Examples of Provincial Civic Design in Britain, c. 1880-1914

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ABSTRACT

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by

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This study consists of an examination of examples of civic design in Britain occurring within a number of large sized provincial settlements from about 1880 to 1914. The work also identifies the design and planning principles that appeared to govern civic design as well as investigating its features as it appeared in practice by analysing structural and technical design components, internal arrangements and the surroundings of public buildings erected at that time. In addition, this work provides an opportunity for the consideration of the influences upon the built environment during a time when a greater control of the urban environment was exercised by public authority, legislation relating to slum clearances was passed, municipal governments continued to develop, modern design cultures, such as the Baroque revival, emerged and imperial sentiments filtered into national and local affairs.

The work endeavours to not only investigate the extent and features of civic design occurring in large English, Scottish and Welsh urban settlements during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period, but to also comprehend what civic design was understood to mean in terms of both its theory and practice at a time when formative town planning emerged, as well as identifying the professionals who undertook civic design from the end of the nineteenth century. Many of the influences upon civic design both in terms of local and national practice are noted and discussed within the course of the project, particularly matters such as the evolution of the system of local government, the growing expectation of public authorities to play a notable role in the process of urban improvement, the influence of philanthropists, the empire and foreign developments, such as the American City Beautiful movement. In so doing this thesis enriches existing literature on architectural design and urban planning, implicitly contributing to the history of British urban development, architectural and planning practice.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Chapter X: Conclusion
Introduction

This piece of research takes the form of a study of examples of civic design occurring in a number of large urban settlements in Britain other than London, in the period about 1880 to 1914. It provides an opportunity for the consideration of the influences on the built form during the years which saw the emergence of some controlling influences of the urban environment. The objectives for the study may be described as follows:

- To highlight the design principles that appeared to govern civic design during the period circa 1880-1914.
- To investigate the extent and characteristics of the influence of civic design occurring in large provincial urban centres in the late-Victorian and Edwardian period.
- To comprehend what “civic design” was understood to mean and consist of, both in its theory and practice, at a time which was within the formative years of modern town planning.
- To indicate the importance of civic design both as an individual subject area and a developmental strand in British town planning prior to the Great War.
- To identify the people who undertook civic design schemes during the period considered.

In order to study the subject a range of urban settlements with large populations, excluding London, located within the different geographical regions of Britain was considered. Any noteworthy morphological or design configurations established in the actual physical forms of the selected settlements were examined and described not only in individual terms but in relation to each other and to the settlement in order to acknowledge and analyse the elements. The broad geographical spread of the selected settlements allowed local and regional contexts to be taken account of and in so doing allowed their impact upon local design practices to be observed. Obviously the work involves an explanation of how and
why the major parts of cities took the form they did during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

It has been noted previously that London was not included in the study. With a population of 4,536,063 in 1901 (source: Census), London was unique in the British urban context, being many times greater in demographic size than the second largest settlement, Liverpool, in the British urban hierarchy at that time (population 685,000). In many respects the disproportionately large size of London, the needs of its people, the broad range of its functions and its political importance as British capital and centre of the Empire, which manifest themselves in architectural and planning terms, would have created problems within the framework of this study, partly due to the sheer amount of civic design activity that was occurring within it during the period considered, much of which was identified during the initial research stages. While it was appropriate to examine a sufficiently large number and broad range of large sized urban settlements in order to establish a picture of civic design practice from about 1880 to 1914, to adequately study an enormous number of settlements would not be possible as part of the work due to time constraints. It was discovered that such was the volume of civic design activity occurring in London during the period considered, and so rich was its design heritage, that to adequately investigate what activity was taking place would not be feasible given the restrictions regarding time.

The work has been arranged in the following sections:

**Introduction**: The aims and objectives central to the study are presented. Civic design is defined as far as possible and the choice of period chosen for examination is explained.

**Methodology and research process**: A detailed description of the methodology and techniques of analysis is presented and examined. The criteria for the selection of urban settlements chosen are given, in addition to an explanation of the sequence of the research employed.

**Background**: This section of the study comprises of two chapters. The first accounts for matters such as demography, urbanisation, the passing of
Public Health Acts, civic pride, housing and social reform and the development of financial systems available to local governments. An overview is provided of civic design activity prior to the period of study chosen while changes within architectural practice in the late-Victorian and Edwardian period which may have affected the amount of civic design occurring at that time, its location and form, are also noted. The second chapter provides a detailed account of examples of design at the civic scale between about 1880 and 1914 which might have influenced the civic design produced within those settlements examined by this work. Factors such as model communities, foreign planning advances, the Garden City idea and the rise of architectural design and professionalism, as well as the importance of individual planning practitioners in the evolving context of town planning are also highlighted. Noteworthy planning activity taking place other than in the settlements selected for study are also examined and analysed. Morphological changes and trends are investigated, both generally and specifically.

Study of selected settlements and examples of their civic design: Design schemes identified as important within each of the settlements studied are examined in depth. Local contexts and problems are outlined so as to indicate their impact on local urban development. The characteristics of the various schemes and their elements are described. This particular section of the work will consist of three chapters. The provincial settlements are considered in an order based upon their demographic size. The chapter begins with the largest settlement studied before other places in descending order are examined. The study of these settlements comprise the two other chapters of this section.

Results: Design and planning characteristics occurring within civic design schemes during the study of the settlements selected are identified and presented within three chapters. The first summarises the study's results while the following sections examines identified design and planning characteristics, and other aspects of civic design such as its theory and who undertook the art in practice, in greater detail.
Conclusion: The major findings are reiterated, the research process used within the project examined and suggestions for further study put forward.

Civic Design and Planning History

Planning history tends to have some deficiencies. Design, including civic design, despite being an acknowledged source of inspiration within planning's formative years (Hawtree in Sutcliffe, 1981, Cherry, 1972 and 1974, Jackson, 1985, Sutcliffe, 1981), has not really received due attention. Cherry (1972: 114-5) stated that planning owed its development not only to reactions against industrialisation during the late-nineteenth century but also to civic art and a concern for the appearance of towns and cities. However little further explanation has been given as to why this last item is important, or of what it consisted. Design studies, such as those undertaken by Hawtree (1981) and Miller (1989 and 1992), have tended to concentrate on Raymond Unwin or the rise of the Garden City idea within British planning's formative years. The present work aims to redress this imbalance, concentrating upon aspects of civic design in the period immediately prior to planning's first national legislation, the Housing, Town Planning, Etc. Act (1909), not least in terms of the design and urban historical approaches to the subject. As an individual subject, civic design, or civic art as it was known around the turn of the century, has largely been neglected, with only two British books, Raymond Unwin's 'Town Planning in Practice' (1909) and Thomas Mawson's 'Civic Art' (1911), being written specifically about it. But neither of these books concentrated on the growth of town planning as an idea and subject in Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century and beyond, although numerous books have touched upon the field, albeit often in an indirect fashion, by examining specific examples of urban design such as Bournville and Port Sunlight, see Darley's 'Villages of Vision' (1975) for example, or the Kingsway/Aldwych scheme in central London in Port's 'Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London, 1850-1915' (1995).
**Civic Design: A Definition**

In any study it is often important to define key terms. In this instance the key term is undoubtedly "civic design". Like any art form civic design consists of two principal aspects, firstly a subject, that is its uses and the purposes of the structures with which it is involved, which in the framework of this study is buildings of a public nature, and secondly a form, in this instance the design and planning relationship between the various components involved.

It has been said by fairly recent authorities on urban design and planning, such as William Holford and Thomas Adams, that the design principles that govern the art of architecture also govern the arts of city planning and civic designing. Holford (1948), for example, has recognised that civic design is the continuation of architecture within a broader dimension (1948: 12). Civic design and architecture therefore speak the same language, although in terms of their grammar they differ due to the contrasting spatial contexts in which each art form is applied and the different matters with which each art is concerned. Hence Hegemann and Peets (1921: 1) wrote that civic design was an extension of the architect's sphere of influence. Civic design on this basis is the art of architecture applied to town building (Adams, 1932: 2-3) and is of such a sufficiently large spatial scale that it naturally deals with questions beyond the realm of architects and architecture, such as the relationships between buildings and between buildings and their setting. In so doing civic design becomes the application of architectural principles to the forms and masses of public buildings and the spaces around them, which can be expressed by employing concepts such as proportion, that is the appropriateness of size between the different parts of the composition, and scale, the measure which is used to bring the primary elements of a composition into harmonious proportion (Curtis, 1935: 146). Civic design is also involved with the internal and external composition of a scheme and the manipulation of space within and around it, matters which are linked. In achieving a sense of urban beauty a designer must be guided by certain principles, notes Mawson (1911: 13-4). These include the possible centralising and convenient planning of a settlement's municipal buildings, the adjustment of the plan to make the most of the contours of the site and the establishment of an attractive display with a fairly simple planning form that brings about sensible hygienic arrangements and possesses a degree of restraint in terms of adornments. Regard must be given to the civic history of a place, to urban archaeology and to municipal prudence in terms of cost (Ibid.: 9). Thus civic design touches upon legal, historical, economic and social contexts as well as design fields.
The subject of civic design is far more comprehensive in nature than merely being a form of architecture for it involves many design and planning possibilities that do not always occur in architectural schemes. Of significance is the intent of the designer, who may attempt to associate a new building to the existing configuration and appearance of a settlement. In so doing the designer will be guided by the form and qualities of a settlement, the civic nature of a place as well as the characteristics of a site, its surroundings and approaches. However, certain design and planning characteristics may possibly be apparent in civic design schemes. For example, the scale of a scheme is likely to be larger, as are structural elements like floor to ceiling heights and features such as vertical elements. Axial lines in the plan and the arrangement of spaces within it, which might reflected in the design and form of the main elevations, may be evident. Particular treatment may be given to the approaches to entrances, shown for example by the use of broad flights of steps in front of the main doorway, and may be apparent at certain parts of the building, such as at the centre and at the ends of the principal elevation. Corners might be handled with particular attention, not only in terms of plan but with added features such as rustication being applied. The building could also be raised somewhat.

Many of the features highlighted above may appear in architectural schemes, but where civic design differs from its sister art is that it is likely to incorporate many of these and other particular design and planning aspects within a single scheme. Large buildings simply fronting a street can be seen in some instances to constitute civic design, not only as a result of the way in which they fit into the spatial context but also because of their design features and the treatment of the elevations and internal arrangement. An edifice can also comprise civic design if it provides the culminating point of a vista, or is the central object of an enclosed space. There are thus differences between what can be said to be an architectural piece and a building which can be identified to be part of a civic design scheme. One reason is the architect's intentions in design terms, another is whether an attempt is made to relate the new building to its surroundings and to its civic standing. The developers and designers of civic schemes were often inspired largely by an awareness of public responsibility which in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was derived from an understanding of the civic, co-operative nature of urban society. Such a motive contains an element of altruism, although like its sister art of architecture it also materially expresses the social, cultural and spiritual aspirations of society at a given time. A further difference between civic design and architecture is the scale and size of the design scheme erected which tends to be larger than the average. The importance of the increased spatial context cannot be underestimated in civic designing. A principal difference between civic design and
other arts are the elements of design that are used within the design scheme itself. These and other features which relate to the structural composition and to the setting of the public building are examined in more detail in the following chapter of this work.

For the purpose of this study civic design may be said to be a designer's attempt purposefully to associate at least one new, large scale public building to its surroundings for the intention of obtaining pleasing effects and the attainment of convenience. This is to be achieved by employing various distinct design and planning techniques within the scheme which will give particular attention to the design and form so as to bring the public building and the local built environment into harmonious accord. Open spaces about the edifice or edifices will be established so as to augment harmonious accord and to introduce approaches to prominent parts of the principal elevations and any significant entrances. The form of the internal arrangement, the structural form of the building and position of vertical elements if used are likely to be bound together so that the inside and outside of each building are linked and that any design and planning traits of the one may affect the position, configuration and appearance of the other.

The Selection of the Period of Study

The choice of around 1880 as the starting point for the study was decided upon as a result of a number of reasons which occurred about that time and which are perceived as important to the adoption of the practice of civic design. These reasons are as follows:

- The passing of national slum clearance legislation in England and Wales by the mid-1870s which promoted the ethos of wholesale clearance of urban land. Such legislative Acts included the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) and the Public Health Act (1875), which permitted Corporations to clear and redevelop urban land for the first time. These Acts can be seen to be significant to civic design as the cleared land, which obviously could redeveloped and built upon, was in some cases not only of a large extent but was found in or close to the urban core. Scotland had
passed such Acts, Improvement Acts, by the late-1860s in the largest urban settlements.

- The rise of notions of urban reform that were specifically concerned with the environment and its design from the 1870s and 1880s. Such sentiments helped to place an increased emphasis on the condition of the environment and on urban betterment. Public authorities were increasingly expected to play a significant role in the improvement process.

- The merging together of environmental, artistic, social and economic concerns from the 1880s as a consequence of the popularity of the Arts and Crafts Movement, the widespread reaction against the visual chaos of Victorian cities and the architectural sterility of mass worker housing at that time. This helped to bring about a renewed political and professional interest in the appearance of industrial towns and cities in Britain, as highlighted by Cherry (1974).

- The rise of imperial sentiments in national and provincial affairs from the late-1870s onwards (Morley and Craven, 2000: 318-326). These came about because of, for example, the jubilees of 1887 and 1897, the Boer War (1899-1902), the death of Queen Victoria (1901) and King Edward (1910) and the Coronations of 1902 and 1910. These brought to the fore new influences and pressures on modern cities for them to visually reflect their importance to the nation and the maintenance of the British empire.

- The continued evolution of municipal government due to the Local Government Act of 1888 which gave increased status to the largest urban settlements of the time.

- Acknowledged planning activity in the form of model settlements from the late-1880s, of profound importance both to Howard's Garden City (from 1898) and Raymond Unwin's planning practice from about 1901.

- Foreign planning and urban design advances from the late-1880s, most notably in Germany and America, where the City Beautiful Movement was responsible for numerous civic design schemes. Foreign influences can be viewed as significant due to their fresh
approaches towards public art and the urban form (Cherry, 1974: 29), helping to establish a new impetus to architectural and city building practices which may have influenced civic design in Britain.

- The contribution of architects upon developing urban planning practice and theory, especially from around 1900 onwards with the emergence of town planning.

- The emergence of modern design cultures in the discussion of public architectural design, such as the Queen Anne style and the Baroque (Fellows, 1995), styles that satisfied the aspirations of the Middles Classes and public authorities during the latter decades of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century. These modern design cultures may have influenced civic design at that time.

Taken together these various strands, the first of which appeared from the 1870s, all had an influence upon the overall configuration of the urban environment. The start date of 1880 was selected in order to allow the factors to have some time to have an influence of environmental affairs. For example, the Acts related to slum clearance were often not utilised by Corporations until some years after the legislation had been passed, in part due to the expense of adopting the Acts and the lessening of these costs due to further Acts such as the Local Loans Act (1875) which lowered the rate of interest on central Government borrowing to pay for public building and slum clearance schemes. In addition, many slum clearance Acts were not used until the late-1870s when many of the larger Corporations, such as Birmingham, set precedents through acquiring public works loans for the first time in order to pay for slum clearances and the redevelopment of urban land.

The choice of 1914 for the end date of the work was rather more straightforward and was obviously due to the onset of World War in this year, an event of great significance to many activities in the European nations and of course Britain, which played a major role in the conflict. The event not only profoundly marked society at large during the course of the encounter but it also significantly affected urban development and architectural practice at that time, as public finance was now spent on the War effort instead of on public or planning schemes, and the Great War brought about a marked change to British society after it had ended. Society, design and planning were by no means the same in 1918 as what they were four years earlier.
Conclusion

This section has described the many aims of this project as well as defining the study's key term, civic design, in addition to emphasising the lack of civic design work within the field of Town Planning History, the order that this work has been arranged in and providing a number of reasons which justify the choice of time scale which this work concentrates upon. The following section of the study provides an description of the research methodologies selected, that is the general processes and procedures employed within the course of the work, and their application to the subject area studied. The subsequent chapter also illustrates the means by which the research was conducted and explains the preference of certain techniques and methods over others.
CHAPTER ONE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this section of the work an explanation is provided of the research methodologies selected, that is the general approaches, processes, principles and procedures employed within the course of the study and their application to the subject area involved. In addition the means by which the research was conducted is explained and illustrated and the choice of particular techniques and methods over others is justified. The general research process for this project comprised of a number of procedures which will be described in more detail subsequently. These included the selection of places to examine, the collection of relevant information about the provincial towns and cities chosen for study and the analysis of these settlements in terms of their civic design during the time scale chosen.

As stated earlier this project takes the form of an undertaking to study and analyse examples of civic design within the period from around 1880 to 1914, using large provincial cities scattered across Britain as the settings for examples. However in order to assist the understanding of how civic design came to be what it was during the period selected for study, attention has also been placed on the nature and form of urban development before 1880 and the heritage of civic design. This was an outcome of the fact that urban places tended to develop with different morphological and architectural forms, built sometimes in contrasting architectural styles as well as with varying degrees of complexity and differences of scale. In the course of the research process relatively small sections of urban settlements were examined, often in or close to the central core of each place, and the overall form of the settlement tended to be of less concern.

To present an explanation of the civic design occurring in each place involved in the study it was not possible to overlook fields which may have influenced its practice, such as social movements, national and local cultural life, provincial politics and economic conditions. Hence the work drew upon broad subject areas so that the development and function of urban settlements and their civic design could be understood. In order to grasp the historical character and development of a settlement, a critical and coherent understanding of the
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issues affecting its building, planning and urban development had to be identified. Due to a certain lack of literature on civic design during the period covered by this work, the collection of data from related fields took on additional importance. Focus, for instance, was often put on architectural history and the role of individuals who were involved in architectural design and urban planning.

The Number of Settlements to be Studied and the Criteria of Selection

The choice of a sample of settlements for the study could be derived from various sources. The first was a random selection of some sort. The second was the selection of urban settlements in a particular category determined by population size or a specific urban nature, for example. For this work the aim was to ensure that a coherent yet differing mixture of places was chosen and in selecting the settlements three factors were imperative: firstly, the choice of a broad cross-section of urban types, these being settlements of various characteristics and histories, secondly, ensuring that they were of an adequate size, thirdly, an indicator of the size and public importance of a place was whether the settlement had assize or city status or a local government created under the Municipal Corporations Act (1835). County borough status as a result of the passing of the Local Government Act in 1888 was also used as a means to indicate urban size and importance. The fourth factor was the need to choose an adequate number of urban settlements, which meant finding between selecting too few settlements, which might result in comparatively few instances of civic design and therefore little to study, and too many places. To adequately study a large number of settlements would not be possible due to time constraints. The selection of settlements established over a long period of time was not thought to be a major factor in the selection process due to a recognition of the fundamental urban upheaval which industrialisation and urbanisation collectively brought about from the late eighteenth century which was to have a most dramatic impact during the nineteenth century.

The eventual choice of provincial settlements was derived from population statistics and not from any criteria based on urban function. This was partly because, by the start of the period chosen, all large settlements already had a well established manufacturing and mercantile industrial base. Geographical location criteria were not favoured because of the possibility that, for example, by concentrating upon one geographical area there would be too few
settlements of adequate size to study, while the choice of England alone would ensure a sufficient number of settlements to examine but would ignore many important cities located in Britain's provinces, such as Glasgow, Edinburgh and Cardiff. The establishment of a minimum population size at the turn of the twentieth century provided a reasonable number of settlements for investigation. Despite the numerical inclination towards English settlements the choice of such a limit allowed large cities from the Scottish and Welsh provinces to be included. It became apparent that by using a numerical figure of approximately 125,000, twenty two settlements, ranging from the large industrial cities such as Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Glasgow through to smaller centres such as Bolton, Oldham and Blackburn, would be studied. The numerical figure of 125,000 was chosen partly as a result of the composition of the urban hierarchy in 1901, as the next smallest settlement was comparatively smaller in size with a population of about 113,000. For a graph of the urban hierarchy in 1901 please refer to figure 2.2 overleaf.

The selection of the population in 1901 as the main criterion for selection allowed late developing settlements, that is those which did not experience rapid urbanisation until the latter decades of the nineteenth century, perhaps the most notable example being Cardiff, to be included in the work. As an outcome of this situation a diverse range of settlements was assembled. In total twenty two urban places, Liverpool, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Bristol, Edinburgh, Bradford, Hull, Salford, Nottingham, Newcastle, Leicester, Portsmouth, Aberdeen, Dundee, Cardiff, Bolton, Oldham, Sunderland and Blackburn, were examined, providing a range of settlements geographically spread throughout Britain and of varying sizes, as almost 700,000 persons resided in the largest place examined, Liverpool, and less than 130,000 in the smallest place considered, Blackburn, at that time. Furthermore the selection of settlements by this means produced a range of places with differing natures which it was hoped would give a balanced picture of the practice of civic design.

The Analysis of Settlements

The process of identifying examples of provincial civic design came about through using a variety of source material including literature that concentrated on specific urban places and
Figure 1.1. Population Sizes in Thousands of the Largest Provincial Settlements in Britain (source: Census, 1901)
their local architectural and urban history. Examples within this particular category of source material comprised books such as Asa Briggs's (1952) 'The History of Birmingham: Borough and City, 1865-1938' and Quentin Hughes's (1964) 'Seaport: Architecture and Townscape in Liverpool'. However the process of identification tended to concentrate upon one particular historical source, Ordnance Survey maps. Successive maps have proved to be of particular significance, use and value to the identification of civic design schemes within this project. Few studies of a type such as this one can take place without utilising cartographic sources. The use of images was also important to the historical analysis of settlements chosen for inquiry and this study used plans, elevations, diagrams and photographs as well as other types of visual data not just to note change and development to the urban form but to also understand the evolution of the urban form and its design. Town plans, by this it is meant the physical layout of the settlement as shown on maps, essentially consist of three distinct principal elements arranged within the settlement: streets, plots of land and buildings. However other urban elements recorded on maps include parks, lakes and even statuary. The three primary components noted above are inter-related and so may influence each other. There is the possibility that each can condition the development of all subsequent urban forms. The recognition and understanding of the structure of the town plan in this context allows for a urban form analysis of all settlements selected for study.

In this work maps were not only employed to obtain information about the urban form of a specific urban place at a number of times but also to show the evolutionary pattern of the settlement, which presents important information regarding the development of the settlement (Smailes, 1955: 101), in so doing providing some evidence of topographical change in urban places (Harley, 1967: 196). It should be mentioned at this point, however, that the dates of cartographic sources vary greatly from place to place within Britain. For example, the first Ordnance Survey series for regions of southern England date from the 1840s and 1850s while the first series maps for many northern English industrial towns and cities were put together by as late as the 1880s in some cases. But the significance of maps in a study of urban history such as this is derived from three aspects: the map is a historical document of a given urban areas, a source of basic information; it is a means to analyse historically an urban place; and it is a method of throwing light onto the structure of settlements and the process of urban development.
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As highlighted earlier, maps were employed in this study as a means to identify the historical evolution of settlements. During distinct historical periods urban places can often develop their own particular design and morphological expressions which in turn may influence the urban layout and the building fabric (Conzen in Whitehand, 1981: 97). Cartographic sources present this process of development in a clear and precise manner, also showing prominent buildings perhaps of architectural quality which may affect the formation and characterisation of the local built environment. As Conzen (in Dyos, 1968: 117) has stated: “From the townscape as a whole, then, the town plan emerges as the form category of the greatest value to the historian.” Town plans are thus particularly useful for projects such as this which are inclined to focus on the central core, an area within settlements where the greatest concentration of monumental, civic and architecturally important structures are located.

The principal reason for analysing town plans within the context of this work was to find evidence of large scale urban planning and architectural activity that may have affected the civic design of a given settlement. This analysis of town plans was divided basically into the following stages:

- Identifying evidence of civic planning activity from the pattern of the urban form by examining successive town plans. Plans such as this are acknowledged as being the raison d'être of civic design (Adshead in The Town Planning Review, 1910: 3).
- Examining local planning heritage and schemes, in so doing identifying their compositional forms and characteristics.
- Investigating central urban areas which had undergone significant development either at one particular time or over time.
- Identifying and examining, perhaps in some detail, large scale public buildings and structures.

The accumulation of numerous maps for this study allowed some additional information to be collected. The numerous maps, for example, once arranged for the purpose of a comparative analysis, yielded a useful national picture of civic design development and practice. Maps were in fact utilised at a variety of scales, ranging from six inches to one
statute mile (1:10,560) through to 25.344 inches to the mile (1:2,500) and 10.56 feet to each mile (1:500), scales which showed considerable architectural and morphological detail.

Many problems were experienced in identifying “civic design” as it has been defined by this work, within the framework of this study from using maps. For example, how was it possible to find out who was practising civic design in the places selected for study during the period considered? In addition, how was it possible to identify whether a public building was civic design or not and how was it possible to recognise whether two public buildings of similar scale but differing design features and internal arrangements were civic design or not? Therefore it became necessary for source material other than maps to be examined in order to assist the process of civic design identification and the gathering of civic design information. These additional sources included books and journals written during the period considered and other literature that examines matters relating to local history, urban development, civic evolution, urban planning and architecture, as well as contemporary photographs which showed buildings in their setting at or shortly after the time of erection.

The Collection of Detailed Civic Design Information

Various design and planning characteristics were identified in the period under concern and these formed the basis of eliciting those features which appeared to form elements of civic design. In this regard the following are examples:

- Elements of design relating to a public building's setting:
  - The use of the vista within the composition of the area around the building, perhaps apparent through road patterns which lead to prominent structures or particular sections or features of a structure.
  - The creation of architectural unity and uniformity, achievable perhaps through similarities in colour, style, building materials used and stylistic character, in buildings in a given area.
  - The design, relation and balance of a building or buildings and open spaces about their sites other than that of roadways.
  - The scale of the building with regards to its setting.
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- The influence of the road layout around the building.
- The general planning character of the area about the building.
- The presence of certain environmental features of the building or buildings in the vicinity such as planting, statues, lamps, carriageways and water features.
- Names of designers who had or were designing in the area in proximity to the building.

Architectural components. Structural and technical design elements:

- The function of the building.
- Architectural design style employed.
- The type, colour and texture of building material used.
- The size and scale of the new building.
- The general treatment of the main elevations.
- Horizontal and vertical axes established in the design of the building.
- Design features used on the principal facades.
- The depth and treatment of the principal and other floor levels.
- Floor to floor heights, the number of storeys and the treatment of each floor.
- Window shape and size and their occurrence along the main elevations.
- The handling of the corners.
- Approaches to the main entrances.
- The location of entrances and their treatment.
- The raising of the building above street level.
- The internal arrangement of the building, including the use and position of axes.
- Vertical features employed and the method of handling the extra masonry needed to support the construction within the building’s plan.
- The position of the main staircase within the internal arrangement.
- The designer of the building.
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The process of civic design identification at various spatial levels within large sized provincial settlement during the period selected is indicated by figures 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5.

