourock, and Westerton Garden suburb, and in the Munitions Board housing (p. 219) at Rosyth, Annan and Gretna.

In planning such estates the general intention was to screen the views of drying greens and allotments by placing them behind the dwellings, and to locate playgrounds and greens also in backlands where they did not consume road frontage. The front was to be provided with tree-planted verges and three sided setbacks in the manner of Letchworth.<sup>2</sup>

All four premiated designs follow this formula, but they show the same inability to avoid the monotony of a too-even distribution of buildings over the site, (Figure 95) They show also the same subordination to banal and poorly-conceived road plans unrelated to intensity of usage and with crudely angled and multiple junctions. A further characteristic is the exaggerated importance given to the treatment of corners, and to a tendency to indulge in inappropriate boulevard monumentality.

In Edinburgh the best of such housing may be found at Wardie, begun in 1922, and later under the 1925 Act, at Restalrig, Northfield and Craigentenny, and in Glasgow at Mosspark, Knightswood and

1. Royal Commission Command 8731 op cit p.274.
2. Unwin considered that front gardens were best made open and unfenced, in the interests of harmoniously composing each street; the plan form of the cottage did not allow such treatment.

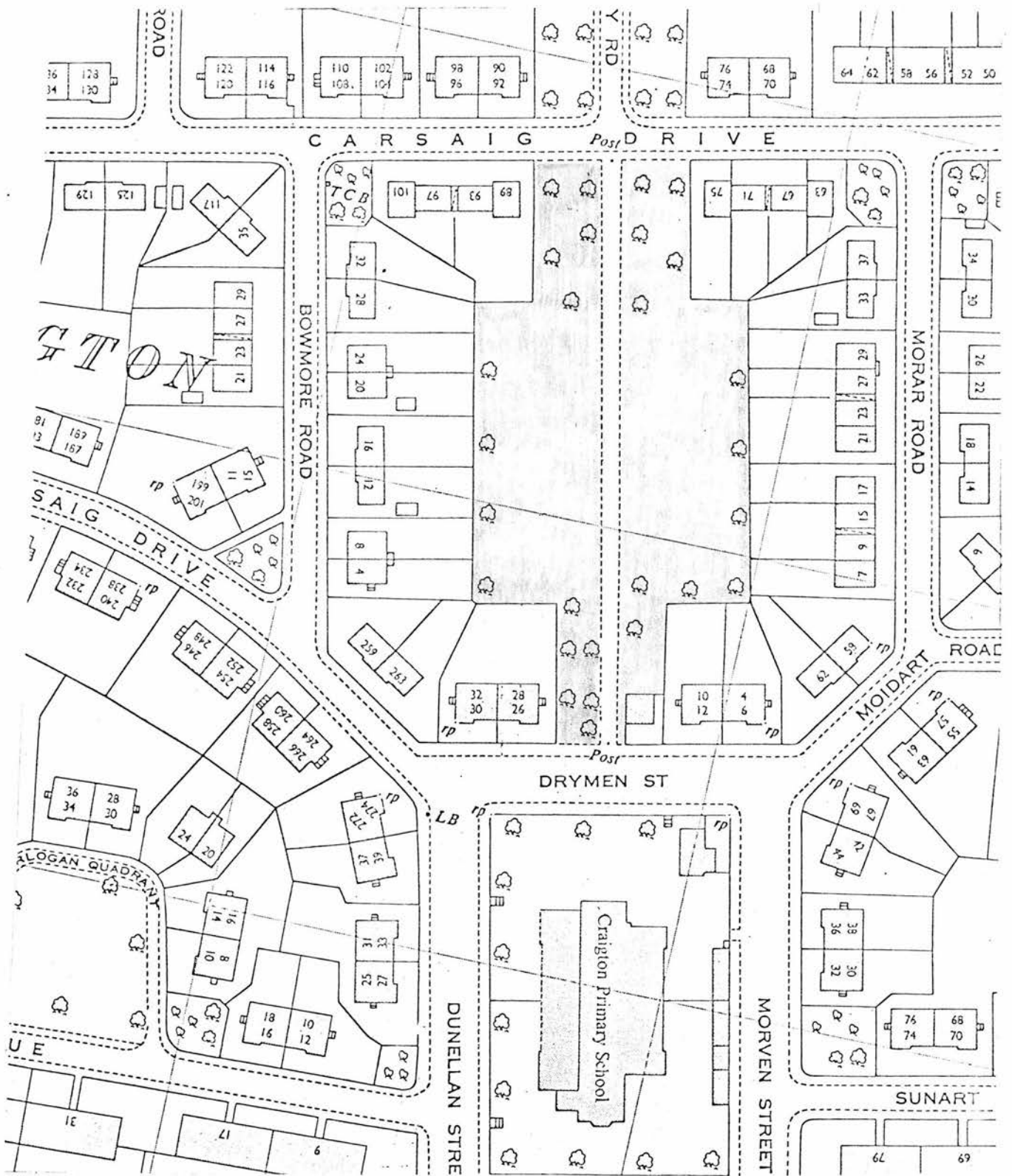


FIGURE 96 :

A typical part of a low density cottage flat estate at Craighton , Glasgow ; with its Unwinesque greens , three-sided setbacks and planted verges , it came very close to achieving the appearances of the middle class garden suburb .

50" O.S.



FIGURE 97 :  
Early local authority housing in Edinburgh . Unwinesque details still  
recognizable but layout adapted to three storey " cottage " tenements .



FIGURE 98 :  
 Part of Dennistoun , Glasgow , ( above ) , and adjoining Carntyne ( below )  
 showing the sudden break in the landscape , firstly from the unventilated  
 hollow squares of the top left , and the ventilated squares of the top right ,  
 then more suddenly , the two storey cottage flat landscape of the lower .

Carntyne. (Figures 96, 97 and 98). Its Englishness brings a sudden and dramatic change of character in the urban landscape. This is very well experienced in moving eastwards away from the centre of Glasgow, passing firstly the closed hollow square tenement blocks of the old byelaws, then the corner ventilated blocks of slightly later date at Dennistoun, ending abruptly in a sea of two storey cottage flats at Carntyne, (Figure 98).

Much of the very best housing built by Scottish local authorities took the form of cottage flats, and to judge from the present day appearances of Craigton with its well-established trees, well-kept commons and contented tenants, such estates have been among the most popular and best looked after ever built, (Figure 96) They came very close indeed to measuring up to Letchworth; their only disadvantage was that they used up land at a prodigious rate.

It was a curiously unquestioned assumption that garden city planning could afford to develop land at such low density, and it very quickly had dramatic implications on the size of cities. After the boundary extensions authorised in 1920 by the Edinburgh Boundaries and Tramways Act,<sup>1</sup> the pattern of development in Edinburgh changed markedly, for in the following twentyone years the built up area of the city increased 77.6% while the population

1. 10 & 11 George 5: ch. LXXXVII.

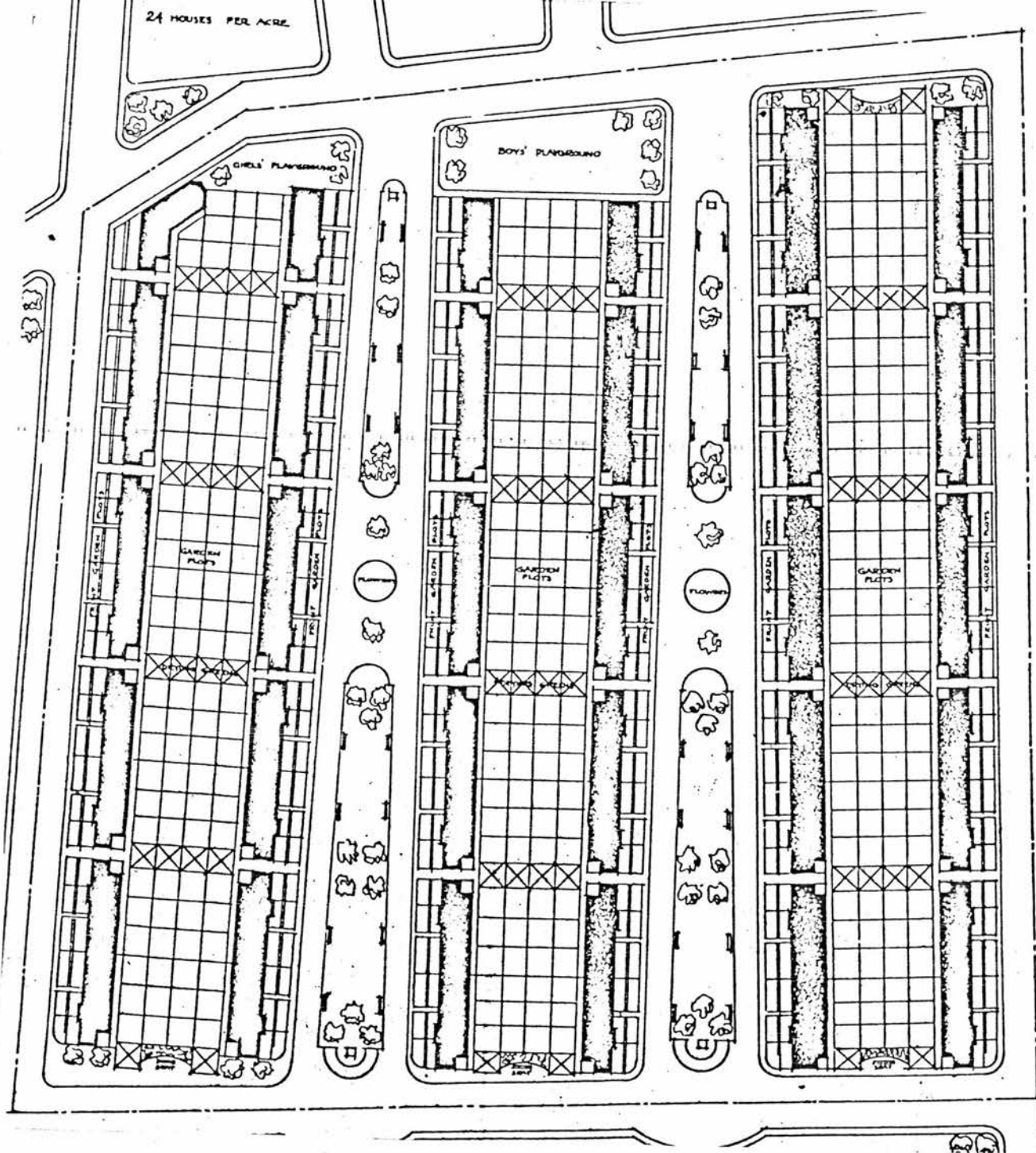


FIGURE 99:  
 1919 Scottish Housing Competition. First prize in the tenement section,  
 by John Arthur of Glasgow . The small front flower gardens were  
 apparently a concession to garden city thinking , and the individual  
 back greens were typical of the better kinds of late Nineteenth  
 Century middleclass tenement .

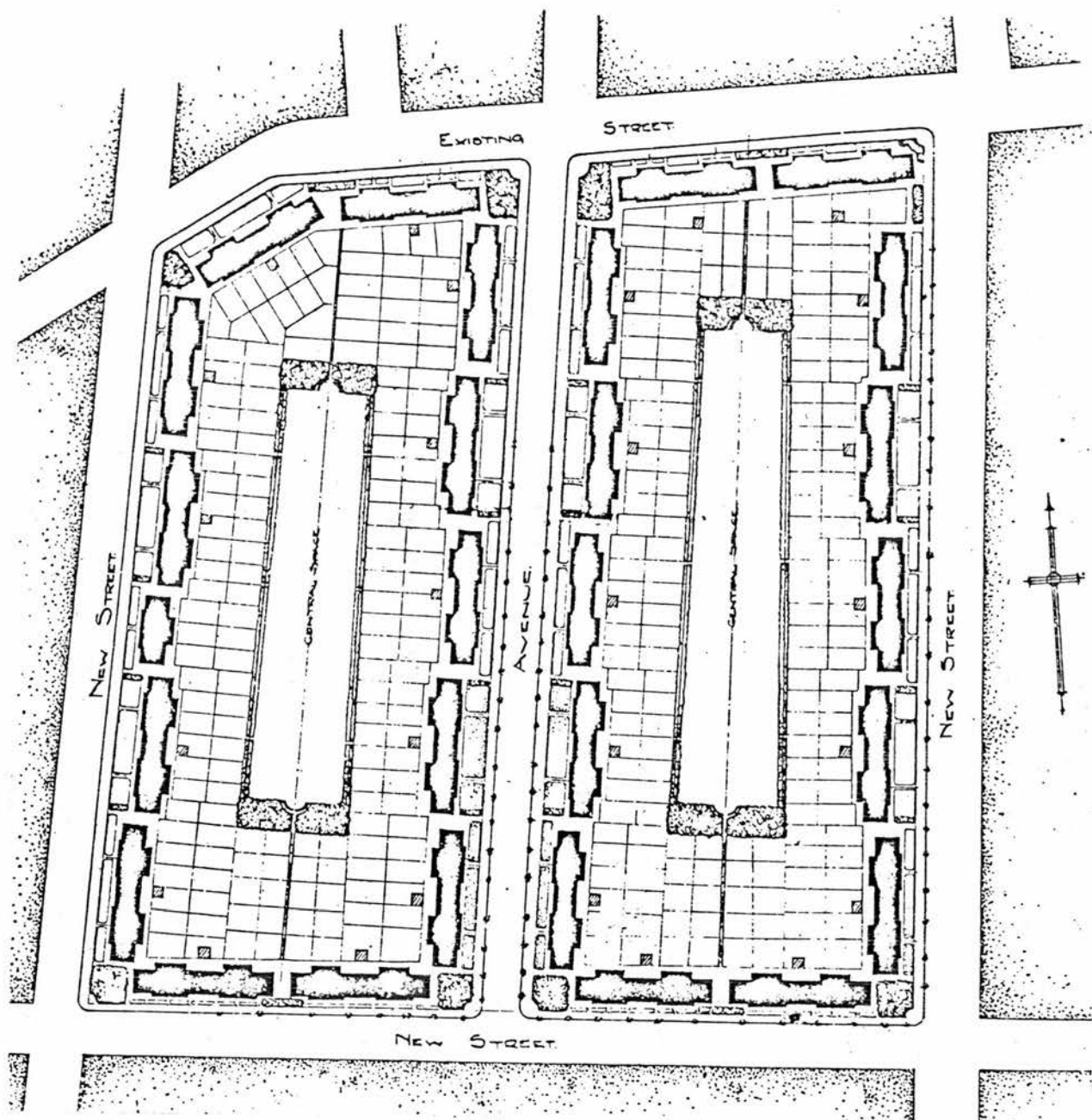


FIGURE 100 :  
 1919 Scottish Housing Competition . Second prize in the tenement section,  
 by W. Marchmont of London ; with central shared areas for children's  
 play , and more economical in road area than the first prize , but just  
 as monotonous in its inflexible repetition of the same building type .

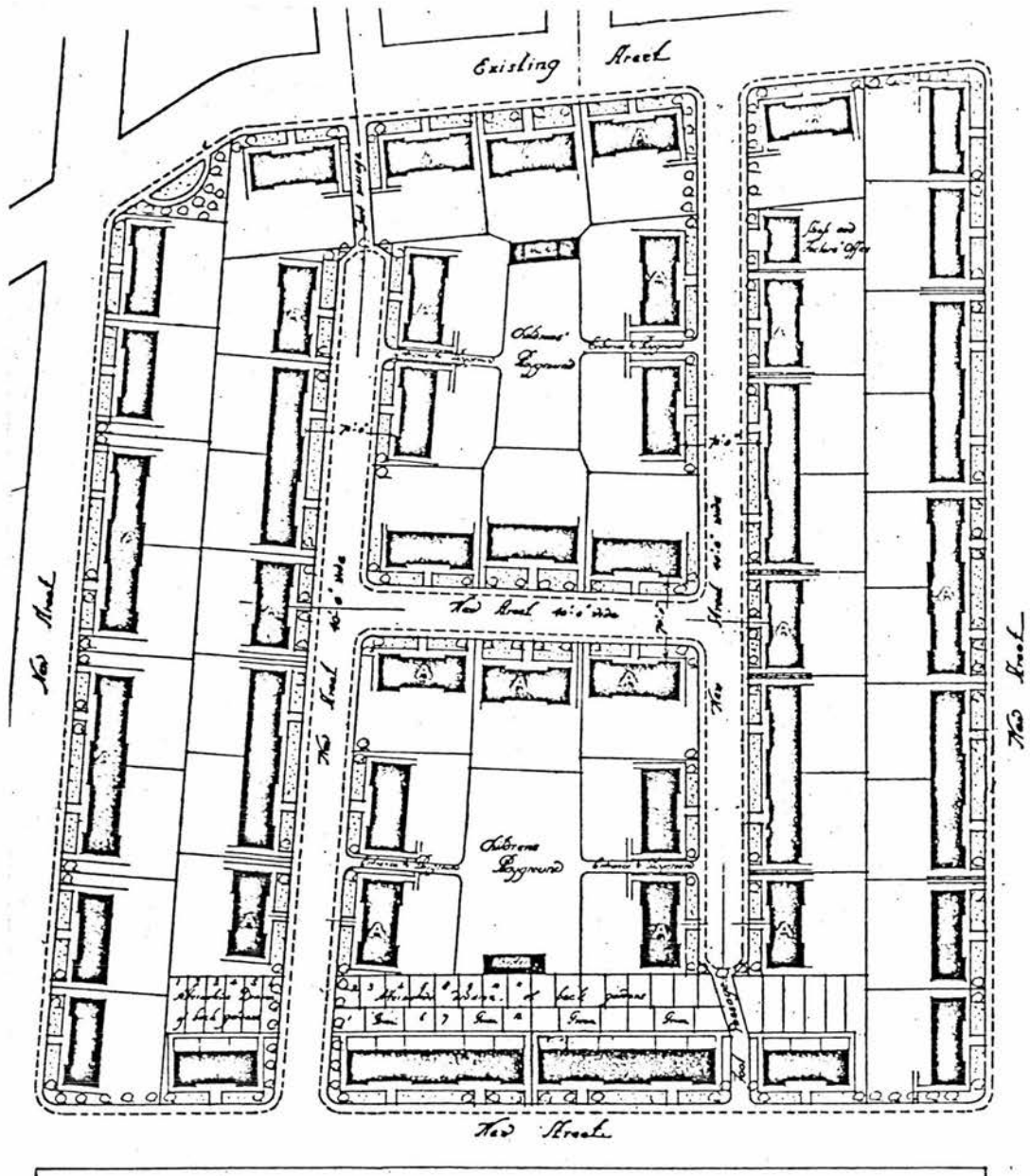


FIGURE 101 :  
 1919 Scottish Housing Competition . Recommended entry in  
 tenement section ,by Cullen , Lochhead & Brown of Hamilton .  
 The cottage " cul de sac " , but without turning circle, adapted  
 for tenement use . The design still dominated by parallel and  
 very repetitious block planning .