Figure 1.2. The process of data collection at the district scale.

- GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE AREA INVOLVED
  - history • land ownership • nature of the area
- LOCATION WITHIN THE URBAN SETTLEMENT
  • situation of the area within the settlement • distances to other distinct districts, the central core and prominent public buildings
- CHANGE WITHIN THE AREA
  • land use change, erection of new buildings and general development of the area before and during 1880-1914

- OVERALL LAYOUT ON THE URBAN FLOOR
  • street layout • situation of buildings to the area and to themselves • plots of land
- SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT and PLANNING
  • roads • spaces • buildings • pattern of open spaces and relationship between open spaces and built forms • building density
- ARCHITECTURAL INFLUENCE UPON THE SETTING
  • noticeable buildings in the area • affect of prominent buildings on subsequent development

- GENERAL AND SPECIFIC USES OF LAND WITHIN THE AREA
- BUILDING TYPES FOUND WITHIN THE AREA
  • functions of buildings inside the designated area • position of various building types in relation to prominent public buildings in the district
- ARCHITECTURAL EXPRESSION IN THE AREA
- GENERAL VISUAL APPEARANCE OF THE AREA
Figure 1.3. The process of data collection for civic design schemes and their immediate surroundings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE SCHEME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>history of the plot of land to be built upon • dimensions of area covered • architects used</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATION TO LARGER SPATIAL AREA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>relationship to larger surrounding district and arrangement within wider urban surroundings • local road pattern</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAYOUT OF OVERALL DESIGN SCHEME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>configuration of scheme • use of space around the building • vistas established towards and from the building</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBDIVISION OF THE SCHEME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shape of plots • positioning of buildings • integration of open space and the building involved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENERAL PLANNING TECHNIQUES USED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>large scale/piecemeal • symmetry or non-symmetry of building and internal arrangement • creation of prominent axial lines in the plan of the building and their continuation away into the surrounding environment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ELEVATIONS AND STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>design in context • relationship between buildings by design features • structural and technical design elements • composition of street pictures and affect of buildings • scale mass/outline of the building • characteristics of the surrounding environment • architectural styles employed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1.4. The process of data collection for individual public buildings within identified civic design schemes.

- **TYPE AND USEAGE**
- **MOTIVE FOR CONSTRUCTING THE EDIFICE**
- **TENANTS/USERS OF THE NEW BUILDING**
- **GENERAL INFORMATION CONCERNING THE CONSTRUCTION PROCESS**
  - date of start and finish of construction • building contractor
- **ARCHITECT**
  - background • importance within profession • previous schemes

- **RELATION OF UNIT TO SURROUNDING AREA**
- **TREATMENT OF STRUCTURE TO SURROUNDING OPEN SPACE OTHER THAN THAT OF A ROADWAY**
- **HANDLING OF TRAFFIC AND STREET LAYOUT**
- **PLANNING FORM OF THE EDIFICE**
  - symmetrical or non-symmetrical • relation of plan to other features in the local setting (such as statuary, landscape) • influence of internal arrangement on the elevational form • treatment and approaches to main entrances • the internal arrangement and the use and position of axial lines • position of staircases

- **ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN STYLE USED**
- **DESIGN AND ELEVATIONAL DETAILS**
  - handling of corners • horizontal and vertical axes • proportions and scale of elevational features • building material used • colour and texture of building material employed • building height • size, shape and placing of windows treatment of main elevations • use of vertical elements • handling of extra masonry used to support a vertical element • position of main entrances and their treatment • floor to ceiling heights • the number of floor levels • treatment of the principal floor levels and other floors • design features used on the main elevations • scale of the building
On the basis of the design and planning elements noted in civic design practice it became apparent in the course of analysis that many planning and design characteristics were involved in civic design during the period chosen for study although few of these attributes were practised together within a single scheme. The awareness that such features were not all being employed simultaneously was vital to the understanding of the practice of provincial civic design during the period about 1880 to 1914 for it not only indicated that civic design was not as comprehensive in nature as initially believed but, in addition, during the period considered civic design was understood to mean many things in terms of design and planning characteristics employed, features that could possibly change from scheme to scheme and so from place to place.

The collection of data was never understood to be an operation isolated from the process of analysis, since both were known to enjoy a somewhat reciprocal relationship with each influencing the other. For example, data collection and analysis operated together with field visits and study. Furthermore many civic design elements were more apparent in reality than they had appeared in maps and some other sources. Field visits and surveys complimented the somewhat initial analysis of civic design schemes in so doing allowing an unmarked degree of understanding of the public building in its urban context. This was not always effectively conveyed by photographs in books or in the form of maps and it was not always immediately possible to observe and understand how a structure worked within its setting.

The field visit techniques involved in this project were somewhat simplistic and involved nothing much more complex than observing and photographing the building in its setting and making notes as to its design characteristics, internal arrangement and the surrounding environment. The process of note making was flexible enough to include hitherto unconsidered design and planning elements which may have played a significant role in determining the features of a given scheme.

Conclusion

The foregoing account has given a detailed explanation of the research methodologies and processes employed in this study within which emphasis was placed upon morphological,
that is the topographical composition of the built environment in terms of its streets and open spaces, plots of land and buildings and their use (Conzen, 1969: 3-5), planning and design characteristics in order to study civic design during the period from about 1880 to 1914. The methodologies involved in this project tended to work well within the parameters of the study partly due to their flexible nature which allowed them to be elaborated or refined when necessary. This was important when, for example, field visits were undertaken, for these sometimes highlighted specific factors that were not previously considered to be an influence upon civic design.

Drawbacks to the methodologies employed did appear on infrequent occasions. For some places studied the dates between the Ordnance Survey mapping the settlement, that is from one series of maps to another, was of a fairly drawn out time span. This was particularly true for settlements studied in Scotland where the dates between successive series of Ordnance Survey maps could extend over many decades. In such a situation the size, design and plan of the settlement often appeared as wholly different to what it had on previous occasions, and so much change was recognised to have taken place from earlier maps that one had to be wary of not missing the complete design evolution of the settlement. By this it is meant that old buildings may have been replaced by new ones which in turn could have also been replaced or altered somewhat before the next series of maps was composed.

A further drawback with the research process was that on certain occasions it was dependent upon using historical maps and so was reliant upon obtaining such source material. For some settlements, or parts of settlements, this was not always possible because of deterioration that had occurred to the diagrams since they were composed. As a consequence many maps are now in such poor condition that public libraries, records offices and historical or geographic societies are unwilling to give public access to them and to photocopy them as well due to fear of further damage taking place. In such a situation emphasis had to shift onto obtaining material from other sources, such as local history books which often included maps within them or books such as Dyos and Wolff’s ‘Victorian Cities’ (1973) which, for example, included G.F. Chadwick’s study of Victorian Manchester, ‘The Face of Industrial Manchester: Two Looks at Manchester’, which contained historic maps of certain central locations of the settlement. Another problem that was encountered during the study was the situation whereby buildings erected during the selected period, and were identified in civic design schemes, have been demolished. Obviously site visits could not be undertaken so it was imperative to find as much detailed information relating to the
architectural form and plan of the edifice as was possible. Contemporary journals, such as The Builder with its 'Building News' section, was discovered to be very helpful in this regard, providing detailed information concerning specific buildings prior to their erection, during the process of construction and upon completion too.

The following part of this study examines the elements and conditions which influenced the practice and occurrence of civic design in Britain during the period examined. Included in this section will be an analysis of examples of planning schemes which were a nature contrary to that upon which this work concentrates. For instance, schemes that will be highlighted within this part of the study will include those that took place on green field sites or those were undertaken in places other than those studied in this project, such as London, for example. The chapter, in addition, will investigate the conditions that may have affected civic design in Britain and highlight models of design practice between about 1880 and 1914 other than those examples forming the subject of this study.

The following chapter comprises of two sections, one accounting for various matters such as the passing of environmental legislation, the development of public financial systems available to local governments during the Victorian period, modern civic design history in Britain and changes within architectural practice, for example, which had an influence upon the amount of civic design occurring, its form and location within the period under consideration. The other part of the subsequent chapter provides a detailed account of examples of design at the civic scale in the period from about 1880 to 1914 other than those being examined in the study which might have been expected to have some affect on the form of civic design produced in the settlements forming the subject of the work.
CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND

Introduction

In this section it is intended to investigate the factors, conditions and themes, often significantly different from previous trends, which influenced the practice and occurrence of civic design in Britain during the period about 1880 to 1914. This part of the work will include examples of planning schemes within the period considered of a nature different to that upon which this project concentrates, that is schemes not occurring largely as redevelopment within existing large urban settlements. For example, planning schemes highlighted within this section include those that took place on green field sites or were found in settlements not included within the course of the project, such as London. Conditions appertaining and influencing civic design nationally also receive attention.

The structure of this part of the study falls into two chapters that comprise contrasting elements or natures. The first accounts for various matters such as the passing of legislation, the development of financial systems available to Corporations, the heritage of civic design practice and changes within the practice of architecture during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period which, for example, may have affected the amount of civic design occurring, its location and form at that time. The second chapter provides a detailed account of examples of design at the civic scale in the period about 1880 to 1914, which might have been expected to have some influence on the form of civic design produced in the settlements forming the subject of the work. Included in this particular part of the chapter are foreign developments, expositions, parks and model villages, London and the planning schemes undertaken in Canberra and New Delhi. This background section will however begin by examining factors that appeared prior to the period upon which this undertaking concentrates.
Public Authority and the Control of the Urban Environment

The early decades of the nineteenth century witnessed major changes to the economic, political, social and aesthetic values of Britain as a consequence of industrialisation, urbanisation and demographic transition, which were reflected in the changing appearance and form of urban land. Urbanisation affected not only the building industry (Davey, 1964: 79) but virtually swamped the administrative practices which had safeguarded the urban environment, as resultant chronic overcrowding, poverty, inadequate sanitation, dirt and disease were to testify, by no means unusual occurrences, but now on a scale never witnessed before. By the 1830s the poor condition of the urban environment was arousing responses from public authority both at the central and local level in order to eradicate the despondency which was affecting predominantly the labouring population as a result of their poor footing against commerce, transport and industry in the market for urban land. By the 1880s a rudimentary regulatory system was firmly established by public authorities in Britain so as to achieve an efficient and pleasant environment. This controlled both building and the development of the wider environment and was based on models issued by central government, modifiable to suit local conditions and circumstances, and flexible enough to take a variety of forms when environmental control was branching into wider dimensions, such as town planning, by the end of the century. But in terms of application a principal inconsistency was written into central legislative formats through clauses open to local freedom of choice throughout the nineteenth century. A division in public responsibilities between central and local government prevailed (Cherry, 1988: 21). Hence no uniform urban regulation system existed after the 1840s despite the efforts of central government to impose minimum standards within each new Act passed because municipal authorities could operate under the autonomy of the Municipal Corporations Act.

The Whig Government of the early 1830s was arguably one of the most reform-based regimes in British political history. Its actions included the passing of the Reform Act (1832) and the Municipal Corporations Act (1835), the latter establishing the process of local government through the creation of 178 municipal corporations in towns and cities in England and Wales. Among the first settlements to have legal powers were industrial towns and cities such as Liverpool, Leeds, Bristol, Newcastle, Nottingham, Hull, Leicester and Sunderland, as well as non-industrial places such as
Norwich, Bath, Cambridge, Chester, Ipswich, Oxford and Shrewsbury, notable settlements within the pre-industrial urban hierarchy. Before 1871 a further 46 boroughs were created under the 1835 Act, including the large sized provincial settlements of Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Bradford and Salford, and other towns which had experienced rapid urbanisation such as Bolton, Oldham, Blackburn, Huddersfield, and Wolverhampton. By 1903 a total of 313 municipal boroughs were in existence.

The development of local government has been seen to be one of the major circumstances of the nineteenth century. In many ways its growth assisted the attack on disease and ill health, even though many of the actions against ill health were taken before many of the local authorities were created, with improvements to housing and the urban environment following. London, having its own controls, was outside the otherwise fairly widespread legislative system. But a line of continuity was evident for newly created urban authorities did not initiate the process of public intervention both in terms of powers and practices which responded to urban problems (Sutcliffe, 1980: 2). The Municipal Corporations Act allowed Corporations to assume the duties of local improvement commissioners, the pioneers of municipal work, whose job description dealt with nuisances concerning the maintenance and provision of drainage and thoroughfares and the control of construction and noxious emanations in the form of matters such as building regulations, encroachments, cellar flaps, rainwater from roofs, paving, lighting, drainage, smoke abatement, sewers, canals and bridges. Such matters were dealt with through the passing of local Improvement Acts, many being based on London's Building Act of 1774. Such action was taken in order to improve the condition of the local urban environment but such activity and legislative content was limited by the public demand for improvements, a lack of sanitary knowledge and mechanical invention (Woodward, 1962: 461).

Despite being empowered by the Municipal Corporations Act to take over the responsibilities and duties of the improvement commissioners by 1848, the year of the first national Public Health Act, only 29 local authorities had taken up the offer despite the presence of diseases such as cholera. Instead, most municipalities tended to develop their own process of sanitary reform by concentrating upon their own Improvement Acts. Yet this process did not begin in earnest until the 1847 Town Improvement Clauses Act, which included a detailed model so as to bring some
measure of uniformity to sanitary reform and municipal policy. The Public Health Act in the following year gave further impetus to this process of sanitary reform.

Municipalities could acquire land and buildings compulsorily for street widening, building new streets and other schemes of public interest under the powers given to them by the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act in 1845 (Sutcliffe, 1981: 52). This Act was passed primarily to ensure the adequate circulation of traffic but obviously had repercussions for urban design at least in theory, since in real terms its application was rare due to the cost of clearance schemes. The existence of the Public Health Act, which granted powers to local authorities and Local Boards of Health in order to control additional building, and the passing of further legislation, served to indicate that urban conditions created under industrialisation and urbanisation were hardly conducive to healthy living for the majority of the urban population.

Public health control as it emerged was directly concerned with amenity, the removal of insanitary living conditions and the introduction of an increase in urban convenience. But this kind of improvement activity and the development of legislation from the late-1840s to regulate the urban environment did not incorporate any urban planning principles that existed at that time and should not therefore be regarded as "planning" in any accepted sense of the term (Tarn in Sutcliffe, 1981: 77). Public health management indeed ran somewhat counter to the classical planning tradition which found popularity from the seventeenth century through to the early nineteenth century by way of establishing environmental control as a social process (Ibid.: 82) through building for affluent members of urban society. However it is important to note at this point that, prior to the onset of widespread industrialisation, there was a certain amount of urban planning that took place and the examples of parts of places such as London, Bath and Edinburgh stand as fine models of its practice. But the urban planning that was practised in the eighteenth century had largely disappeared by the mid-nineteenth century: "Planning there was none, except that demanded by the economics of arrangement and construction." (Lanchester, 1925: 98)

For all their problems Victorian Cities were a great source of pride (Briggs, 1963: 89) receiving architectural attention in terms of both their core and periphery. Suburbanisation, one of the significant features of the nineteenth century (Waller, 1983: 145), was often encouraged by informal layouts for the well-to-do in which social status could be expressed. The construction of a grandiose public building
could not only highlight the presence of local democracy but furthermore civic pride and pretension. The erection of a Town Hall, for example, was often a significant event in the life of a provincial community and sometimes represented the strongest element in its visual development (Cunningham, 1981: 175). Furthermore such a building symbolised and celebrated the vigour and spirit of the settlement, although the process of conceiving a Town Hall was often dependent upon the local ratepayers, public committees and civic society (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 144), local politics thus being a significant influence on the size, style and the degree of artistic form of the building undertaken. To acquire a large, grandiose Town Hall, perhaps the most dominant and important of all Victorian buildings in the settlement, was an important symbol of status, reflecting not only local cultural and artistic aspirations but also wealth. In the undertaking of a Town Hall the design was crucial to its perceived success. The building not only had to be erected to a large scale but had to be composed in a manner relative to its importance. Without such a massive bulk and design emphasis a Town Hall could not adequately advertise its function as a public amenity as well being the ceremonial and administrative centre of the settlement (Fellows, 1999: 23).

The success of certain Town Halls was reflected by the exporting of their architectural styles from one settlement to another from the mid-nineteenth century. With the construction of a Town Hall came not only a strong sense of local pride but competition and rivalry, which aided the symbolic challenge to the political and cultural primacy of London. It is not surprising, therefore, that the largest and most artistic of Victorian Town Halls were to be found in the largest provincial settlements, although the dates for constructing such edifices varied greatly. Waller (1983: 82) has shown that art and architecture were intended to serve civic self-esteem. However art provided another moral lesson: “A civilised life cannot be lived in undisciplined towns. The civic arts are the arts of civilisation, and the arts of civilisation are civilisation itself.” (Lethaby, 1900: 100)

Civic pride was enhanced by gifts or bequests from philanthropists, usually in the form of public parks, statues, monuments and public buildings such as libraries, which appeared often for the first time along with many other diverse elements in the urban environment. Railway stations and hotels, art galleries, exchanges, public libraries, museums, clock towers and municipal buildings all gave a new richness and character to local townscapes. The growth of municipal parks served in part to
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indicate the impact of the contemporary housing reform movement with its stress upon urban environmental standards. “Here then was the establishment of a concern for spatial and environmental standards that was to characterise housing reform, and the resultant design of housing estates, over the remainder of the nineteenth century.” (Gaskell, 1974: 222)

Civic regard architecturally prospered through the need for more public buildings as a result of attempts being made to alleviate perceived cultural poverty and Acts of Parliament being passed in 1845 and 1850 which allowed municipalities to levy a special rate for the purposes of building and maintaining public buildings of a cultural or educational nature. Furthermore, the growth of local government administration needed buildings for practical purposes so that it could operate efficiently. The appearance of public buildings made a significant impact upon the visual character of Victorian settlements. Structures were also required for local political ends so as to assert independence from monarchical and aristocratic restrictions, symbolically perpetuated in grand public buildings and the ritual of self-government. The giving of assize status, for example, usually resulted in the erection of a municipal building, an Assize Court, of good architectural quality and grandiose nature so as to reflect the new found standing of the settlement, Birmingham being perhaps the classic example. Many public buildings had a significant affect upon the urban morphology by the locality, the erection of Leeds Town Hall, for example, attracting development to the north-west of the settlement, in proximity to the public building, for the first time.

Municipal activity was hindered up to the mid-Victorian period by the costs of applying for, acquiring and implementing Parliamentary Acts. However, the legislative process was made more efficient and inexpensive by central government through the passing of the Local Government Act in 1858, enabling municipalities directly to adopt the Town Improvement Clauses Act (1847) instead of having to obtain private local Acts. By the 1860s Corporations could acquire loans from Westminster at a favourable rate for the purpose of urban improvements like laying out parks and streets, providing street lighting and paving, which under the Limited Liability Act (1873) was broadened to include the construction of a Town Hall, while the New Charters Act (1877) made it financially easier for municipalities to obtain charters of incorporation. Such a change might not appear at face value to be too important, but it was of significance. The culture of borrowing money and the
removal of the inhibition to obtain financial debts which did not have to be paid back in the short-term, ensured that municipalities could adopt schemes of a comparatively large size, perhaps involving slum clearance and the erection of significant public buildings. Slum clearance schemes, a costly exercise due to the need to pay compensation and the cost of acquiring the land, could be undertaken and modern municipal offices could be built in their place (Morley and Craven, 2000: 64), often with an open space around them which was of significant value within the urban environment. As a consequence by the 1860s and early 1870s many Corporations had assumed a significant civic responsibility (Tarn, 1969: 319) and acquired their own legislation to permit comprehensive clearances and redevelopments of whole urban districts, often within or near to the central core. These capitalised on the favourable political context of the reforms given by Disraeli and his government, within which the second Reform Act (1867) and the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Act (1868) were passed. Scotland, with its own legal system, often took the lead. In 1866 Glasgow Corporation obtained an Improvement Act. Edinburgh followed suit a year later, to be accompanied by Dundee in 1871. Acts such as these were precursors to developments in England and Wales that from the mid-1870s permitted the clearance and rebuilding of large scale urban districts.

By the mid-1870s municipal responsibility for the urban environment had been shaped by the Artisans and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) and by another Public Health Act (1875), which encouraged the removal of insanitary localities by empowering municipalities to make by-laws relating to street widths, building heights and other matters affecting layout and structure (Ashworth, 1954: 90). Within the Public Health Act (1875) England and Wales was divided into urban and rural sanitary districts which were clearly defined and supervised by the Local Government Board. Unfortunately the implementation of the Public Health Act (1875) was affected by the economic depression of the 1870s that tended to halt or slow down public borrowing. The system of regulation through by-laws was deeply flawed due to local differences and uneven operation, so that by the end of the nineteenth century existing legislation was amended so to remedy the predicament. Housing legislation was consolidated by the passing of the Housing of the Working Classes Act (1890), with greater advances in housing arguably being made between about 1890 and 1900 than in the previous forty or so years (Ashworth, 1954: 93). However even this improvement did little to alter the fact that minimal sanitary and structural regulations had not prevented urban growth from frequently being haphazard, ugly
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and undignified (Ensor, 1936: 518). However by the 1880s nearly all municipalities had issued by-laws under the Public Health Act (1875), and over 1,600 urban and rural authorities had by-laws approved by the Local Government Board by 1882. This brought a new urban terminology into use, particularly the phrases "by-law house" and the "by-law street", and produced in practice a highly regulated suburban environment with rationalised space.

Legislation and Modern Credit Systems

The development of social policy and the amount of financial credit available to local authorities from the 1870s onwards was an important factor in the scale of public authority development (Bellamy, 1988: 196), as recognised earlier. A determinant in this matter was the emergence of Acts of Parliament and Provisional Orders relating to the raising of local finances and the creation of the Local Government Board in 1871. This transition benefited the larger municipalities such as Liverpool, Birmingham and Nottingham, who raised money to consolidate their credit through issuing stock under private Acts. However it was not until the Local Government Act was passed in 1888 that all local authorities received general legislative powers to issue stock, although by 1888 over £50,000,000 worth of municipal stock had already been authorised by private Acts (Ibid.: 87). Stock making facilities and the capacity to consolidate loans under the 1888 Act, which abolished the numerous individual loan accounts taken out by local authorities and simultaneously removed the payment of money into 'sinking' funds, allowed municipalities to borrow in excess of the limits for borrowing previously set down by the Public Works Loans Act (1875), the Public Health Act (1875) and the second Municipal Corporations Act (1882). However, this excess credit facility was only attainable after the Local Government Board's architectural and engineering staff had approved the estimated costs of any proposed scheme.

This reform immediately reduced the financial constraints upon authorities and lessened the role of the ratepayer as the ultimate arbiter of costly civic aspirations and improvements (Hennock, 1973: 317). With the legislative changes came encouragement to improve the urban form (Morley and Craven, 2000: 63), whereby local councils could undertake projects which they and the ratepayers deemed beneficial, bringing an acceleration in public investment although this was influenced
by technological and industrial innovation which brought a demand for improved transport infrastructures as well as enterprises such as electricity generation and supply. Municipalities quickly realised that by controlling and owning local services any profits could be re-invested in other schemes, such as public buildings. Consequently the rise of what might be termed municipal socialism played its part in the development of modern civic design.

Of significance too was the changing attitude of the Treasury. This resulted in interest rates being lowered to be more in accordance with the 3.5 per cent level imposed by the Public Works Loan Act (1853), lowered to 2.75 per cent by the Public Works Loan Act (1897). The maximum length of time for the repayments of loans increased, from the previously established twenty year limit up to a fifty year term for loans raised for the purpose of purchasing land and thirty years for the erection of buildings. This helped to alleviate the financial pressure of repayments upon local authorities, a burden which bore heavily upon ratepayers in the early years of loans (Bellamy, 1988: 82). Such change was of significance when it is understood that until the 1890s an individual loan was necessary for each public building project undertaken. The new conduct of the Treasury was in part a result of the passing of the Elementary Education Act (1870), an Act affecting urban building and public credit by creating an unprecedented demand for loans due to the urgent need to build large numbers of schools in urban areas (Dixon & Muthesius, 1985: 238).

In the mid-1870s a number of significant pieces of legislation were passed. These included the Public Health Act (1875), which related to the purchase of land for public health purposes, and the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) which dealt with both the condition and arrangement of buildings by permitting the clearance of entire urban districts if necessary. Of importance too was the Model By-laws Act (1877) which permitted the Local Government Board to refine, restructure and extend previous slum housing legislation. The passing of the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) led to new possibilities and a new impetus to clear insanitary urban areas, as the Birmingham Improvement Act (1876) and Liverpool Improvement Acts of 1879 and 1880 highlighted. Such action by municipalities represented the fruits of improvements in both policy and administration, but as Briggs (1952: 70) has noted, civic expansion required not just capital and policy but men who were willing to spend money. Such legislative change and a change in local government attitudes can be seen to be responsible for the
dramatic increase in public health expenditure from the mid-1870s onwards, rising from £57.6 million in 1884-5 to £136.4 million by 1905-6. Emphasis must also be placed upon the culture created by the willingness of local authorities to raise rates and their acceptance of the culture of debt, with the total arrears of town councils in England and Wales rising from £33.7 million in 1874-5 to £177.2 million in 1901-2 (Billings, 1904; 77).

The 1880s witnessed other significant developments regarding the improved facilities for raising finances for public schemes, including the introduction of Model Clauses and the willingness of Parliament to grant them which gave impetus to the raising of local loans by means of stock (Ibid.: 1904: 14). The Public Health Amendment Act (1890) was of importance, inspiring the Local Government Board to amend its own regulations relating to stock in 1891, 1897 and 1901. These and other developments, such as the buoyant economy which kept interest rates relatively low and the widespread understanding of the need for sanitary and urban improvements, gave great stimulus to the promotion of urban betterment and civic design.