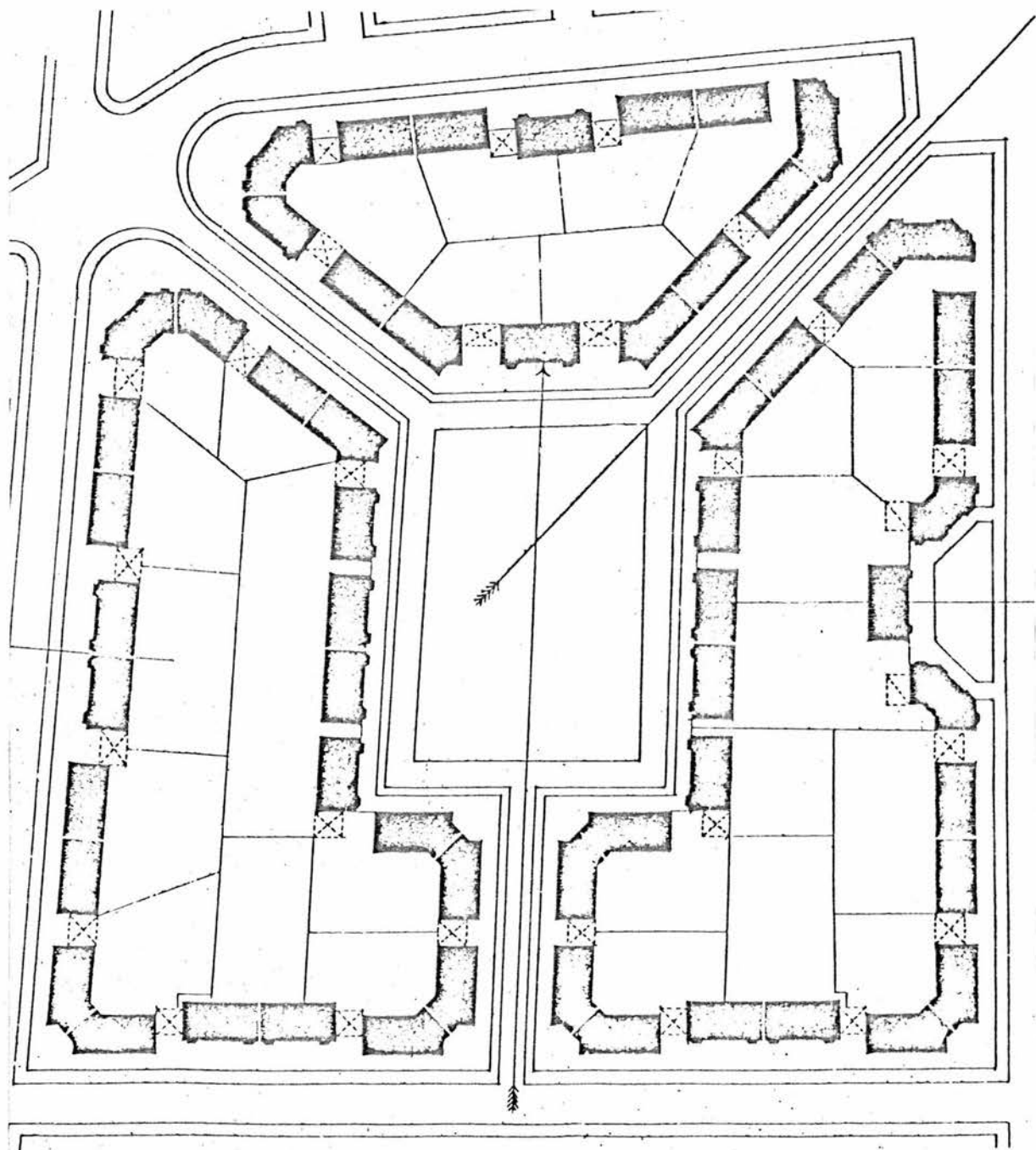


FIGURE 102 :  
1919 Scottish Housing Competition . Premiated design , tenement  
section , by G. Washington Brown , Edinburgh . As in previous  
solutions it shows the visual weaknesses of ventilated hollow  
squares . The central green on the street side apparently another  
attempt to reconcile garden city thinking with the Scots tenement .

increased by only 6%<sup>1</sup>. Similar expansion took place in Glasgow, and between 1926 and 1938 the area of the city doubled, to just under 40,000 acres.<sup>2</sup> By the end of the 'twenties both cities were having serious apprehensions about the continued availability of land for working class housing, and this gave added incentive to readopt the higher densities of tenement planning.

The tenement solutions submitted in the competition of 1919, (Figures 99 to 102), followed fairly closely upon the ideas of Peter Fyffe, the Glasgow Sanitary Inspector,<sup>3</sup> and also those of Mr Hair of Paisley given in evidence to the Royal Commission<sup>4</sup>. Fyffe recommended a building height of no more than three storeys, combined with a forty foot wide street to allow the equinoctial sun to reach all ground floor windows. The corners of each block were to be ventilated and in the centre a small children's playground was to be placed.

"which would not only permit the children.... to have an open space to play in free from the dangers of the public street, but would serve as a lung in the centre of the blocks for the full and free play of the wind." <sup>5</sup>

Typically, no consideration was given to the actual usefulness of

1. Moffat, J. Jessop R et al Open Space Plan for Edinburgh 1969 p.15
2. ed Sutcliffe A. Multistorey Living London 1974 p.219.
3. Fyffe P. Report by the Sanitary Inspector Glasgow November 1914 p.9.
4. Command 8731 op cit p.63
5. Fyffe op cit p.12; the English local Government Board in a memorandum to local authorities published in November 1917, had also recommended the grouping of houses around a quadrangle to form a recreation ground for the occupants and this is specifically referred to in Section II of the Houses of the Working Classes Act 1903.

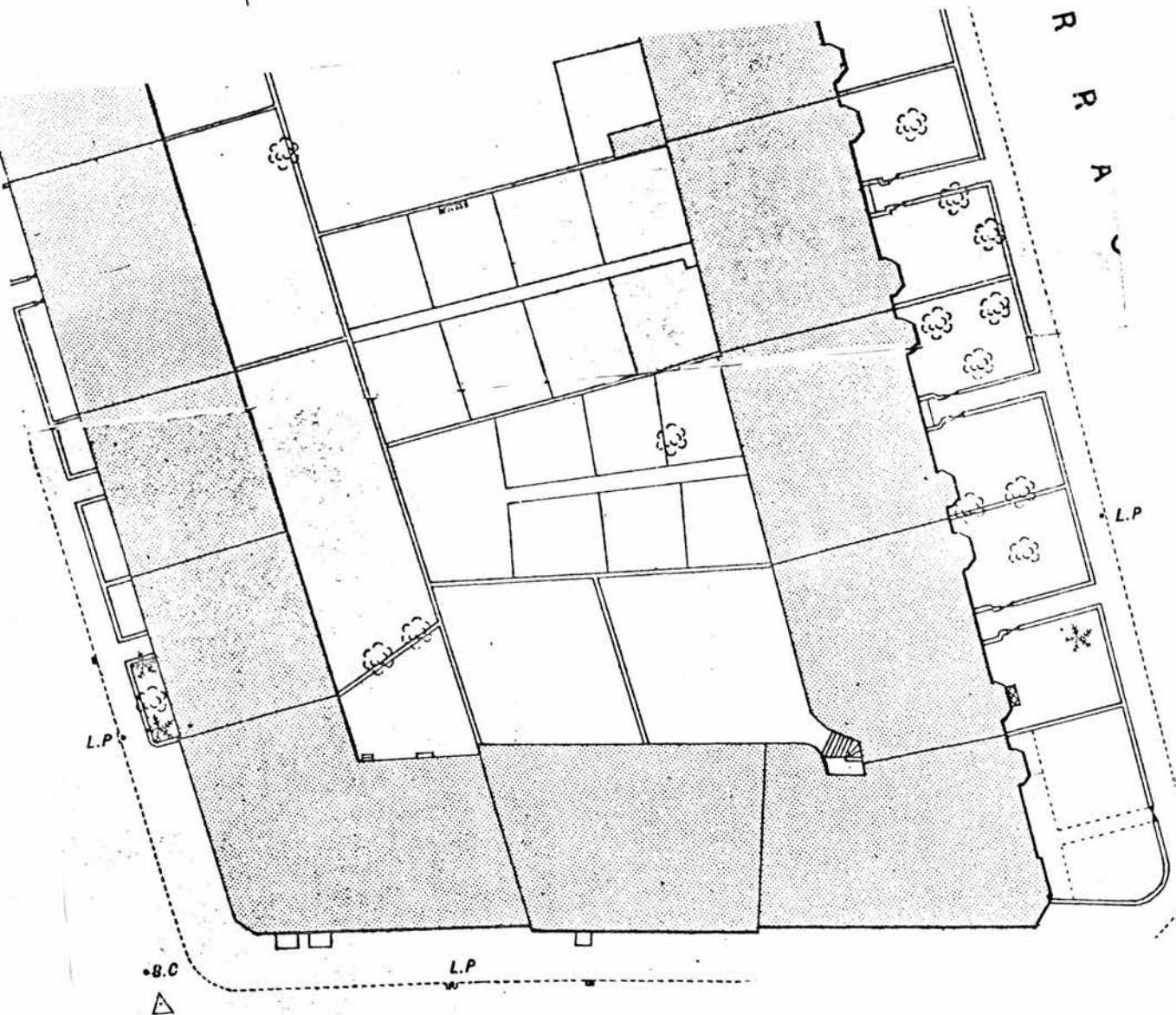


FIGURE 103:  
Middle class hollow square tenements,  
some with individual walled backgreens  
for each flat. Gladstone Terrace,  
Warrender, Edinburgh.  
10' OS 1895

of this playground space - that is of its own position in relation to sunlighting rather than solely that of the surrounding buildings, nor to other factors like noise; it was merely a convenient and tentative use of left-over land.

Of the tenement solutions illustrated, Figure 99 is interesting in its tentative attempt to produce a kind of 'garden tenement' image, but the green spaces included on the street frontage are little more than a token gesture - too small and too close to the buildings to be of much value. In the same design, the subdivision of the backgreens into individual plots harks back to middleclass tenements like those of Warrender in Edinburgh (Figure 103). Otherwise the generous road area and absence of return frontages makes this solution, if not odd, at least untypical.

Far more characteristic of interwar tenement design were the solutions shown in Figures 100, 101 and 102. The first two, for example, show a communal playground space in the centre of the backland very similar to that proposed by Fyffe, while the third includes a three-sided Unwin setback. All show the restricting effects of the new byelaws upon closed hollow squares.

The practical application of this stereotype may be studied in Figures 104a and b. The first of these shows a typical part of the notorious Blackhill estate just north of Carntyne in Glasgow, while the second is of part of the Niddrie Mains estate in Craigmillar,

Edinburgh. Both were built under the 1930 slum clearance legislation<sup>1</sup>, and are predominantly of three storey tenements,<sup>2</sup> with the backgreens subdivided to serve the tenants of each stair, and with an area beyond designated as a playground. In physical form they closely resemble the competition solutions, particularly in their provision of three-sided greens, and of ventilation breaks at corners, but there their similarity with earlier garden suburb housing ends.

Edinburgh's City Architect himself had commented on one aspect of the shortcomings of such tenement estates as early as 1931 in a paper given to the Institute of Municipal and County Engineers.<sup>3</sup> In it he conceded that where both private and public open spaces are provided to give tenement planning something of the image of the garden city, a great deal of supervision was needed to prevent them becoming untidy, particularly in backland areas. Edinburgh's experience of this kind of planning he felt had been unfortunate, and the high cost of maintenance a matter of concern. He concluded somewhat dubiously that:

"in continental countries, where people had for centuries been completely trained in public behaviour, the problem was totally different"<sup>4</sup>

This, however, did not prevent him in 1931 from proposing

1. Which differed in principle from the 1919 and subsequent Acts in providing subsidy not for new dwellings but for every slum dweller rehoused; local authorities were therefore no longer able as in the twenties to rest contented by building for letting largely to the better-off at higher rents than those the poorest in the worst housing could or would afford.
2. Blackhill contains only 4% of cottage dwellings.
3. MacRae, E.S. "Skyscraper tenements", Journal of the Institute of Municipal and County Engineers v. 57 no. 14 1931 XIX.
4. MacRae E.S. ibid xix.

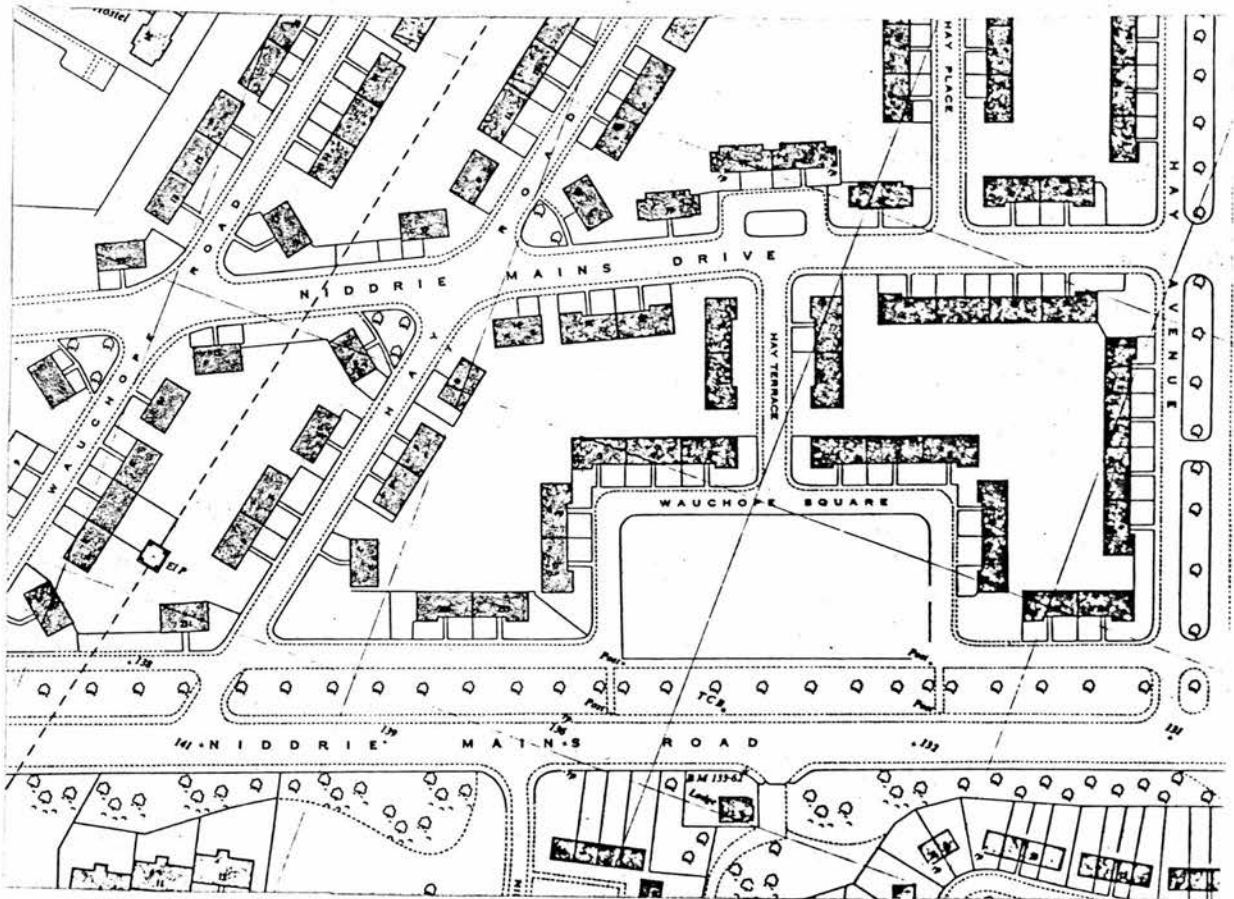
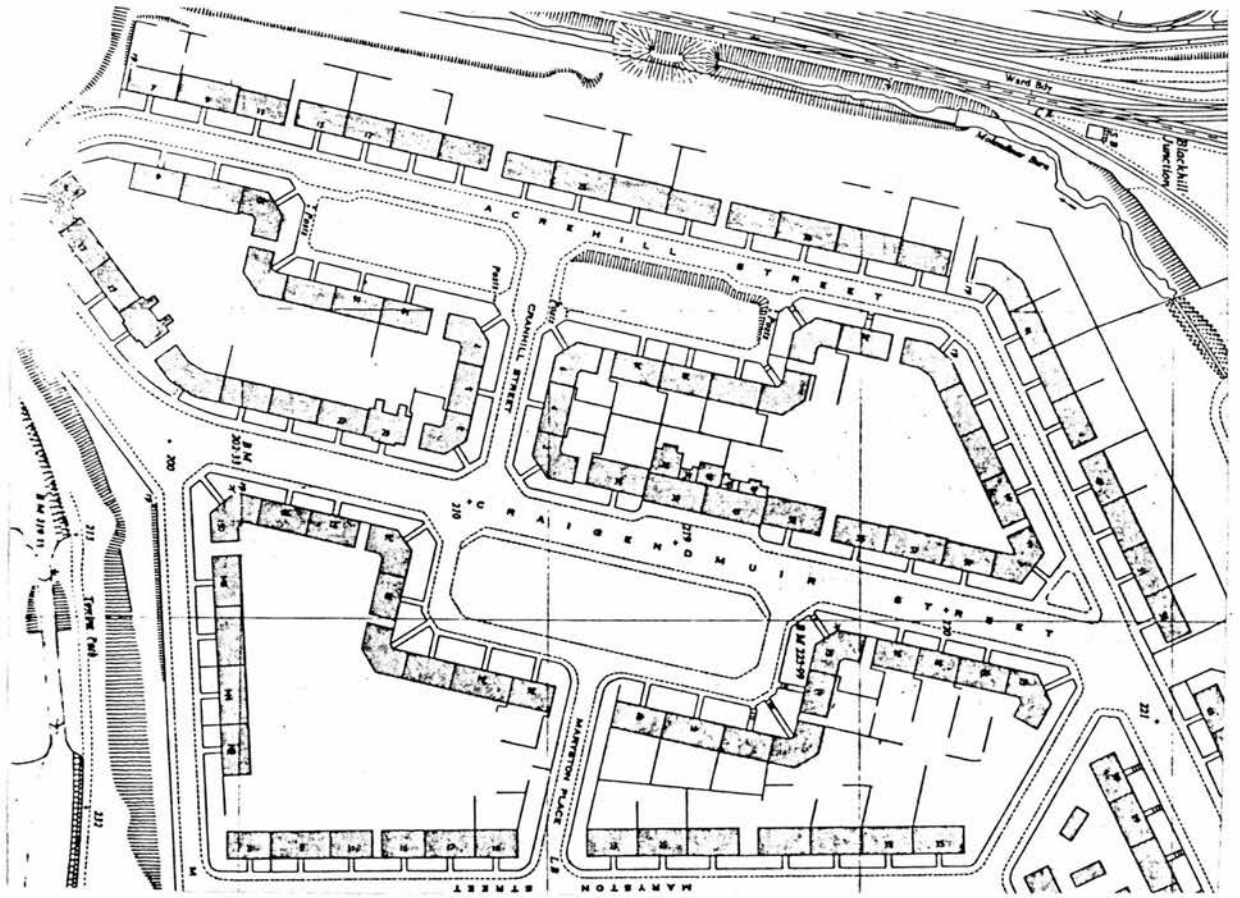


FIGURE 104 :  
 The poorman's garden suburb at its worst in the ventilated hollow square estates of (above ) Blackhill , Glasgow , and Niddrie Mains , Edinburgh , ( below ) . Blackhill contained only 4% cottage flats .

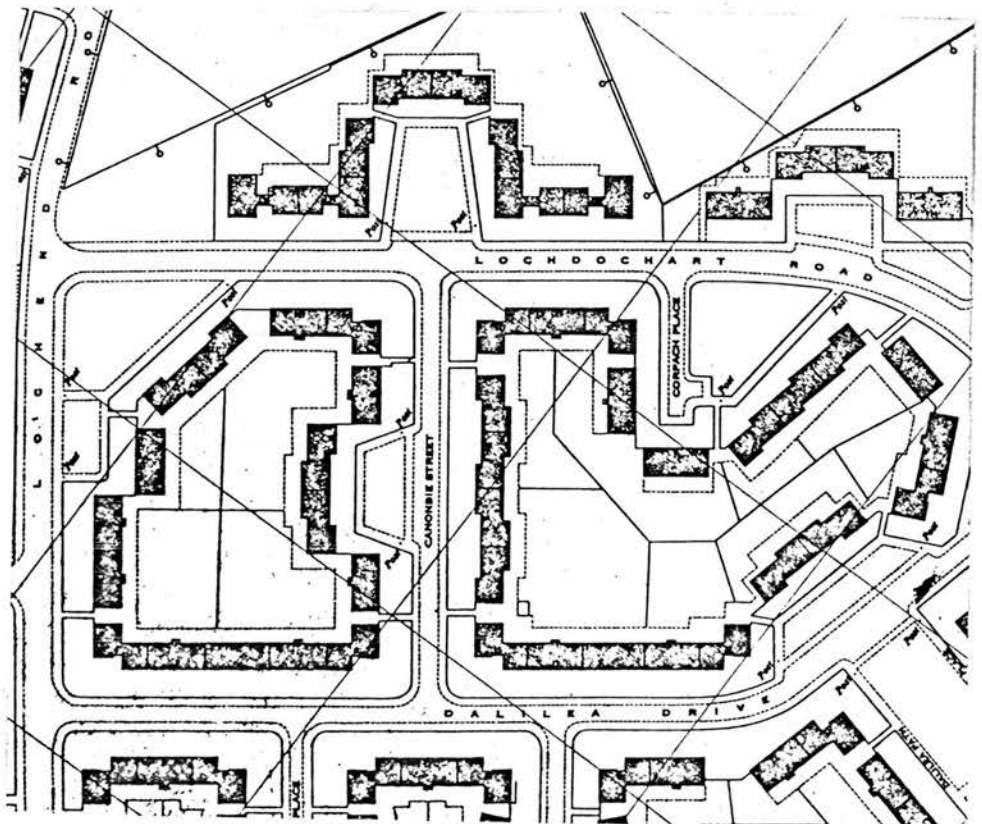
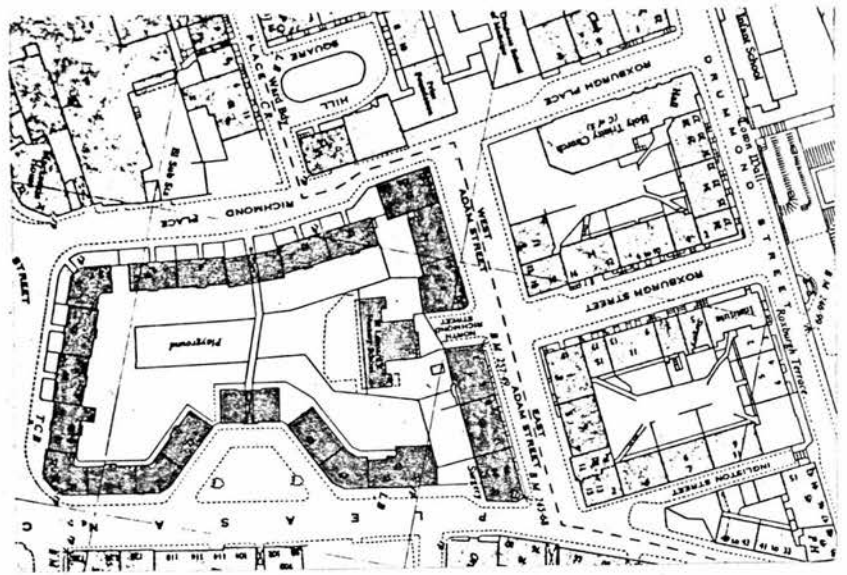


FIGURE 105 a & b :

a) , above , St Leonard's , Edinburgh , showing the central play ground , the nursery school & the Unwinesque three-sided setback .

b) , below , a typical part of Easterhouse estate of 1955 , showing no appreciable advance on St Leonard's .

the same treatment of open space in the second St. Leonards Improvement Scheme. The largest part of this development, (Figure 105), comprised a ventilated hollow square of three and four storey tenements, with a backland playground attached to a small nursery school - the latter something of an innovation at that time, and probably inspired by the kindergartens of contemporary European tenemented flats.<sup>1</sup> Completing this scheme was a small three-sided Unwin court, but hardpaved and timidly planted with three hawthorn trees.

The density of the whole of this St. Leonard's development was 39.3 dwellings to the acre, far in excess of that recommended by the Department of Health, but a considerable improvement on the preclearance density of 166 dwellings to the acre - a figure grossly inflated by the number of one roomed dwellings.<sup>2</sup> MacRae argued that in clearing the site he had no option but to negotiate a specially high density based upon tenement planning, in order to reduce the number of families having to be resettled in outlying estates like Niddrie Mains. He further justified his use of tenements in the latter, (Figure 104), by the land savings achieved, and the reduction in the distances and inconveniences of travel to and from the city centre.

1. Such as that of the Karl Marx Hoff in Vienna, later described by McRae as "one of the most outstanding housing schemes in the world"; see McCrae E.S. Report to the Corporation of a Visit to the Continent to Study Housing Oct. 1932. Appendix 10.
2. 707 out of a total of 1,606 cleared, were of one room. See MacRae E.S. Notes on the Rehousing of the Dispossessed in Edinburgh. Edinburgh April 1934 p.1

Like his colleague in Glasgow, MacRae was by this time very much concerned by the rate at which the cottage flat projects of the 'twenties had consumed land reserves. Edinburgh's Town Clerk noted in 1933 that:

"areas suitable for rehousing and centrally situated are now hard to obtain. Wherever such areas exist, theoretical ideas about density should not prevent as large a number of persons as possible being rehoused in the area, always assuming of course, that there is adequate provision of light and air and sanitary convenience." <sup>1</sup>

And in outlying areas, such as Craigmillar, the possibility of developing low density garden suburbs, as once visualised by Patrick Geddes (p.221), vanished. Tenement development was seen as the only practical and prudent course of action; it not only saved land, but it enabled rents to be lowered to a level which the poorest could afford; and it also provided them with surroundings not unfamiliar from those in which they had been brought up.

Already however, the disadvantages of these outlying estates were being felt. Tenants rehoused from central areas and retaining old jobs often had to begin work at times when public transport was not available; and the fares to and from work commonly added half a crown or more to weekly rent, at a time when the latter was between

1. Edinburgh Corporation. Memorandum by Town Clerk as to the Preparation of a Housing Programme for the Years 1934-1938. p. 6

ten and fifteen shillings.<sup>1</sup> A lack of recreational opportunity was also apparent and in 1934 a supreme court judge was outspoken in his criticism of the growing evils of juvenile crime in these outlying estates, because

"the youngsters could find nothing "tae dae". "<sup>2</sup>

Aesthetic deficiencies were more obvious, and the Cockburn Association in its annual report for 1933 drew attention to Craigmillar, and noted,

"with regret the unsatisfactory nature of the Housing Scheme with its poverty of design in houses, and its lack of varied and attractive planning in the layout. They would strongly urge that merely making provision for fresh air and sunlight, however desirable... does not alone secure a satisfactory housing scheme ... They would point out that these new housing settlements afford a great opportunity to the city to make worthy provision for the future housing of its inhabitants..."<sup>3</sup>

But the City Architect was apparently far from dissatisfied. In April of the following year he commented on what he felt was the remarkable adaptation of tenants to their new way of life; to their evident improvement in health, and to a sharp rise in library borrowing rates, which he attributed to the increased detachment and quiet of the new housing.<sup>4</sup> MacRae further justified the use of

1. Crossley, L. "Housing and The Labour Government" The People's Year Book 1931, English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society p. 254.
2. Rose, A. et al. The Housing Problems Confronting The New Housing Scotland Bill for Scotland. Nov. 1934 p.1
3. Cockburn Association Annual Report 1933
4. MacRae, E.S. Notes on the Rehousing of the Dispossessed in Edinburgh April, 1934 p. 5

tenement quadrangles by saying that they allowed better architectural treatment and also provided warmer houses than those which were detached.

His optimism was unfortunately not justified. By 1936 almost one eighth of the Scottish population was living in houses erected by local authorities, and largely in outlying tenement estates. The Department of Health was beginning to note widespread and increasing signs of neglect and disinterest from the tenants of these new estates, and two years later a report of the Central Housing Advisory Committee (and of which Unwin himself was a member), concluded that such neglect could lead to depreciation.

The Committee advised that good management on the part of Local Authorities was essential, and that it should include not merely efficient rent collection and the ordering of repairs, but the education of the tenant to secure his cooperation.

"without this, the landlord striving to maintain his property and the tenant destroying it by his neglect will remain warring parties." <sup>3</sup>

A joint memorandum, <sup>4</sup> issued in 1936 by the Department of Health and the Scottish Education Department reminded local authorities that it was not enough merely to provide houses. There

3. Central Housing Advisory subcommittee. Subcommittee on House Management and Housing Associations. The Management of Municipal Housing Estates. H. M. S. O. 1938 p. 9
4. Housing Memorandum No. 88 Community Life and New Housing Schemes, Department of Health for Scotland, and Scottish Education Dept. H. M. S. O. 1936 p. 3

was an essential need to plan and provide all the services required by a balanced community. Schools, shops, churches, places of amusement, and medical and nursing services should all be within convenient reach. In addition the memorandum advised that:

"All schemes should provide for an adequate amount of open space for recreation, and for central buildings in which social work both among adults and juveniles can be carried on.... It should be remembered moreover that open spaces have a high value as safety zones for children." <sup>1</sup>

However there was little point in reminding local authorities of facilities which they had long had power to provide. Section 90 of the Housing (Scotland) Act of 1925<sup>2</sup> had for example empowered them, with the consent of the Department of Health, to provide and maintain any recreation grounds or other buildings or land serving a beneficial purpose to the housing residents. The rub was that all expenditure under Section 90, and all subsequent maintenance of what was provided, had to be charged against the housing revenue account, and any deficit therefore became yet another burden on the local rates.<sup>3</sup>

Central government, in offering no financial inducements, no doubt argued that these facilities were providing an essentially local service and amenity, and were therefore properly a charge upon the rates - but it needed little imagination to understand why local

1. ibid p. 4.

2. 10 & 11 George V; ch. 71.

3. ibid, pp 4-5

The Edinburgh Open Spaces Report (p. 15) observes that public open space acquired during this period tended to favour areas with owner-occupied property; provision in council estates generally lagged behind.

authorities appeared to be dragging their feet in providing them.

To gain Department of Health approval for subsidy, all new local authority housing schemes had to show, on plan, the distribution, nature and total area of local open space. But it was one thing to allocate this open space and quite another to ensure that it was designed, established and cared for adequately. Too often, as further chapters will show (pp. 329f), it lacked all such attentions and became either a derelict no man's land, or a neat but unusable space with a "no ball games" notice.

Some designers may even have justified such aridity as part of the necessary purging of garden city sentiment called for by the leaders of the Modern Movement - rather than recognise the bareness for what it was - a meanness of spirit on the part of their employers, in refusing to extend their rating expenditure to make up the difference between Blackhill and Pixmore. Many of the tenement estates which followed the 1930 Greenwood slum clearance legislation became and have remained ghettos for the deprived. In Edinburgh to this day Craigmillar has one of the highest incidences of unemployment, children in care, broken marriages, crimes of violence and other indices of social disorder.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the 'thirties those among the Royal Commissioners who had submitted a minority report in 1917 had been proved right.<sup>2</sup>

1. Kreitman N. et al "Use of Social Indices in Psychiatric Epidemiology". Brit. J. P. S. Med 20 3. 122. 1966
2. Command 8731 op cit p. 355. The Minority Report had concluded that:  
"As local Authorities are at present constituted, and in view of their other duties, they do not seem to us qualified to carry out the truly gigantic task of providing dwellings for the greater part of the working-class population of Scotland".

Most local authorities had shown that they were not capable of meeting the challenge of providing new communities; and even at the crude level of merely providing dwellings, so many had also been proved incompetent that by 1944 it had become necessary to vest in the Scottish Special Housing Association powers for rendering direct assistance as an agent of central government.<sup>1</sup>

In 1944 the Dudley Report reiterated the shortcomings of outlying estates, and again called for a commitment to build "complete communities,"<sup>2</sup> but in the desperate post-war housing shortage this call was largely ignored and a whole new generation of such estates came into being. The physical and social image of Easterhouse in 1955 was little better than that of Blackhill in 1935; indeed it was as if the twenty year<sup>s</sup> separating them had passed in a single day.

Raymond Unwin had written of byelaw planning in 1909:

"we have in a certain niggardly way done what needed doing, but much we have done has lacked the insight of imagination and the generosity of treatment which would have constituted the work well done."

His description sadly fits many a poorman's garden suburb, modelled after his example, but without the resources of Letchworth or Hampstead.

1. Section 3(1) of the Housing (Scotland) Act 1944 7 & 8 Geo. 6 ch. 39.

2. The Dudley Report. The Design of Dwellings Ministry of Health H. M. S. O. 1944 p. 8 (3)

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE VILLAGE GREEN REINTERPRETED.

The early part of the previous chapter showed how much of Raymond Unwin's thinking on residential planning looked back to the tradition of the village and to the use of enclaved forms based on the concept of the village green. The following chapter explores this tradition in more detail. It is presented in four parts. The first considers what the village stood for, as a symbol, during the Nineteenth Century, and what attracted designers like Unwin to the idea of the village green. The second and third review the historical development of the village green and its reinterpretation in modern housing; and the last, studies a selection of enclaved local open spaces based on greens, and attempts to show that their success depends as much upon adequate management as on good physical planning.

THE VILLAGE AS A SYMBOL.

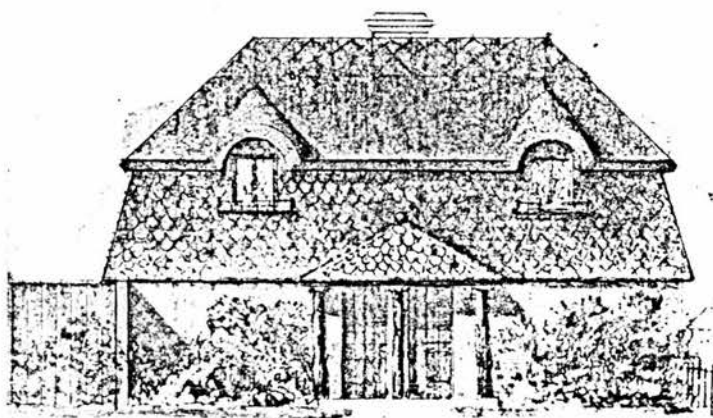
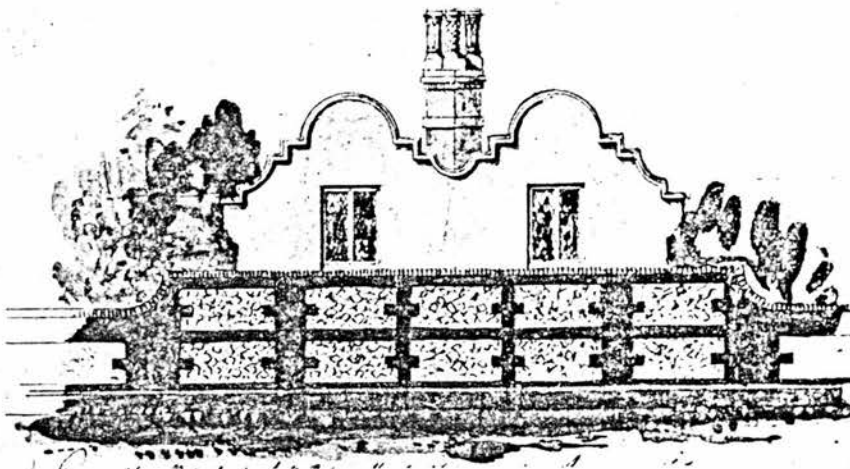


FIGURE 106 :  
 The beginnings of suburbia .  
 Examples of the romantic  
 cottage ornee , the top two  
 by Papworth , the bottom  
 unidentified . These were  
 idealised village cottages  
 but set amidst the picturesque  
 landscape of private estates .  
 The charm of their rustic  
 isolation was quickly lost  
 when they were set to jostle  
 coyly with each other at  
 Port Sunlight , and in what  
 Sharp saw as the debased  
 clutter of garden suburbia .  
 ( illustrations from Rowan A .  
Garden Buildings , 1968 . ) .

The country village with its green is among the most cherished symbols of the British way-of-life, and yet it was not always so. At the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, the polite and the leisured might occasionally take a picturesque cottage in a village close to a resort for a few weeks of the season, or might even build one for this purpose, (Figures 106 and 107) but that was as close as they came to actually becoming "natural savages". The reality of life in a country village was a good deal less romantic than the affectation of a cottage ornee or the innocent visions of Clare or Palmer. As Chadwick's correspondents showed, it could be every bit as squalid and brutish as life in the cities. But as the cities grew and grew, seemingly beyond control, more and more people glimpsed salvation in the contained and well-ordered smallness of the country village.

With the publication of Mary Mitford's village essays<sup>1</sup> in 1832, the nostalgia expressed by Goldsmith, Bewick, Cobbett and others for the honest virtues of a simpler rustic community begins to develop into a desirable morality. Through the extravagances of her bankrupt father, an Edinburgh-trained medical practitioner, she and her family had been compelled to exchange their comfortable estate for a cottage in the Berkshire village of Three Mile Cross. And there, with a freshness of observation she began the essays which supported her family and helped to reinterpret and popularise the village for the benefit of the English middle class. Most of the great Victorian

1. Our Village: published in five volumes.

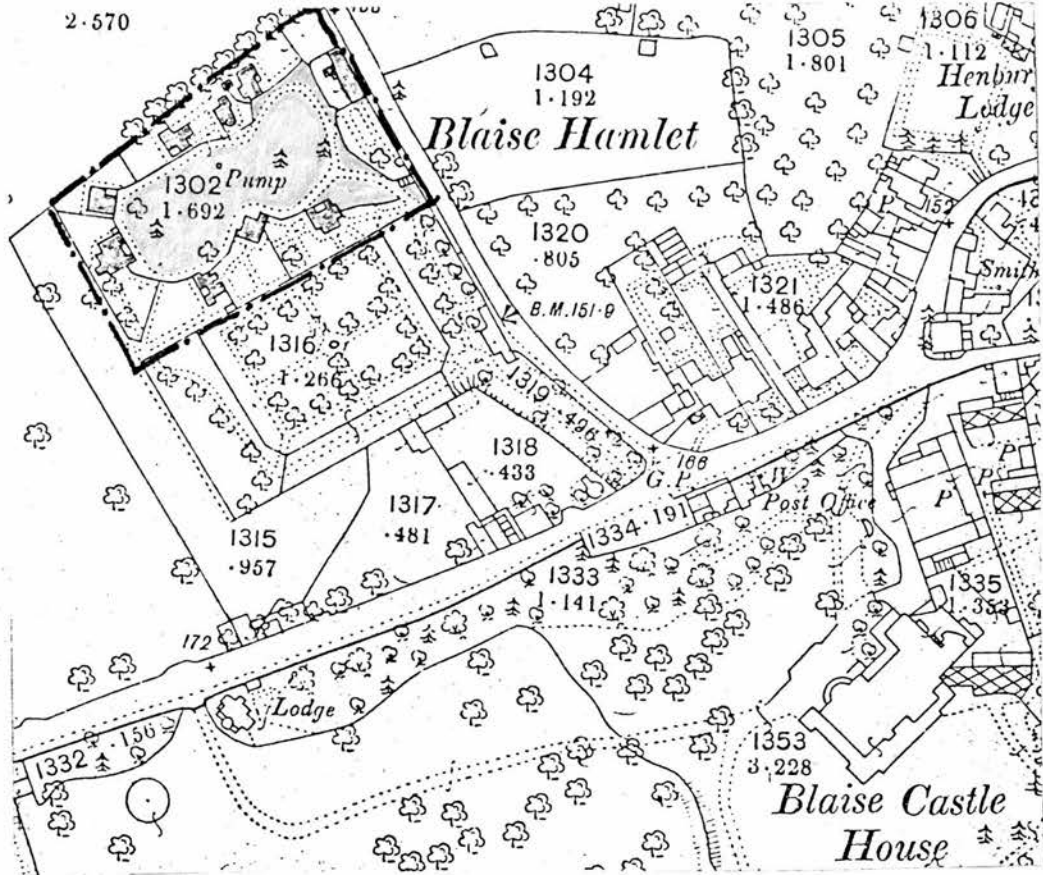


FIGURE 107 :

Blaise Hamlet with its mock village green .  
25" ) O.S. 1881 .