**Slum Clearance and the Concept of “Planning”**

The evolution of slum legislation from dealing with individual insanitary houses, either by private local Acts or through the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Act (1868), to Acts dealing with entire urban districts by the mid-1870s marked a new appraisal of urban environment and a new phase in slum removal. This development can be linked with wider issues of urban progress as well as public health matters. For example, the Artisans and Labourers Dwellings Improvement Act (1875) empowered local authorities to clear slums and renew or redevelop the land through improvement schemes submitted and approved by the Local Government Board. Legislation such as the Buildings in Streets Act (1888), under which buildings were required to follow existing building lines (Gaches, 1895: 274), represented part of a process to regulate the development of the urban form at the end of the nineteenth century, with the public control over the design of buildings by the early twentieth century incorporated into the emanating town planning movement (Bruton, 1984: 173). This entire regulatory process was to culminate in the Housing, Town Planning, Etc. Act (1909), the first British piece of national planning legislation, widely acknowledged as an evolutionary step and an important instrument in the hands of...
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the local authorities (Cadbury, 1915: 139). The Town Planning Review proclaimed that few legislative pieces “have created such universal appreciative interest and have been launched with such promises of success” (1913: 1). The actual aim and content of the 1909 Act can be described as moderate but realistic, reflecting the social concern of the town planning movement and emphasising what was possible and achievable simply because town planning was a new, almost unexplored field and its principles may not have been fully understood by parliamentarians. Thus it was probable that any initial piece of planning legislation was going to be rudimentary in nature, in part to provide a firm foundation for subsequent development both in practical and legislative terms. Relating only to undeveloped land, therefore stopping slum building at the urban periphery, the Act offered local authorities, except the London County Council which refused to allow any metropolitan borough to use the Act, powers to regulate urban development for “amenity” and “planning” purposes. Both these terms were in fact undefined by the legislation. The Act contained no provisions regulating the urban form of modern planning schemes and in no way took the form of a coercing or controlling force upon the methods and principles in town planning design (Adams, 1932: 51). The form of schemes which adopted the Act was left open.

Many Corporations prior to the start of the twentieth century had acquired some experience of urban planning, particularly at the urban core. Late-Victorian improvement schemes such as those undertaken at Birmingham and Leeds were comprehensive pieces of urban improvement. As Hennock (1973: 127) has noted: “The choice of a central area made it possible to combine town improvement with slum clearance”. These schemes gave municipalities first hand experiences of the problems involved in urban designing and development at the urban core. The question of urban improvement and traffic congestion led to the development of municipal councils in order to oversee urban functions such as the laying out of streets, a matter of design and planning interest, and much of the work initiated by local governments, particularly in the progressive municipalities such as Birmingham, provided the widest opportunity for architects and urban planning, thanks to new parks, slum clearances and new municipal buildings being undertaken. However the scope of such an approach to planning was restricted by the high cost of clearing central land because of compensation rights. Even by the early twentieth century large settlements were only taking cautious steps to changing the urban form rather than undertaking large-scale demolition and reconstruction. In some cases local
councils were compelled to take an interest in urban planning whether they wanted to or not, due to the rising problem of traffic congestion in central areas, resolved partly through the construction of new thoroughfares to allow for freer traffic movement, and the growth of new building types. Linked to the rise in local bureaucracy, one consequence of the vast number of Acts passed throughout the nineteenth century, was the emergence of new building types such as County Halls, Town Halls, Municipal Buildings, Assize Courts, Libraries, Museums, Technical Colleges, University Colleges, Police Stations and Fire Stations, which all had to be erected to serve the needs of the local population. Not only were local authorities compelled to build new structures but they were obliged to build and design in a manner becoming their civic status. This resulted in over 200 new Museum and Art Gallery buildings being erected in Britain between 1890 and 1919, hence the period can be noted as being a golden age of Museum and Art Gallery construction. Of significance to the growth in such building types was the coming of a new generation of philanthropists such as Andrew Carnegie, who donated vast sums of capital for buildings of a cultural nature.

The passing of the Local Government Acts in 1888 and 1894, the 1888 Act rather obviously being said to be “the most important statute relating to local government that has appeared since the Municipal Corporations Act, 1835” (Macmorran, 1888: LIII), marked a watershed in the organisation of local authorities. Splitting municipal organisations into three tiers according to population size, these being settlements with less than 10,000 population, settlements with 10,000-50,000 people and settlements with a population of over 50,000, 54 places in 1891, the Act paved the way for added responsibilities through a system of control and administration and also had implications for public building. Firstly, there was a need to provide new buildings for a public authority. “A shire hall, county hall, or other building, lodgings for Her Majesty's judges, may be purchased, built or repaired”, stated Section Three of the Act. Architecturally, the new structures had to epitomise not only local pride but exhibit the new found dignity, status, and municipal standing of the settlements with large population sizes, a distinction possibly inflating the local will to build (Cunningham, 1981: 57). Thus new functional and aesthetic needs were created by the Act, as was demonstrated in the creation of County Halls and other public buildings in the larger settlements, became the focus of local administration and ceremony, as well as being a means to satisfy the need to erect buildings for expanding municipal activities (Fellows, 1995: 77).
The 1888 and 1894 Acts significantly breathed new life into municipal administration, bringing about greater national coherence in regulative control and making the new system capable of meeting a wide range of urban problems, and allowed local governments to be more efficiently organised. The prospect of urban improvement, and so public building, in both the civic and residential spheres increased as circumstances became more favourable for practical, positive steps to be taken. Building regulations had, as noted previously, advanced to such an extent that notions of street widths, open spaces and building heights were being applied uniformly by the 1890s. Modern urban planning and civic design was not therefore a total leap into the dark but represented an extension of practices in correspondence with current objectives and circumstances (Ashworth, 1954: 181).

Civic Design Heritage in Britain: The Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century

The next section of this chapter examines the history of British civic design during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. An investigation into the history of the art is imperative in order to delineate and highlight the elements that may differ in the context of the period chosen for this work. It will also be shown in this part of the work that within Britain limited achievements rather than idealised planning movements prevailed despite emphasis being increasingly placed on design and planning compositions as a whole, a progression from the Baroque plans such as Versailles and Karlsruhe that typified large scale planning on the continent in the decades previously. The mode of urban design that germinated from the mid-eighteenth century in Britain must be viewed as constituting a conscious alternative to the somewhat uncoordinated development of industrial towns and cities from that time. However, whilst foreign activities tended to stress the formal principles of urban planning, design in Britain was more inclined to accentuate semi-formality to such an extent, notes Tarn (1981), as to suggest a national characteristic of deliberately underplaying the architectural hand (Tarn in Sutcliffe, 1981: 77).

Throughout the eighteenth century notable contributions to civic design were being made in Britain with almost every urban place of any substantial size undergoing some form of development. The Georgian contribution to British town planning is important both in terms of its quantitative and qualitative input (Aston and Bond,
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1976: 155). London, with its Regent Street development by John Nash, as well as Edinburgh and Bath all stand as being archetypal examples of civic planning during this period, with the latter two examples incorporating schemes promoted and developed by the local municipalities. Bath, for example, certainly directed movement towards large scale design in the pre-Victorian period.

By the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century civic design in practice consisted of a doctrine that was not fundamentally new. The best examples of its implementation were located within the expensive districts of already affluent settlements and were generally small scale design pieces, adding onto the existing sprawl of towns. Using Bath, Edinburgh and the West End of London as notable examples, by the beginning of the nineteenth century a tradition of town improvement had emerged focusing upon planning elements used in previous decades. Concerned not so much with grandiose schemes of embellishment such as those developed by continental aristocrats and autocrats, the modern British schemes involved designing buildings very much within their immediate setting through uniformity in design, form and plan. Gaskell (1974) has shown that town or, more precisely, estate planning during the Georgian era aimed at creating coherency and uniformity in the pattern of layout and facade designs, so as to reflect the similar coherence and uniformity in the social status of the occupants. Schemes of a large size and degree of opulence like Bath and Edinburgh were comparatively rare not just because of their spatial scale but because many architectural and planning practices were in fact exercised together. Contemporary designers understood that various elements constituted urban planning, but only in a few cases did many of these factors come together under the one scheme.

Arguably the zenith of balanced, controlled formal Renaissance planning in the pre-Victorian period was the development of Regent Street in London (Smith Morris, 1997: 32) but as aesthetically radiant as the scheme was it had little effect on the countless urban problems created by the Industrial Revolution in the Metropolis. The aftermath of this, notes Tam (in Sutcliffe, 1981: 78) and Benevelo (1967: 16), was to result in a debasing and alienating effect of the elegant Classical style, leading eventually to the decline of this particular type of planning and architectural design during the Victorian period. The London scheme and many smaller ones established around the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in places such as Ramsgate, Margate, Hastings and Hove, were developed in classical styles and form after the
success of Bath, on land owned and speculatively developed by aristocratic families. However this type of urban growth did not end abruptly after the Reform Act (1832), which significantly altered the culture, land control and influence of the aristocracy. But Stanley Adshead remarked that these schemes "will long remain as our chief source of inspiration in this country for civic composition and design." (1910: 9)

The basic contemporary elements of urban planning in the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century consisted of the square, the crescent and the circus (Summerson, 1986: 304). Places, that is physically enclosed spaces as popularised in informal medieval urban environments and formal Renaissance ones, became so popular in the eighteenth century that they became integral components of the larger scale schemes undertaken, often linked to other spaces or prominent buildings through planning techniques based upon direct alignments and the use of vistas. Methods used at Bath present the impression that a number of separate architectural compositions appeared to be linked together. "Taken together, the Circus and the Royal Crescent with Gay Street and Queen Square form a highly original complex of urban architecture" (Ibid.: 304). Originality in planning at Bath was derived not only through the shape of the compositions or the methods of connection between the various components but also by the handling of the classical design style employed, which was used to create an ordered rhythm throughout the composition. Bath's success created an urban yardstick by providing design styles and planning exemplars. Bath did in fact become a prototype for further urban developments (Rosenau, 1959: 109; Ison, 1948: 150), evident not just in a frivolous way through the abundance of numerous yet variable crescents which appeared well into the nineteenth century (Summerson, 1986: 393).

The practice of designing large blocks of buildings as distinct units independent from the rest, but connected to the overall composition by common planning and elevational elements such as height, material, style and form, were popularised in other schemes such as the New Town, Edinburgh and Grey Street, Newcastle, which has been recognised as being "one of the great planned streets of Britain" (Nairn, 1967: 22). This practice of designing large-scale blocks produced not only a coherent appearance but also created architectural street pictures of a regular rhythm, partly by the sense of harmony and unity within the composition through the repetition of the design elements. The impression of an ordered rhythm helps to pull individual architectural units or buildings together as a whole within each place.
(Sharp, 1968: 12). Such results show an understanding among contemporary designers that the many parts of their projects could come together into a single entity or composition in order for the architectural effect of each element within the whole to be strengthened (Ibid.: 16).

Figure 2.1. An aerial view of Bath with the Circus (left) and Royal Crescent (top).

Bath is a remarkable feat of urban planning due to its total effect. The planners at Bath, where development began in 1728, understood that particular elements involved in urban planning had a sphere of influence that could affect the entire settlement. By carrying vistas along the paths of incoming and outgoing roadways from an architecturally significant site, for example, had the result of giving significance not only to the space or building involved but to the settlement at large, while connecting one district of the city to another by visual means. Side streets were designed along similar lines to the main streets, creating a co-ordinated environment which had a coherent effect.

The Georgian development of Edinburgh constituted a vast exercise in classical planning thanks to Craig's New Town Plan, won in a competition organised by the municipality and intended to be a self-contained residential estate (Morris, 1994: 22). Johns (1965: 73) said of Edinburgh that it is one of the most outstanding examples of architectural planning on an extensive scale anywhere, at any time, in Britain, while Adams (1935: 113) added that it is one of the "best examples of employing the art of planning" due to the high standard of the architectural structures erected within
the scheme and the planning principles which were employed, such as the utilising of vistas and the placing of buildings so as to terminate them.

Although superficially prosaic the New Town plan reveals many interesting planning forms and techniques. The road and visual plan of the scheme centres upon a grand central avenue, George Street, running directly east to west along the crown of a hill for over one kilometre in distance, bounded both to the north and south by major roadways running in parallel to it. Two of these roadways, Queen Street and Princes Street, reinforced the importance of the central roadway within the scheme by being designed with their inner sides, that is those nearest to George Street, built up. George Street was crossed at approximately two hundred metre intervals by minor roads, giving a grid plan which afforded vistas southwards to Edinburgh Castle and the medieval core of the settlement and northwards towards the Firth of Forth, aided by the sloping topography from both sides of the New Town area. George Street was terminated at each end by squares, with Churches and equestrian statues being placed on the central axis along the roadway, described by Mawson (1911: 131) as giving added richness and expression to the civic area. Additional planning techniques involving the employment of axial lines were used to give architectural meaning to the buildings and space. The western square, Charlotte Square, “among the most splendid groupings in the whole progress of British townscapeing” (Bell, 1969: 79), had its Church placed in the centre a row of houses which were laid out on each side of it so as to form an ordered composition.

Figure 2.2. A mid-nineteenth century Ordnance Survey map of Edinburgh with the New Town (shown in dark shade).
In the examples described in the previous pages design emphasis was laid upon the concept of composition within which the ground plan, the elevations and design aesthetics of the structures were stressed. This Georgian concept of ensemble with its sense of unity between individual buildings so to relate them together, can be seen to be an extension of the baroque design and planning system that was originally initiated by the erection of palaces and churches in the European urban environment. The urban features of the Renaissance were thus translated into British terms but symmetry was still prevalent and road alignments, in some instances, were directly terminated by a building intentionally sited so as to close the vista in a formal and appropriate manner. An example of symmetrical planning in Britain was at the Quadrant and Waterloo Place in Nash's Regent Street scheme, with the form of the curving form of the Quadrant highlighting to those with an interest in urban design at that time that urban space and its skilful design was as equally important as structural design within contemporary urban planning (Bacon, 1974: 211).

The employment of a single design style for often large individual compositions was a deliberate method by designers to give the schemes coherence. Arguably the best examples of this practice can be seen in Edinburgh's New Town which was formed to well disciplined classical styles. The municipality owning much of the land that was developed made effective architectural control possible (Adams, 1935: 113) and in terms of elevational form four individual yet unifying vertical and horizontal traits dominated the design of the facades in Edinburgh. These are: a horizontal uniting of bay with bay and house with house; a similarity in vertical scale of the floor to ceiling heights for new buildings; the proportions of the openings on the facade; and the texture of the building material. Yet while the front elevation may provide the impression of design unity, behind the front wall the internal plan of the buildings was often varied.

The development of Kemp Town, Brighton, from 1823 took the British notion of uniformity by design and plan a step further with its symmetrical compositions being reinforced through a mirroring not only of the plan but of elevations across a central axis, a planning technique popularised in the Renaissance period by Sir Christopher Wren at Greenwich and Jules Hardenni Mansart at Versailles, so to give a feeling of order. In a scheme such as Kemp Town a symmetrical facade would recall on one side of the central axis all those features occurring on the other side of it. Such an approach to planning was a proven means whereby a visual order could be derived.
but importantly in some cases it was employed to yield practical benefits. John Nash at Regent Street, London, used a similar planning technique by pragmatically arranging a colonnade designed in accord with the alignment of the road close to Piccadilly Circus so that he could not only overcome the problem of designing structures for different needs and tastes but to also give harmony and unity to the buildings.

Edinburgh and Bath, plus the city centre redevelopment of Newcastle during the 1830s, the first planned city centre in Britain (Wilkes and Dodds, 1964: 67), were all large-scale, well-planned architecturally harmonious developments (Alwyn Lloyd, 1935: 16-7) displaying the many features and principles which were understood to constitute contemporary civic design. These schemes were rare examples because of their size and many design elements being practised simultaneously, and so must stand as comprehensive design statements about cities and urban design at that time. But even in the heady days of late-Georgian and early-Victorian planning, which appears so rich at face value, in terms of urban planning the bulk of development followed grid lines (Aston and Bond, 1976: 156) while the design of the elevations usually contained a limited number of unifying design features. The development of central Newcastle and the crescents of early nineteenth century Edinburgh and Glasgow, a visible reflection of the growing affluence of Scotland (Youngson, 1966: 230), represented the last appearance for many following decades of urban design of this nature. Formal Classical planning did not it seem provide the early Victorians with a solution to the organisational problems inherent in industrial settlements from the 1830s, although it must be emphasised that planning of this character never confessed to solving the predicaments of modern life (Ashworth, 1954: 33).

The rise of manufacturing industry and capitalist principles in society brought with it fresh circumstances that initiated a fundamental shift in the process and objectives of societal evolution. The classical style of architecture and civic design which so typified the Georgian era was largely abandoned in favour of the gothic school of design and the cult of individuality, which became reflected in detached suburban villas, for example. With no type of design so dependent in its practice on public support than civic design, circumstances had to be at the very least favourable before it could be considered and practised. Opportunities for civic design therefore tended to be few and far between and from the early nineteenth century the situation
was such that civic design may have been misunderstood as an instrument for arranging the urban form and could have resulted in a lack of its practice in the following years. This situation was not helped by a lack of municipal activity in fields relating to design at the time and new forms of urban control and management being established to deal effectively with the emergent problems like poverty, poor health, housing and sanitation. With the condition of the urban environment already of a poor standard in most urban areas it is by no means surprising that the many Victorians reacted against the immediate past which they perceived to be of modern failure. The result of this is that it led to a decline in previously favoured design and planning forms, although the circumstances and the complexity of urban life under industrialisation and urbanisation made the opportunities for its practice less frequent, as highlighted earlier.

Formal architectural practice by the early to mid-nineteenth century was just one means among many which could affect or control the urban environment and its growth. The problems facing the Victorians with regard to large-scale planning was not that no national urban design theory or practice existed but the question of how to use it in a modern way and concurrently deal with social needs and pressures (Waller, 1983: 169). “The distinctive English tradition of town planning was not extinguished by nineteenth-century industrialisation. It was, however, repressed.” (Ibid.: 169) The dissent levelled at classical architecture, was in part an outcome of the change in tastes ideals during the early Victorian period. Gothic design found increasing favour from this time and was believed by some contemporaries to be more suited to alleviating the moral and physical decline in the quality of the urban environment, a condition brought about by the demographic and spatial growth of the industrial city (Tarn in Sutcliffe, 1981: 78). Terracing as a form of housing for the middle and upper classes was replaced by individual detached properties thanks in part to the abuse of the terrace by speculative builders and its association with all that was bad within the Victorian City. However high quality terraced housing was still erected in many urban settlements at that time. However it is somewhat ironic that approximately fifty years later large scale urban planning reappeared through the rise of the model settlements and the Garden City idea, modern means to control urbanisation and solve the problems caused by urbanisation and industrialisation in the decades beforehand.
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The following chapter accounts for those factors that may be perceived to have had an influence upon civic design, its form and location in the period selected for consideration. The section also concentrates upon describing examples of design at the civic scale in large towns and cities which might have been expected to have had some influence on the form of large scale designing found in provincial settlements during the period about 1880 to 1914.
CHAPTER THREE: BACKGROUND

Introduction

The previous chapter has examined factors that appeared to affect civic design prior to the period upon which this undertaking concentrates. This section of the study provides a detailed account of examples of design at the civic scale in the period about 1880 to 1914 which might have been expected to have some influence upon civic design, its form and location within the settlements forming the subject of the work. This section will include examples of planning schemes of a nature different to that upon which this study concentrates, that is schemes not occurring largely as redevelopment within existing large urban settlements such as those that took place on green field sites or those undertaken in settlements not included within the course of the project, such as London. Conditions appertaining and influencing civic design nationally, such as foreign developments, expositions, parks and model villages, also receive attention in this part of the work.

Model Villages and the Emergence of the Garden City

Intervention by municipal authority was so hesitant and partial that for much of the nineteenth century the only clear alternative to the mass of unregulated, speculative urban development which was so inherent in Victorian cities, was provided by a small number of model communities which were concerned either with worker housing, thanks to the interest of the philanthropic or paternalistic industrialist, or the concept of utopia thanks to idealists. One of the most influential and ambitious was Saltaire (Smith Morris, 1997: 38), developed in the 1850s by alpaca magnate Sir Titus Salt, near to Bradford. Picking up on the 1840s idea of moving the working classes from the squalid conditions of the inner city and its slums (Ashworth, 1954: 123) and moving them to self-contained dormitories, Salt decided to establish his own settlement. Disturbed by the dirty state of Bradford and the cholera outbreak in the town in 1853, Salt’s venture combined the practical lessons of earlier and sporadic philanthropic efforts, such as New Lanark and Akroyden, for example, with his own precise perception of what a community was and this type of paternalist urban development was as synonymous with the regulation of people due to the perceived
relation between behaviour, social organisation and the urban environment, as it was with urban design.

Saltaire was designed for an estimated population of about 4,000 by the Bradford based partnership of Lockwood and Mawson, who were responsible for much public architecture in Bradford between about 1850 and 1880. Saltaire has been recognised as being tidy, rational, organised and non-romantic in its plan, providing compactness, neatness and homogeneity architecturally (Richards, 1936: 217). Geometric virtues dominated the model settlement not only in the form rows of terraced housing some 200-300 feet in length, or in the symmetrical plan of the factory, but in the settlement's central area where an Institute and School were formally laid out across an open space with their plans mirroring each others. Mirroring was again employed in the planning of the hospital and almshouses, evident in the alignments established in their plans and elevations which corresponded to each other, while the Congregational Church, an imposing building composed in an Italianate classical style, was planned on a direct axis from the factory. This particular building contributed in a dignified way to the overall architecture of the settlement and adding to the sense of solidity and permanence. Apart from these minor planning features, which provided a break in the residential development, the town plan displayed little originality and few characteristics to distinguish it from large industrial cities (Stewart, 1952: 161) despite Saltaire being at that time more organic than most in its urban form and involving a large scale single development process.

The provision of amenities must be judged as a move towards making Saltaire a planned community (Tarn in Sutcliffe, 1981: 80) although in civic design terms the settlement should not be seen than nothing more than a fairly minor modern exercise in the art. Its main contribution to planning was in its underlying philanthropic attitude and the attempt to change the living conditions and behaviour of the workers, for example, no public houses were allowed in the settlement. Despite having little influence on subsequent town design (Dewhirst, 1960: 135) Saltaire provides historians with a rare example of urban planning designed to an impressive spatial scale at that point in the nineteenth century. Taken as part of a wider reform and philanthropic process Saltaire, along with the other communities formed by the start of the period covered by this project, only amounted to a handful of villages and complete estates, although collectively such schemes were to provide both inspiration and act as a guide line for future urban development (Gaskell, 1974: 186).
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From the 1880s the evolution of large scale architectural design took a new course thanks to two industrial model communities, Port Sunlight, founded in 1888 by soap manufacturer William Lever, and Bournville, founded in 1895 by George Cadbury. Collectively these model settlements proved both physically and financially that it was possible to provide good practical houses for Working Class families and to surround them in a pleasant environment. The environmental tradition created by paternalists throughout the nineteenth century, of a simple, organised and coherent layout was continued most evidently at Port Sunlight which was dominated architecturally and socially by the factory (Nuttgens, 1972: 89). The two settlements received much contemporary praise for their design, organic plans and natural beauty, established as a consequence of departing from the by-law system of building and layout regulation that was dominant at that time. Their modern standards of housing and urban arrangements, significantly for civic design by architects, hence the design emphasis within them, encouraged further building, experimentation, and ultimately acted as archetypes to public development. Urban beauty through modern design was not thus to be discovered by limited regulation but through planning standards which valued art, architecture and their principles, and by placing the spirit of the architect into broader spatial contexts. As a result of such vigour and growing social and professional discovery within the industrial city what was considered to constitute an adequate urban environment began to broaden.

The paternalist and philanthropic ventures at Port Sunlight and Bournville marked an important new stage in British urban development for they both helped to introduce new dictates of layout and design (Cherry, 1988: 75), particularly at Port Sunlight which was noted more for its overall architectural, planning and visual experience than for being a housing experiment (Tarn, 1973: 158). This type of design endeavour was almost naturally considered to be an extension of an architects intrinsic professional function, that is as designers of buildings and the space about them, and the recognition of design principles to which they were associated. With their open layouts and collective emphasis on small but decorated houses, the attention given to worker housing ultimately brought a new sense of freedom to architectural practice with planning forms subsequently being dictated by topographical features rather than building regulations. The straight-jacket of terraced housing which so typified urban building and by-law planning regulations was thus removed, an event of importance within planning's evolution as modern practice began to displace existing building regulations. This process reached its
peak at Hampstead in 1906 when a Private Parliamentary Act was obtained to free the proposed Garden Suburb scheme from local building regulations. This Act was a significant step in the process towards the 1909 Housing, Town Planning, Etc. Act.

At the end of the nineteenth century the notion as to what constituted an adequate urban environment began to broaden, as noted earlier. "The city not only required healthiness, but light, beauty and convenience, together with a new range of outlets for civic pride and responsibility." (Hawtree in Sutcliffe, 1981: 68) Bournville and Port Sunlight served as evidence of this contemporary attitude, providing a highly impressive and therefore persuasive setting for modern life. Both settlements provided progressive minds and reformers with a platform to visit and despite both schemes being originally conceived as housing experiments only thorough the actual course of building were the intricacies of village planning discovered. Nevertheless Bournville and Port Sunlight gain significance in terms of design, planning and its traditions due to renewing of the practice of building model settlements, in so doing presenting radical new environmental, aesthetic and design standards, establishing a paradigm for subsequent reform minded schemes to continue and build upon. As modern town planning was to be defined in practice (Cherry, 1988: 71) this of significance and the inspiration for modern planning came primarily from Raymond Unwin who was greatly influenced by the ideas of Ebenezer Howard, while architecture and town planning was linked as early twentieth century town planners were, in effect, architects.

The importance of Ebenezer Howard and his Garden City idea cannot be disputed. Howard quite simply played a central role in the evolution of modern town planning in Britain from around the turn of the twentieth century, in part due to his influence in inspiring a small group of individuals who devoted much of their time and energies to the Garden City idea, to town planning (Hawtree in Sutcliffe, 1981: 79) and to raising housing standard for Working Class families. Howard's significance lies not just within his Garden City idea drawing many reform strands at that time together into a coherent form or from shaping a movement, the Garden City Movement, but within his ideas providing a vehicle for individuals to developing planning notions. In so doing Howard propelled Unwin and his professional partner Barry Parker from provincial obscurity to father figures of the formative town planning movement. Furthermore Howard acquired importance from his practical successes. Within six years of his book 'To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform' (1898) being published a competition had been held and a plan had been selected for the first
Garden City at Letchworth, acknowledged as the first endeavour "of any considerable scale to express twentieth century town-planning practice and ideas." (Purdom, 1925: 86) Letchworth, along with other private urban developments such as New Earswick, made massive contributions to urban planning at the start of the twentieth century.

The general plan of Letchworth (see figure 3.1) highlighted spatial and visual order through the exercise of formal lay outs (Miller, 1992; 55) particularly so as to emphasise the Town Square, the focal and civic centre, which was "to be surrounded by public buildings and made the focus of the chief roads; the railway station...so placed as to provide a vista of the chief buildings in the 'civic centre'" (Hughes and Lamborn, 1923: 115). The geometric nature of the road plan around the Town Square was selected so as to help exhibit the civic buildings to their best advantage through employing long, direct views towards them, and to adhere the various districts of the town together into a single composition through these lengthy vistas. The public buildings themselves were to be grouped in a symmetrical manner and designed in a classical style (Unwin, 1909: 368-71), forming the central feature in the design of the town. Such an approach to the civic design of the buildings within the central core implies that Unwin considered urban design through questions
concerning a totality of effect, questions of architectural character, building masses, scale and harmony, and the association between buildings and open spaces. (Jackson, 1985: 105).

The slow growth of Letchworth ensured that it was almost immediately exceeded by the more explicit visual, social and economic nature of Henrietta Barnett's Garden Suburb project at Hampstead (Sutcliffe, 1981: 76), from 1904, which strengthened aesthetic and environmental dimensions in Garden City planning. Composed by Raymond Unwin, the Garden Suburb marked a design and planning development from Letchworth through combining formal and informal design elements together. Utilising Sitte’s ideas about urban design, which Unwin had discovered after initially planning Letchworth, space at road junctions was stressed and often enclosed by surrounding groups of houses in an intimate way to give a human scale to the community. Buildings however were sometimes composed to a bigger size for the purpose of enhancing street pictures while building lines were usually set back along the streets so as to establish added visual variety. The composition of street pictures, one of the main characteristics of the suburb, raised town planning to a new level (Day in Sutcliffe, 1981: 185). “Perhaps no other single event conferred upon the new term ‘town planning’ so much promise: idealism articulated by professional practice.” (Cherry, 1988: 63) The growing sense of competency and experience within the infant town planning movement brought about by Unwin’s practical successes had consequences within its own right, shifting emphasis away from the social and economic aspects of planning practice to its technical and artistic sides, which in turn fortified the links between the subject and already well established professions, none more so than the association between architecture and planning which was tied together by the actions and attitudes of individuals and later the Royal Institute of British Architects.

The creation of an formal composition with open space in a classical style at Hampstead, known as the Central Square, by Edwin Lutyens, appointed as Consultant Architect in May 1906, represents a notable planning feature in the design and plan of the Garden Suburb. The civic area with its symmetrical layout was composed in such a manner as to bestow a degree of monumentality to the estate, aided by the planning of two Churches, Free and Anglican, an Institute, spaces about the building and approaches to them. Positioned in accord with the central north-south line of symmetry running up to the Institute, the Churches were sited in such a way so as to not only subdivide the Central Square but to terminate
the views along the two main approach roads which lead up to the enclosed space (Unwin, 1911: 226). The civic area was additionally planned in such a way so as to establish a sense of enclosure, established at the northern and southern peripheries of the area around which Lutyens' placed houses (Smith Morris, 1997: 56-7).

Figure 3.2. The plan of Hampstead Garden Suburb by Parker and Unwin (source: Unwin, 1909).

Modern planning of the character of Hampstead Garden Suburb was intensely architectural in its nature and principles, hence Nettlefold's (1908: 48) remark that: "Town planning may be considered as an endeavour to do for a town what an architect does for a house." Yet this type of urban designing owed little to the classical adventures of Regent Street, London, or Edinburgh and Bath. The private contributions to planning at the start of the twentieth century were the result of an interest in the housing or sociological side of planning and not so much from an interest in civic design, although it brought about a "realisation of the means of achieving a form of comprehensive order which was central to the whole town planning movement, along with its promotion of forms of development and architectural treatment with expressed accepted aesthetic standards in a tangible form." (Gaskell in Sutcliffe, 1981: 18-9) This kind of urban planning, with its emphasis on small scale details, encapsulated prominently in Unwin's understanding and practice of town planning, looked to the traditions of urban planning and
concepts of architecture for guidance. Through Unwin's interpretation of historical urban planning, ideas proposed by individuals such as Camillo Sitte, for example, were modified and modern German town extension planning anglicised, thereby providing not only practical examples for modern residential planning but introducing a planning grammar which emphasised architectural organisation, primarily through the grouping of buildings and the relating of them by design details. This visual or design approach to planning reinforced the concept of urban planning as an extension of architecture and in so doing highlighted the importance of civic design to modern urban development. Buildings had at the very least to be given a proper setting and the city was now perceived to be a theatre for architects to perform within.

The underlying factor in the work of planners such as Raymond Unwin was their aspiration to improve the living environments of the Working Classes, fed by an architectural and social ideology which brought together cultural, social and aesthetic convictions through the architectural concepts of unity and repose, a term relating to items being designed so to fit into their proper place (Jackson, 1985: 22), regardless of the spatial scale involved. Planning therefore was not just a means to arrange the urban form but an astute device of social reform. The clamour in contemporary architectural and social circles, encouraged by the Arts and Crafts Movement, abetted anti-industrial feelings and a move towards larger scale designing, since modern designers found it necessary to look at the urban whole. This ability to view the towns in their entirety was a great contemporary step forward. The philosophy of architecture could now be put onto on the real world at a variety of spatial scales ranging from an individual building to the laying out of an entire new town.

City Centres and the Architectural Profession

The professional and artistic interest in city centres is of undeniable significance within the evolution of civic design in Britain during the period considered, as it led onto questions and matters involving the improvement or construction of existing groups of buildings, the remodelling or arranging of streets, squares, open spaces, the satisfying of modern public tastes, as well as providing a congenial outlet to help overthrow the perceived utilitarian and aesthetic dourness of the age.
With the rise of town planning in the early twentieth century arose a renewed professional and artistic interest in city centres, centring on the replanning of the existing built environment, the reconstruction of existing groups of buildings and the remodelling of streets and open public spaces. This kind of civic planning, the infusion of order into somewhat disarranged urban environments, was perceived to be of great importance to architects as it afforded a broad scope for their creative design abilities and ambitions. Of importance to this thought was the reaction against the perceived ugliness and drudgery of Victorian settlements, as noted previously, which helped to emphasise the role of beauty and the application of art to the cityscape if only as a corrective measure. Of significance too was the correction of faults of a practical nature, such as the eradication of insanitary urban districts.

There was also a growing utilitarian interest in civic design from the end of the nineteenth century, a result of the practical need to keep the most important administrative, educational, government and other public buildings located closely to each other. Such developments naturally had architectural and planning implications for it was commonly understood that by designing and placing structures in proximity to each other artistic effects could perhaps be generated and civic pride expressed more emphatically (Lanchester, 1925: 153). In such a modern situation those factors which previously affecting the form of buildings began to alter, converting from the customary order of being governed by utility and hygiene to form a new sequence led by aesthetics (Holliday, 1921: 77).

Town planning as it emerged and evolved in the early 1900s showed itself to be a natural expansion of the ideology and practice of architecture (Hawtree in Sutcliffe, 1981), heavily influenced by the fact that it was developed in practice and theory by architects, not least Raymond Unwin. It further emerged that to produce a town plan required the consummate artist argued Miller (1992: 108), and that architects by their training had the strongest foundation to solve modern civic design problems due to their ability to comprehend the fundamentals of massing and layout, that is buildings and spaces about them. In short, architects by the start of the twentieth century perceived urban planning as an architectural problem. The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) whose propaganda defined what modern town planning was about strengthened such an attitude (1910: 668):

*For the design of the town plan, the architecturally trained mind is as essential as for the design of a single building; for the work consists in
applying upon a wider field and with greater scope the same principles which
govern the designing of individual buildings. The appreciation of masses and
voids, the apprehension of the right points for emphasis and the power to
combine into one creation many differing parts by bringing them into
harmonious proportion are equally required in the field of town planning, if
there is to be produced that rhythm in the plan, and that spacious breadth of
ordered elevation in the groups of buildings, which so largely constitute the
beauty and grandeur of cities."

The importance of architects, as a professional body during the period selected for
study, lies not just in the fact that they were the first vocation to embrace town
planning (Cherry, 1974: 44) and the first profession to organise a major town
planning conference, held in London in 1910, but furthermore in that they perceived
planning largely in design terms, which providing new interest in and opportunities for
comprehensive architectural design. The tendency for architects to view modern
urban planning as a logical extension of architecture consciously moved the
architectural profession back towards the heady pre-industrial days when architects
were the urban designers. Journals such as the Town Planning Review, written by
staff members at Liverpool University's School of Civic Design, helped to reinforce
this process by standing as an architect's guide to urban planning past, present and
feasible, being filled with the profiles of major European and American cities, the
history of civic design and comprehensive proposed planning schemes.

Foreign Developments

By the end of the nineteenth century the functional and aesthetic failings of the large
sized industrial city had been recognised not only in Britain but in also in the United
States and Germany. In the United States the City Beautiful movement from the
1890s sought to create modern beauty in the urban environment frequently through
the use of proportion, symmetry and scale in large scale classically styled buildings
and civic centre schemes (Wilson, 1989: 79). Mawson (1911: 255) noted of
contemporary developments in America: "they have proceeded upon a settled policy,
and their designs and methods have been systematised from the outset." The
movement marked an important stage in the development of landscape architecture,
municipal improvement and civic design in modern American history and was to
affect British urban planning, particularly in London and large sized provincial cities such as Liverpool.

A turning point in the history of the City Beautiful movement was the Columbian World’s Fair, held in Chicago in 1893. Described as a triumph of Beaux Arts classicism (Pevsner, 1976: 250), the event unveiled to America a lively interest in monumental architecture (Peabody, 1912: 84-104) and the apparent virtues of comprehensive planning. The exhibition explicitly displayed the benefits of creating large scale architectural schemes, placed in symmetrical arrangements governed by prominent axial lines that could, ideally, be tied to the existing urban form and layout of the urban settlement. The physical form of the World’s Fair superimposed on the mind a vision of freshness and unity between the buildings within the scheme (Wilson in Sutcliffe 1981: 170). Sutcliffe (1981: 98) noted: “Even European visitors were impressed, and most of the Americans had never seen anything like it.” With its white buildings, decorated in similar fashion to each other and of a similar design style, the World’s Fair, placed in the context of urban sprawl, unrest and blight, must have appeared to some individuals as somewhat utopian.

Figure 3.3. The Court of Honor, The World’s Fair, Chicago (source: Mattie, 1998).

Despite its ephemeral existence the World’s Fair provided immediate inspiration for civic beautification and generated a new found sense of social confidence in the American architect (Ibid.: 98). Its success assured that its design and planning principles, based on the grouping of buildings, not only consolidated existing aesthetic and planning knowledge but could be applied to real as opposed to
temporary spatial forms, although in reality it was only applied directly to the design of civic centres, the symbolic heart of the city organism, university campuses and expositions (Hegemann and Peets 1922: 99). The World's Fair and subsequent expositions like those at Buffalo, St. Louis and San Francisco, demonstrated the following qualities in urban planning: the architectural advantages of an ordered arrangement of buildings; buildings gain visually from being grouped; the value of focal points and vistas; the significance of unity by colour; the effect of scale; the need for stylistic homogeneity (Budden, 1916: 155-61). However it was not until 1901 that the first explicit attempt was made to utilise the design ideas applied at the World's Fair in Chicago for the intent of urban amelioration. This endeavour was by Daniel Burnham in the McMillan Plan of Washington, which along with later plans for Chicago and San Francisco highlighted the importance of the monumental perspective, large scales and proportions in contemporary American city planning.

The grouping of semi-public or public buildings formed one of the major elements within the City Beautiful movement (Wilson in Sutcliffe 1981: 182) and was often of a scale larger than that evident in contemporary European civic design. By promoting concepts such as unity, proportion, symmetry and harmony through similarities in height, bulk, colour, material and treatment of the main elevations, grand civic ensembles could be produced, which not only emphasised design composition but the relation between the structure with its surroundings. Such schemes also provided opportunities for the creation of grand vistas. The City Beautiful movement judged the concept of urban beauty as being more than just surface decoration. It was suggested that no single building could achieve such visual effect, although some architects quickly realised that by modifying a building's design through its facade elements so that it would be in accord with its setting, such as McKim, Mead and White's Public Library building at Boston (1888-95), one of the most influential buildings upon the revival of Classical design in America, also permitted the creation of corresponding effects. Such design activity in many respects epitomised American civic design at the turn of the twentieth century which encouraged individual artistic ingenuity in achieving larger somewhat idealised design notions (Ibid.: 170). Adshead (1910: 3) later also confirmed such a sentiment in British architectural thought: "in a well-organised city individual expression is subordinate to the civic expression of the city as a whole."

For many advocates of the City Beautiful approach, architecture and large scale planning were not merely used to elevate the visual standards of modern American
cities but additionally provided a means to elevate the sense of citizenship, as large scale architectural design of a particular manner apparently offered a symbolic language which gave benign assistance, it was believed, to the betterment of society. The idiom used within modern civic centres was usually the Beaux Arts classical style which brought about design order, and perhaps also harmony and dignity, a style which was perceived to induce social order, calmness and propriety (Wilson, 1989: 92). Furthermore the style was highly flexible both in terms of design details and the size and function of the structure to which it could be applied, as Tunnard (1968) has highlighted, an important matter due to the emergence of new building types such as railway stations and offices. The adoption of the style furthermore brought to a conclusion America's search at the end of the nineteenth century for an effective and socially expressive building style (Wilson in Sutcliffe 1981: 177). In this respect, America experienced similarities with Britain.

In Germany a significant transition in opinions concerning the appearance and form of modern urban settlements took place during the 1890s (Ladd 1990: 111), a change associated with the publication of Vienese architect Camillo Sitte's book 'Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen' in 1889. Offering a radically different perspective to civic planning from his American counterparts, Sitte pushed forward the theory and practice of historic civic design so to save the modern city. Influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement in Vienna, Sitte produced broad theories about civic art and design. Viewing the city as the ultimate vessel of art, Sitte postulated that it had been diminished in that respect to such an extent under the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation that civic design was scarcely evident in the late-nineteenth century urban form. This perception inspired Sitte to further create a subjective set of planning principles (Cherry, 1974: 29) which resulted in guiding progressive minds towards the planning of place, defined by Raymond Unwin as the enclosure of space (Unwin, 1911: 197). The use of the enclosure space within the urban planning was most evident suggested Sitte in the design of historical settlements, particularly those belonging to the Renaissance period.

Sitte used historic planning traditions as a means to promote the saving of the modern city, as he saw it, and to attack what he deemed to be harmful current planning practices and methods. Drawing upon examples of historical urban forms, primarily in Germany and Italy, from the medieval and baroque periods (Collins and Collins, 1965; Broadbent, 1990), Sitte showed how their irregular appearance and
urban form contained both a deliberate artistic and architectural system that he observed as evidence of conscious urban planning (Adams, 1935; Unwin, 1911). Furthermore Sitte considered that these settlements held far greater aesthetic qualities in their townscapes when compared to industrial centres built under modern planning principles, which he perceived to be monotonous and lacking in spatial and architectural effect. To promote historical beauty Sitte examined urban features like plazas, public squares and streets, emphasising the relation between their spaces, architectural elements such as monuments and statuary, and surrounding public buildings such as Churches, subsequently producing rules on how modern city planning could conform best to this aesthetic bent. Sitte’s fundamentally backward yet progressive looking ideas encouraged the incorporation of historical designing principles into the modern urban form, concurrently reinforcing “the emerging spatial aesthetic, which was inseparable from the growing consciousness of architectural contexts at that time.” (Ladd 1987: 197) Significantly Sitte offered German architects not only a fresh perspective to architectural and city building traditions but also provided them with an opportunity to challenge the supremacy of civil engineers who were increasingly perceived to be the governing force behind the development and design of large settlements at the end of the nineteenth century.

Figure 3.4. Foreign urban planning variations at the end of the nineteenth century. Left, a street scene as advocated by Camillo Sitte (Collins and Collins, 1965), and right, a perspective taken from Burnham’s Plan for Chicago (RIBA, 1911).
Sitte’s planning philosophy had two principal aspects. The first was the formation of organic spatial clusters, such as medieval spaces and streets, within which public buildings were situated in an irregular manner so to relate closely to nearby open spaces, in so doing producing a sense of enclosure and a sense of arrangement between the buildings and the space. Sitte noted that enclosure was significant in city building not only in that it gave a feeling of completeness and repose to an urban place but it also provided a frame or background for buildings to be seen against. The second aspect of Sitte’s planning philosophy was the relationship a city has with its various spatial parts. Saarinen (1943: 118) defined this aspect of Sitte’s work as the “proper correlation”, in which the many distincts of a settlement are brought together through employing planning techniques, in so doing forming a single, unified urban organism.

Prior to the publication of ‘Der Städtebau’ aesthetics were not of great importance either to town extension planning or the design of the built environment in Germany. However matters of utility and aesthetics were evident in the planning philosophies of Reinhard Baumeister (1833-1917) and Joseph Stübben (1845-1936), individuals who practised a line of thought which adhered to the notion that what was practical was beautiful, and vice versa, which had developed partly out of the practices of Haussmann in Paris during the 1850s and 1860s. Sitte not only freed German planning from this particular, more technical, methodology but also opened up contemporary practice to the history of planning and the artistic side of urban design (Hall 1997: 330). Arguably this looking back to historical planning practices and traditions, many of which had virtually been forgotten, was Sitte’s greatest contribution to modern German planning (Ladd, 1987: 283), with his ideas becoming incorporated into German planning theory during the 1890s as part of its process of enlargement which had been taking place during the second half of the nineteenth century (Ibid.: 271). Significantly for British urban design, Sitte’s ideas, as recognised earlier, were an influence upon planning doyen Raymond Unwin from about 1905 onwards, the influence of which was shown, for example, by the replanning of Hampstead Garden Suburb.

**Expositions**

The importance of expositions to foreign civic design has already been emphasised. It has been shown that expositions formed a vital component in the evolution of civic
design in America from the 1890s onwards and to a lesser degree the same was true of mainland Europe as shown by, for instance, the 1888 exposition in Barcelona, Spain. The significance of expositions as a facet of civic design between about 1880 and 1914 should not be ignored within Britain’s planning development as they offered an incomparable opportunity for design study and experiment (Budden, 1916: 154) and concurrently made the public familiar with large scale design schemes.

In chronological terms there is a coincidence between the timing of ambitious exhibition events, the modern transformation of cities and the emergence of city and civic plans. It is not surprising therefore that the design of expositions attracted contemporary attention through their ability to exhibit architectural and planning principles relating to composition and the handling of masses. The Architectural Review (1901: 243), for example, stated that exhibitions provided a chance to satisfy “to an unusual extent the realisation of dreams which are not possible in the confines of everyday practice.” With exhibitions being situated on large open sites, grandiose large scale structures could also be built, in so doing allowing for the possibility of the formation of vistas and the grouping of buildings within the scheme.

The first of the major modern exhibitions in Britain was the Glasgow International Exhibition, Kelvingrove Park in 1901. Planned by a locally based architect James Miller the Glasgow event, like its American and European counterparts, was of a huge scale despite the relatively small number of chief buildings, the Machinery Hall, the Industrial Hall and the Venetian Concert Hall. The principal buildings at Glasgow were all coloured white so as to distinguish their importance from the subsidiary buildings, which also offered simultaneously a means to secure harmony. The buildings were huge in size. The Grand Avenue, for instance, the primary walkway between the buildings, was 1,200 feet in length and 75 feet wide, and the Machinery Hall had dimensions of about 500 in length feet by 330 feet in breadth. The Industrial Hall, the main building in the layout, shown by its central position, measured 700 feet by 320 feet in size with its dome rising to a height of 210 feet. Despite the enormity of the buildings the total cost of scheme was estimated to be about £130,000 to £140,000, less than many large sized permanent public buildings erected at that time, primarily due to the low cost of the materials used, such as wood, steel, iron, glass and plaster.
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The main entrance into the site was given an added sense of grandeur by the Spanish baroque styled Industrial Hall, the first building approached when entering the exhibition, was recessed so as to form a piazza. Immediately to the front of the building upon passing through the space was placed a colonnade of Corinthian columns and a large flight of steps stretching for over 180 feet in length. Formal planning, that is large scale on symmetrical lines, was made difficult by the contours of the site, the shape of the park, which was heavily built around on all sides, and the meandering form of the River Kelvin through the area. Hence grand, symmetrical arrangements organised along axial lines, like those which characterised American expositions, was not possible although the internal planning of the Halls was very much based upon symmetry. However unlike the American events, the Glasgow exhibition incorporated an existing built structure, the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum (1891-1901) by Simpson and Allen.

The 1908 Franco-British Exhibition of Science, Arts and Industries (see figure 3.5), held on a 140 acre site at Shepherd's Bush, London, was another large scale event of civic design note. Nixon Horsfield (in The Architectural Review, 1908: 546) recognised that the exposition was highly significant to British design and planning. It was, he noted, "the greatest opportunity for impressionist architecture which has occurred in this country", and was "the only opportunity for attempting, in a tangible form, such unlimited conceptions as are annually wasted in competition" (Ibid.: 546). In terms of the event's plan, by Imre Kiralfy, the buildings were grouped together in tidy, symmetrically laid out arrangements which the Architectural Review (1908: 35) described as follows: "Court succeeds to court with splendid effect; building groups with building, only to emphasise the difference of treatment, each setting off the other, and making up a whole which compels its need of admiration. In every direction there is evidence of carefully-thought-out arrangements, both of building and garden". The Builder (1908: 733) commented that the overall plan was arranged in a ordered manner, "with as much regularity and system as was possible on a site of irregular outline." The incorporation of a permanent sports arena, described as the finest in the world by the Architectural Review (1908: 111), gave the event a sense of added originality and importance.

The main buildings at the Franco-British Exhibition were composed with 'U' shaped plans with enclosed courtyard areas towards their centre where symmetrically formed ponds were laid out. However these open spaces and their water features were readily accessible to each other through their sitting along grand, direct
alignments with pathways laid out along them so as to encourage movement from one area of the event to others. The design of the plaster buildings at the exhibition could be placed into two styles. The first adhered closely to traditional classical forms with detailing while the second was close to no particular design style and was composed simply to obtain visual effects. However the common use of columns and vertical elements, such as domes and cupolas, also used sparingly at the Glasgow Exhibition some year earlier, stands out, and must be perceived to largely reflect the dominance of classical and baroque styles in Edwardian architecture. Colour was not an important design issue at the London event since white was the dominant colour. Hence the exhibition earned the name ‘White City’, a title still used today for the district in West London where the event took place.

Figure 3.5. The plan of the 1908 Franco-British Exposition, London (source: The Architectural Review, 1908).

The Metropolis, The Empire and the Rise of Large Scale Planning

From around the end of the nineteenth century London witnessed a major change in its appearance. The American City Beautiful movement, competition between European capitals regarding their modernity and symbolic power as well as the role of the Empire
all affected the architectural form of London. As Schubert and Sutcliffe (1996: 116) have highlighted: "The big expansion of the British Empire in the 1880s was implicitly a context with other European powers and the idea of expressing imperialism in architecture of the capital city secured wide respect." The procedure of thinking along imperial lines was in many respects imperative if London wished to continue its position as a dominant city in the modern world (Port, 1995: 19) and be the worthy capital city of the Empire. Architecture and urban planning were thus vital to this process although the physical transformation had arguably started by as early as 1870 with the Thames Embankment project. This scheme, which cost in excess of £1.1 million, not only provided a monumental traffic artery in central London but also afforded civic design opportunities, allowing for the first time the city and its river, the River Thames, to be brought together into a dignified synthesis.

The death of Queen Victoria in January 1901 provided an opportunity to also bring about some important architectural and scenic changes to central London. The resultant Mall (1901), Queen Victoria Statue, designed in 1901 by Thomas Brock, Admiralty Arch (1905) and the east wing facade of Buckingham Palace (1912), were all brought together under a single cumulative design scheme by one architect, Aston Webb. The first modern scheme of its kind in London, it incorporated not only utility, therefore helping to solve the city's chronic traffic problems by acting as a by-pass for Piccadilly Circus, and beauty as well as the necessary emblematic element.
The direct nature of the plan of The Mall afforded a dignified approach to Buckingham Palace and the Queen Victoria Statue, the surroundings of which in front of the Palace were enhanced by the creation of a roundabout, which linked the processional way with Constitution Hill and Buckingham Palace Road. The roundabout's central axis, where the statue was placed, thus not only became the terminating point of the huge vista coming westwards along the centre of The Mall but also acted as a radiating point for traffic. The point of intersection at the opposite end of The Mall, that is at its eastern end, with Whitehall and Charing Cross posed a significant planning problem due to the fact that the alignments along the roads met at an acute angle. Webb pragmatically solved the situation by marking the point of intersection with a statue. However upon King Edward's involvement the statue was replaced by a grand archway, the classically styled Admiralty Arch. Symbolically the Arch, as an icon of imperialism, gave the project added significance yet as noted above it had pragmatic qualities thanks to Webb designing it so as to screen the change of alignment between The Mall and Charing Cross.

Figure 3.7. The original plan and perspective of the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme by Aston Webb (source: The Builder, 1901).

As the royal centre of the capital, the country and the Empire, Buckingham Palace from as early as 1901 was seen to provide somewhat of a displeasing architectural background due to its lack of beauty and dignity when compared with the changed situation in front of it (Architectural Review, 1910: 208). Hence in 1912 Webb was
directly commissioned to reface the East Wing of Buckingham Palace, that is the elevation which faced The Mall. This section of the building was rebuilt using Portland stone to the restrained Classical design with a central cornice, positioned along the line of axis running from Admiralty Arch along the Mall.

As an early first example of modern civic planning in the metropolis the scheme undoubtedly captured the imagination of architects and society alike, and was a highly distinguished achievement, providing a lesson in large scale design, civic architecture, decoration and landscaping, with the smallest of details such as street lights through to major planning details all being under the control of one designer, Aston Webb. Together with the London County Council’s Kingsway-Aldwych scheme, discussed subsequently, an urban redevelopment project also of a grand scale and appearance, the Memorial Scheme formed part of a conscious process by public authorities to embellish London through practical architectural and urban design in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Summerson, 1976: 3-4). Other notable schemes at that time included the Parliament Square and Charing Cross redevelopment, the new government buildings at Whitehall, a new London County Council Hall and important new buildings in the Kensington museum complex, such as the Victoria and Albert Museum. Additionally there was a rational development of legislation connected to building heights, street widths, building lines and space around buildings by the London County Council, all of which had implications for civic design in the Metropolis.