A village green cricket match like the one  
described by Miss Mitford, but sentimentalised  
by the unknown Victorian painter .  
( from Broadribb G . The English Game ) .

novelists, writing for the same middle class, took their cue from her, and in the works of Mrs. Gaskell, George Eliot, and Thomas Hardy, to name but three, the village became a symbol of pre-industrial innocence in a green and pleasant land, (Figure 108).

In a rapidly changing world, it represented a calm ordered stability, a stability in the old Roman republican sense of stabilitas, and of the vow taken by a Benedictine monk to remain constant to the same place and the same way of life. But to J. C. Loudon it had a very special additional significance, for he saw the village as a cooperative centre in much the same spirit as his worker settlements described in chapter 3. He commented:

"The congregation of cottages in villages is attended with many advantages and with very few inconveniences. The advantages are: society; the use of certain articles in common, such as a well or other source of water; a common sewer for drainage; a school; a public wash-house and drying green; a general play ground for children; a village library and reading room; and if the village is large, a church or chapel. Not to mention the proximity of village tradesmen. The chief disadvantage . . . . is . . . . the distance . . . . to work".

He considered that:

"these comforts and enjoyments might be greatly increased, were the art of cooperation . . . . properly understood; were the village to have a common kitchen, dining room, wash-house, dairy etc , as well as a common school and church: but the time has not yet arrived for improvements of this kind. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

1. Loudon J.C. Supplement to Cottage Farm & Villa Architecture p 1180  
London 1842.

Loudon was scarcely being consistent here; compare p. 69.

Loudon was clearly far ahead of public opinion in these matters, but even he had overlooked one immediate practical use of the village, and that was as a refuge of health and convalescence from the crowded and insanitary city. This idea seems to have come from America. It was apparently first applied in Britain by Madame Bettyhany of Eaglehurst, who arranged for small groups of poor children from London to have a week's holiday in the country; and it was energetically promoted by H. C. Burdett.<sup>1</sup>

Burdett considered that

"every village should have a few rooms devoted to this object - all the villagers (could) aid the scheme. The farmer's wife... give a little food - milk, eggs butter and the like; the rich... help by giving money to defray the cost of railway and other travelling expenses".<sup>2</sup>

Many others, including Canon Barnett and Octavia Hill, took up the idea, and in 1879 Canon Barnett and his Curate, the Rev. Atkinson, were proudly able to report having arranged for 170 children to have had such a holiday.

From this beginning, came the idea of the convalescent cottages and eventually the setting up of village hospitals.<sup>3</sup> These were endowed by local subscribers not so much to promote urban convalescence in the country air, but as a service to the rural community. They were particularly valuable in areas remote from

1. Burnett H. C. Cottage Hospitals, General, Fever and Convalescent. Their Progress Management and Work. 2nd ed, London 1880 p. 312
2. ibid p. 313
3. Napper A. On the Advantages Derivable to the Medical Profession and the Public from Village Hospitals. 3rd ed, London 1866,

the country hospital. The first of these so-called village hospitals was founded by Napper in Surrey in 1859, and within the next twenty years they had spread widely even in the outlying Scottish highlands, and had become the basis of a local health service.

The village also gave inspiration to most of the company towns and utopias promoted by benevolent industrial autocrats. Leverhume, for example, looked upon Port Sunlight as a village. With an almost feudal and manorial pride, the Port Sunlight Year Book for 1898 eulogised upon its virtues as follows:

..... "Work is over, and a spirit of quiet seems to brood over the village. Good food, healthy occupation, pleasant surroundings and reasonable recreations, are better than any legislation for making a happy and prosperous nation, and all these are provided for the great army of workers whose daily business it is ..... to help in the manufacture of SUNLIGHT & LIFEBUOY SOAPS".<sup>1</sup>

At the time this was written the "army" was housed in over four hundred cottages and the total area of the estate was over one hundred and seventy acres. It was scarcely a village - but it did include a cottage hospital.

Next to his huge soap factory Leverhume had nevertheless attempted very deliberately to make a heavily sentimentalised reconstruction of an Old English Village. It was as thorough and as charming in its artifice as Randolph Caldecott's caricatures<sup>2</sup> of the village life idealised by Miss Mitford. Nothing was done by

1. The Sunlight Yearbook, 1898 p.467

2. "Randolph Caldecott's "Graphic" Pictures, Complete edition London 1891

or the visions of the oddly misguided Tory Radicals like Cobbett, who sought to keep the best traditions of the English Squirearchy and to yoke them to a new breed of villager dignified by self-sufficiency and education.

short measure, and the only thing missing was the inn. The half-timbering was in real oak, the houses had bathrooms, and the village council, the clubs, societies and schools were substantially provided for, as was the men's club with its bowling green and the Girls' Institute with its reading room. And it worked. There was a waiting list of people wishing to live there, and there is still a waiting list today.

The new generation of town planners, including Geddes and Unwin were both greatly impressed and greatly influenced by it. For Geddes - reinterpreted in garden suburbia - it offered the best hope of achieving a synthesis of le Play's Lieu, Travail et Famille, and for Unwin it offered the hope of a new spirit of co-operation - a close social life developing from enclaved housing forms, and centred upon the village green. In the Art of Building a Home he commented as follows:

"The relationships of feudalism have gone, and democracy has yet to evolve some definite relationships of its own, which when they come will doubtless be as picturesque as the old forms . . . . we could, if we really desired it, even now so arrange a new building site that it should not be an actual eyesore, and might manage that it should have some little of the charm of the old village".

The village green, with its enclosing buildings, represented a familiarity and a self-sustaining security which Unwin felt to be a basic human need. In other terms, it was a clear manifestation of Freud's aedicle or return-to-the-womb complex. But the attributes and significance of the village green cannot be so sweepingly dismissed; something of its background must therefore be attempted here as essential to the understanding of its prevalent imitation in present day housing.

THE VILLAGE GREEN.

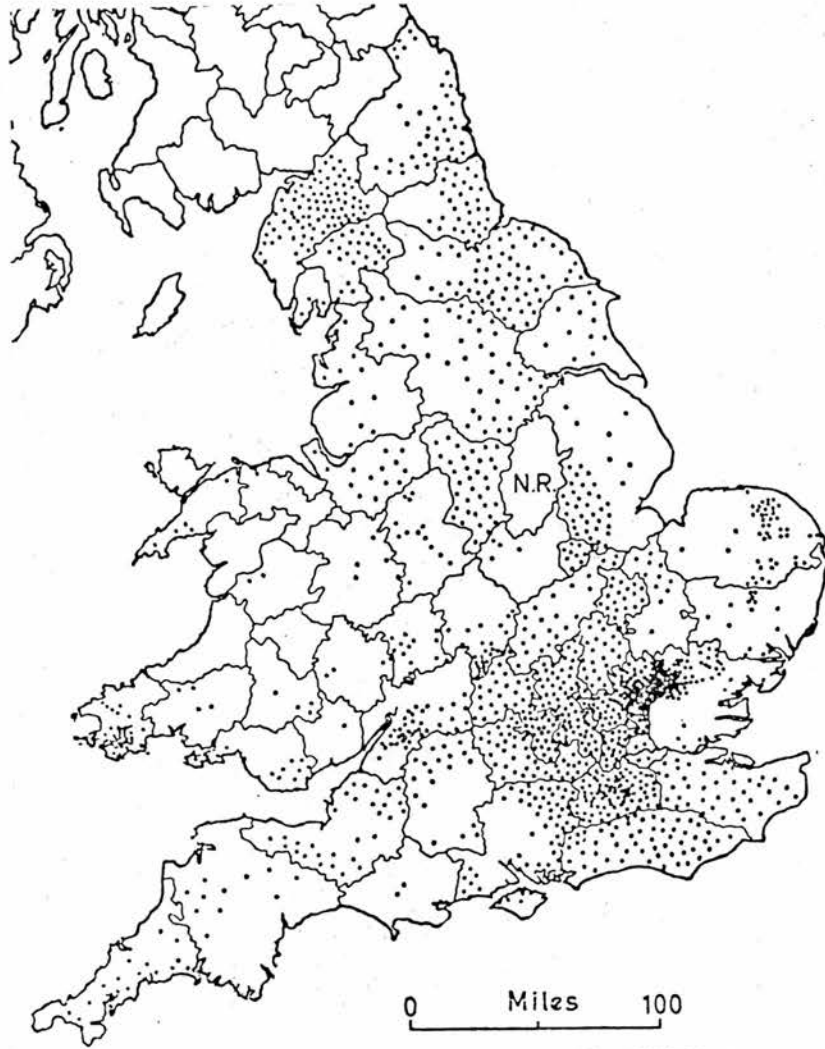


FIGURE 108 :  
The distribution of village greens in  
England and Wales , according to Stamp , 1961 .

In their study of the commonlands of England and Wales<sup>1</sup> Stamp and Hoskins developed the work they had carried out as members of the 1955 - 58 Royal Commission on Commonlands.<sup>2</sup> Among the topics considered by them was the village green, but apart from making a useful inventory of these, and mapping their distribution, (Figure 108), they merely clarified the terms of a yet-unwritten history of their origin and development. They prepared an incomplete list of some 1380 village greens still existing in England and Wales. These averaged some three acres in size, and they occurred far more frequently in the South Midlands and on the eastern side of England than in the Celtic lands of the West: Over half the villages in Co. Durham for instance, had greens, while in Lancashire and Devon they were scanty and in Dorset and East Leicestershire, very exceptional. There was a similar range of variation in size, from the broad expanse of rough pasture at Goathland, to the modest leftovers of Bassenthwaite. There were few clues either in their distribution, size or relative containment, to explain the actual origin of the greens.

Yet the village green is undoubtedly the most typical of all English lowland commons. Most of them date from the earliest beginnings of Anglo-Saxon settlement, between 500 and 1000 AD.

1. Stamp D and Hoskins W. The Common Lands of England and Wales, London 1963
2. Command 462.

The communities they served were therefore prefeudal, pioneering and loosely tribal in character, but by the time of Domesday Book, were sufficiently settled to be described as "vills" (from the old French ville), each consisting of a number of dwellings with adjacent lands, more or less contiguous and having a common organisation.

The peasant economy of vills depended typically upon upland summer grazings and on lowland arable with associated pasture and woodland forage. The summer grazings were at first it seems shared on a loosely tribal basis, and in time successively limited to serve the needs of particular communities; without such common land none of the villages could have kept plough beasts<sup>or</sup> livestock. Life was essentially communal: the livestock of each vill was tended by a shepherd and swineherd, and the community life bound by the strict need to observe the same calendar for ploughing, sowing and harvesting, and for which the reeve or headman was responsible.

Feudal overlords appointed by the Crown were careful to recognise the balance of this peasant economy. While reserving the freehold of the land, they maintained the villagers' common rights over it, and in exchange for the continuity of these rights, the villagers paid a tribute rent in labour on the lord's land. In time, and with division of labour and craft specialisation this tribute often became a monetary payment, and strip holdings began to coalesce into blocks and thence into private enclosures;

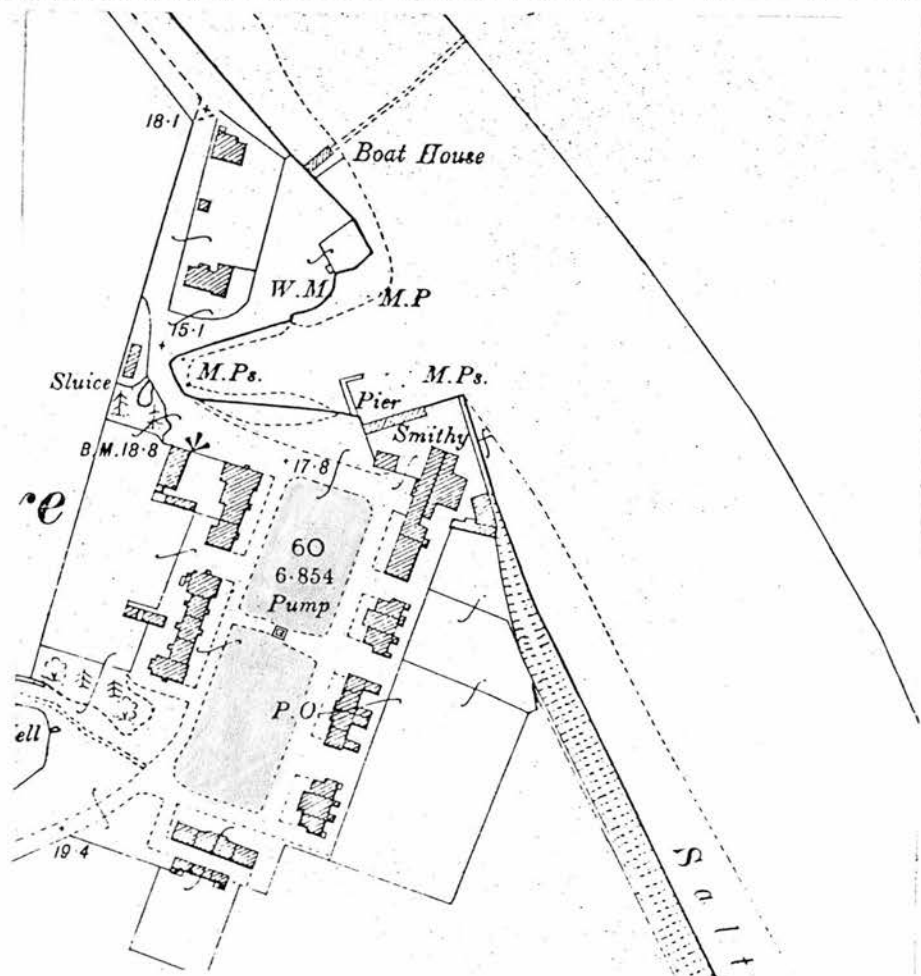


FIGURE 109 :  
 Scots villages developed by improving  
 lairds after English models .  
 (top ) Eaglesham in Lanarkshire, in the 18 th Century ,  
 (bottom ) Dunmore in Stirlingshire in the 19 th Century .  
 6" & 25" O.S. first edition .

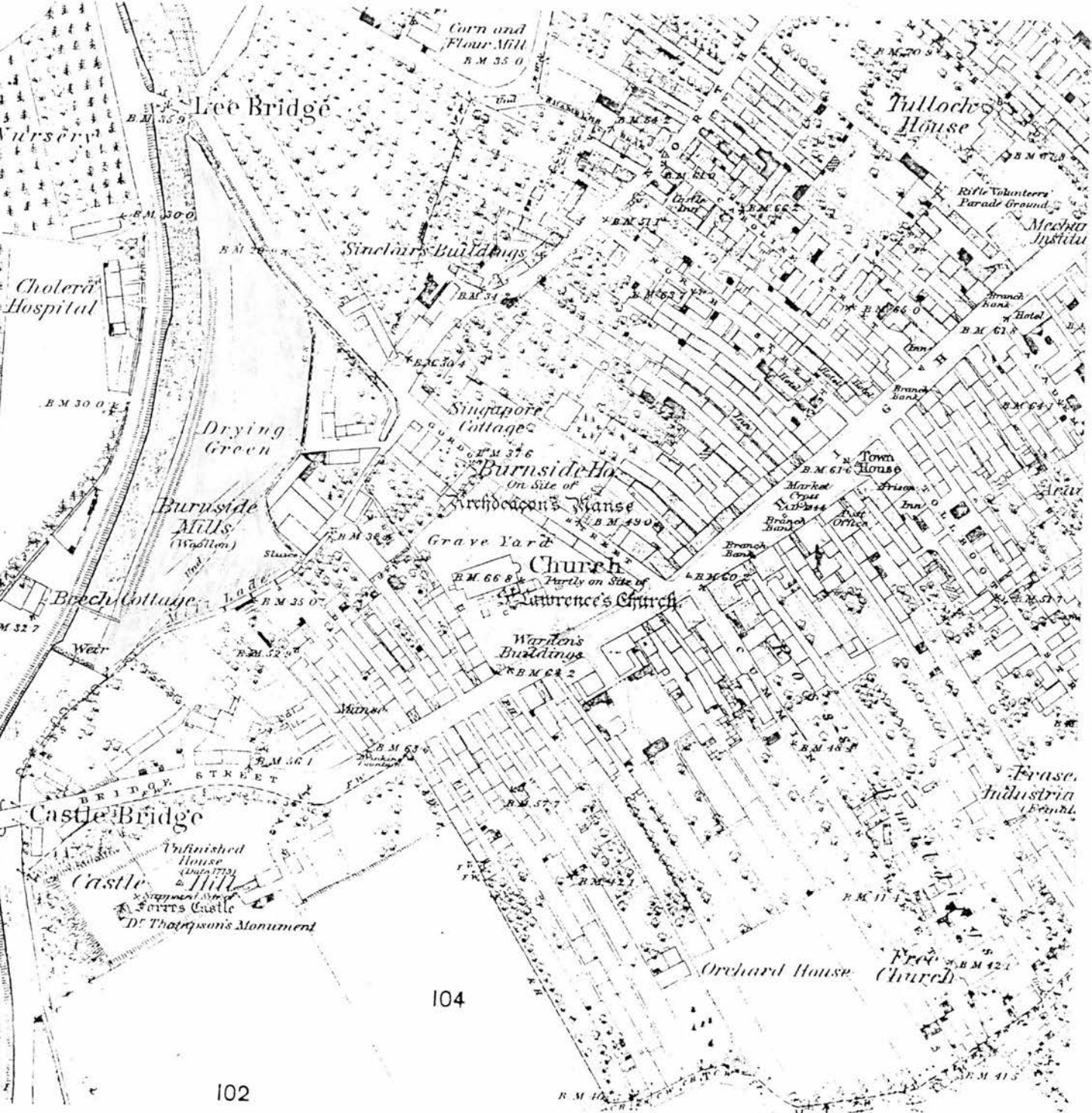


FIGURE 110:  
 Forres with its surviving fragment of green.  
 Compare with Elgin, Figure 38.

and the simple communal life began to lose its close ties with the common land and to develop the diversity and individualism of modern capitalist society.

As has already been pointed out in Chapter 4 the unit of settlement in Scotland was the fermetoun and not the vill. What there is of a Scots village green tradition is usually of recent origin, and dates from the eighteenth and nineteenth century improvements of local lairds. These were typically of the Platzdorf model,<sup>1</sup> discussed later, and were in a provincial Georgian idiom, (Figure 109).