"The planning and construction of Kingsway-Aldwych was an impressive scheme by European standards." (Schubert and Sutcliffe, 1996: 139) First proposed in 1889 the project, designed by W.E. Riley of the London County Council’s Architects Department, was applauded by The Builder for its practical and architectural significance (1892: 3). The plan for the scheme, which covered 29 acres in area that previously consisted of slum houses in East London, was finalised in 1896 and a private Act of Parliament was obtained in 1899 to allow the scheme to proceed, providing evidence that the London County Council was able to secure legislation regarding comprehensive urban planning when necessary. Construction began in 1900 and it was immediately acknowledged that the project would enhance the appearance of London thanks to the new grandiose buildings to be erected as part of the scheme as well as it aiding traffic congestion in the area. The scheme along with the earlier Thames Embankment project epitomised the modern approach to dealing with traffic problems, to be achieved by laying down monumental roadways,
and the aesthetic improvement of the metropolis, although The Builder from around 1900 encouraged general discussion by stating that every effort should be made to secure that in addition to utility, the scheme should possess beauty and civic dignity. The importance of the Kingsway-Aldwych for the townscape of London was universally stressed. High architectural standards had to be secured (Schubert and Sutcliffe, 1996: 130).

Figure 3.8. The London County Council's Kingsway-Aldwych scheme.

The Aldwych roadway was the most important design and planning design section of the scheme due to the crescent form of the street, which helped revived the crescent as an integral component in British planning. In 1900 the London County Council announced a competition for the design of the facades along the curved roadway, which it oversaw in order to maintain some design control with regard to the design of the elevations on what were essentially private building sites. This action by the public authority helped to ensure a sense of architectural uniformity in the new
buildings but this sense of association was weakened by the wishes of London's business men who preferred individual as opposed to collective designs for the new buildings which they were to purchase. The commercial aspect of the scheme was vital to its success in order to retrieve the costs of slum clearance and redevelopment regardless of the civic design intentions of the council. The recouping of finances was thus imperative to the project and despite recovering some £4.3 million through disposing of land for building, local ratepayers were left to pay for nearly £1.8 million.

The general impact of Kingsway-Aldwych must be viewed as part of the increasing French and American influence on metropolitan civic design at the turn of the century, being of a classical monumental style with a general consistency derived from the use of vertical features such as columns, pilasters and loggias, and the widespread application of grey sandstone which created a coherence effect throughout the scheme (Schubert and Sutcliffe, 1996: 135). Authors such as Garside (in Sutcliffe, 1984: 236-8) and Port (1995), have argued that such a style of design represents part of a deliberate effort within London to develop an imperial style which could concurrently capture the international mood and commercial confidence of the period which was evident, for example, in buildings such as the Selfridges department store in West London.

**Canberra and New Delhi**

Opportunities to design virtually complete settlements on virgin sites were of importance to the evolution of civic design and planning not only in Britain but elsewhere. Within the period of study covered by this work two major planning schemes were undertaken within the British Empire in the late-Edwardian period, the first by Edwin Lutyens at New Delhi in India, and the other, the largest modern urban planning scheme of its time (Hughes and Lamborn, 1923: 121) at Canberra, Australia, by Walter Griffin of Chicago. Canberra was to become the first modern city to exhibit on a large scale design and planning principles that the previous decades had shown to be appropriate in the formulation of a satisfactory town plan *(Ibid.: 123).*
The natural characteristics of the Canberra site, developed from 1912, were fully utilised by Griffen within the planning process. The position of the principal planning lines was determined by the sites of two local mountains, respectively situated to the north and south of the settlement, giving orientation and prospect to the town by acting as termini for vistas and conversely as view points from which the orderly arrangement of the urban form and its groups of monumental structures could be seen. Natural waterways were manipulated so as to create a chain of lakes which were to be used not only to enhance the look of the settlement but for recreational use too. By developing the new town around the lakes Griffen also established an opportunity to ameliorate the warm micro climate. The formal treatment of the town’s plan contained many axial planning lines so as to relate different parts of the settlement, and their civic centres, all planned along the same lines, to each other. Each civic centre contained buildings of similar scale laid out in symmetrical arrangements with the primary civic centre, the Government Centre, being situated
towards the centre of the settlement. Houses and other buildings were distributed along the establish alignments that comprised broad roadways between these secondary civic centres.

The planning of a new Indian capital city at Delhi from 1911 by Edwin Lutyens represented a fundamental break from the nineteenth century planning work undertaken in the formation of military outposts across the country. Utilising baroque planning traditions (Whittick, 1943: 34) Lutyens considered the overall city form of New Delhi not solely in terms of the laying out of streets but as a three dimensional problem in design too (Irving, 1981: 72). Visual meaning in the scheme was to be attained through, for example, utilising focal points created in the plan, establishing monumental vistas, planning on grand axial lines and erecting large sized classically styled structures. Classicism was chosen as the primary architectural style apparently due to it being the only appropriate means to represent the perceived idealism of the British Empire (Ibid.: 170). The monumental scale of both plan and buildings, the Viceroy's House, for example, measured about 600 feet in length by 500 feet in breadth, suggested not only architectural order but permanence while the organised layout and homogenous design clarity of the buildings provided both a physical and symbolic contrast to the confused mass of the old city of Delhi with its slums and narrow streets. New Delhi was conceived to be a monument to the belief in ordered government and progress (Ibid.: 89).

Figure 3.10. The plan for New Delhi by Edwin Lutyens (source: The Town Planning Review, 1911).
The plan for New Delhi, like that for Canberra, was designed to separate the particular functions which the city was expected to fulfil through creating a number of distinct yet interdependent functional areas, each with its own different social and cultural environment and spatial layout. The stratification of society became reflected in the design and planning criteria used within each respective part of the new settlement, which were arranged around hexagonal open spaces, particularly with regard to matters such as elevation design, distance from the Viceroy’s House which was the seat of government and the physical centre of the city plan (Kostof, 1991: 176-8), the width of roads in each area, the size of buildings, and the type and quantity of vegetation used. New Delhi was thus spatially and architecturally built on the binary concept of those who ruled and those who were ruled over even among the British community, with the flavour of imperialism evident in the processional ways, needed for both ceremonial and military purposes, as well as plazas and impressive facades. Architectural effects were not neglected in the planning system used by Lutyens, being evident for instance in the grouping of the monumental public buildings, the huge radiating vistas radiating from the open spaces which were adorned with monuments and by the public buildings acting as imposing visual features in the cityscape (Irving, 1981: 88) through their formal groupings. For example, the point of intersection between Kingsway, the principal thoroughfare, and Queensway was marked by the creation of a civic centre consisting of the Imperial Record Office, National Library, National Museum and an Oriental Institute.

Figure 3.11. Raisina Hill, New Delhi, with the Government House (background).
Chapter Three: BACKGROUND

Parks

During the period covered by this study the growing provision of public parks and open spaces was considered to be important to modern urban design and development, a result of maturing civic policy in which fresh air and sunlight were originally sought for health improvement purposes. Parks, together with recreation grounds, were thought to make a major contribution to the advancement of the Victorian settlement, hence progressive contemporary town planners saw them as significant components in the urban environment (Hall, 1996: 315). Parks, whose design and appearance often expressed local and national influences, also represented a significant strand in the widespread search for open urban spaces (Cherry, 1988: 47) and by the start of the 1880s most municipalities had acquired their own parks. However a great many more parks were laid out between 1880 and 1914, a process encouraged by the belief that such open spaces lessened physical and moral health concerns. Local authorities thus had recognised by the end of the nineteenth century that to have a satisfactory urban settlement required not only were sanitary streets but open areas, with each element complementing the other.

In spite of developing steadily in number from the mid 1840s onwards it was not until the passing of the Public Health Act in 1875 that an enormous impetus in park making activity became apparent (Conway, 1991: 71). Generally the efforts of private charitable enterprise, aristocratic patronage and voluntary self-help which had underpinned municipal activity up to this time was removed, a consequence of legislative pieces and modern civic views inspired by Joseph Chamberlain's Corporation in Birmingham which believed that urban problems were so deep rooted that only local governments had the power and ability to solve them. With the passing of new Public Health Acts, Works Acts and Improvement Acts, argued Conway (Ibid.: 71-2), came a new found sense of confidence amongst the municipalities and with it an increased sense of civic consciousness, tangibly measurable in terms of the number of local public buildings and also parks. Conway (Ibid.: 220) added that the focus upon public structures provided evidence that local governments were undertaking the role of guardians of cultural standards. This not only became manifest in the purchasing of land to be used as parks but in the features within the parks, for they too could be used as a means to reflect civic pride. Additional justification for municipalities spending sometimes considerably large sums of money on park land came via the growth of statistical information and analysis in the late-Victorian period, within which mortality rates could be studied in
relation to population densities and the acreage of open space in a given settlement, even though the influence of one upon the other might not be able to be identified. The evolution of statistical analysis had wider implications, for local authorities could now have their effectiveness measured and compared against other local governments.

The heightening of interest in park design and landscape architecture as a feature of modern civic design before 1914 was in part a consequence of bestowals by philanthropic individuals such as Lord Lever, the spiritual creator of Port Sunlight, and literature on landscape design and the practical actions of professionals, arguably the most notable being Thomas Mawson (Chadwick, 1966: 224; The Builder, 1908: 638). Originally a landscape architect Mawson moved into the realms of civic design and planning through park design, professional relationships with philanthropists such as Andrew Carnegie and Lord Lever which subsequently developed into an interest in civic design and monumental architecture. With a growing taste for formal architecture and planning, Mawson’s work after about 1900 became increasingly architectural in nature and in many cases was comparable with the strong axial treatments and a large scale schemes frequently undertaken in America by the City Beautiful movement at that time (Chadwick, 1966: 225). From about 1910 Mawson was responsible for a number of large civic design schemes which included proposed plans for settlements such as Bolton, Dunfermline, Westminster, Perth, Port Sunlight as well as designing a model settlement, Glyn Cory, in South Wales.

**Architectural Developments: Materials and Building Techniques**

The period selected for study witnessed developments in building materials and construction techniques that may have affected the form of civic design in large sized provincial settlements. As a consequence of this situation architects were offered new possibilities in terms of building size and the spatial organisation of individual structures (Fellows, 1995: 49). The possibilities and advantages offered by new building technology within British cities, following initial developments which took place in London, brought a new large size, bulk and diversity in terms of architectural design, detailing and scale. This was aided by the development of modern technologies, such as electrically operated lift systems, during the 1890s that had major implications for office design.
Chapter Three: BACKGROUND

The application of the steel frame from the 1900s not only served as an extension of the technologies used in the building of early-mid nineteenth century mills and warehouses but an indication of the closing ties between British and American architectural practice during the Edwardian period. It additionally shows the suitability of popular contemporary design styles in Britain to incorporating modern structural technology. The United States, thanks to the abilities of architects such as Charles McKim, Daniel Burnham and H.H. Richardson, provided not only good models of construction but also offered examples of buildings clothed with strong design. In this context it is little wonder that modern American practice was increasingly used in Britain, and by the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, steel frames and reinforced ferro-concrete cladding became a slowly established and accepted means of providing structure for large buildings. In using such modern means not only could modern building problems be resolved but the growing expectations of clients and the public at large be met (Ibid.: 53).

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century reinforced concrete had become an increasingly applied material, the potential of which had greatly increased the architect's ability to deal with new and complex building types (Ibid.: 62). Similarly the same may be said of structural steel. The development of steel as a cheap and flexible building material from the 1870s had important consequences for urban architecture. The United States was at the forefront of this development and exploitation of this particular material but the influence of steel within British architecture being held back by conservative attitudes, restrictive legislation and professional lethargy until the early twentieth century. However between about 1905 and 1910 "there was a complete revolution in the way in which the steel frame was regarded" (Ibid.: 64). The change in the fortunes of steel can be partly attributed to a Swedish engineer, Sven Bylander, who had previously worked in America and whose experience of the material was essential to the acceptance of steel framing in British architecture. His work in London with Mewès and Davis for the Ritz Hotel, Piccadilly (1904), and the Royal Automobile Club, Pall Mall (1908-11), as well as at Selfridges's department store, Oxford Street (1907-9), indicated that steel framing was an advantageous method of construction, which was to be later recognised in changes legislative Acts, such as London's Building Acts, which did not previously account for such high and thin party walls which steel framing advocated.
Architecture: Modern Formality and Symbolism

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the architectural field witnessed a fundamental stylistic change in the composition of public buildings, shifting away from eclectic design which largely characterised the 1880s (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 176), to a more formal and classical approach, a design form which attracted deep meaning within the social and cultural climate of the late-Victorian period due to its identification with sovereignty and Empire. Watkin (1979: 180) noted that the most distinctive contribution of Edwardian architecture was the contemporary zest for the classical tradition among large scale public buildings. This transition in public architecture was closely associated with the search for a national architectural style by progressive designers which could be perceived to be both for the time and of the time. The change was also related to the removal of the perceived disorder of 'free' design styles (Service, 1977; 180) and the revival, among architects such as John Brydon, John Belcher and Norman Shaw, of the Baroque form of design, particularly British architecture of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century (Fellows, 1995: 20). With the re-emergence of the British Baroque came a rekindling of the intensity and value of symbolism in architectural design. For example, the popularity of towers and domes on public edifices at the turn of the century made not only a valuable contribution to the local townscape but reflected the contemporary desire among local governments to symbolise that they were the most important influence on modern urban life (Service, 1977: 146). The emergence of bold Classical architectural styles was also a reflection of the time, a temporal context marked in 1887 by Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, the Diamond Jubilee in 1897, her death and the crowning of a new Monarch in 1901 and the Boer War (1899-1902). In an era marked by such dramatic events is hardly surprising therefore that national passion and jingoism ran high, aiding the consolidation of imperial and commercial might and serving to increase the necessity for a visible expression of the Queen, King and Empire (Ibid.: 140).

The significance of the nationalist element in the rejuvenation of the baroque style should not be neglected. Not only did it bring to the fore the original forms from the architectural age of Wren, Vanburgh, Hawksmoor and Gibbs, but promoted principles of order, logic and rhythm in planning and designing, values that could be applied to a variety of spatial scales, which were subsequently reinforced by Beaux Arts codes filtering into professional practice in the early 1900s. The appeal of the English baroque provided national identity, as well as a suitable scale and
appropriate degree of splendour for new public buildings, enhanced by the vogue for
turrets and towers on large buildings, giving architects infinite artistic possibilities and
originality in the design process. Significantly, the baroque was also able to adapt an
element of freedom, flexibility and freshness to the design and planning process,
which architects utilised to emphasise main and connecting spaces within the
internal arrangement of buildings regardless of the building's site being cramped and
awkwardly or not.

In such a situation it is not too remarkable that by 1900, most large public and
commercial buildings were of the Baroque style. With modern buildings to look at
and examine, and the growth of detailed literature on the design style by the likes of
Blomfield, Belcher, and Gotch, for example, architects were provided with ample
historical information about the Baroque from which they could learn and apply. The
manipulation of elements, notably the column, domes, pediments and cornices,
became the norm in Edwardian architecture, a movement reliant like Victorian
architecture upon the creative genius of the designer to reinvent existing design
styles. Hence the very visual nature of Edwardian architecture, with its practical and
visual rather than theoretical approach, which through its accent on one particular
style granted an antidote to Victorian eclecticism. Classical design and its emphasis
on design control reasserted the value of orderly architectural principles at the
expense of the obsession with detailing, concurrently exhibiting the value of
conformity and harmony in both the design and planning system at a time when
there was a growth in building types worthy of such architectural treatment and
urban development was a major professional issue.

By about 1905-6, the peak years of the Edwardian baroque (Service, 1975: 425), a
time when new construction techniques were filtering into British practice, a reaction
against the exuberance of the Baroque was evident, a consequence of a change in
public taste, developments within the architectural profession and a shift towards
neo-classical composition and planning (Ibid.: 158). This new sense of classicism
was introduced into Britain through a number of routes. Highly influential was J.J.
Burnet, trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, who was responsible for the
many prominent buildings in Glasgow and London. Of significance too was
businessman Cesar Ritz who erected a new hotel, designed by Mewes and Davis, in
central London which helped to initiate a new trend in hotel design. Another route of
entry for the new classical style was Liverpool, home of one of the most progressive
universities in Edwardian Britain with its civic design department under the instruction
of Professor Charles Reilly, which was subject to American design influences partly due to its close shipping and trading links with America.

Conclusion

It has been highlighted within the course of this section that many factors had an effect upon the occurrence and practice of civic design from the end of the nineteenth century through to the onset of the First World War in 1914. A great many of the influences identified within the course of this chapter will be discussed in greater detail within subsequent chapters of this work and it is also not the aim at this point to place too great an emphasis on certain factors such as housing issues and social problems inherent in Victorian settlements. It is sufficient however at this stage to highlight that public authorities, individuals and visionaries all reacted against urban malaise at the turn of the twentieth century and considered ways in which to overcome the poor conditions of urban life. Civic design was one of the factors that was considered and put into practice, forming part of the larger reform framework at the end of the Victorian era and start of the Edwardian period.

The period from the mid-1870s through to the onset of The Great War in 1914 marks an important chronological context in the development of urban planning in Britain and the growth of civic design as a purposeful artistic activity. The decades before 1914 take on significance in terms of the urban development because of the move towards a more rational ordering of urban form in existing urban areas. The period from the end of the nineteenth century was one of great activity in a whole variety of ways. Public authorities and numerous individuals all reacted against urban despondency thanks to a network of different influences which included the need for civic design and the beautification of British towns and cities. Intellectual debates threw out many radical ideas on how society could deal with the urban problems that were in existence in the late-Victorian and Edwardian period. The notion of new settlements and a new urban system, as proposed by Ebenezer Howard and the Garden City, did a great deal to merge together many reform strands. Thanks to architects such as Unwin, Parker, Adams and Mawson, modern housing layouts were governed by civic design devices and principles. However of significance too were foreign developments and individuals. Camillo Sitte, for example, helped rediscover seemingly forgotten historical planning forms and traditions. The American City Beautiful Movement was highly influential in the resurgence of civic
planning in London and elsewhere from the turn of the century. In addition it has been suggested that many factors led into the growth of civic design from the end of the nineteenth century, such as the growth of credit systems available to municipal governments, the emergence of modern design styles and the introduction of new legislative pieces such as the 1875 Public Health Act which allowed Corporations to clear land from central areas should they so require.

The following chapter comprises of the study of all the large provincial settlements selected for examination, which are presented in an sequence according to demographic size in 1901, the first Census of the twentieth century. In total twenty two large provincial settlements will be examined with special reference being given to the design and planning of the public buildings that were erected within them during the period about 1880 to 1914.
CHAPTER FOUR: EXAMPLES OF PROVINCIAL CIVIC DESIGN, c. 1880-1914

Introduction

The following section of this work comprises of the examination of all the large provincial settlements selected for study. In total twenty two provincial centres, these being Aberdeen, Birmingham, Blackburn, Bolton, Bradford, Bristol, Cardiff, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hull, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, Oldham, Portsmouth, Salford and Sunderland, are investigated, with particular attention being given to the design and planning of the public buildings that were erected within them during the period from around 1880 to 1914. However in some cases buildings erected prior to 1880 were examined due to their observed civic design influence within a given place.

The provincial settlements in this section of the project, which consists of three chapters, are considered in an order based upon demographic size at the start of the twentieth century (1901). The section starts with the largest provincial settlement studied, Liverpool, before other urban centres in descending demographic size are examined.

Liverpool

Introduction

Liverpool, like many other provincial British cities during the nineteenth century, suffered from the problems associated with industrialisation, urbanisation and rapid demographic growth. In 1801 Liverpool's population stood at over 82,000 (source: Census), already a relatively large number that was to rise to about 375,000 by the mid nineteenth century (Census, 1851), in so doing making the city the largest provincial settlement in Britain at that time. By the start of the twentieth century the population of Liverpool had risen to almost 685,000 (Census, 1901) and had resulted in a marked spatial growth of the city (see figure 4.1.1.).
The Corporation of Liverpool was arguably one of the most advanced local governments in the country during the Victorian period. When referring to comparative local government powers Lowell (1908: 179) noted: “One cannot fail to perceive, for example, that it is, or has been, greater in Glasgow, Liverpool, Birmingham or Bradford, than in Manchester, in Bristol or in London under the County Council.” Furthermore, Liverpool was distinct in municipal terms due to its Corporation showing heightened political involvement in municipal affairs (Fraser, 1976: 142) by involving itself in a number of social and urban matters, evident in the passing of public health related Improvement Acts. In terms of the architectural development of the settlement this was to be significant.

From as early as the 1840s the Corporation was having an impact upon the urban environment, not only through the passing of public health related Improvement Acts such as the one passed in 1842, a process which culminated in the 1866 Improvement Act and the gigantic slum clearance scheme which it permitted, but also by the erection of St George’s Hall, a structure which Cunningham (1981: 34) labelled as being “the ultimate in civic patronage”. The Corporation also had an
influence on the development of the settlement's environment through the creation of new parks such as Newsham Park in 1868, financed from local rates. By the 1860s the Council had also embarked on a program of street widening which ensured that central Liverpool, when compared with many other British cities, often had main streets which were straighter and wider than those found in many other provincial locations (White, 1951: 83-4).

Despite the social problems the nineteenth century and early twentieth century was a golden age for Liverpool, a time when it established itself as England's premier Atlantic port (Pevsner, 1969: 143) and an era when the town and subsequently city, city status was awarded by Royal Charter in 1880, grew to greatness. This was largely a consequence of the city's commercial activities and the growth of its port. This economic pattern, aided by the relative absence of a manufacturing industrial base, influenced both the local labour market and the role of the Corporation, which created wealth through local taxation. This affluence permitted the Corporation to undertake activities that other municipalities could not possibly afford, and on a scale that even other wealthy local governments would struggle to finance. In such a context it is not surprising that Liverpool was one of the first municipalities to commission a Town Hall after the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act in 1835, nor was it an accident that the Corporation reacted expeditiously to the opportunity to erect an artistically important structure. The resultant St. George's Hall was of such a quality that it formed a peak in Victorian municipal architecture (Cunningham, 1981: 36). Pevsner (1969: 155) called it “the freest neo-Grecian building in England and one of the finest in the world.” The impact of this building upon both the local environment and upon contemporary national public architecture should not be disregarded (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978:150).

The development of the dock lands along the River Mersey, an outcome of the city fathers continually investing and upgrading the dock resources at Liverpool and Birkenhead, coupled with the commercial expansion of Liverpool, was reflected in warehouses and office blocks of a monumental scale and quality and the growth of large-scale public buildings. These gave Liverpool a townscape quite different from other provincial British cities: “she built high, reminiscent of her American sisters, linked across the Atlantic trade route. She built wide and expansively when laying out her civic centre - a pattern not seen south of Edinburgh.” (Hughes, 1969: 6) Liverpool developed in a way whereby the quality of its buildings, taken as isolated
examples, were not surpassed by any other large city in Britain despite the city
developing with no fine streets where magnificent vistas were created (The Builder,
1907: 532).

During the course of the nineteenth century many large public buildings were erected
in Liverpool as part of a need to administer the settlement and give it a cultural worth
(Pevsner, 1969: 145). The laying out of cemeteries such as Toxteth Park Cemetery
(1855) was also undertaken by the Corporation from the mid-nineteenth century so
to give dignity to the deceased and to cope with the large numbers of deaths that
had occurred. By 1881 Liverpool had a University College, which was enlarged when
the Victoria Building was erected between 1887 and 1892 to a design by Alfred
Waterhouse. The University of Liverpool was officially formed in 1903. Other
prominent public ventures in the mid to late-Victorian period included the Children's
Infirmary (1866), the Infectious Diseases Hospital (1867-9), a Stock Exchange
(1877), an Ear and Eye Infirmary (1877), the School of Art (1880) and West Derby
Cemetery (1881). The Corporation also involved itself in the laying out of open
areas, as noted previously, the most notable park areas being Prince's Park (1842
by J. Paxton and E. Milner), Wavertree Park (1843), Shiel Park (1847), Newsham
Park (1868 by M. Tyerman), Stanley Park (1870, plan by E. Kemp) and the 109
hectare area known as Sefton Park, laid out in 1872 by E. Andre. Developments also
continued during the period considered by this study and can be recognised by the
errection of buildings other than those examined in this section, such as the City
Hospital (1887), Toxteth Park Hospital (1891), Pierhead Baths (1893) and School
Board Offices (1894).

The active role of the Corporation with regards to the management of the urban
environment and the construction of public buildings, which served the needs of the
local government and the local population, meant that much public building took
place in Liverpool prior to the period considered by this study. As a consequence of
this public architectural activity before the end of the nineteenth century, such as that
which took place close to William Brown Street where St George's Hall, the Free
Library and Museum building and the Picton Reading Room were erected, discussed
subsequently, consequently meant that a significant amount of public building was
not required after that date. In many respects such a situation was also evident in
other large sized provincial settlements examined where their Corporations took an
active interest in serving the needs of the local population. However as urban
settlements were continuing to grow, both in terms of population size and spatial extent, new public buildings were required at interim periods so to satisfy the needs of the local people.

In the examination of Liverpool four areas of the centre of the city, within which large scale public structures were erected during the course of the nineteenth century, are considered. Elsewhere in Liverpool urban development continued although towards the end of the nineteenth century it was at a pace slower than that of the early decades of the century, although the urban sprawl of the city still grew, swallowing once outlying settlements and rural land.

St George’s Hall and the Development of William Brown Street

The origins of the St George’s scheme reach as far back as 1836, well before the period covered in this work, when the Corporation proposed the building of a concert hall to be paid for by public subscription. However there was no contemporary indication that the new edifice would become the foundation for civic building in Liverpool.

The construction of St George’s Hall marked the beginning of a new period of civic building in Liverpool. Significantly, the structure did not merely establish a new phase in local public architecture in the settlement but it also marked the beginning of public architecture constructed in the area, particularly to the west of the Hall, where the classical design tradition and axial planning of the building was continued (Builder, 1906: 530). St George’s Hall established the Classical design style so firmly in Liverpool that subsequently a whole series of public buildings nearby, in a conscious public attempt at giving dignity to the setting of St George’s Hall, were erected to classical styles even though some were not built until as late as the 1880s. The buildings erected after the completion of St George’s Hall included the Brown Library and Museum (1857-1860), the Walker Art Gallery (1874-7), the Picton Reference Library and Hall (1875-9), the Sessions House (1882-4) and the Museum extension and Science School (1896-1902), which were all to be erected along William Brown Street. Pevsner (1969: 158) described the group of buildings as “a highly commendable civic enterprise”, and recognised that the "buildings had to be created here to form an appropriate foil for St George’s Hall. They are consequently mostly
classical and remarkably correct and restrained for their dates”. Hughes (1969: 104) on this matter noted: “A group of classical buildings have been built to give support on this side to the monumental setting of the plateau.” Thus the deliberate creation of Classical style buildings in the immediate area can be seen to represent a conscious attempt to form a fitting backdrop for the monumental St George’s Hall (Cunningham, 1981: 24).

The design of St George’s Hall by Harvey Elmes (1814-47) was of a remarkably high quality. While the building appeared to be a simple mass, the impression superficially given by the structure, closer inspection reveals it to be a complicated, multiform edifice (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 150). The building, significantly, offered great potential for other related construction not just because of its excellent detailing but also due to the qualities of the site, a plateau which slopes southwards in a gentle manner towards the River Mersey.

Figure 4.1.2. St George’s Hall with its south and east facing elevations.

Such was the strength of the influence of St George’s Hall in Liverpool that it is necessary to give a brief description of the building even though it was erected many years prior to the period examined by this study. The design of the structure, similarly to the plan of the building, appears to be both simple yet complex, such is the ingenuity of the Classical composition, possibly inspired by Karl Friedrich von Schinkel (1781-1841). The main facade of the building, which functions as an assize court and a concert hall, faces to the east towards Lime Street (see figure 4.1.2) and has at its centre a huge portico of thirteen bays beneath which are located three entrance doorways. To each side of the portico are recessed sections, covered with decorated panels on mounted plinths set in position in 1894 by Stirling Lee, Conrad
Dressler and Charles Allen. External decoration was an important element of St George's Hall and was largely undertaken by acclaimed nineteenth century sculptor, Alfred Stevens.

The western elevation although appearing somewhat flatter than the others was divided into twenty nine bays, of which fifteen were placed at the centre of the facade. As was the case with the eastern facade, the elevation has an attic. The visual effect is one of grandeur unrivaled by any other public building in the nineteenth century Liverpool. The dimensions of the building, erected from Darley Dale sandstone, are 450 feet in length and over 100 feet in width.

The Museum and Library building, begun in 1857, formed the first section of the group of worthy public buildings sited to the north of St George's Hall, a group which The Builder (1896: 242) described as "a range of public buildings which, for combined dignity and uniformity of character and advantageousness of position, it would be hard to parallel elsewhere." The journal, in addition, declared:

"Three of these, the Free Public Library and Museum, the Picton Reading Room, and the Walker Art Gallery, though by different architects, are all connected together, and possess a strong sort of family likeness to each other, and to St George's Hall, being all designed with a large 'order' of Roman-Corinthian columns and with much the same severity of general treatment, besides all being built of the same hard, dark-looking sandstone." (Ibid.: 242)

The development of this civic forum at Liverpool was the result of both private benefaction and corporate activity, for all the public buildings along William Brown Street "were erected entirely by local civic initiative supplemented by important private donations." (Chandler, 1957: 214)

The Free Library and Museum structure cost almost £40,000 and was built of sandstone. It was arguably the plainest of the Classical civic buildings along William Brown Street (The Builder, 1896: 242), although it has a stately and imposing appearance (Cowell, 1903: 102) and a "reposeful aspect which seems properly expressive of its purposes" (The Builder, 1896: 242). The main feature on the seventeen bay-wide front elevation was the deeply recessed Corinthian portico which marked the central (north-south) axis of the building and the main entrance, which
was positioned beneath the portico. At the front of the portico was a broad, long flight of steps which helped to produce a sense of monumentality and on a more practical level provided access to the building which was raised above ground level. Pevsner (1969: 159) took the local environment, principally St George’s Hall, to be the prime influence on the design of the building. The flanks between the portico and the ends of the main elevation were covered by five window openings placed in regular bays, with horizontal cornices on trusses above which are placed small decorated panels and wreaths. The corners of the building were marked at the front by pavilions, each with two pairs of Corinthian pilasters, which projected out from the building line and reinforced the symmetrical effect of the building’s plan.

Figure 4.1.3. The front elevation of the William Brown Library as seen from the eastern end of William Brown Street.

The next public structure to be erected on William Brown Street was the Walker Art Gallery (see figure 4.1.4) designed by the partnership of Sherlock and Vale between 1874 and 1877 to a Classical style, which similarly to the William Brown Library was marked at its centre by a huge portico beneath which was located the raised building’s main entrances. These doorways were reached upon climbing the large flight of steps positioned at the front of the building.
Figure 4.1.4. The Walker Art Gallery. Note the position of the fountain and statues in front of the building's main entrance (source: De Gex, 1996) which marks the central axis of the front elevation.

In 1874 the Corporation instructed Cornelius Sherlock, the architect of the Walker Art Gallery, to prepare plans for a new public building along William Brown Street, to be erected on a site sandwiched between the Library and Museum on the western side and the Walker Art Gallery to the east (Cowell, 1903: 114). The site of the new building, the Picton Reading Room, is shown by figure 4.1.7.

Figure 4.1.5. The Picton Reading Room and main entrance as seen from the William Brown Street. Lamp posts placed in accord with the layout of the flight of steps to the front of the building's principal entrance.
During the design process of the Picton Reading Room Sherlock was instructed by the Corporation to ensure that the new building was in harmony with the nearby public buildings (Ibid.: 114). But the fundamental civic design problem faced by the designer was not only that the chosen site was of an awkward shape but also that the front of the site was curved owing to the changing alignment of William Brown Street. To solve this problem Sherlock made the front elevation of the Reading Room building circular in shape. Pevsner (1969: 159) saw this adoption of a circular form as astute: “The semicircle was chosen to hide the fact that the axis of the row of buildings here breaks. It is an ingenious and completely successful device.” Cowell (1903: 130) added: “To give a circular form to the Picton Reading Room (1875-9) was a happy conception, for in so doing the angles between the Brown Library and Museum on the one side, and the Walker Art Gallery on the other, were softened and made pleasing by the curve of its broad and imposing front.” Thus the circular front of the Picton Reading Room allowed the line of the building to change in accordance with the line of William Brown Street.

Erected in sandstone, a material used on the neighbouring public edifices, and designed using the Corinthian Classical order also employed on buildings in close proximity to it, the circular front facade of the Picton Reading Room was given a feeling of elegance by the placing of a detached colonnade of eighteen columns along the exterior wall. In terms of the internal arrangement a circular space, used as a reading area, dominated the building. This space, with a diameter of about 100 feet, meant that almost the entire ground floor plan consisted of a single chamber, (see figure 4.1.8), although situated behind the main reading space was the Hornby Library. The importance of the reading area in the composition of the building was additionally shown by its large floor to ceiling height, which rose to a height of 66 feet, and by the fact that it was covered by a domed rotunda with a metal corona at the rooftop. The space, which could seat up to 1,200 readers at any one time, was lit by a window in the centre of the roof “with very good effect”, (The Builder, 1896: 242) although light could also enter into the room through the round headed window openings which were placed at regular intervals along the circular elevation of the building. The positions of the four staircases at the ground floor level were located in such a fashion as to form four corners of a square within which the main reading room was situated and directly beneath this reading room, in the basement, was placed a lecture theatre. The plan of this room mirrored the circular form of the reading area positioned on the floor above it (Cowell, 1903: 131).
The County Court Sessions building (1882-4) was the most northerly building of the civic ensemble along William Brown Street. Designed by F. and G. Holme in a Classical style, the main, north-east facing elevation was marked by a centrally placed portico supported by four pairs of columns (see figure 4.1.6). The front elevation was also marked by round headed windows which were placed regularly along it and along the side elevations. The Builder (1896: 242) commented that this building was of a proportion that agreed with its neighbours, being it was designed with a “variety of the Roman ‘Composite’ order, and it is treated with much less severity and reticence.” (Ibid.: 242) This design style was different to that of the other classical buildings in the area and so gave the Court building a sense of individuality in the area, enhanced was as a result of the building being erected in a different material from its associates. “Its materials contribute also to this difference of character, for the brown sandstone of the others is exchanged for limestone and granite” (Ibid.: 242).

Figure 4.1.6. The County Session Court Building in the late 1890s (source: De Gex, 1996). Like the nearby Reading Room the main entrance is marked by lamp posts.

The internal composition of the Sessions Court building, like those of the other public buildings along William Brown Street, was well organised consisting of rooms and offices which opened up from the central (north-south) axis on which the main hallway was found. This axial line was continued out from the building as part of its
process of civic design, and terminated at the fountain (1870 by W. Cunliffe) located close to the Duke of Wellington Column (see figure 4.1.7), erected in 1863 to a design by G.A. Lawson. This relating of the building's central axis, marked inside the building's plan by the symmetrical organisation of spaces and at the front elevation by the main entrance and its associated features such as the main entrance, for example, was of civic design significance practice for it not only allowed the building's primary axis to be continued away from the building but as noted above it allowed the building to relate to its surroundings other than by a similarity of scale and design style with its neighbouring buildings.

The last public building to be constructed at William Brown Street was the Museum Extension and Science School, later known as the Technical School, the design of which was won in competition by Edward Mountford in 1896. The building was completed by 1902. Designed in a somewhat different style from its civic neighbours, the building was considered to be a largely Vanbrugh inspired (Service, 1977: 150) piece of Edwardian Baroque design (Pevsner, 1969: 159). The building, erected on a site at the eastern end of William Brown Street, had a looser design association than the earlier neighbouring buildings had with each other partly due it employing an Ionic rather than the Corinthian classical order. This made the edifice "a little bit of out of keeping" said The Builder (1907: 532).

Erected on a piece of land which previously contained a combination of building types, such as an inn, terraced houses, an iron foundry and a timber yard, the Technical School site was bounded by Clayton Street to the north, William Brown Street to the south, Byrom Street to the west, which the building's front elevation faced, and the Museum and Library building to the east. The Technical School's south elevation, the longest and most prominent of the building's elevations, was noted as being "a direct prolongation of the front of the existing museum" (The Builder, 1896: 67). This was significant in terms of civic design practice, as the competition rules established by the Corporation explicitly stated that "the new building should harmonise with the adjoining museum and other buildings in the immediate neighbourhood." This was naturally to have civic design implications. As a consequence of this ruling competitors were compelled to treat their elevations, and planning, with a similarity to the existing civic structures, which formed "a very remarkable, and in its way unequalled group" (Ibid.: 67).
The Builder (Ibid.: 67) commented that the success of Mountford in the design competition for the Technical School was largely a result of his planning abilities. It also added that: "If the plans of any utilitarian building can be called grand, then these have certainly that quality." (Ibid.: 67) The interior of the building was laid out on symmetrical lines with two central axes which traversed the building from east to
west along which the largest spaces in the plan were placed. The plan of the building is discussed in greater depth subsequently.

The western, front elevation of the Technical School was made convex so as to mask the acute angle with which William Brown Street met Byrom Street. "Thus, although the frontage line turns in again towards the north-west angle of the building, nearly all the space within the boundary is occupied, and as little of the ground wasted in street-areas as is compatible with a dignified and symmetrical plan." (Ibid.: 68) Small round arched windows were placed on the lower ground level, partly visible from the street level, in regular bays from the central alignment marked in the middle of the front elevation by the main entrance. As the building was raised above the street level steps were placed on each side of the main entrance to provide access into the building. The lower ground floor level was rusticated, as were the corners of the building, while the floor with the largest floor to ceiling height was the second floor level, which corresponded with the ground floor of the adjoining William Brown Library, the main floor level of that particular public building, due to the sloping topography of the area. This situation helped to relate the Museum and Science School to its neighbour situated along William Brown Street (see figure 4.1.10). Significantly too the treatment of the School's second floor level was different from the other floor levels. For example, window openings were larger in size and were separated by double columns.

Figure 4.1.9. The front elevation of the Technical School, Liverpool.
The plan of the School's ground floor level was dominated by symmetrical lines, particularly towards the centre of the internal arrangement, as figure 4.1.11 illustrates. Upon entering the building, via the steps positioned parallel to the line of the main elevation, a rare feature of civic design, one passed through the recessed main entrance, the recessing of which allowed for the introduction of civic design elements in front of it, and entered into the entrance vestibule. This was a long, thin space, measuring 18 feet in width by almost 80 feet in length, placed at the centre of the ground floor plan. On each side of this space were arranged cloakrooms, office spaces and staircases while at the end of the vestibule was positioned the largest space in the plan, the Students Lecture Hall, which had dimensions 50 feet in width by 70 feet in length. This space was located at 90 degrees to the central (east-west) axis of the plan. Surrounding the central section of the plan, which comprised of the spaces previously mentioned, was a corridor which provided access to spaces used for purposes such as the teaching of drawing, carpentry and plumbing, which were placed against the outer walls of the edifice. The end pavilions of the building, positioned at the four corners of the plan, consisted of large spaces used as lecture rooms and the School's library.
The development of William Brown Street from the 1850s onwards, in which narrow courts consisting of houses and small sized industrial workshops were cleared and replaced by large, grandiose public buildings, proved to be a significant architectural development in Victorian Liverpool. The development of William Brown Street was of a type rarely seen in the period covered by this study, due to the close proximity of a number of large scale public buildings along a single roadway which were designed and planned to relate to each other, and its civic design importance should not be disregarded. However the use of a common design style was also significant. Elsewhere in Liverpool other prominent and large scale public buildings were being erected, many being found in proximity to each other, although not always forming architectural groupings like those along William Brown Street.

The new Municipal Offices and Post Office

To turn to other examples of civic design in Liverpool, construction began on the new Municipal Buildings, Dale Street, in 1860 some years before the period covered by this work but such was the importance of the building that an examination of it is necessary. Opening in 1866 this building, designed by Corporation Surveyor John Weighman, but completed by his successor E.R. Robson, was situated on a large open site noted by The Builder (1867: 819) as being "one of the best in the town", situated approximately halfway between Liverpool's first Town Hall building (1749-54 by John Wood) and the William Brown Street area. The new building was designed
with symmetry in the plan and eclecticism in its design style. The imposing design of the large scale Municipal Office's main elevation contained an amalgamation of Classical and Gothic detailing (Hughes, 1969: 60) which The Builder (1869: 819) regarded as being "bold and substantial in appearance." Pevsner (1969: 161) described the aesthetic composition of the structure as being "mixed Italianate-cum-French, not stylistically definable" while Cunningham (1981: 24) suggested that the classical elements in the design clearly related the new building to Liverpool's two most prominent civic buildings, the eighteenth century Town Hall and St George's Hall. Therefore it can been said that the Municipal Building complemented the existing civic buildings, evident remarked Cunningham (Ibid.: 24) in the building's spire which does enough to advertise its presence without detracting from the dome of the Town Hall located to the south along Dale Street.

Figure 4.1.12. The Municipal Buildings as seen from Dale Street.

The principal element of the Municipal Buildings' main elevation, facing north-west towards Dale Street, was the 200 feet high vertical element that was terminated by a stone spire (The Builder, 1896: 242). Also of importance to the visual impact of the building were the pavilions at each end of the main elevation, decorated with columns and pilasters and topped by a curved roof with flattened middle. The pavilions helped to reinforce the symmetry of the building's appearance and plan while the centre of the main elevation was marked by a massive stone columns projecting as a porch in front of the principal entrance. However the impact of the building was said by The Builder (1869: 819) to be marred by the position of the building so close to the roadway which lessens its general effect. Thus the
importance of open spaces other than that of roadways in front of major public edifices in civic design practice was highlighted by the architectural press at that time. However the building made a significant attempt to address the street to which it faced, in part due to sculptured features and the clock tower which draw the eye to it.

Positioned to the rear of the Municipal Buildings and facing south-west towards Victoria Street, a roadway laid out in 1878, was another substantial public building, the Law Courts and Public Offices (now demolished), built by the Commission of Public Works and Buildings. This large building, 200 feet in length, 130 feet in breadth and 60 feet in height, dimensions perceived by The Builder (1878: 221) not to be invidious to the form of the nearby Municipal Buildings, contained a number of different uses. For example, spaces inside the edifice were used for Law Courts, Inland Revenue Offices, a Stamp Office and a Post Office. Commenting on the edifice that was situated within an unencumbered site, The Builder (1896: 243) noted that it was well built from Portland stone and expensive looking, designed in an Doric Classical style although it was “very hardly and coldly treated.”

The site of the unencumbered Government Offices was so close to the Municipal Buildings that it meant that the two structures would enjoy a close spatial association regardless of the design styles and planing forms employed. Such a decision to erect the new and large public edifice so close to its public neighbour, only about 60 feet apart, had civic design implications and even though both buildings were erected prior to the period covered by this work their scale and architectural importance to Victorian Liverpool makes them worthy of mention in this study.

The principal elevation of the new three storey Government Building was marked at the centre by the main entrance, “surmounted by a balustrade, somewhat familiar to that at the ends of the municipal offices.” (The Builder, 1878: 221) Two further entrances were placed at the sides of the building, one to be used only by Law Court Judges. The western section of the ground floor was filled with spaces used by the Inland Revenue while to the opposite side of the internal arrangement was to be used by the Probate Registry. County Courts and offices comprised the first floor level, the Court rooms being positioned at the four corners of the building.
While it has been noted that elements of the Government Buildings’ design allowed it to relate to its surroundings, principally the Municipal Office building to the north, the location of its main entrance with its projecting building line at the centre of the south facing front elevation allowed it to relate to its setting (see figure 4.1.13) near to Victoria Street, for the alignment of an approaching roadway, Peter Street, corresponded with the position of the double doorway and its features like the flight of steps placed in front of it. Furthermore the alignment of this roadway was continued inside the building due to the use of a central (north-south) axis in the building’s internal arrangement, marked for instance by the entrance vestibule positioned to the rear of the principal entrance and the Summons Offices of the County Court towards the rear of the building. In terms of civic design as defined by this work, this bringing of a local road’s axis into the building is meaningful.

Figure 4.1.13. The Victoria Street area of Liverpool (source: Ordnance Survey, 1908).

The third and largest public building to be erected in the Dale Street and Victoria Street area, which was in effect by the end of the nineteenth century an administrative district of the city, was the Liverpool Head Post Office (1894-9), a building type found in many other large provincial towns and cities by the end of the nineteenth century. Designed in a French Classical manner (The Builder, 1893: 37) by Henry Tanner, an architect who designed numerous large post office buildings in provincial settlements from the end of the nineteenth century, this Portland stone
building was one of the largest of all late-Victorian public buildings erected in Liverpool having a main elevation of 60 feet in height and 280 feet in length. The breadth of the edifice was 300 feet (The Builder, 1894: 194). The three storey building contained a ground plan (see figure 4.1.14) of a practical nature dominated by a 'U' shaped room within which letters and parcels were sorted and foreign mail dealt with. A Public Office was positioned towards the centre of this particular space in the plan while the front of this space was marked by the building's 14 feet high main entrance doorway, situated in the centre of the front elevation which faced Victoria Street, marked in front by a flight of steps and at each side by 18 feet high granite columns. The basement level of the raised building was barely noticeable on the level of the street noted The Builder (1893: 37). Positioned behind the large sorting office was the delivery yard area and loading platform while strong rooms and toilet areas were located towards the centre the 'U' form of the main room. The Public Office, the only space designated for public access in the building contained a counter along one side of it so that public enquiries could be dealt with, and occupied the central front area of the building's plan. The Registered Letter Office was situated between the public office and strong room area, to the rear of the Public Office. Thus the plan was an example of practical planning suited to the functions of the Post Office and not so much to the practice of civic design. This had the result of producing a building that showed little relation to its setting.

Figure 4.1.14. The Liverpool Head Post Office's ground floor plan.

Despite the fact that the Post Office's main elevations were designed in a symmetrical manner, the facades bore little relation to the surrounding environment which consisted primarily of small private buildings such as banks and public houses (see figure 4.1.13), buildings that were sometimes designed with small but
nevertheless prominent architectural elements in their main elevations so to draw the eye towards the buildings. However a sense of association was loosely evident between the Post Office and its setting as the building line of the rear elevation corresponded with a line of buildings along Mathew Street, a side street which approached the building from the west. Thus a vista was produced along this curving roadway as it neared the Post Office but this was probably civic design practice of a minor nature and the vista established did not approach the front elevation of the building, or its features, and instead looked towards the rear of the structure and the Mail Yard where the least amount of design details were used.

Figure 4.1.15. Plan of the situation of the Post Office (source: Ordnance Survey, 1889).

The Cotton Exchange

Standing on an isolated site measuring 355 feet in length and 145 feet in width, the Cotton Exchange (1905) by Matear and Simon represents a significant piece of civic architecture in Liverpool, a building that reflected the importance of the cotton trade to the city during the late-Victorian and Edwardian period. Designed in a Baroque style, "of elegant and graceful proportions" (The Architectural Review, 1907: 270), the main elevation, facing south towards Old Hall Street, was marked by a deep recessed entrance and colonnade. This elevation was covered with Portland stone.
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The rear elevation, facing towards Bixteth Street, was also erected from the same material while the Ormond Street facade was constructed from grey and white glazed bricks. Entrances into the building were present on each elevation, placed in the centre of each facade. The cost of the structure was estimated to be approximately £200,000 (The Builder, 1907: 531), a considerable sum of money at that time.

Figure 4.1.16. The Cotton Exchange's front elevation.

Acknowledged as one of the first public buildings in Britain to employ the Baroque architectural style (Service, 1977: 152), the Cotton Exchange combined the Doric Classical order for the lower section of the building, marked by a portico and colonnade, and the Ionic order for the upper colonnade in its main facade. Towers were positioned at the top of each end of the front elevation so as to enrich the symmetrically formed composition while the building line was extended at the corners of the front elevation at the ground level. The facade was met directly by an approaching roadway, Fazakerley Street, that gave a direct view towards the prominent edifice.
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Figure 4.1.17. The Cotton Exchange's ground floor plan.

The principal feature of the Exchange's interior arrangement is the Main Hall which dominated the southern section of the building's plan and measured 140 feet in width by 165 feet in length. All sales rooms and associated office spaces were situated towards the rear of the building so that they had a northern aspect, as a sunless light was necessary for inspecting goods. A single corridor was placed parallel to the line of the outer walls of the building which provided access to the many parts of the building. A subsidiary axis was apparent in the Exchange's internal arrangement, created by a corridor linking the two entrances to each other, which as noted previously were each positioned in the centre of their respective elevations. However this alignment was not continued away from the building for the building related little with the surrounding environment which consisted of a number of buildings including a hotel called The Albany.

Figure 4.1.18. A view of the Main Hall, Cotton Exchange.
The cramped surroundings of the Exchange meant that the practice of civic design was at best difficult. The planning of the building did not in any aspect relate to its setting, as noted earlier, apart from the alignment of a minor roadway, Fazakerley Street, which directly approached the centre of the building's main elevation (see figure 4.1.19). The axis of the roadway was continued into the edifice by the placing of the main entrance at the centre of the front elevation and the placing of the Main Hall to its rear along the north-south axis through the centre of the symmetrically formed building.

Figure 4.1.19. The urban form of Liverpool south of the Cotton Exchange's site in 1906 (source: Ordnance Survey).

The Pierhead

The turn of the century was a time of sustained economic growth in Liverpool and at the start of the twentieth century the city had become the site of the second largest port in Britain, surpassed only by London. This economic buoyancy was reflected in the redevelopment of George's Dock at the beginning of the twentieth century, a development that was rare not only in Liverpool but also in the national context of urban development and regeneration at that time because of the size of the scheme, and the amount of land that it involved, and the use of the reclaimed land upon which three large, grandiose buildings were subsequently erected in a contemporary American style. The account of the development of the Dock, or Pierhead as it became known, begins in 1900 when the Corporation laid down plans to close the existing dock and a number of nearby basins in order to reclaim and develop the land. In the very same year the municipality purchased the dock site from the Mersey
Docks and Harbour Board although the Harbour Board retained the southern end of the area as a site for a proposed new building (The Architectural Review, 1911: 209). The new site, with dimensions of over 1000 feet in length by 550 feet in breadth offered a site with great civic design potential, arguably rivalled only by the vast expansise of Cathays Park, Cardiff, which was further enhanced by the location's proximity to the River Mersey and the nearby landing pier being used as a place for the well-to-do of local society to promenade. The Architectural Review (1911: 209) noted: “The Pierhead area at Liverpool is an exceptionally fine site for buildings, the space being unobstructed around, and open to the river, so that not only is there an abundance of light and air, but also scope for an excellent setting.” What was to emerge at the Pierhead was one of Liverpool’s “most striking” of urban features (White, 1951: 6) based on American Beaux Arts monumentality (Fletcher, 1996: 1346). However, unfortunately, in civic design terms the result was to fall far short of the potential that it initially offered for the design and plan of the public buildings in the area.

Developed as an independent district of central Liverpool, the Pierhead related little to the surrounding urban environment and, even more disappointingly, little relation was to be recognised between the three substantial buildings, two of a private nature and one public, in the area. The plan for the new area utilised the existing road pattern while a large open area was established at the river front which allowed local people to promenade in the area. Local roads to the north of the former dock, such as Water Street, Brunswick Street and James Street, were carried through into the redeveloped area and the general shape of the sites for the three main buildings was derived from such an arrangement, in so doing offering good possibilities for the practice symmetrical planning and designing to take place. However direct vistas along existing thoroughfares towards each building were thus not possible and instead the eye had the tendency to be drawn between the buildings towards the River Mersey. A significant design opportunity based on direct views to the buildings was lost as a result of this although fine panoramas towards the Mersey were made available instead.

The first building to be constructed at the Pierhead was the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board Office, at a cost of £300,000 in 1903. Brown and Sons acted as the general contractors and by 1907 all building work was completed. Designed by Arnold Thornely, with the assistance of F.B. Hobbs and the partnership of Briggs and
Wolstenholme, the building has been said to display both pomp and magnificence (Hughes, 1969: 7). The Builder (1907: 530) noted that the new structure was of an extensive nature, a visible expression of the large power and influence of the Mersey Docks Board in the city. It also added that the structure had many points of interest, “both in plan, design and construction.” Like the two other buildings that were subsequently erected at the Pierhead, the Docks Office sat on an unencumbered site.

Figure 4.1.20. The Peirhead today with the Liver Building (left), the Cunard Building (centre) and Mersey Docks Office (right).

Constructed from Portland stone and designed in an Italiante manner, the American City Beautiful influenced Mersey Docks Office was highly impressive, in part a consequence of the giant dome positioned at the centre of the structure and the smaller domes placed above each of the corners of the building. Collectively the vertical elements make a huge contribution to the impact of the building upon the eye. The large dome placed above the Central Hall, the chief feature of the interior arrangement, rises to a height of 220 feet. The dome is not only situated towards the centre of the plan but along the central axis of the main elevation, an alignment marked by a number of features such as the main entrance and a flight of steps in front of the building. The corner towers are each covered by smaller domes, reaching to a height of 140 feet, under which were positioned eight sets of double columns. Their copper finishes provide each vertical element with a texture which distinguishes them from the rest of the grey stone structure, in so doing enhancing
the general effect of the building. Fenestration consisted of rectangular forms although frames on the third floor were designed with rounded pediments above the window openings.