Such common lands and property as were provided in Scotland, including greens and market places, were part of what was referred to as The Common Good.<sup>2</sup> They often derived either from Crown grant, or from fines or dues payable by burgesses; They were held by the burgh for the whole community. Most common land in the ferme toun lay outside the settlement, and these traditional infield and outfield grazings were often built over as the settlement diversified and expanded. Occasionally one comes across surviving fragments of them, as in the green at Forres, (Figure 110), but they are in no sense comparable with the greens forming deliberate central enclosures in so many English villages. The ferme toun with its six to twelve households was in any case too small to have effectively allowed dwellings to be grouped into enclosures of useful size. Such pen enclosures as were necessary seems to have been temporarily erected; each year for instance a certain amount of the outfield grazings

1. See p.

2. Whyte W.E. Local Government in Scotland 1925 pp 72-73

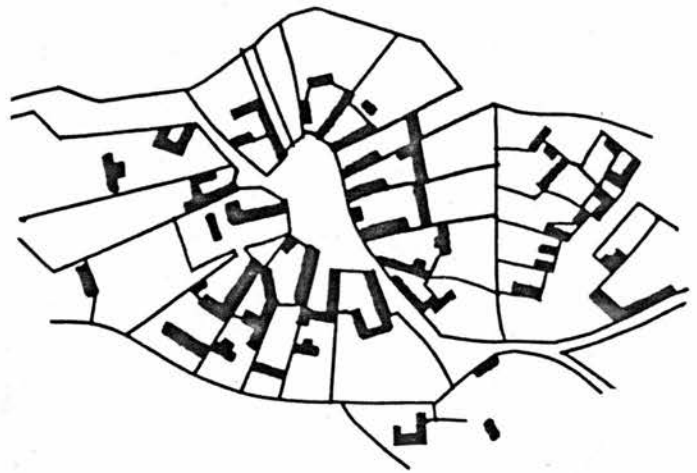
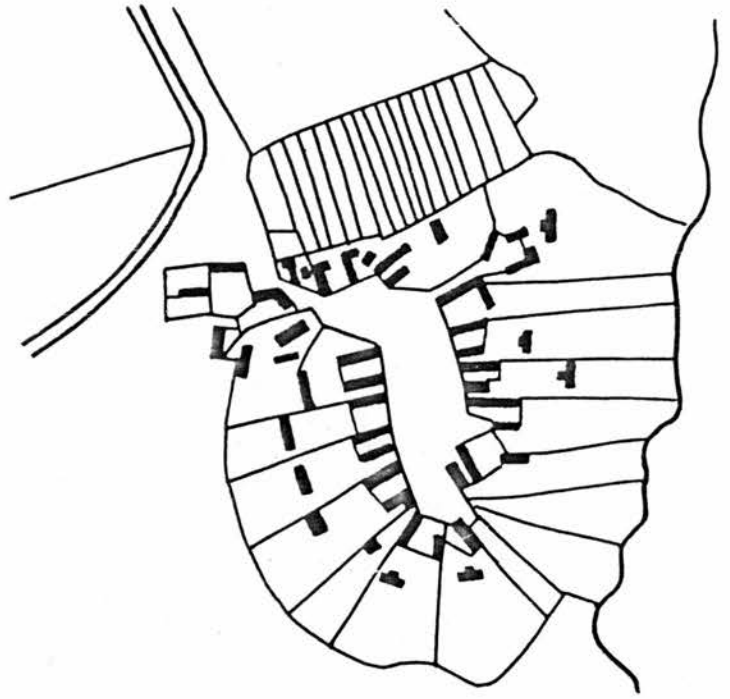


FIGURE 111 :

Ring fence settlements specifically developed for defence .  
(see Gutkind EA opcit p 62)

were brought back into cultivation, and to ensure that they were well dunged, the livestock were customarily penned in them by throwing up improvised sod walls<sup>1</sup>.

Hoskins surmised that in most instances the greens of English vill settlements were developed to provide a safe enclosure for mustering livestock, particularly in time of emergency. Other writers, including Houston,<sup>2</sup> Thorpe<sup>3</sup> and Gutkind<sup>4</sup> broadly support this view, and look to the many similar open spaces in comparable settlements throughout Europe. Occasionally, as in the ringfence villages or rundlings of the frontier province of Styria, (Figure 111), the open spaces are unmistakably barricaded enclosures, but in most cases the variations are far more complex.

Geographers have, however, identified two general types of green village - the angersdorf and the platzdorf; the former having a central high street, widening into a green usually roughly oval in shape, and the latter being a more deliberate, orderly, geometric and often later version of the angersdorf. Both were said to be capable of easy defence, and both were widely distributed throughout Western Europe. They are quite distinct from the Stassendorf or street villages. This classification certainly appears to be relevant although it may prove to be as incidental to their real understanding as a recognition that some people are fat and others thin.

1. Gray, H. L. English Field Systems London 1915

2. Houston V. M. A Social Geography of Europe London 1953, p. 80

3. Thorpe H. "The Green Villages of County Durham", Journal of British Geography, Vol. 15 1925

4. Gutkind E. Urban Development in Western Europe: The Alpine and Scandinavian Countries 1965 p. 62.

Whether *angersdorf* or *platzdorf* in type, not all English greens for instance are commons. And of the many that are, the original common rights have often long since fallen into disuse. The ancient rights of turbary, piscary and estovers<sup>1</sup> for example, or the cutting of bracken for cattle bedding, are hardly relevant to a modern economy, and, with the passage of time, many commons, including village greens, have been inclosed<sup>2</sup>. Indeed the rarity of greens in Dorset and Leicester may for instance be due to systematic local inclosure.

The one common right, however, which has retained its relevance is that giving a public right of access for exercise and recreation, and the general intention of recent legislation, particularly since the Metropolitan Commons Act of 1866<sup>3</sup>, has been to counter development pressures by insisting on the maintenance of this right. As a result, the Royal Commission found it convenient in 1958 to define a village or town green as

"a piece of open land. . . on which the inhabitants . . . have a customary right of playing<sup>4</sup> lawful games and enjoying it for recreation"

1. respectively, the cutting of turf, taking of fish and gathering of fuel.
2. Inclosure, or the legal process of freeing land from common rights, should not be confused with enclosure: many commons were, of course, enclosed as a result of inclosure.
3. 29 and 30 Vict. ch 122
4. Report of the Royal Commission on Common Land 1955-58, Command 462 p276.

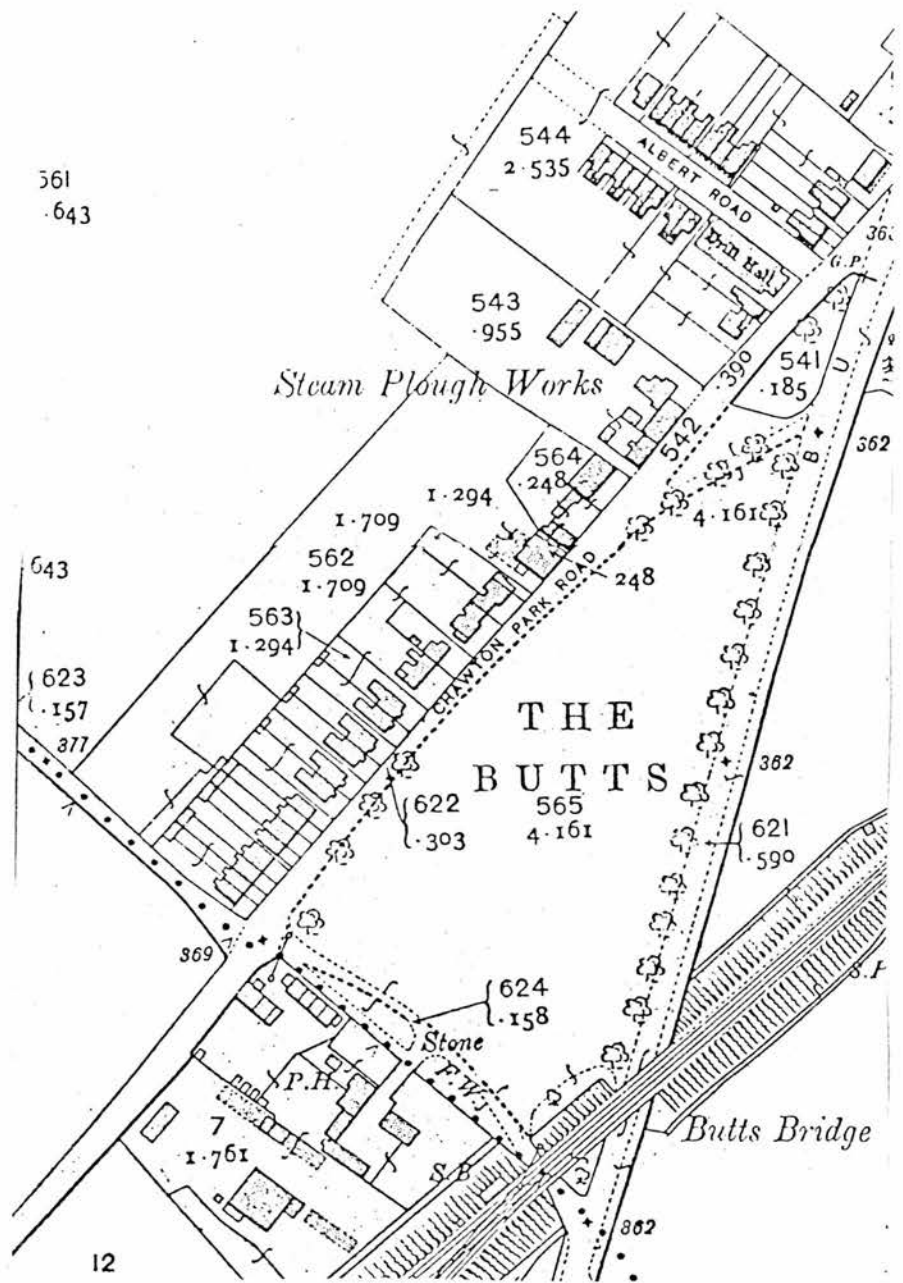


FIGURE 112 :  
 The Butts , Alton , Hampshire .  
 25" O.S. first edition .

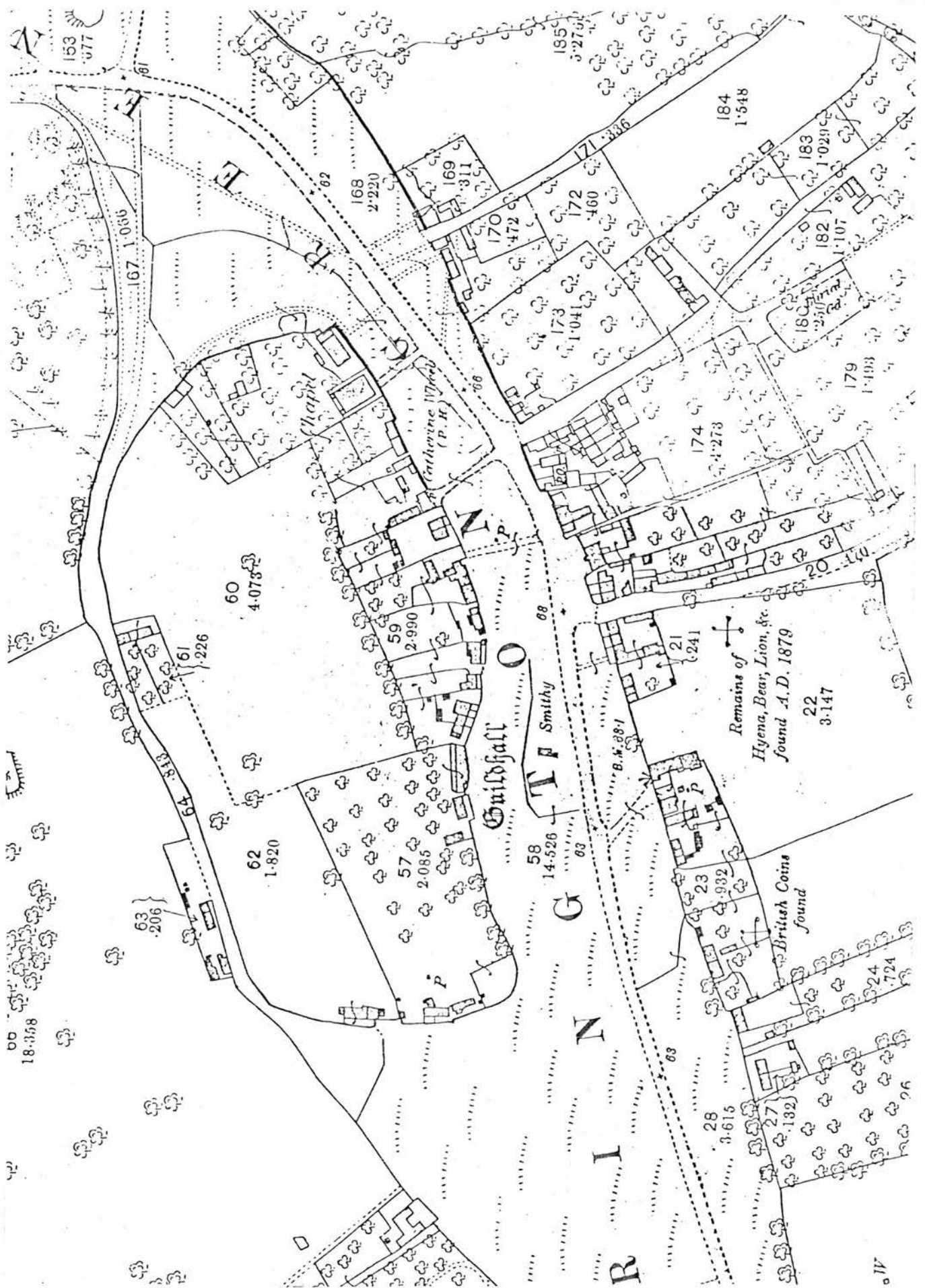


FIGURE 113 :

Barrington village , Cambridgeshire , the island in the centre of the large green said to have been enclosed & settled by Cromwell's troops .  
 25" O. S. first edition .



FIGURE 114 :  
Aynho village .  
25" O.S. first edition .

Although this is vitally important in assessing the future of village greens, it is likely to mislead enquiry into their origins. A few were undoubtedly specifically related to exercise and recreation from the first. The evidence of place names is sometimes helpful. The Butts at Alton in Hampshire (Figure 112), in all probability had a primary use for archery practice.<sup>1</sup> But how right is Hoskins in supposing that archery was commonly practised on village greens?<sup>2</sup> Many in their present form are far too small or awkwardly-shaped for this purpose. Land was certainly lost by later encroachments, as at Barrington, (Figure 113), and in extreme cases as at Aynho, (Figure 114), the whole green appears to have been built over. Other greens such as the cricketer's Arms at Hartley, have a very specific association, but cricket is a comparatively recent game.<sup>3</sup> Still others such as at Dufton, which retains a maypole, have a more ancient link with recreation.

1. Even this is not certain: references to butts in Scots settlements, for instance, may not denote ground set aside for archery as the term was used to denote short run-rig strips - long strips being referred to as riggs.
2. Practice with the longbow was commonly over distances of four hundred yards or more. (see Strutt J. Sports & Pastimes of the People of England. 1833 edition by Hone pp 62-70.
3. A derivative of cricket known as club ball was, however, very ancient, and together with stool or stow ball (a form of golf), must certainly have been much played in villages. Football (or campball as it was known), has also distant origins, and was apparently much played on village greens until 1349 when Edward III commanded that the leisure time of feast days be not spent in such idle recreations, but given to archery practice, and on butts to be provided in every village (see Strutt, ibid p.29).

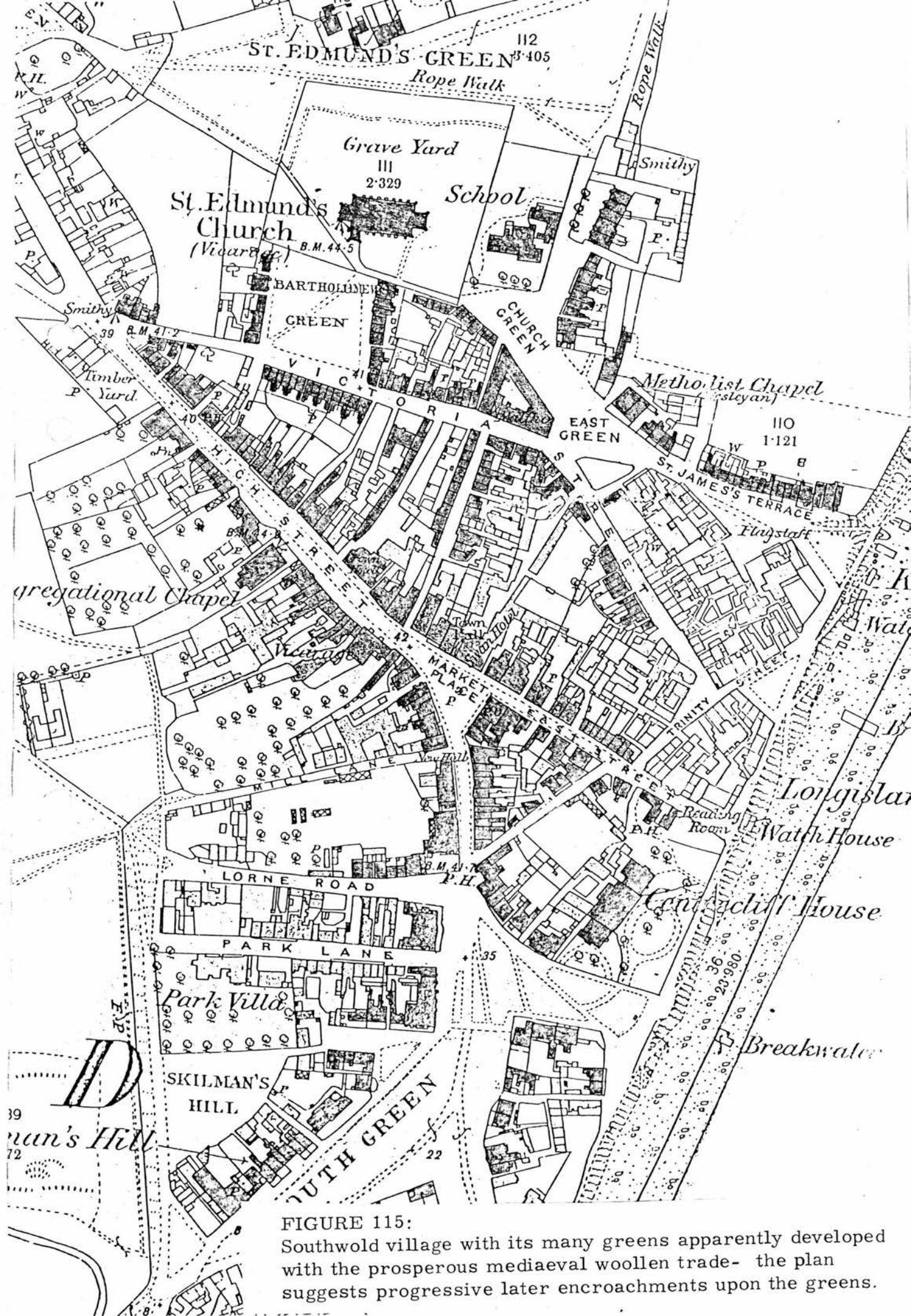


FIGURE 115:  
 Southwold village with its many greens apparently developed  
 with the prosperous mediaeval woollen trade- the plan  
 suggests progressive later encroachments upon the greens.

There is no doubt some truth in the assertion that the village green provided a measure of protection, and security from theft. The precedent for defensive enclosure is certainly as ancient as the Iron Age forts and the Pictish brochs of the North<sup>1</sup>, but it is doubtful if defence alone could have been the sole or even dominant consideration in many of the Anglo-Saxon settlements which serve as the foundation of our villages. One of the first requirements of a small community practising mixed arable and animal husbandry must have been for livestock mustering pens. The labour and expense to a pioneer community of forming special enclosures for these purposes, particularly in nearby uncleared woodland, and the heavy demands upon scarce manpower, suggests the commonsense expedient of grouping the dwellings themselves to form such enclosures.

If this was the case, it may be argued that expansion of the village might have taken the form of further pen enclosures. In some instances, particularly where a pastoral economy was dominant, this may have happened. Southwold, on the Suffolk coast, (Figure 115), with its flourishing woollen trade, has a number of large greens which suggest this process. By contrast, in particularly fertile areas, such as the Isle of Ely, almost all available land was cultivated, and remarkably little was reserved as common.

1. See Denman D. The Origins of Ownership London 1957 p.15



FIGURE 116 :

Much of the Isle of Ely was anciently drained by monastic enterprise, and the pattern of settlement decisively affected by the needs of drainage. High ground settlers were often dairymen, stocking the surrounding commons and fens with their cows during the summer, and feeding them through the winter on hay stored from the "mow fens". In low, wet ground, foggy and gnat-infested, fishing and fowling were the chief means of subsistence and settlements were scattered and often late. Here sheep were prone to disease but, as Defoe noted, the rich silt grasslands to the south of the Isle of Ely on the other hand fattened sheep very profitably for the London market and had long been closely settled under a pastoral economy..

(see Darby H C, The Draining of the Fens, CUP 1968 reprinted)



FIGURE 117 :

Stokesley village ; its plan suggesting the deliberate expansion of a stassendorf form into market greens to meet demand .  
 25" O.S. first edition .