The Mersey Docks Office was a building of large scale by the standards of the time, measuring over 260 feet in length and 215 feet in width. The octagonal Central Hall dominated the internal arrangement, as noted earlier, and had a diameter of 72 feet, while the ceiling rose to a height of 120 feet and through five floor levels. From the Central Hall on each of the five floors radiated corridors which provided access to other parts of the building (The Architectural Review, 1908: 43, The Builder, 1907: 530). The internal arrangement was symmetrical with a central axis running west to east through the middle of the plan. The axis was marked at the front of the building by the main entrance (see figure 4.1.25) and a flight of steps. Further subsidiary axes were also evident in the internal arrangement, running north to south, north-west to south-east and north-east to south-west, for example. The position of the Central Hall space in the plan was evident on every floor, even though placed above it, and the plan of the space reached its climax with the dome positioned directly above it at the roof level (The Builder, 1907: 530). However, significantly in terms of civic design, the building's only association with the surrounding existing environment came with the vista along Irwell Street that ended at the south-eastern corner of the building, topped by one of the five domes, but this represents thin civic design.
Chapter Four: LIVERPOOL

The following building to be constructed at the Pierhead was the Royal Liver Society Building, one of the most significant of Liverpool's institutions at the turn of the century (Chandler, 1957: 409). Built between 1908 and 1910 to a design by W. Aubrey Thomas, the Royal Liver Building was one of Britain's first reinforced concrete buildings. Pevsner (1969: 175) described the scheme as "showy in the extreme but, it can't be denied, also impressive." Prior to the edifice being constructed the Corporation had hoped that the buildings at the Pierhead would be designed in a similar fashion to the Docks Office. However this likelihood was reduced thanks to the Royal Liver Insurance Society lawyers inserting a clause into the building contract which allowing the architect an unrestricted sense of freedom in the design process (Hughes, 1969: 92) as opposed to using the style of neighbouring building Docks Office as a source of inspiration. While the resultant contract offered Aubrey Thomas a greater freedom of design expression as far as civic design practice was concerned this was at a cost of possible stylistic association that was significant in civic design practice at that time.

Figure 4.1.22. The Royal Liver Building (left) with the Cunard Building.

The Liver Building like the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board office was a structure of substantial size and scale: "a towering mass that dominates the whole river-front." (The Architectural Review, 1911: 210) The site of the Liver Building to the north of the Pierhead was bounded to the south by Water Street, to the north by a floating bridge and St Nicholas Place, at the rear, that is the east, by George Dock Gates and to its front by the large open space to be used as a garden area and a turning
area for trams. Almost from the start of the construction process for the Liver Building the practice of civic design fared poorly, for the structure was positioned in a manner whereby the western facade of the Liver Building did not align with that of the Docks Office, a situation from which the subsequent Cunard Building suffered too for it was also positioned in a way which did align with each any its neighbours. Therefore any centrally established north-south axes in each building would not align that of the others, a situation that did not help to associate the buildings in the area together.

The ten storey Liver Building was approximately 170 feet in height, the top of the towers contained an additional six floor levels and reached nearly 300 feet in height. The total cost of the building was estimated to be £650,000 which made the building one of the most expensive erected in the period considered. The Architectural Review (1910: 402) commented that the Liver Building was of “great magnitude” and “commanding size” to an extent that the building came within the category of skyscraper (Ibid.: 402), a term originally used to described American buildings of great height and scale. Buildings such as the Liver and the later Cunard Building not only showed architects and builders the advantages of using modern materials such as reinforced concrete in architectural design but furthermore the employment of the material brought a new scale to British provincial cities such as Liverpool with offices and public buildings attaining a size only seen previously in America (Fellows, 1995: 59).

The design of the Liver Building has been judged to be of bold sentimentality rather than of refinement or elegance (Hughes, 1969: 94). Huge clock faces on each of their four exterior walls dominated the two towers, both of identical designs, and the domes are topped with Liver Bird statues. The corners of the building, in keeping with the nearby Docks and Harbour office, had small domes above them, albeit a Byzantine style, that enriched the neo-Mannerist (Service, 1977: 182) style of the building. Rustication marked the ground and first floor levels of the building while a semi-circular portico was placed at the front of the main, south facing elevation, marking the position of the main entrance in the centre of the elevation (see figure 4.1.25). The entrance was also marked vertically by a clock tower which was positioned at the centre of the west facing elevation. The side entrances were also emphasised by the building line being extended close to it. Windows were generally
of a rectangular form although those on the ground, sixth and eighth floor were given rounded heads, a common feature of civic design in the period considered.

The plan of the Royal Liver Building was based on symmetrical lines producing what was essentially a large rectangle (Service, 1977: 182). The main interior axis of the edifice ran in a north to south direction, as was the case for the Cunard Building erected some years later. The Liver Building's plan was largely formed around two centrally positioned light wells, each well being about sixty feet square (The Architectural Review, 1911: 211). The central (north-south) axis consisted of a sixteen feet wide corridor, to the side of which was placed electric lifts, the lift installation being the largest in the country at that time (Ibid.: 212), with offices to their rear. The positioning of the lift shafts in the building was noted in The Architectural Review (Ibid.: 211) as being of special interest in the internal arrangement, the shafts being placed directly opposite each other across the central axial line.

Figure 4.1.23. The ground floor plan of the Royal Liver Building.

The final Pierhead building, the Cunard Building, showed a more refined sense of display than the Liver Building. Pevsner (1969: 176) said of the building that it was a “less demonstrative, square block” which was “agreeably proportioned.” Designed by locally based architects Willink and Thicknesse, with Mewès and Davis as advisors, the building had a high degree of sophistication and elegance and like other buildings in the area was composed along symmetrical lines. The main entrance was placed at the centre of the south facing elevation with a flight of steps in front of it while the corners of the structure were rusticated from ground floor level to the main
cornice. The ground floor was given additional floor to ceiling height as to emphasise its importance in a manner similar to the treatment of the ground floor of the Mersey Docks Office, and was designed with round headed windows. This sense of elegance was imperative to the Cunard Company which had suffered mixed fortunes at the time due to increasing competition (see Fellows, 1995). Thus with a new ship, the 47,000 tonne and 900 feet long Aquitania, known as the “ship beautiful”, the epitome of Edwardian luxury and technology, leading the Cunard Fleet from Liverpool to New York, it was vital that the boat should dock against a suitable urban backdrop (Ibid.: 108). The site of the new Cunard Building played an important role too, for it “was in some respects the most spectacular in the city of Liverpool”, being located “not far from the Atlantic embarkation pier, overlooking the Mersey, a more appropriate position could not be imagined.” (Pevsner, 1969: 110)

Built between 1913 and 1917 and comprising six floors of offices, the Cunard Building was, in the context of its location and surroundings, of a simple outline which was well in accordance with the contemporary taste for monumental classicism. The basic appearance of the structure was similar to an Italian Renaissance palazzo, marked at the ground floor level by arched window openings. Fellows (Ibid.: 110) referring to the building’s appearance remarked that “unlike many of its Edwardian predecessors, there is little that is English about it. It is, in fact, representative of the international Classical style of architecture, and would probably be most at home in the United States.” The ground floor of the building was designed with a heavy dose of banded rustication. The rustication of the structure was continued at the corners of the structure up to the architrave near to the roof above which was placed a frieze that was continued around the entire fifth floor level building. A strong cornice and parapet topped the building, behind which was located accommodation space at the roof level. Portland stone was employed as the facing material that covered the reinforced concrete shell and steel frame. The general appearance of the Cunard Building’s elevations was somewhat plain, particularly in comparison to the neighbouring Royal Liver Building, a result of little detailing appearing apart from the use of rustication. However, this does not detract from the strength of the building, which was a result of its simplicity of design and plan, huge scale and strength of form.

Sitting on a rectangular site the Cunard Building had dimensions of 330 feet in length and 220 feet in breadth and was marked on all sides by a low stone wall positioned
in front of the building lines. The plan of the structure was simply organised as a result of the need for circulation around the building (Ibid.: 110). The plan of the ground floor was dissected by a central corridor, measuring 20 feet in width and 200 feet in length, which led into a Central Hall towards the middle of the structure. This corridor alignment was marked at each end of the building by the only projections in the plan that extended beyond the external wall planes. These formed entrances which were also positioned centrally in each of the secondary elevations of the building (see figure 4.1.25). Steps led up to all the entrances so as to heighten the importance of the entrances and to create a grand impression upon entering into the building. The Architectural Review (1917: 92) stated that the Cunard Office's plan was “for the most part simple, direct, and large in its parts.” It was this notion of simplicity coupled with its large scale composition which was perceived to give the structure its huge presence in the Pierhead district.

Figure 4.1.24. The ground floor plan of the Cunard Offices, Liverpool.

Figure 4.1.25. The main entrances of the Cunard Office (left), the Royal Liver Building (centre) and the Mersey Docks Office.
The plan of the Cunard Building (figure 4.1.24) reflected the variety of functions that it had to serve. Not only was the building used for offices but it was also a terminus for shipping passengers with large sections of the building devoted to this role. For example, the ground floor contained a lounge area for first-class passengers that was designed in a style in keeping with the grand style which the Aquitania, Mauretania and other Cunard ships epitomized (Cunard opening programme, 1917:53). Around the Central Hall were positioned lifts and stairs, giving visitors and office workers access to the various parts of the building. A central axis established by the main entrance at the front elevation was evident in the plan of the Cunard Building, which was continued eastwards into a room known as the Public Space beyond the Central Hallway corridor. This central axis was also continued away from the building into the open space at the river front to the west which was subsequently marked by the placing of the Edward VII Memorial Statue and a War Memorial directly along it. Furthermore, two minor axes were in evidence in the plan of the Cunard building, running parallel to the Central Hallway corridor at each end of the internal arrangement along corridors which provided access to offices and other spaces, the alignments of which corresponded with the position of the corner pavilions of the Liver Building to the north. However this sense of relation between the Cunard building and its neighbour was at best civic design of a loose nature.

Figure 4.1.26. The Plan of the Pierhead in 1918 (source: Ordnance Survey).
The development of the Pierhead, which offered at its inception a seemingly unrivaled opportunity for large scale civic design, was by the onset of World War One in 1914 a major civic planning scheme which did not fulfil the opportunity that it offered despite the strength of design for each of the three individual buildings erected within the district. Such a statement can be said due to the seemingly rare opportunity for large scale design and planning which the Pierhead offered, for example, offering an opportunity for large scale buildings to be erected and associated with each other through major axial lines and the presence of a common design aesthetic. But at best the civic design of the area was thin with little relation occurring between the form of the buildings. Even with the placing of architectural elements such as statuary in the area these elements also bore only a minor relation to the structures, being situated at some distance, for example over 100 yards, from the buildings and their planning lines. While their position was on occasions in accordance with the axes of the buildings in the area the sense of relation between the buildings and these other architectural features was lessened by the sheer distance between them.

Figure 4.1.27. A view of the Pierhead looking north across the River Mersey.

Inter-War Liverpool

The onset of War in 1914 disrupted the development of public design and planning in central Liverpool and it was many years after 1918 that other large scale public buildings were undertaken in the city, by which time had a population of about 800,000 people (Census, 1921). In comparison to the great activity in the field of public architecture from the early Victorian period onwards, which resulted in over
ten large sized public buildings being erected, a slower rate of public building emerged in the city after 1918. However this is not to say that those buildings undertaken in the Inter-war period were not of design note, for they were, but it can be said that during this time the Corporation began to adopt a broader policy of public building. This was partly reflected by the Mersey Tunnel project (1925-34 by Sir Basil Mott, J.A. Brodie and H.J. Rouse), for example. Other prominent buildings erected between 1918 and 1939 included the Classically styled Police Headquarters (1931-2 by Minoprio and Spencely), "rather forbidding" noted Pevsner (1969: 182), a Philharmonic Hall (1937-9 by Rowse) and arguably the most important ecclesiastical structure of the twentieth century in Britain, the Catholic Cathedral, which was undertaken from 1933 to a plan by Sir Edwin Lutyens which was intended to measure 680 feet in length, 400 feet in width and 510 feet in height. Sadly in 1940 the project was abandoned in part due to the War effort but also due to the huge expense of the scheme up to that date. However in 1960 the project was taken up again, this time to a design by competition winner Sir Frederick Gibberd.

Conclusion

The development of Liverpool during the Victorian and Edwardian period established many high standard architectural schemes around the centre of the city and showed the influence of foreign practice too. Significantly, not only were the buildings erected of a large scale when compared to the general urban environment of Liverpool but the buildings also were influenced in a great many cases by the built environment around the site upon which the civic structure was to be placed. The development of William Brown Street, a roadway which became dedicated to education and the arts, was unique not only in the local situation but also in the national context during the period considered for six large public buildings were be located in proximity to each other and designed in association to each other. Many of these buildings were erected from the same building materials too, which also helped to unite them together. In terms of planning the sense of relation between the edifices was not as strong as what it was in their designs but nevertheless the design and form of the buildings along the street are of civic design importance.

The opportunity to plan the Pierhead area was also rare in terms of public planning activity at that time involving land reclamation before the design and plan of the area
could take place. However the form of the area with its three large scale buildings was disappointing when compared to what may have been undertaken in the area. The large scale of the buildings erected at the Pierhead displayed not only an American influence, the use of modern technologies such as steel framing and use of ferro-concrete, but also many common features evident in civic design at that time. Not only were symmetrical treatments given to the main elevations but also the internal arrangements, while prominent axial lines were marked by features such as entrances which were in turn marked by elements such as a flight of steps, columns and pilasters, and lamp posts in front of the buildings, for example. Rustication was also used in the area, a notable feature of civic design in Britain, while the general effect of the area was appropriate to the Pierhead which was used as a docking point for ships entering Liverpool from America and elsewhere. Thus the Pierhead provided a fine architectural welcome to one of Britain’s largest and most important cities at that time even though the civic design of the area was not as strong as what could have been undertaken in the district.
Chapter Four: GLASGOW

Glasgow

Introduction

"Glasgow, like Edinburgh, expanded suddenly and rapidly after 1750." (Williamson et al, 1990: 40) The stimulus for this surge that resulted in an increase in both the economic importance and demographic size of the town was the growth in trans-Atlantic sugar, tobacco and cotton trading. As early as 1831 Glasgow had a population of about 200,000, a near threefold increase from its population total at the start of the nineteenth century (source: Census, 1801), by which time Glasgow had already established itself among an elite group of leading commercial and manufacturing centres in Britain (Dunbar, 1966: 138). Such was the extent of trade between Glasgow and the colonies belonging to the British Empire that by the late nineteenth century the settlement was known as "the second city in the Empire" (The Builder, 1898: 21), with its urban sprawl covering a spatial area measuring almost six miles in length and four and a half miles in width. By 1901 Glasgow's population was 622,372 (source: Census), a total only surpassed by London and Liverpool in Britain at that time.

From as early as 1772 the Glasgow Town Council was involving itself in urban planning schemes, arguably inspired by the New Town scheme in Edinburgh, designed James Craig's in 1767, when they commissioned James Barry to lay out roadways to the north of the existing urban sprawl on land which they owned. By the early 1780s the first sections of Barry's plans were implemented and from 1792 Edinburgh New Town designer James Craig established a grid plan on the Meadowflat area which lay to the west of the town. Thanks to the use of a grid system Glasgow emerged in the nineteenth century with a unique urban form and quality.

The placing of the grid pattern of streets in Glasgow over the undulating topography of the local area helped to establish impressive vistas throughout the centre of the settlement, accentuated by the form of the straight streets which helped to establish views upwards towards the sky or out towards the horizon and the surrounding countryside. Such was the significance of the topography to the settlement that Gomme and Walker (1968: 231) noted: "Hills matter more in Glasgow than in any
other large city in the country; and hills, more than anything, determine the special character of Glasgow's townscape." Vistas were also given architectural significance in the settlement through the termination of the streets by the method of placing public buildings, notably Churches such as The Tron, on sites at the ends of prominent roadways. Additionally, Glasgow obtained a distinct urban character, at least a character wholly different from that of large English urban settlements, in the Victorian period through the widespread erection of tenement buildings. This helped to produce a strong sense of individuality for the settlement as well a good environmental quality, enhanced by the laying out of large sized open areas such as Kelvingrove Park (1852), the 55 hectare Glasgow Green (1857 by James Clelland), Queen's Park (1862 by Paxton) and Alexandra Park (1868 by McLellan), which were established by the City Improvement Trust. Parks were also laid out in the period considered by this study, such as Maryhill Park, Ruchill Park and Springburn Park, all in 1892, and Tollcross and Richmond Parks in 1897. Also of note were the city's Victorian cemeteries such as the formally arranged Necropolis (1835 by John Bryce), the Eastern Necropolis (1860s) and Lambhill Cemetery (1881).

As Glasgow developed in demographic scale and importance a number of well designed public buildings were erected in order to serve the needs of the local population. These included Gartnavel Hospital (1841-3), the City and County Buildings (1842), the Glasgow Academy (1846 by Charles Wilson), the City Markets (1852-3 by Bell and Miller), the Royal Faculty of Procurators (1854-6), Old Stirling's Library (1863-4), Kibble Palace within the Botanical Gardens (1863-6), Briggait Market (1872-3), an Infectious Diseases Hospital (1874-7), the Stock Exchange (1875), Glasgow Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (1876-8) and the Kelvinside Academy (1877).

This combination of various building types and the distinct urban form of Glasgow allowed the settlement to develop with a sense of dignity and coherence which few other British cities enjoyed, and furthermore, it allowed the place to appear "like the best parts of some American cities - Boston or Philadelphia - than anywhere in England." (Nairn, 1967: 47) Hence it has been highlighted by Gomme and Walker (1987: 255) that the effect of Glasgow was like that of some of its best integrated parts, cumulative. In addition, it is suggested that the grand visual nature of Glasgow was derived from its numerous mercantile buildings and streets and not so much from its civic spaces, for Glasgow had only one civic space, George Square, which
was laid out in the early 1780s (see figure 4.2.1). However other building types and urban forms were significant in illustrating Glasgow’s wealth and importance. These included opulently designed terraced houses, large scale warehouses and villas, often using a style based upon Greek Classical design or German inspired neo-classicism. However Stamp (1997) has suggested that Glasgow by the middle of the nineteenth century was subject to two complementary design strands. The first was a local vernacular manner, the second an international design language (Gavin Stamp, Lecture to the Sheffield Society for the Appreciation of Art, 1997). At the end of the century The Builder (1898: 21) described Glasgow’s architectural flavour as generally being: “scholarly, cold and severe, founded exclusively on the Classic and Italian Renaissance styles, and entirely uninfluenced in the main by either Gothic work or the remains of the beautiful Scottish Renaissance.”

Figure 4.2.1. A view of George Square in the early nineteenth century (source: J. Swan, Select Views of Glasgow and Environs, 1829).

The rise in Glasgow’s commercial prosperity during the Victorian period provided new demand and opportunities for architecture and urban planning which had to take grandiose forms so to satisfy the growing social, economic and cultural aspirations of the citizens. By the mid 1850s Glasgow’s urban form was marked by arguably its finest and most grand design planning scheme, the Woodlands Hill scheme by Charles Wilson (1810-63). Incorporating the West End Park, later renamed Kelvingrove Park, which was designed by prominent designer William Paxton, the scheme consisted of a large number of terraced houses, a circus, a Church (1856-8
by J.T. Rohead) and a College building. This particular scheme will be examined in additional detail later within the course of this section.

The 1850s also stands as a watershed in the urban development of Glasgow due to the countless suburban developments that took place in that decade. These included Hillhead by James Salmon, Dowanhill and Dennistoun, both by James Thomson, and Langside by Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson, an architect of huge significance in mid-Victorian Glasgow as a consequence of his large number of skilfully designed private and public buildings that have been subsequently perceived to reflect a deep understanding of the form and image of the settlement at that time (McKean in Stamp and McKinstry, 1994: 97). As McKean (Ibid.: 97) noted: “Few architects inevitably stamp their mark on the city image, transforming it by their intentions. In the changing kaleidoscope of the city of Glasgow, there is no stronger individual than Alexander Thomson.”

By the mid-1860s the Corporation for the first time involved itself in slum removal and redevelopment at the central core after if established the City Improvement Trust and passed an Improvement Act in 1866. The formation of the Trust was to be significant to Glasgow’s civic design because it was set up at a time when debates concerning the improvement of Glasgow increasingly came to focus on the issue of urban layout and questions of building design and secondly because the Trust allowed the Corporation to become one of the most involved local authorities in urban affairs in Britain from that time. As Cowell (1908) has highlighted when the powers of the many local governments across England, Wales and Scotland are placed in comparison with each other it becomes evident that Glasgow was among an elite group of large urban settlements which had a local government with a larger array of environmental powers than most. However this need for the Corporation to have such wide reaching powers can partly be explained by the incidence of poor standard housing in the city. The Builder (1862: 9) stated that the scale of the slums in the central areas were among the worst in Europe. In addition the slums of Glasgow were a visible affront to the civic culture of the settlement (Allan, 1965: 598). Direct action by the city fathers was therefore imperative so to clear and rebuild malignant districts in a dignified manner and the improvement process was seen to begin in 1864 with the passing of the City of Glasgow Railway Act which allowed slum areas to be cleared so that rail lines laying could be laid down. Subsequently the success of this act encouraged an Improvement Act to be passed, in so doing
allowing the City Council to become the first in Britain to undertake urban renewal on a large scale, affecting nearly 90 acres of land. "Indeed, the improvement scheme, embarked on under the City of Glasgow Improvements Act of 1866, was by far the largest and most comprehensive single undertaking of this kind in the nineteenth century." (Allan, 1965: 604)

The Glasgow Improvement Scheme was the most comprehensive of its kind in Britain at that time and was greatly influenced by contemporary events in Paris (Edwards, 1990: 7). Paris under Haussmann essentially acted as the model upon which Glasgow was to try and redevelop itself. The 39 new streets proposed under the Glasgow scheme, later increased to 44 under an Amendment Act of 1871, meant that City Architect John Carrick was able to establish new roadways as the dominant element of urban redevelopment (Ibid.: 7). Furthermore these thoroughfares contained notions of architectural design in order to provide direct access and vistas to prominent public buildings like the Cathedral and to give access to the ring of new rail stations placed around the historic core of Glasgow. The total cost of the scheme was put at some £2,000,000.

The Kelvingrove District

It has already been recognised that various matters affected the civic design of Glasgow in the period prior up to 1880, in so doing possibly influencing subsequent local design and planning practice as well as probably affecting the form and occurrence of later civic design activity. However in order to examine the civic developments occurring in the Kelvingrove area of Glasgow again it is necessary to analyse planning schemes which took place before circa 1880 in order to help explain later urban patterns and activity.

The Kelvingrove area to the west Glasgow is physically dominated today, just as it was in the Victorian period, by Kelvingrove Park, a large open space that covers a total area of 85 acres of land through which runs the River Kelvin southwards to the River Clyde. The lay out of Kelvingrove Park can be attributed to two persons, Charles Wilson, the designer of the nearby Woodlands development who in 1851 presented the Corporation with a plan for a park in the area (Williamson et al, 1990: 281). Immediately the local authority reacted to the idea favourably and purchased
an area of land for the sum of £78,000 in 1852. In 1854 Sir Joseph Paxton (1803-65) was invited to provide a design for the new park area (Conway, 1991: 58).

From the mid 1850s Charles Wilson began laying out the Woodlands estate, sited on the plateau at the top of Woodlands Hill to the east of the West End Park as it was then known. While Wilson's work conformed to the Georgian classical tradition of architectural design and formal planning (Gomme and Walker, 1968: 93), using symmetrical layouts and design forms, it must be understood to represent the cumulative influence of local planning work in Glasgow, building upon the design and form of the opulent terraced houses and crescents laid out to the south and east of the area.

Woodlands Hill in the Kelvingrove district marked a significant stage in the process of urban development of western Glasgow, a process that subsequently incorporated the new University building, erected from 1864, the Glasgow Exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, and the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum (1891-1901). Hence attention is given to the University even though it was erected prior to the period covered by this work.

The development of the Kelvingrove area has received much acclaim for it has been understood to represent “the finest piece of town design in Glasgow, in planning and in architecture” (Williamson et al, 1990: 283), and the “finest piece of architectural design of the mid century - indeed the most striking piece of town design in Glasgow” (Gomme and Walker, 1968: 92). The overall process of development in the district took place in a number of individual stages and did not take place as a single piece of monumental planning, even though the appearance given by the buildings in the area give the impression of a single, coherent composition. Significantly, Wilson's work was carried out in association with Paxton's development of the adjacent Kelvingrove Park (Dunbar, 1966: 138) and together Paxton and Wilson were able to create a rich urban environment (Nairn, 1967: 53). “Elevations are dignified, landscaping is thick and large-scale, the total effect is comprehensible from anywhere inside the scheme” (Ibid.: 53). Gomme and Walker (1987: 250) added that as well as the excellence of the architecture there are three other factors which help make the Woodlands Hill area distinct. These factors were the imaginative use of the site so as to create a fresh urban experience, the variety of layouts in the area and the unity of the building's designs. Thus the scheme by the
Corporation formed a spectacular civic planning project echoing in the mid-late Victorian period developments at Georgian Bath, thanks to Wilson's attempts to reproduce the grandeur of this palatial city on a Glasgow headland (Wordsall, 1982: 81).

Figure 4.2.2. The vista towards the Free Church College.

The immediate impression of the Woodlands district was of flair, self-confidence but also self-discipline and elegance thanks to the design of the terraces which surround the central circus, Park Circus, the core of the area. The houses along the outer roadways, Park Terrace, for instance, were conceived as independent units within the whole with every third house being given slightly more design emphasis than the others, for example. This was reflected in their slightly accentuated yet coherent French influenced classical designs (Walker, 1992: 84), a style amalgamated with vernacular elements (Gomme and Walker, 1968: 95).

The centrepiece of the Woodlands scheme was, as noted previously, Park Circus, an open space around which were situated crescent shaped terraces that were designed with flattened centres and vertical proportions similar to those noted on opulent terraces from the Georgian era (Ibid.: 93) in West Glasgow. Within the immediate Circus area the confidence of the design of the outer terraces was replaced by a sense of restraint, yet still with a degree of elegance. The most prominent planning feature of the area was the opening of Park Circus at its western end and the channelling of the vista along it by creating a straight road, Park Gate,
so that a spectacular view to the west of the area was created. The vista was marked by a flagpole which was positioned along the line of the axis running through Park Gate and Park Circus. This alignment was later marked in the background, that is to the west of the Woodlands area, by the large tower of the new gothic styled Glasgow University that was sited on the hill on the opposite side of Kelvingrove Park and the River Kelvin.