Topography must also have played an important part in the physical development of the village. In close forest, first settlement may have often formed around the periphery of natural clearances and glades; names with the suffixes of den, falt, holt, hurst or ward indicate such woodland origins. The further growth of settlements would tend to be radial but strongly influenced by wet ground, heavy woodland and other areas of difficult topography which were often left open.

Greens must also certainly have been developed to serve the purposes of barter and trade, and from a very early period. The right to hold a village fair is invariably ancient, and their more regular and intensive use for markets must frequently have led to the need to replace grass with pavement. Stokesley, (Figure 117), is a case in point, and it further suggests the deliberate expansion of a stassendorf plan into market greens to meet demand.

The form of the green may also suggest relative age. The exclusion of the parish church or manor from the surroundings of a green, as in the case of Barrington (Figure 113), may indicate prechristian settlement of great antiquity, while other greens which appear very deliberately related to the church and manor, as at Long Melford, may date only from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The truth is that most historical reconstructions of the form of village development are largely conjectural; lacking a sequence of accurate estate records and detailed surveys, the process of development cannot usually be followed with any

precision. Most of the village greens illustrated in this study strongly suggest later encroachments of one kind or another upon what may once have been very much larger spaces; if we can recognise these clearly in, for instance, the regency villas of Southwold, one may surmise that similar encroachments have taken place over a much longer period. In earlier times the Lord of the Manor could have exercised his will in determining such changes over the common rights of his village with little fear of challenge or opposition; a tactful compromise must often have sufficed.

So for all our pains we cannot conclude that there was usually any very real deliberate planning behind much of what we today so much admire ; these greens have for the most part only the casual charm of long accretion and happy accident. Gilpin understood this when he remarked:

"I question whether it were possible for a single hand to build a picturesque village. Nothing contributes more to it than the various styles of building . . . . when all these little habitations happen to unite harmoniously and to be connected with the proper appendages of a village - a winding road - a number of spreading trees - a rivulet with a bridge - and a spire, to bring the whole to an apex - the village is compleat." 1.



The relics of Mitford's image of the village green are well summarised in Stamp's boyhood recollections of Meopham Green in Kent, (Figure 118); roughly triangular and of five acres or so, the centre of the green,

"for generations sacred to cricket, the pitch protected from grazing sheep by light fencing. The adjoining hostelry, The Cricketers ..... A small pond at the northern end, .. . doubtless a common watering place in the past.... (with) a few geese in summer, used by the village blacksmith for cooling, his horse shoes, large enough for skating in winter .....<sup>1</sup>."

This is the popular and nostalgic image of the green, and it conveniently omits mention of the often endless wrangles over the illegal claims of private rights, and the conflicts of interest such as those between farmers wishing to graze livestock on the green, and other villagers wanting a kempt and cowpat-free turf for recreation and the annual fair. It may, however, be claimed that such threats and disputes actually stimulate community awareness, and that the true value of the green in present day village life, is as a symbolic focus of interest, and in part as a mock battlefield as well as a fairground. But Miss Mitford's idealised villagers remain nothing if not phlegmatic. When a bomb dropped on Meopham during the last war, the only thing that really disturbed the inhabitants, was the BBC mispronouncing Meopham.

1. Stamp & Hoskins op. cit. p.146

FROM GREEN TO GREENHEART.

As its original functions had so largely lapsed, could the village green, to which Unwin and following planners had attached so much importance, be dismissed as merely an anachronism? One of the English villages most determined supporters, Thomas Sharp, thought not. He argued that the secondary functions of greens in providing amenity, recreational opportunity and a physical sense of place and social cohesion, had a validity which could not be lightly dismissed by modern planners.

In 1953 he published an essay The English Village based on an earlier book The Anatomy of a Village. Sharp was a planner and a landscape architect, and his essay was important in being included in an official advisory manual intended for the guidance of housing designers.<sup>1</sup> The lessons to be learnt from the village were, he felt, its physical simplicity, limited size and social cohesiveness; and in all of these the green played an important part. He saw the ideal form of a community as based on the strong sense of place and enclosure provided by the village green; in size it should consist of upward of one hundred dwellings providing for no more than 300-450 inhabitants. He distinguished two main forms of plan, those with an elongated enclosure, often little more than of street width, and those with a broader enclosure.

Sharp was disillusioned with the attempts of garden city and suburb planning to achieve a village character. Not only had they failed to solve the problems of size, identity and social character, but they had overemphasised gardens, particularly front gardens,

1. MOHLG. Design in Town and Village H. M. S. O. 1953

and had achieved a monotonous, self-conscious prettiness instead of the diverse and casual simplicity of the true village. He complained also of the preference for detached and semi-detached houseplans rather than those allowing a close and informal grouping; the effect of this as we have seen at New Earswick, was to fragment the built form and make village enclosure very difficult to achieve.

There were many besides Sharp who saw the need for change - a new generation of designers and politicians. The Second World War gave them time to take a new bearing. Some, like Fry and Lubetkin, were professed revolutionaries, who sought to cut loose and follow the European modern movement; others, like Clough Williams-Ellis, and Sharp himself, were traditionalists; while still others, like Aneurin Bevan and G.H.D. Cole, were fabians who saw co-operative socialism just around the corner. Like Ebenezer Howard and Unwin, all believed that men were inherently cooperative and equalitarian and all were united in their optimism to make a fresh start after the war in building a brave new world.

The Dudley Report<sup>1</sup> of 1944 was one of a number of important documents which were to help shape this postwar reconstruction. The report not only gave official recognition to Clarence Perry's concept of the "neighbourhood unit"<sup>2</sup> as practised by Stein, but

1. Ministry of Health The Design of Dwellings (Report of the Dudley Committee) H. M. S. O. 1944
2. Perry, C. "The Neighbourhood Unit" Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs Vol. VII p. 34.

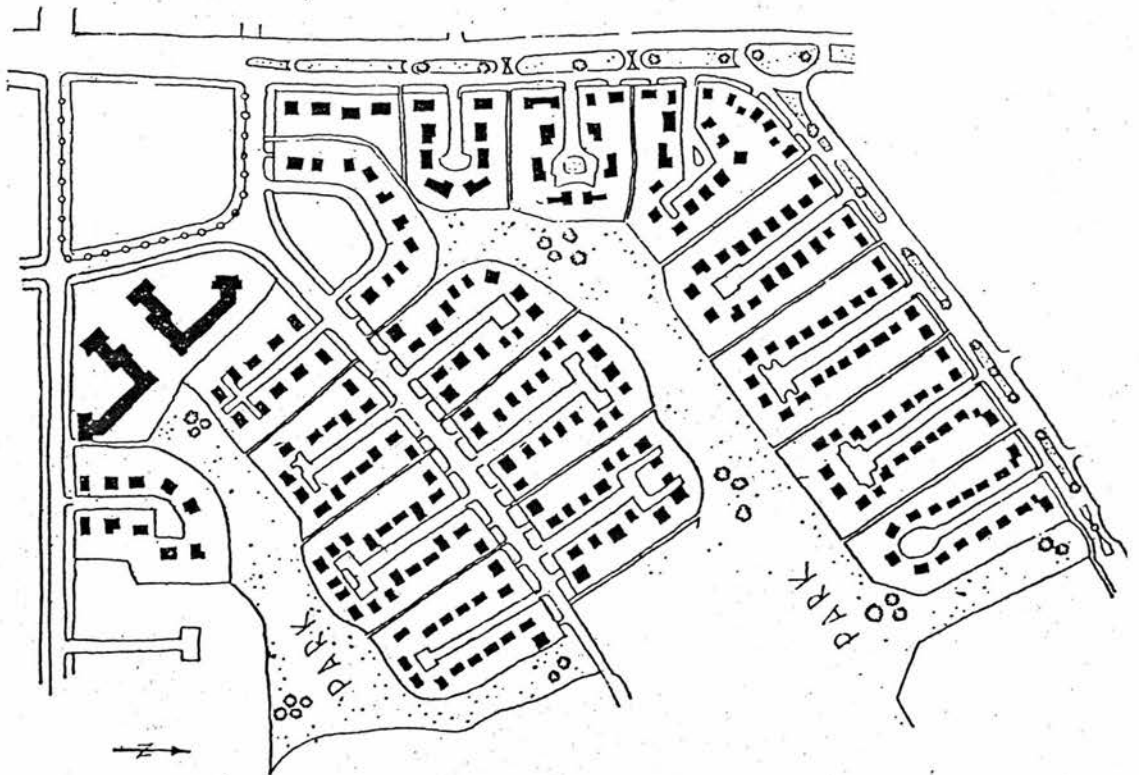


FIGURE 119 :

Part of Wright & Stein's Radburn , New Jersey ( 1929 )  
 showing the traffic-segregated links with the central greenway .

also attempted to reconcile it with the ideas of Sharp. In his incomplete New York projects, Stein has proposed coherent social units, each of between five and nine thousand people arranged in dwellings around the edges of a greenway and giving direct footpath access to a primary school, local shops and playgrounds, (Figure 119 A & B) The greenway was a development of those of Olmsted and his sons,<sup>1</sup> but was distinctive in having all roads placed on the other side of the skirting houses, (just as at Waverley Park (Figure 65) - but on a very much larger scale) and in having a coordinating role to play in local planning and particularly in its relation to children's safety. This latter role was well-summarised in 1942 in a joint memorandum issued by the Institute of Landscape Architects and the Royal Horticultural Society, as follows:

"It is to be hoped that in the towns of the future, schools, children's gardens, playgrounds, allotments and residential areas will be grouped and linked together by a system of footpaths enabling children to move from one to another without crossing traffic routes"<sup>2</sup>

The Dudley Report commended this arrangement to British designers,<sup>3</sup> and also suggested that each so-called neighbourhood be subdivided into a number of lesser housing groups, each containing between one hundred and one hundred and fifty households, in emulation of the traditional village, and just as recommended by

1. As for example, parts of the reservations of the Charles, Mystic and Neponset Rivers, Boston, Massachusetts, see Reports of the Board of Metropolitan Park Commissioners, January 1900 and January 1902. Olmsted Brothers et al, Public Document No. 48. Boston.
2. Joint Memorandum ILA & RHS. The Design and Planting of Open Spaces in Urban and Central Districts, London 1942, para. 37 p. 9
3. M.O.H. op cit pp. 61-62.

Sharp.

The report however did not stop there, for it went on to advise that:

" a variation .... which might be more practised is that the houses may have a much smaller individual garden which abuts onto a communal garden". 1

And it drew attention to examples of such planning at Ladbrooke

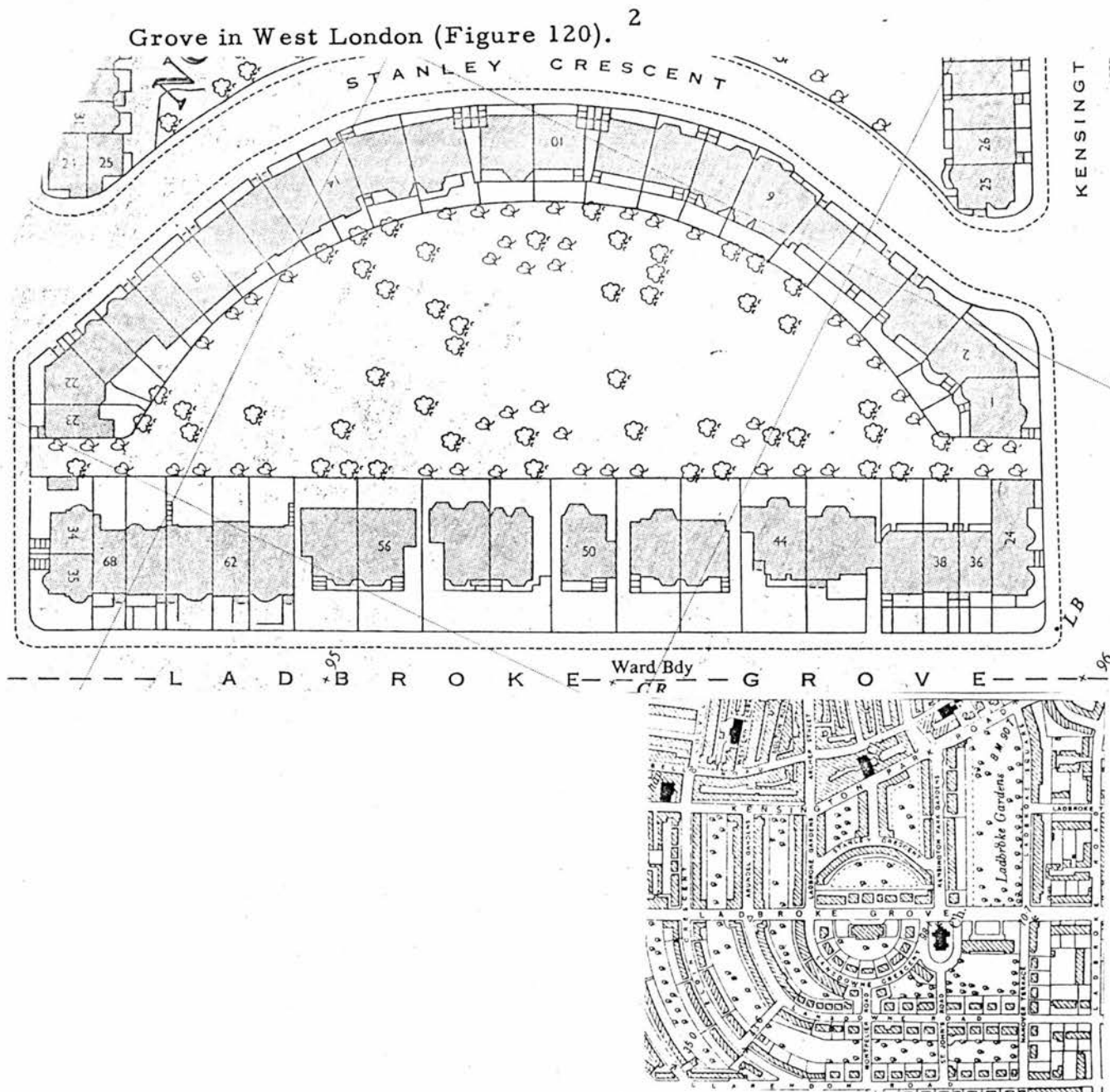


FIGURE 120 :

The Ladbrooke Estate , Holland Park , London , referred to in the Dudley Report for its use of shared greens contiguous with dwellings and segregated from roads .  
50" O.S. 1963 .

1. Dudley Report op cit p. 67.
2. Contemporaneous with Waverley Park.

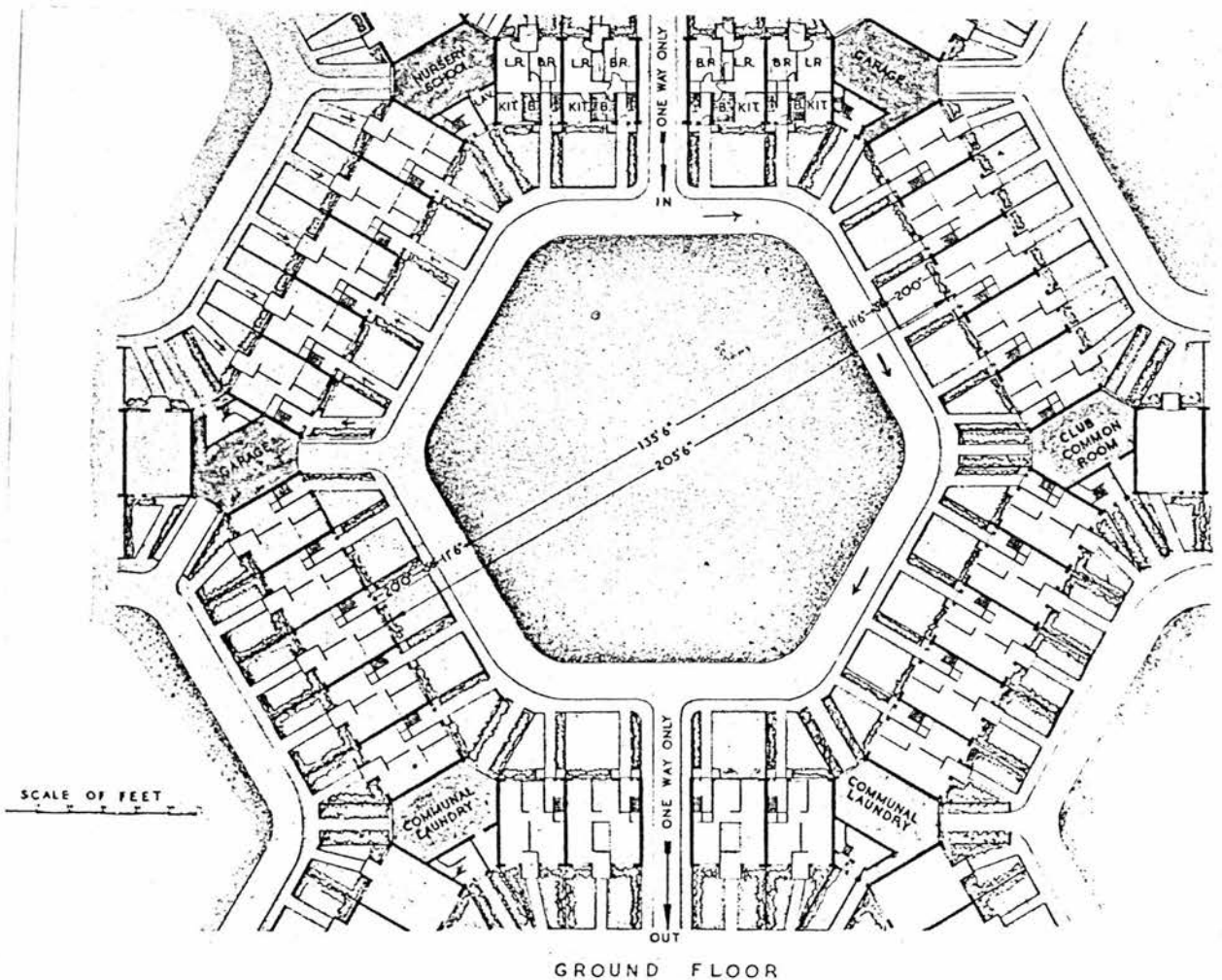
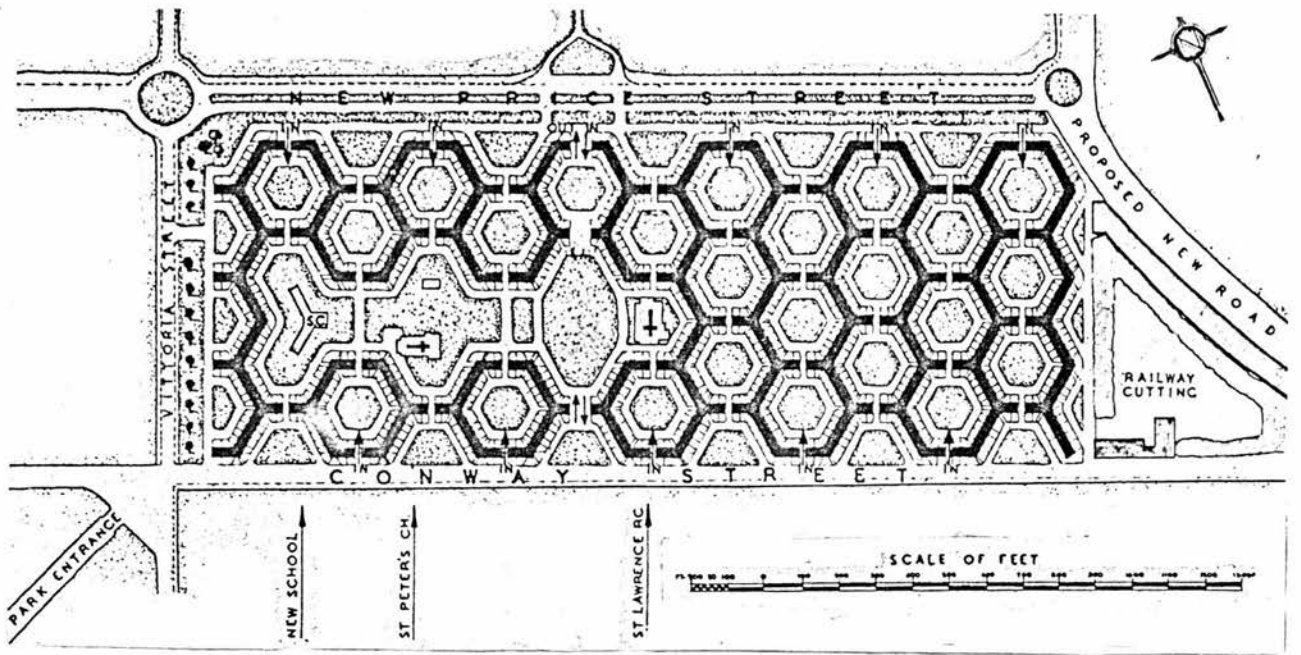
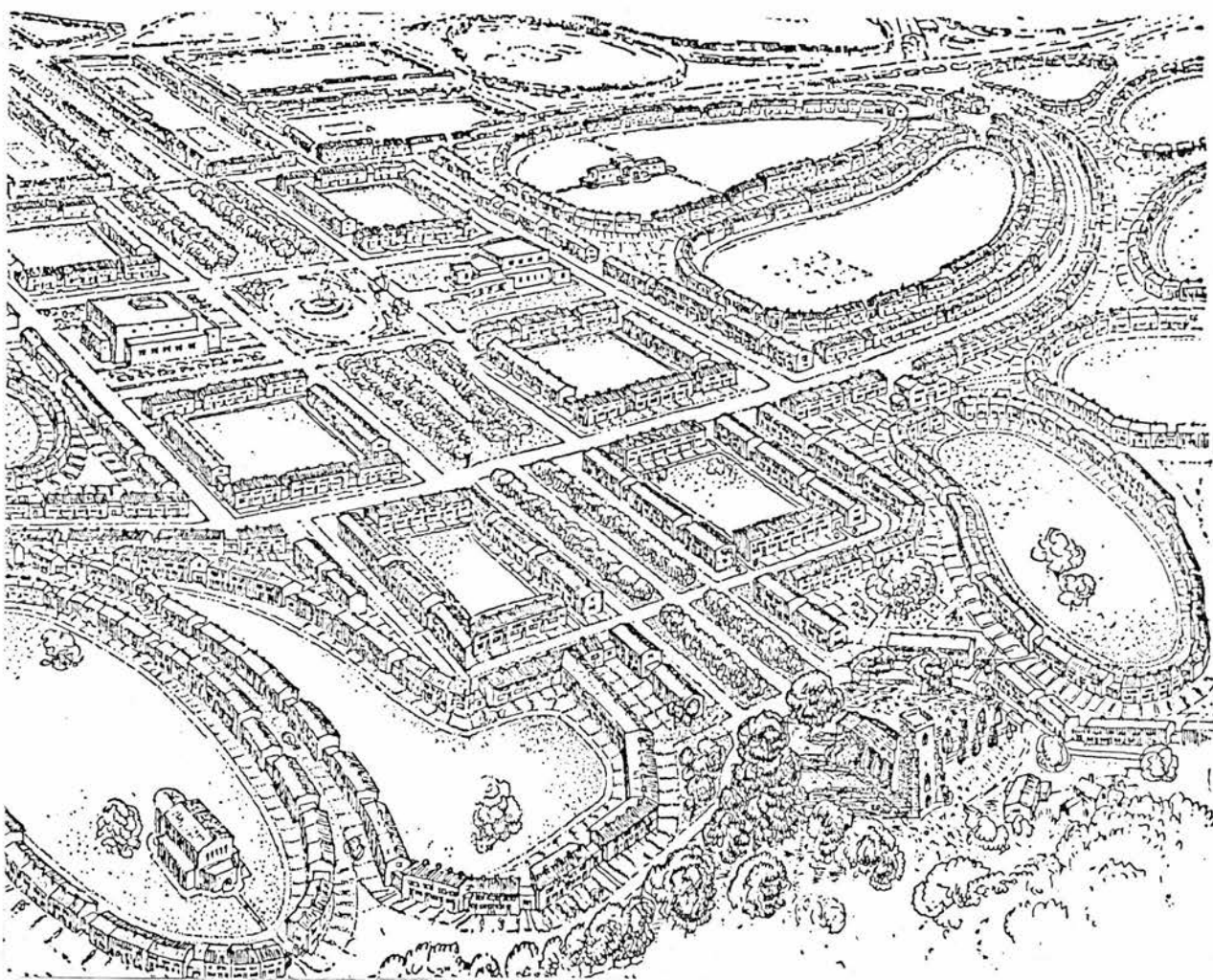
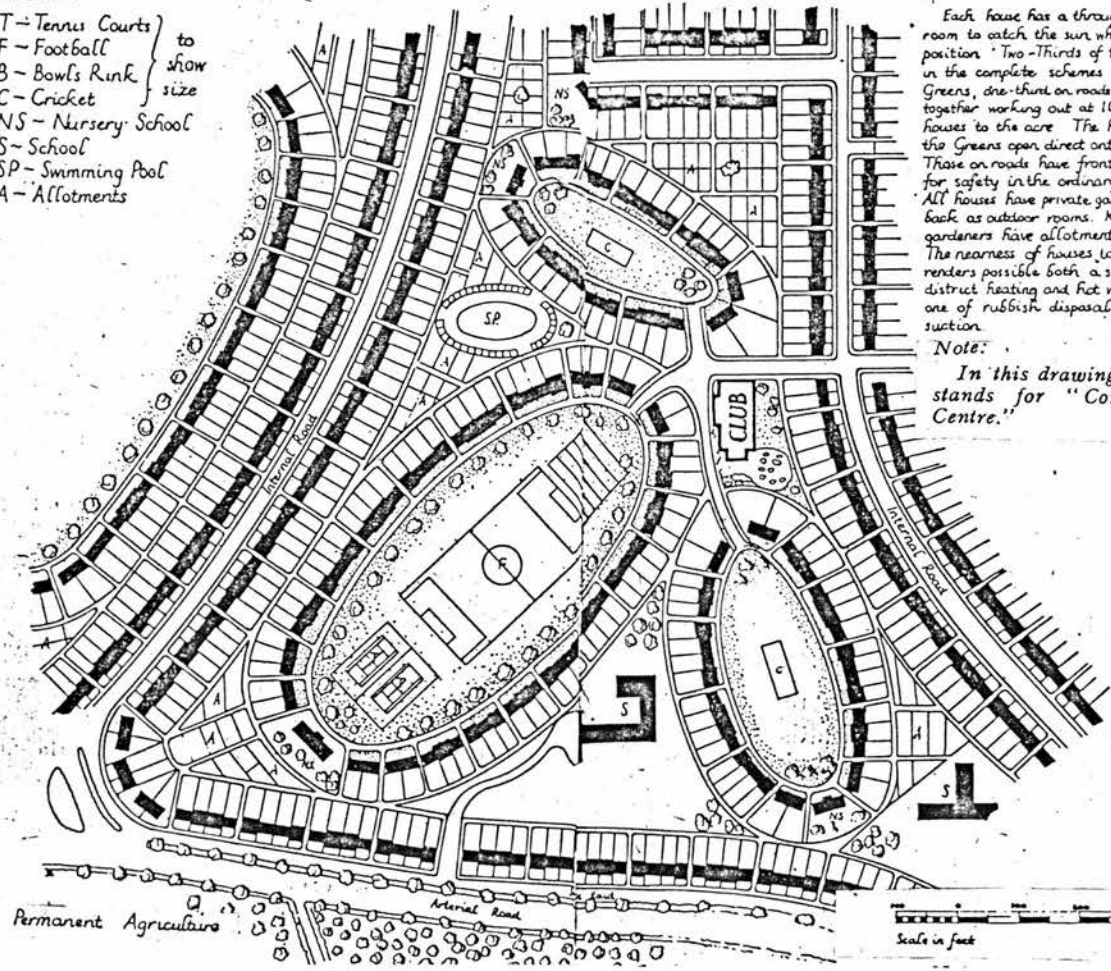


FIGURE 121a :  
 The communal parallelogram of Chapter 3 reinterpreted as a village green by Sir Charles Reilly in his plan for Birkenhead , 1947 . Reilly was here attempting to achieve the high density of 28 dwellings /acre using a three storey form with a 2 storey house surmounted by roof level flat . The proposal has a daunting regularityakin to the worst of Glasgow's hollow squares . It is also absurdly impractical .



Schedule.

- T - Tennis Courts
  - F - Football
  - B - Bowls Rink
  - C - Cricket
  - NS - Nursery; School
  - S - School
  - SP - Swimming Pool
  - A - Allotments
- } to show size



Note

Each house has a through living room to catch the sun whatever the position. Two-thirds of the houses in the complete scheme are on Greens, one-third on roads, the two together working out at 10 4 houses to the acre. The houses on the Greens open direct onto them. Those on roads have front gardens for safety in the ordinary way. All houses have private gardens at back as outdoor rooms. Keen gardeners have allotments adjacent. The nearness of houses together renders possible both a system of district heating and hot water and one of rubbish disposal by suction.

Note:

In this drawing "Club" stands for "Community Centre."

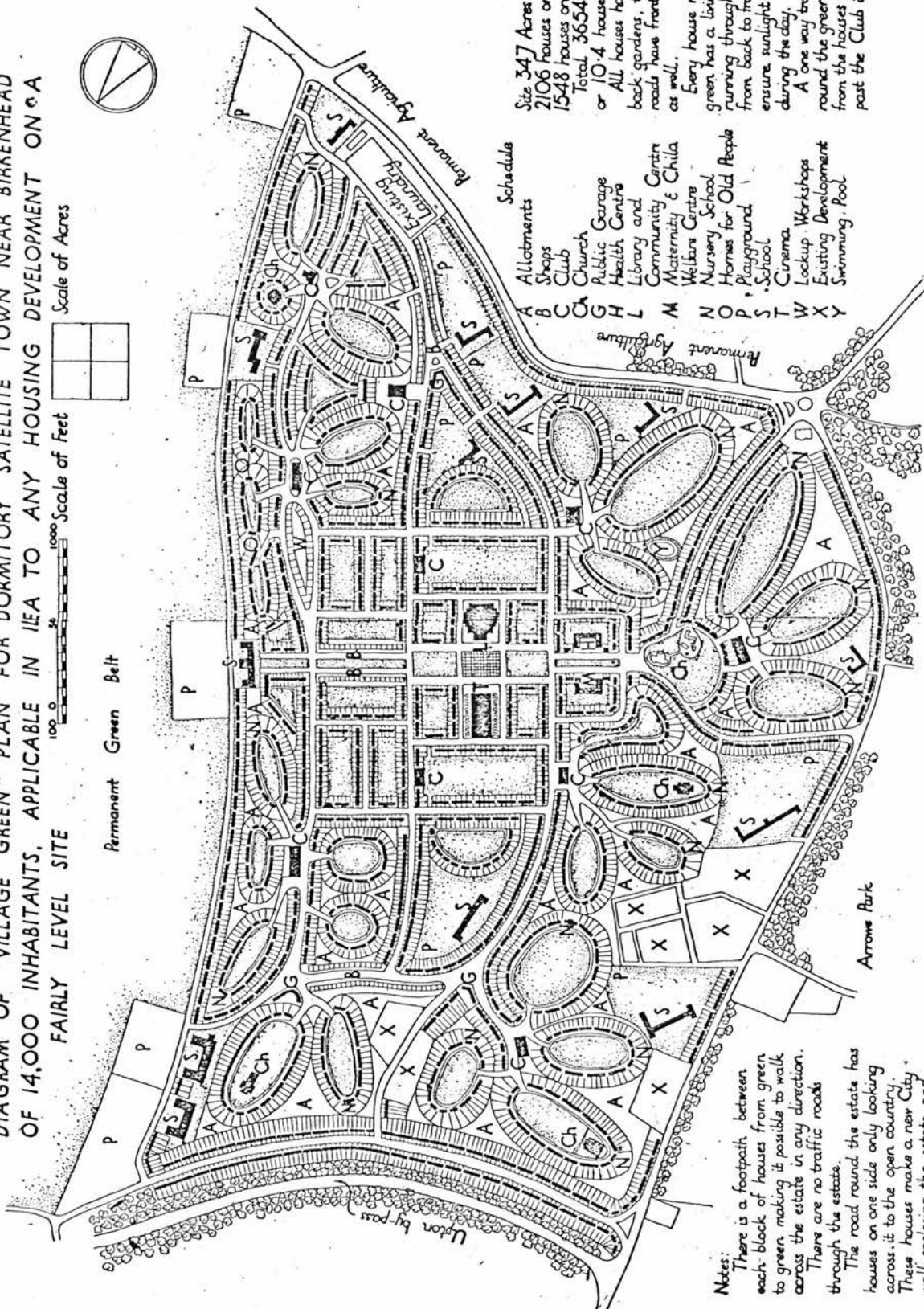
FIGURE 121b :  
Reilly's proposed greens at Birkenhead .

DIAGRAM OF "VILLAGE GREEN" PLAN FOR DORMITORY SATELLITE TOWN NEAR BIRKENHEAD  
 OF 14,000 INHABITANTS, APPLICABLE IN IEA TO ANY HOUSING DEVELOPMENT ON A  
 FAIRLY LEVEL SITE

Scale of Acres

Scale of Feet

Permanent Green Belt



Notes

Site 347 Acres  
 2106 houses on greens  
 1548 houses on roads  
 Total 3654 houses  
 or 10.4 houses per acre  
 All houses have private  
 back gardens, those on  
 roads have front gardens  
 as well.  
 Every house round a  
 green has a living room  
 running through the house  
 from back to front to  
 ensure sunlight sometime  
 during the day.  
 A one way track runs  
 round the greens, 20 feet  
 from the houses and leading  
 past the Club in every case.

Schedule

- Allotments  
 Shops  
 Club  
 Church  
 Public Garage  
 Health Centre  
 Library and  
 Community Centre  
 Maternity & Child  
 Welfare Centre  
 Nursery School  
 Homes for Old People  
 Playground  
 School  
 Cinema  
 Lock-up  
 Existing Development  
 Swimming, Pool  
 Workshops

Notes:

There is a footpath between  
 each block of houses from green  
 to green making it possible to walk  
 across the estate in any direction.  
 There are no traffic roads  
 through the estate.  
 The road round the estate has  
 houses on one side only looking  
 across it to the open country.  
 These houses make a new City  
 wall enclosing the estate and  
 preventing any loose ends.

FIGURE 121c :  
 Reilly green units , grouped around a town centre .

Less rigorous as a planning concept than Stein's neighbourhood unit, but also derived from the garden city aesthetic of Unwin was the so-called Reilly Green. This came close to the idea of the green heart, in seeking to group houses around shared local village greens, but with the important difference that the road access was still placed between the greens and the dwellings, (Figure 121). Sir Charles Reilly, in proposing it argued that the detached house set in an individual garden represented a breakdown of society, and that the shared green was a means of re-invoking a spirit of co-operation. The theory behind it was explained enthusiastically by the socialist Lawrence Wolfe in a small book entitled The Reilly Green, a new way of life, published in 1945.

In his introduction to Wolfe's book, Reilly described his proposals as

"semi-new" - "that of houses around greens, as in pre-industrial revolution England, ... the greens themselves arranged like the petals of a flower around a community building, the modern equivalent of the village inn l . . . . ."

Each individual green was to contain from thirty to fifty houses, built either in short terraces or singly or in pairs, with back gardens giving on to allotments, but with the space customarily allocated to front gardens, given over to a shared green. The only road access was a narrow one-way service road between the houses and the green, and with only one exit, (Figure 121).

Each of the large greens was to have a nursery and nursery school. Groups of three to five greens, with approximately 250 houses, were to form a so-called "Reilly Unit" and be provided with a community centre. The overall density was to be just over ten dwellings to the acre. Groups of Reilly Units were to be arranged to allow children access to and from school and other shared facilities like a swimming pool, without having to cross roads; and a main centre was to provide administrative services and clinics modelled on that of the Peckham experiment.<sup>1</sup>

As presented by Wolfe, the proposals not only took over the Radburn superblock ideas of Clarence Stein, but combined them with co-operative planning in the manner of Owen & Loudon (p. 64 ); district heating was to be provided, together with a water-borne refuse system, and a meals service was to be available to individual houses from the central kitchens of the community centre.

1. Pearse & Crocker op cit. Appendices 1 & 2.

The idea had been put forward by Sir Charles Reilly in 1944 as an alternative to proposals by the Borough Engineer of Birkenhead for a dormitory satellite on 350 acres of the Wirral. As planning consultant to the Borough, Sir Charles persuaded the Council to publish both his and the engineer's plan.<sup>1</sup> This attracted wide publicity and even drew a resolution in support of Reilly's proposals from the National Labour Party Conference of 1944.

Unfortunately, this strong socialist support did little to advance the cause of Reilly greens. The Conservative majority in Birkenhead felt obliged to block the proposals as soon as the socialists and communists had declared their backing for them. Ironically the conservatives expressed sympathy for the village ideal, but otherwise saw it as Old English lamb dressed up in Bolshevik clothing.

Far from being revolutionary, the Reilly Green was in fact rather old fashioned. It hearkened back to the obedient worker communities of Port Sunlight tending the allotments provided by their masters, and in physical form it even repeated the mistakes of Port Sunlight, and of Hampstead Garden Suburb, in trying to fuse a formal boulevard treatment in the administrative centre, with an informal village idiom in the surrounding housing. And to many young designers, and in spite of Reilly's assertions to the contrary,

1. for the wider context of these proposals, see Aslan N. J. & Reilly Professor Sir C., Outline Plan for the County Borough of Birkenhead, 1947.

five hundred individual houses laid out as a quarter of a garden city : a site measuring 1,500 feet square = 51 acres, without the benefits of common services, with no "extensions of the dwellings." Notice the questionable "charm" of the little family house. The neighbours are 20 ft. away on either side ; across the front of each house lies a motor road.

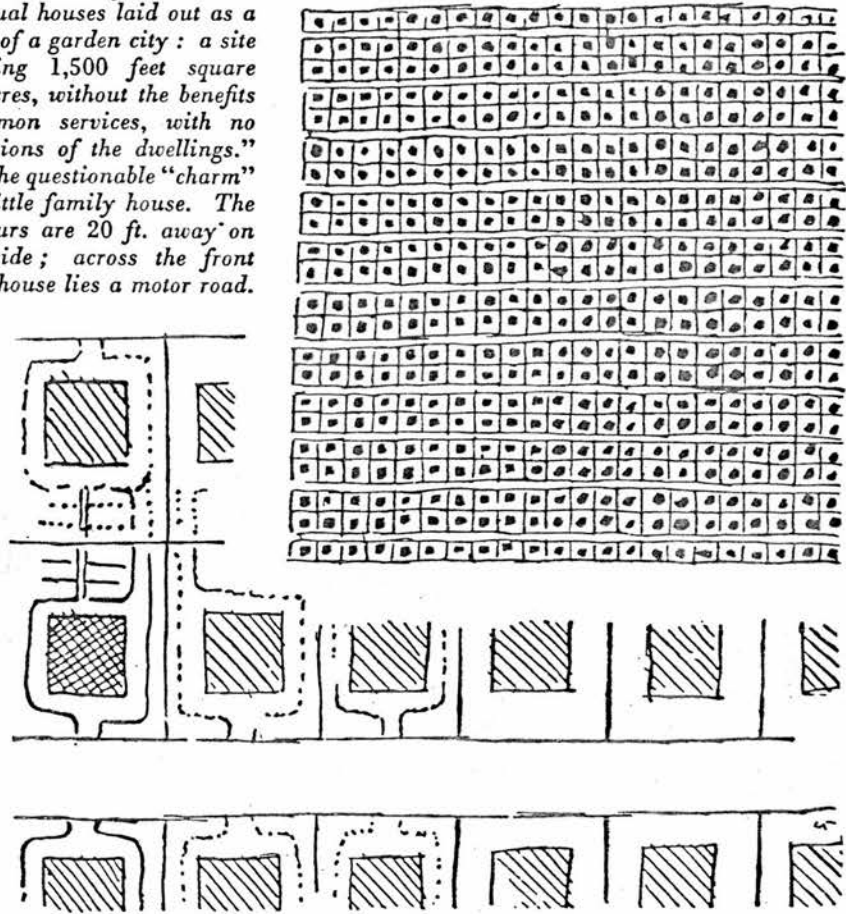


FIGURE 122 :

Part of Le Corbusier's attack upon the garden city ethic . Like Reilly , he objected to its crude isolationism, but unlike Reilly , he saw cooperation in the far more radical idea of the skyscraper community set in open parkland .

it smacked too much of the garden city ethic which had by this time been very roughly handled by Le Corbusier and other modernist luminaries, (Figure 122).

Like most good ideas worked up too hastily and in unrealistic detail, the Reilly Green had a fatal weakness - it ignored the implications of the private car. It simply assumed that the needs of car owner<sup>s</sup> would be met by providing a communal garage for every three or four Reilly Units, and that together with the shared heating and central services, (including trolley deliveries of milk and bread), there would be no need for vehicles to use the access road around each green, and that the greens could therefore be quite safely used by toddlers and nursery school children.

Wolfe waxed eloquently on the effect of the green becoming the focus of social life of mothers and young children, in addition to being used for cricket and even for wedding receptions. He saw the village green community not only as the answer to loneliness, petty selfishness and parochial narrow-mindedness but also offering substantial economies through the sharing of facilities. In his enthusiasm, Wolfe even proposed paying for the maintenance of the greens by selling off the grass cuttings, and in support of this, he quoted the misguided example of the then Borough Engineer of Plymouth. However, while he and Reilly were busy trying to break down what they described as the "isolationism" of the private house and to create a new way of life, they had not reckoned with the inherent conservatism of the average Briton, nor with the isolationism of the private car.

But few people at that time were alive to these considerations, and least of all the post war socialist government. Aneurin Bevan, introducing the 1948 R.I.B.A. Housing Conference called on designers to

"recapture the glory of English villages"

in defeating the forces of isolationism. At the same conference, Forshaw, chief architect to the Ministry of Health, read a paper stressing the need for "house groups" with communal gardens; <sup>1</sup> he referred to Reilly Greens and illustrated their principle with one of Tayler & Green's schemes of rural housing in Norfolk, (Figure 123).

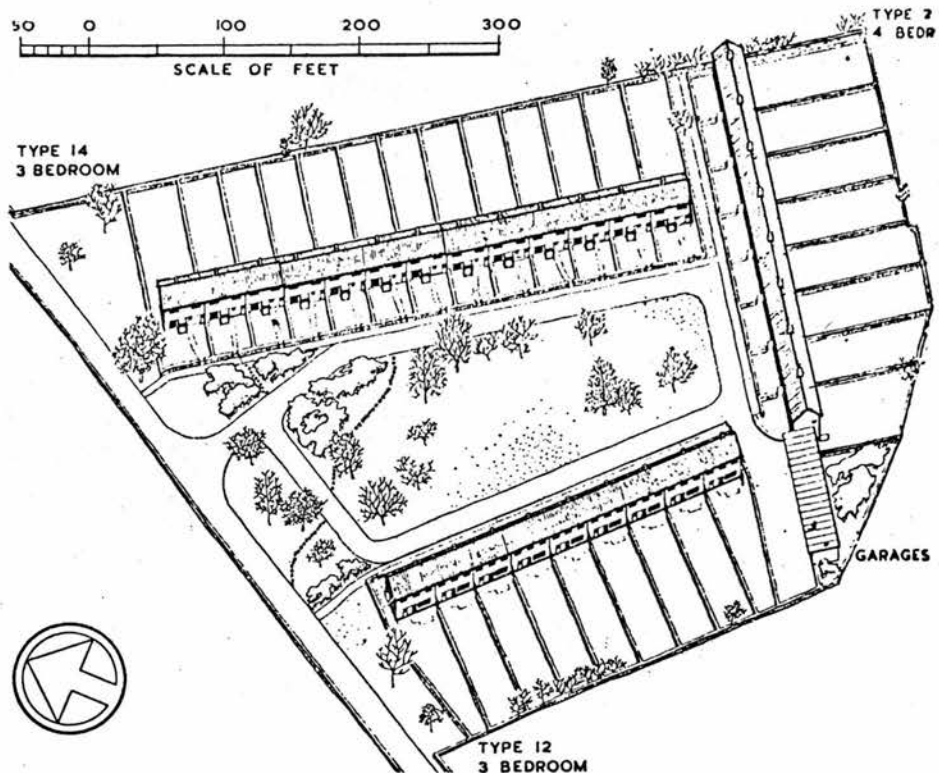


FIGURE 123 :

Post war rural housing with central green , by Tayler & Green at Ditchingham , Norfolk , based on the three-sided enclosure of Unwin ; the service road still at the front , but slightly updated by the inclusion of garages .

1. Forshaw, J. "Application of Principles in Layout". RIBAJ July 1948.

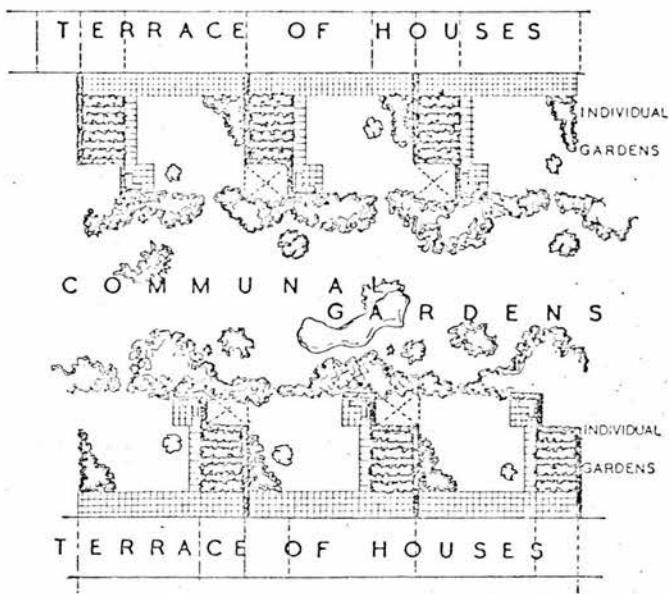


FIGURE 125 :  
Patio-fronted shared green proposed by Tunnard in 1938 .

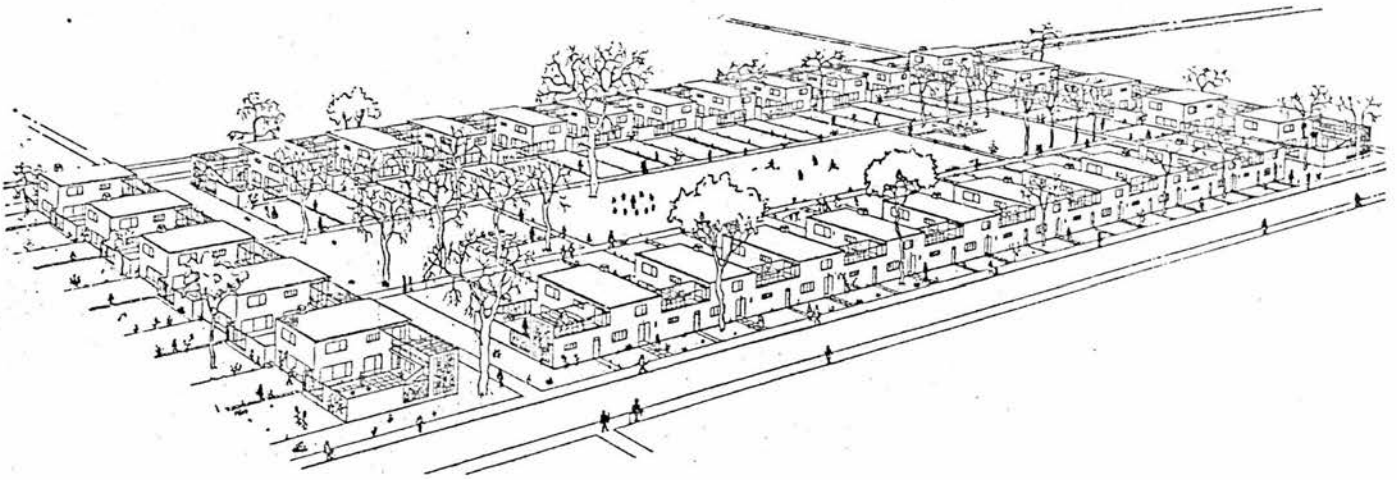


FIG. 87.  
*Bird's-eye view of a "square" formed by patio houses with three-fold sequence of open spaces, intimate gardens (patios), private gardens and central common green.*

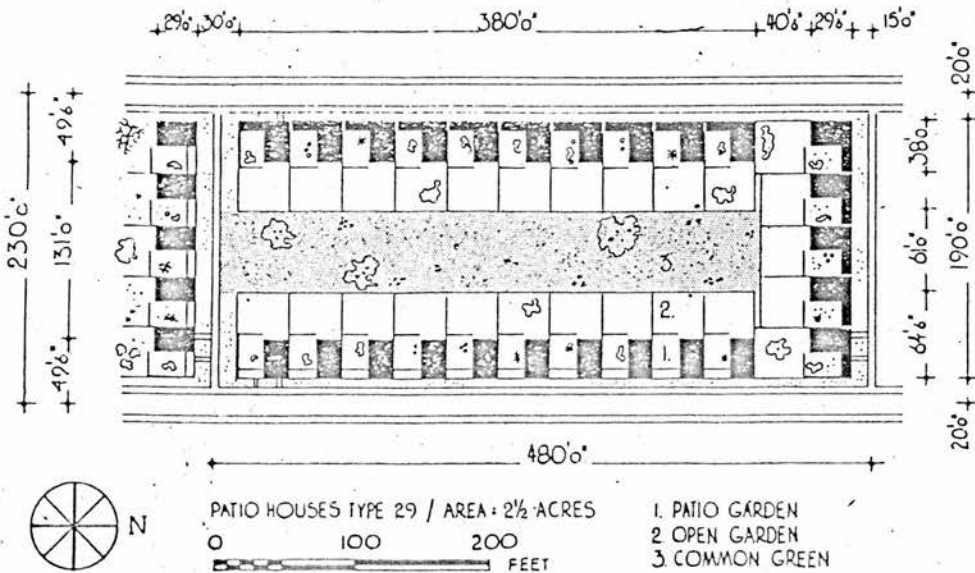


FIG. 88.  
*Layout plan of the "square" (Fig. 87).*

FIGURE 124 :  
Segal's interpretation of the shared green , published in Home & Environment 1948 ; an English version of Stein's Sunnyside Gardens on a smaller scale .

The weakness of Reilly green planning was recognised by Walter Segal, in his book Home and Environment published in 1948. He strongly supported the idea of the shared green, but argued that as in Stein and Wright's scheme at Radburn, (Figure 119), it should be placed behind the houses, to be directly accessible from back gardens and secure from the intrusion of the car. Using this form he demonstrated how densities of up to eighteen dwellings to the acre could be achieved. (Figure 124), with greens of not less than sixty feet in width and back gardens recessed or provided with high screen walls. Segal considered that bowling greens and tennis courts might be included in the greens to promote a neighbourly atmosphere, but that no allowance should be made for cricket or football or other more boisterous recreations. The close connection of private gardens with commons of a semi-public nature

"planned for the recreation of . . . . adjoining residents," should he felt be sought in every housing scheme.

His proposal was similar to the case for the communal garden put forward earlier by Tunnard in his Gardens in the Modern Landscape.<sup>2</sup> Tunnard had seen a need to match collective dwellings with a collective garden and like Corbusier he attacked the plot-by-plot mentality of garden suburbia. The communal garden was for him a kind of outdoor social centre like the Reilly Green and he illustrated it (Figure 125) with a patio-fronted shared green managed by a committee of residents, and very close to that put forward by Segal.

1. Tunnard, C. Gardens in the Modern Landscape, pp. 137 - 158.

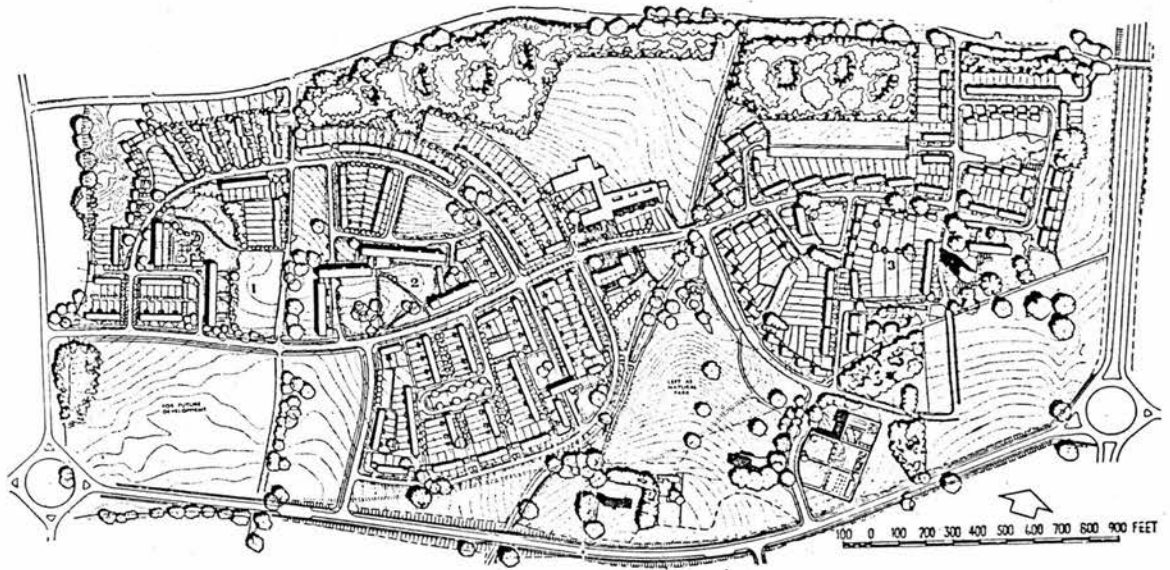


FIGURE 126 :  
Mark Hall North Neighbourhood , Harlow , by Frederick Gibberd .

One of the leading spokesman on post war housing design was the planner and architect Frederick Gibberd. As consultant to Harlow New Town he was an influential practitioner and he explained his attitude to the design of housing groups in a long article contributed to the official manual Design in Town and Village<sup>1</sup> (1953) Unlike Segal, he was not prepared to arrange shared greens next to back gardens. He commented that

"Unless the tenant is willing to give up the idea that his garden is a private space, and unless the local authority are willing to spend more money on landscape design it is probably best to shut the rear gardens out of the street picture." 2

At the same time he felt that:

"no one can doubt the appearance of the open front garden is immensely superior to that of the enclosed front garden"

The effect of Gibberd's dislike of private gardens, his preference for open fronts, and his desire to keep public open space on the street side of housing groups may be judged from Mark Hall North neighbourhood at Harlow, which he used to illustrate his ideas, (Figure 126).

1. Gibberd, F. "The Design of Residential Areas" in Design in Town and Village MOHLG. H. M. S. O. 1953.

2. ibid p. 46.

This consists in essentials of two housing areas, each with from 200 to 500 dwellings, and sharing centrally-placed facilities. Detailed treatment suffers from a failure to capture the village scale by breaking down the housing masses into discrete groups; the inclusion of enclaved forms with shared greens, could have helped to give variation and the sense of local identity.

But regardless of its relative neglect by Gibberd and others, by the early 1950's the form of greenheart planning proposed by Segal and others, had been clearly established. They were perhaps most perceptively described by the sociologist Charles Madge.

It should be felt

"be possible for everyone to move easily and without embarrassment between the different degrees of privacy from the closed room to the open common. In England there has been a reaction from the overcrowded backstreet where no one has any privacy at all and this reaction often takes the form of high hedges, lace curtains and a strong tendency to keep apart from neighbours. It may well be that there are still many families in housing estates who would like to be more separate and private than they are at present. On the other hand, if certain essential privacies are guaranteed, it is possible, I should say, to coax people out of their inturned phase and onto shared local spaces, as there are fundamental human satisfactions in seeing neighbours and being seen by neighbours, provided this can be done without social strain and self-consciousness." 1

He concluded that there was much to be said for a gradation of privacy from an "outdoor room" which is screened from neighbours, through an ordinary garden space where one sees neighbours and is seen by them over the fence onto a "garden common" or

1. Madge, C. "Planning for People" Town Planning Review 1950-51 p.137.

green shared by a group of houses, and where the play spaces for smaller children can be sited within earshot of mothers in their kitchens.<sup>1</sup>

By the end of the 1960's greenheart planning had been widely applied throughout Britain both in limited developments in existing cities and also in the larger and more co-ordinated scale of new towns. In America also there was renewed interest, prompted particularly by William Whyte's study published in 1964 on behalf of the American Conservation Society;<sup>2</sup> this sought to promote the "cluster" planning of dwellings by reducing the sizes of individual house lots, and combining the land saved into shared commons. Two years later the Urban Land Institute published the results of a survey of a number of attempts to achieve this kind of planning in American housing.<sup>3</sup> The survey conclusions, however, were openly promotional and not easy to interpret in a U.K. context. It reported that these so-called open space communities were particularly attractive to well-educated and younger householders, with a better than average job and income, and that, in them, people tended to feel safer and more secure.

In Britain, few attempts were made to study the results of practice. The Ministry's West Ham study<sup>4</sup> (1965) provided some incidental information, but reached no conclusions as to the value of the central green. Larger studies such as those of the BRS<sup>5</sup> and

1. Madge, C. "Private Public Spaces" Briefer Studies and Annotations; Human Relations; Vol. 3 1950 p.197.
2. Whyte, W. Cluster Development American Conservation Association April, 1964.
3. Urban Land Institute. Open Space Communities in the Market Place, Technical Bulletin 57 1966.
4. R & D. G. MOHLG. Family Houses: Development Project at West Ham, Dec. 1965.
5. Miller, A., & Cook, J. "Radburn Estates revisited". A.J. Nov. 1st, 1967.

the NHBRC<sup>1</sup> were concerned with the relative advantages of pedestrian segregation; and while the best of these showed conclusively that greenway planning reduced accidents to primary school children,<sup>2</sup> none came to grips with the question of grouping dwellings around shared greens.

This, however, had little effect on their further application, which in Scotland was given a strong boost in 1962 with the publication of a T.P.I. policy document for the guidance of local planning authorities, in co-ordinating new private housebuilding.<sup>3</sup> This came out openly in favour of greenheart planning, which it justified in the following terms:

"Instead of the proliferation of monotonous layouts on the edges of our cities, it is essential that the planners should create a strong sense of peace. . . . " 4

It called for a fresh approach to site planning which provided for the separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic, with footpaths leading to a large central green space (or 'greenheart') and giving access to community services, and it recommended that this greenheart principle should be written into all outline planning consents, and should apply to all schemes both large and small.

1. Housing Research Foundation Pedestrian-Vehicle Separation on Private Housing Estates, June 1972. Levin P. & Bruce A. "The Location of Primary Schools" J. Inst T.P.
2. Feb. 1968.
3. Private Housing Development: some precepts for Local Planning Authorities, Scottish Town Planning Institute Study Group, 1962.
4. ibid p.2.

The Glassel Park Estate at Longniddry (Figure 127) was cited as an illustration of the application of these ideas and in the decade following they were much applied.

A survey carried out during 1969-70 by the author showed that a surprisingly large number of Scottish private estates developed since 1962, had adopted the form if not the spirit of greenheart planning. Further study, summarised and discussed in the following section showed that in many of them the shared green spaces of these estates had, either through design or management shortcomings fallen well below the expectations of the 1962 policy document.



FIGURE 127 :

Greenheart Planning at Glassel Park Estate , Longniddry .