Figure 4.2.3. Park Circus in the Woodlands estate.

The history of the University of Glasgow in the Kelvingrove district of Glasgow begins in 1863 when George Gilbert Scott, “the most prominent Gothicist during the mid-nineteenth century” (West, 1967: 174) was commissioned to undertake the design of the proposed University building. The new building even by Victorian standards was huge, measuring some 600 feet in length by about 300 feet in width while the general plan was based on traditional collegiate buildings that were planned around courtyard spaces. Construction took place between 1864 and 1870 although the central tower, the most visible element of the composition, was added later between 1887 and 1891 to a design given by Oldrid Scott. Kenmure stone, red sandstone and pink Ross granite from Mull were the principal building materials.

The design style of the University belonged to the Gothic idiom, an unusual choice for such a prominent building within a place renowned for having “remarkably few buildings of the Gothic Revival, and fewer still of special note” (Gomme and Walker, 1968: 169) at that time. But the selection of the Gothic style is of little surprise
considering that the architect selected by the University authorities was George Gilbert Scott, a noted gothicist. The main elevation, facing southwards towards Kelvingrove Park, was in a design style which Gilbert Scott himself described as a personal interpretation of Scottish gothic (Williamson et al, 1990: 338). Scott had originally introduced this particular design style into Scotland at almost the same time as the Glasgow University scheme with a building in Dundee, the Albert Institute (1864), but at Glasgow Flemish touches were added to embellish the building. Gomme and Walker (1968: 169) observed that the style chosen for the University building was "an ambitious and flamboyant design" but was nevertheless "in the manner of the municipal buildings than going up in English industrial cities."

Figure 4.2.4. A perspective of Glasgow University (source: The Builder, 1870).

The over-riding impression of the University's main elevation was of its huge scale and of symmetry in its design, marked in the centre by the two hundred feet high tower with open spire that was found directly above the main entrance. Behind the principal entrance was established the central (north-south) axis of the building along which Bute Hall was located. The ends of the main elevation were marked by pavilions, a common feature in the design of public buildings identified within civic design schemes, although The Builder (1898: 27) remarked that the best part of the overall composition was Bute Hall, one of the most largest spaces in the internal arrangement. A carriageway approached the front of the building, the road being laid out in a symmetrical form that included a number of symmetrically shaped open spaces. The layout of the roadway was in accord with the central alignment of the University's principal elevation, the central section of this main facade having its building line brought forward so to further emphasise its importance.
Despite being a gothic building in style (see figure 4.2.4) the organisation of the University conformed more to Classical lines of planning thanks to the strong axial lines established in the plan. The University's composition consisted of "two quadrangles forming into a huge rectangle" (Williamson et al, 1990: 338), a shape created by two long elevations which faced north and south being adjoined at the eastern end and at their middle by other substantial building blocks. This general form thus created two enclosed open spaces with the north and south blocks of the main University structure were positioned in parallel to each other, sited approximately 200 feet apart. The northern section contained two large spaces. One of these spaces was used as the University's Library, while the other large room, the Hunterian Museum, was positioned at the centre of the northern section of the building, sited in accord with the central north-south alignment of the building along which Bute Hall was placed.

Figure 4.2.5. Glasgow University Plan (source: Cole, 1980).

The southern, main section of the University contained two primary axes. The first was the central north-south axis, as noted previously, marked by the main entrance, the tower and Bute Hall, the other was established by a long corridor laid out so to provide access from the main entrance vestibule, laid out at ninety degrees to the previously noted north-south alignment. The additional masonry used to support the vertical element had little effect on the general plan of the building and was used to form the walls of the entrance vestibule, while the main staircase was positioned to one side of the vestibule and was not laid out on any primary planning alignment.
While it has been recognised that at the southern end of the central (north-south) axis was placed the main entrance and tower at the northern end of the plan Scott also added features so to emphasise it. This was to be achieved by bringing forward the building line, laying out carriageways in front of it and rounding the building line at the centre of the north facing facade. The rounding of the centre of the northern section was a resourceful civic design ploy by Scott as it allowed the feature to unite with the oncoming alignment of a local road, Viewfield Terrace, a roadway albeit small in nature, which approached the central section of the rear elevation albeit at an angle. However by rounding the building line the designer was able to directly being together the central section of the rear elevation and the alignment of the roadway. Other streets to the north of the University, such as Hillfield Street and Oakfield Terrace, had their alignments terminated by the end pavilions of the building which showed that the form of the building related to a degree to its setting and this is significant in terms of civic design.

Figure 4.2.6. Glasgow University and surrounding area in 1883 (source: Ordnance Survey) showing the roadways approaching the building with Park Circus to the east.
Further Developments in the Kelvingrove District

The profit earned from the successful 1888 International Exposition at Glasgow provided the foundation for the establishment of a combined art gallery and museum building in Kelvingrove Park. The exhibition, held in Kelvingrove Park, raised a total of £46,000 that was subsequently doubled by public subscription in order to pay for a modern public building to serve the cultural needs of the city. In 1891 a design competition was established and attracted over 60 entrants, with Alfred Waterhouse appointed as competition assessor. The winning design was submitted by the partnership of J.W. Simpson and E.J. Milner Allen. In 1901 the building was officially opened, in so doing forming an major element of the 1901 International Exposition, held in Kelvingrove Park, despite the colour contrast between it, erected of red Locharbriggs sandstone, and the white and gold coloured buildings of the exposition such as Exhibition Hall by James Miller (Williamson et al, 1990: 277). Miller was also responsible for the plan of the 1901 event and the site of the Art Gallery and Museum was situated towards the south-west part of Kelvingrove Park near to Dumbarton Road and Sauchiehall Street, a major thoroughfare in Glasgow. The scale of the new building was large, measuring over 400 feet in length and almost 200 feet in breadth.

Figure 4.2.7. The 1901 International Exposition plan, Kelvingrove Park. The new Art Gallery and Museum is situated to the south west of the Park with the University to the north of the public building (source: The Architectural Review, 1901).
The winning design by Simpson and Milner Allen was in a Spanish Baroque style which made the building "the most opulent sculpture in the city" (Gomme & Walker, 1968:194), a situation enhanced by the designers commissioning George Frampton in 1897 to supervise the building's external sculpting. The form and plan of the two storey art gallery and museum building was symmetrical with spaces laid out either across or along the central north-south axis. The main entrance was located at the centre of the principal, south facing elevation and was marked at the front by an entrance porch, porte-cochère, and steps. Two towers were placed on each side of the entrance porch in the middle of the north facing rear elevation while buttresses marked the side elevations of the building. End pavilions were placed at each corner of the structure and were used as galleries, lightened by large bay windows topped by steep cupolas so to emphasise the ends of the composition. Window openings along all main elevations were placed at regular distances.

Figure 4.2.8. The front elevation of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum.

The Kelvingrove Art Gallery And Museum building was designed with a plan of a simple nature. Two axes, running both across and through the plan dominated the arrangement of spaces within the building. The Art Gallery And Museum's internal arrangement was dominated by a large space in the centre of the plan, known as the Central Hall, which was entered from the doorways and vestibules located at the centre of the north and south facing elevations. The laying out of this space between the two principal entrances helped to mark the central (north-south) axis through the building, an alignment that was marked in the design of the building by features such as flights of steps in front of the doorways and vertical elements above them. The
axial line established through the Central Hall was continued away from the building albeit at an acute angle by a pathway that crossed the River Keving by means of a footbridge and terminated at a Band Stand located at some considerable distance from the building. Steps, as noted earlier, were positioned at the front of the main entrances that provided access into the building through vestibule spaces positioned behind the doorways. On each side of the vestibules were placed additional spaces, retiring rooms at the northern side of the building and cloak rooms at the southern end, arranged in a symmetrical fashion with the masonry used as part of the construction of the towers located above being used to form the walls for these spaces. Staircases were located in positions directly opposite to each other at a ninety degree angle across the central north-south axis of the Central Hall, one being located in the space known as the East Court and the other in the West Court, which helped establish a central east-west alignment in the internal arrangement. Additional gallery spaces were laid out parallel to the two rooms and gallery space was, as highlighted previously, also provided for in the plan at the wings of the building to the rear of the grand staircases between the corner pavilions.

The original Mitchell Library and Theatre, formerly known as St Andrew's Hall, in Granville and North Street, erected between 1873-7, occupied a substantial area of land in central Glasgow near to the Kelvingrove district (see figure 4.2.10). So large was the site of land of this building that it occupied almost half of an entire block of the grid plan of central Glasgow. The Mitchell building were designed in a Greek and Roman Classical manner, dominated by a centrally placed plinth beneath on the front elevation beneath which were located three entrances and above was placed the colonnaded upper floor level. However between 1906 and 1911 a new Mitchell
Library was erected to a cost of about £53,000 (The Builder, 1906: 178) on a site immediately to the east of the original building, designed by competition winner William Whittie and constructed from cream coloured Northumberland sandstone (Williamson et al, 1990: 26). The new building was large in scale with dimensions of almost 190 feet in length and 105 feet in width and significantly for the civic design of the new building it continued the Classical style and large scale of its neighbour albeit in an Edwardian Baroque manner.

Figure 4.2.10. The surroundings of the original Mitchell Library and Theatre, sited towards the centre of the map, in 1883 (source: Ordnance Survey, 1883).

Prominent design elements used for the Mitchell Library included the balustrade placed at the roof level, rustication at the ground floor level, the central section and end pavilions, a low stone wall positioned in front of the main elevation, the regular bays of the window openings between which were placed pilasters and columns, and the recessed main entrance which allowed for the introduction of civic design elements such as a flight of steps and lamp posts in front of it, located in accordance with the central axis of the front elevation. A dome also marked the curved central section of the front elevation, providing a vertical accent above the main entrance (The Builder, 1911: 571). Recessed secondary entrances were formed at each of the side elevations, marked by a flight of steps, as the building was raised some
distance above the ground level which resulted in a floor of the basement level being only five feet below the level of the street (The Builder, 1905: 321).

Figure 4.2.11. The new Mitchell Library building.

Positioned back from North Road, to which it faced, the Library’s grand design reflected civic confidence in Edwardian Glasgow (Ibid.: 279), and the grand impression of the exterior was continued inside the plan of the edifice (see figure 4.2.11), described by The Builder as “a fine architectural arrangement” (1911: 569), thanks in part to the marble and stone main staircase seen upon entering the building which was designed in a curved manner so to harmonise with the curved central section of the front elevation. The staircase was positioned in the entrance vestibule on the central (east-west) axis established in the plan and the walls of the space contained the extra masonry used to support the dome positioned above. The entrance vestibule provided access via a corridor into the largest space in the plan, the Reading Hall, which measured over 110 feet in length by over 50 feet in breadth and allowed for up to 320 readers at any one time. This room was located at ninety degrees to the central (east-west) axis, although the alignment was marked at the rear of the building by a space of an octagonal form which comprised of the Librarian’s Room. Spaces located in the pavilions at each end of the front elevation were used as special collections rooms and each space of these spaces measured 27 feet in length by 23 feet in width. The ground floor plan (see figure 4.2.12) was symmetrical in arrangement.
The City Chambers

"The commercial capital of the North, grey, grimy, and damp, yet palatial Glasgow, has an architectural character of its own that is well worth studying", noted The Builder (1892: 336). Six years later the same journal wrote that when considering the architecture of Glasgow in any detail the City Chambers, Glasgow's most prominent Victorian municipal building, has to "naturally come first" (1898: 21), thanks to its lavish design and large scale that reflected the city's wealth and importance (Williamson et al, 1990: 159). Designed by William Young, a London based Scot, the winner of the second public competition for the building in 1882, the first competition was won by George Corson but the design was subsequently ruled out on the grounds of its high cost. The structure nevertheless provided a grand late-Victorian civic gesture (Gomme and Walker, 1968: 192), despite being a building type erected unusually late in the nineteenth century like Sheffield's Town Hall (1890-7 by Edward Mountford). Furthermore it stands as huge "expression of municipal pride for so large a British city." (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 154) Queen Victoria officially opened the building in 1888. The final cost of construction was put at approximately £540,000, a sum which resulted in the building being one of the most costly civic design schemes undertaken during the period examined by this work.
Figure 4.2.13. The City Chambers' front elevation as seen from George Square with the Scott Statue in the foreground.

Designed in a free and dignified Italian Renaissance manner (Williamson et al, 1990: 159) and erected from Correnie granite from Aberdeenshire, a material of a slight pink colour, the City Chambers forms a monumental backdrop to central Glasgow's most important civic space, George Square, which was adorned with numerous statues and monuments. George Square, as noted previously, was laid out in the early 1780s and has dimensions measuring 400 feet in terms of length and a width in excess of 250 feet. By as early as 1883 when the site for the City Chambers was being cleared and redeveloped George Square contained a number of statues, the most prominent being the Scott statue, designed by David Rhind in 1837, which was positioned in the centre of the space. The location of the numerous statues in the space often corresponded to the road alignments about it, for example, evident in the position of the Scott Statue which terminated the views along Hanover Street and Miller Street while the Moore and Clyde statues also related to the oncoming alignment of Miler Street. However, significantly, all of the statues were sited in positions that corresponded with other statuary in the area. The Queen Victoria, Scott and Prince Albert statues, erected in the 1854, 1837 and 1866 respectively, were positioned in a line going from west- east through George Square, aligning with the centre of the City Chambers site even though they were so positioned prior to the building being erected. Trees were also planted in neat symmetrical arrangements within the space. Thus a major civic opportunity could be utilised within the course of the design and planning process of the City Chambers.
Gomme and Walker (1968: 193) described the City Chambers as being a structure that fits "well in the Glasgow scene", sitting upon one of the best sites in the city, "by the great open space of George Square" (Ibid.: 235). The importance of the site and the surroundings clearly helped present the building with an added sense of importance and such was the scale of the new structure that The Builder (1898: 21) noted that this "enormous edifice, which stands at the east end of George-square, in the north-east part of the central district, occupies the whole of the almost square blocks into which this city is made up."

The main elevation of the City Chambers, with its Venetian classical elements (Cunningham, 1981: 138), faced west towards George Square. The other facades of the structure adopted what Williamson et al (1990: 159) call a "more Roman gravitas" while Gomme and Walker (1968) noted that the rest of the building contained a combination of a broad mixture of historical architectural styles, which included Flemish and French elements. The design of each elevation was different from the others but did not offset the overall composition, providing contrast within the composition which reflected somewhat the disposition of rooms found inside each section of the building (Williamson et al, 1990: 159), even though each elevation was four storeys in height and measured approximately the same distance in length (240 feet).

Figure 4.2.14. The Portico and main entrance of the east facade, City Chambers. Note the placing of lamp posts directly in front of the entrance doorways.
The principal elevation was marked at its centre by the recessed main entrance (see figure 4.2.14), with raised arched headway above it and three bays topped by a portico at the roof level, the bays being divided by a series of double columns. These bays were each marked at the ground level by doorways. Above each doorway was placed sculpted decoration which was also positioned within the pediment. The sculptured decoration was by George Lawson and John Mossman which symbolised Queen Victoria and the strength of the British Empire as well as celebrating the commercial trades and industries of Glasgow. Located between the entrances were double columns that were evident also on the upper floors of the building, so providing strong vertical axes at the centre of the building. The alignments of the central three bays was emphasised further by the Palladian styled windows in the centre section that lit the Council Chamber on the first floor level, a space which was given emphasis in the composition by its large floor to ceiling height. At each end of the front elevation's central section were placed windows of a smaller size with flat headed features, some had pediments above them, a rare feature of civic design during the period studied. Directly above the vertical line of these smaller sized window openings placed at the ground, first and second floor levels, was positioned towers with cupolas at the roof level. Towers were also placed elsewhere in the composition while rustication can be seen on the ground and first floors of the building, incidentally the levels with the greatest floor to ceiling heights. Unusually for civic design pieces at that time both the corners and the centre of the main elevation was marked by vertical elements.

The corners of the City Chambers received particular treatment in the civic design process not only through the use of rustication, as noted earlier. "At each corner there is a well-proportioned pavilion surmounted by a dome, and behind the broad western pediment rises a substantial looking tower" (The Builder, 1898: 21). The design of these corner domes has been described as being "proto-Baroque" (Williamson et al, 1990: 159). The central tower, the tallest of the vertical features in the composition at a height of 190 feet, was situated on the central alignment of the main elevation where the main entrance was positioned, and added to the huge physical presence of the edifice when viewed eastwards across the open space of George Square. The tower, in addition, marked the central (east-west) axis established in the internal arrangement to the rear of the principal entrance. The Builder (1898: 21) stated that the presence of a tower made a satisfactory centrepiece to the simple and dignified groups of architectural features on the
western elevation. Gomme and Walker (1968: 193) noted that the general massing of the western elevation was "handsome" and that the corner towers "gave a splendid lift to the facade. Furthermore, a difficult task in so large a building, the details are in principle satisfactory in scale in relation to the whole". The tower though while adding to the visual effect of the City Chambers served a functional basis too, containing two floor levels of office accommodation, concealed within the rusticated lower levels of the feature. Such a practical use of a vertical element was a rare feature of civic design during the period considered and was only evident in a small number of other buildings examined.

The overall plan of the City Chambers (see figure 4.2.15) was basically square in form with the southern, northern and western entrances leading into the central, square shaped courtyard. The internal plan of the City Chambers was dominated by the corridor to the rear of the main entrance which formed an axis leading into and through the building, marked as noted previously by the central tower above, and by a corridor that cut across the central alignment at a ninety degree angle, running in a north-south direction. The Builder (1898: 21) described the internal arrangement of the City Chambers as being "well managed, the lower ones", floors that is, "containing the offices being included in a high basement that gives prominence to the principal floor on which the council and committee rooms, the reception rooms, banqueting hall, and so on, are situated." Subsidiary alignments were also apparent in the internal arrangement, running off the primary north-south axis so to give access to office spaces located within the sides of the building although the use of symmetry in the plan was most evident at the front sections of the ground and first floor levels, and were of such a form that they mirrored themselves across the central east-west axis established at the rear at the centre of the front elevation which was marked away from the building in George Square, for example, by features such as the Scott Monument. Thus the central axis of the building and space in front of it were continued inside the public building and this is of significance to the practice of civic design (see figure 4.2.16) particularly, as noted previously, as these statuary were erected in the open space prior to the construction of the City Chambers. In addition, four lamp posts were erected at the front of the central section of the building, positioned in accord with the position of the main entrances and the alignment at the centre of the front elevation.
The principal rooms on the ground floor level of the City Chambers included the main entrance vestibule and the Rates Offices, a space of substantial size about 100 feet in length situated towards the rear of the building. Office spaces within the City Chambers were generally placed towards the sides and rear of the building away from the more prominent spaces positioned at the front of the plan. However the majority of the building's principal rooms were put on the first floor at the front of the building. These included the Lord Provost's Room, which occupied the south western
corner pavilion, the Mahogany Reception Room, the Octagonal Salon, situated in the north western pavilion, and the Council Chamber which was positioned directly above the entrance vestibule and so occupied a central position in the western, front elevation. Other important rooms such as the Library were positioned along the southern elevation while the Banqueting Hall (see figure 4.2.17), the largest room in the building, which had a length well in excess of 100 feet, and was also double-height and double-vaulted, was positioned at the northern side of the building’s plan. This elevation was noted by The Builder (Ibid.: 21) as being “the most satisfactory, no doubt because the internal arrangements permitted the use in this part of one large order, instead of two superimposed ones that are carried round the rest.”

Figure 4.2.17. A view inside the Banqueting Hall, City Chambers, Glasgow.

Figure 4.2.18. Plan of the front section of the ground floor, Glasgow City Chambers.
Staircases in the plan were placed in positions that were in accord with the central axis of the front section of the City Chambers. The two main ground floor staircases being placed on each side of the rear of the vestibule at equal distances from the central alignment and on each side of the rear of the Council Chamber on the first floor. The masonry used as help support the towers positioned above at the front of the building formed part of the walls of the vestibule and was also used to establish columns, located at the rear of this space and to the rear wall of the staircase on the ground floor. Therefore the extra masonry had little effect upon the internal arrangement of the building. On the first floor level the extra masonry was used to form columns and walls, like on the ground floor level, such as the rear wall of the Council Chamber.

Public Architecture in the George Square Area

The City Chambers was not the only public building to be built in the St George's Square area in the late-Victorian period. In 1885 an Inland Revenue Office was built in an Italian Renaissance design (The Builder, 1898: 22) by W.W. Robertson, an employee of the Board of Works for Scotland, at the north-east of George Square. The Inland Revenue Office though had a minor impact upon the eye in George Square and have even less affect upon the civic design of the area, the most notable feature being its corner along George Square being cut although the shaved building line, where the principal entrance was placed, corresponded with the position of Oswald's Statue, designed by Marochetti in 1856, in the north eastern corner of George Square (see figure 4.2.19). This shaving of the front corner of the building was a rare method of handling a prominent corner in civic design practice during the period considered and was not seen in any other design schemes examined in provincial Britain during the period considered for study.
Another public building erected in proximity to the City Chambers was the General Post Office. Built between 1875 and 1878 to a design by Robert Matheson, an employee of HM Board of Works for Scotland, the Post Office faced north towards George Square and has been said to be reminiscent of Gilbert Scott's Foreign Office in Whitehall (Williamson et al, 1990: 166). The Builder (1898: 22) described the building as being a respectable example of the Italian Renaissance style "having in its upper stories a certain breadth and dignity."

The design of the front of the large Post Office, erected from Peterhead granite to a height of 75 feet, displayed many common civic design characteristics evident at the
time in the large sized provincial settlements of Britain. For example, symmetry was used within the design of the 190 feet long front elevation, emphasised by the placing of the main entrance at the centre of the facade, in so doing corresponding with the position of the Prince Albert statue in George Square, erected before the Post Office was constructed which in civic design terms of note The ends of the front elevation were marked by end pavilions while the classical design style of the Post Office (The Builder, 1876: 1051) allowed it to be “in harmony with the principal buildings in the vicinity.” (Ibid.: 1051) The site was noted by The Builder to be adorned by many fine buildings (Ibid.: 1051).

The attempt by the designer to associate the new public building with its surroundings by architectural composition and by plan gives the scheme civic design significance. The end pavilions, like the centre of the building at the ground floor level, were each marked by an arched entrance in front of which were positioned flights of steps and a low height stone wall within which were set lamp posts at regular distances so to be in accordance with the symmetrical front elevation of the edifice. The entrances were also marked by porticos, to the sides of which were placed double columns. Between the bays on the main elevation, that were established at regular distances from the centre of the building, were situated window openings. Windows on the ground and first floor were designed with arched heads while rustication was used on the ground floor level, the principal floor level, as a means to decorate it. The height of the ground floor was larger than that of other floors. The windows positioned at the centre of the main, north facing elevation were given pediments on the second floor level so to put emphasis on the centre of the structure, an uncommon feature in civic design in the late-Victorian and Edwardian period, which however was commonly applied in Glasgow, and while the window openings were placed at regular distances across the main elevations the form of the fenestration was different along the 120 feet long side elevations so to provide an element of contrast. (Ibid.: 1051)

The building was designed with a low pitched roof so to possibly not be seen from the street level and balustrades were also used to cover the rooftop from the eye being placed though in limited positions so as to possibly emphasise the corner pavilions and central section. But the form of the roof altered at the ends of the building, changing from running parallel to the line of front elevation to going parallel to the line of the side elevations.
Chapter Four: GLASGOW

The plan of the Post Office (figure 4.2.21) was simple in form and contained only few spaces, of which only one, the Public Lobby, was for public use. This particular space had dimensions measuring over 20 feet in breadth and 40 feet in length, and while being large in size was small in comparison to other spaces within the internal arrangement. However the importance of the room was shown by its position to the rear the centrally placed main entrance. The front section of the plan, that is along the elevation facing north towards George Square, was of a symmetrical form comprising a Telegraph Office to one side of the Public Lobby and a Money Order Office and Registered Letter Office, which measured 80 feet in length by 35 feet in width, to the other. At the rear of the building was situated the largest space in the plan, a letter sorting area, which measured over 50 feet in breadth and 150 feet in length.

Figure 4.2.21. The ground floor plan of the central Post Office, George Square.

Inter-War Glasgow

1914 for many reasons marks the end of an era of civic design in Glasgow. Not only did the onset of World War One significantly affect the civic and social spirit in the city in the following years but it also brought about a change in attitude within the Corporation towards development of the centre of the city (population 1,034,000 in 1921, source: Census) after war ended in 1918. Between 1918 and 1939 only four major public schemes took place in the city, one of which was the refacing of the
Trades Hall in 1927 by John Keppie. The others schemes that took place were the erection of the Kelvin Hall (1926-7 by City Engineer, Thomas Somers), a project that only took place after fire destroyed an existing public hall in 1926, the construction of Telephone House by HM Office of Works in 1937 and the extension of the City Chambers (completed in 1923) by Watson, Slamond and Gray. However, in the outer areas of Glasgow new civic building occurred on a much greater scale than before and a large number of public buildings, such as Board Schools as well as a park in 1930, the Kelbourne Street Fire Station (1936 by Thomas Somers), the Cambuslang Public Library and Offices (1936-8 by John Stewart) and the Gardiner Medical Institute (1937-8 by H. Harold Hughes), were erected.

Conclusion

It has been shown in this section that the a rich history of civic design existed in Glasgow prior to the period that this project considers although during the period 1880 to 1914 some important public buildings in Glasgow, principally the City Chambers and University, were erected. The degree to which civic design was involved in new public schemes, as was also true in other provincial, places varied from scheme to scheme partly due to the intent of the architect involved but did nevertheless display many common design and planning features at that time. These included symmetrical planning forms, symmetry in the handling of the main elevations, the placing of main entrances in the centre of the primary elevation, the emphasising of the main entrance by placing features around it, such as vertical features and the use of features in front of the building like porte-cochères, used as part of the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum composition, and the use of existing statuary. He use of statuary was evident in the City Chambers, Inland Revenue Office and central Post Office schemes, all in the George Square area of central Glasgow. Some elements of Glasgow's civic design, such as the placing of small pediments above window openings, were not evident in public design elsewhere in Britain during the period considered.

For a provincial settlement of such huge size and importance Glasgow's civic design practice during the period selected for study can be considered somewhat disappointing for it did not provide a significant amount of evidence that the surrounding urban environment was an influence on the design and plan of new
public buildings, many of which were very large in scale. But the influence of a building's setting could be seen on many occasions, such as the Inland Revenue Office, George Square, where the front corner of the structure was shaved off so that it could correspond with the axis of a nearby statue. This at best cannot be said to represent not too strong civic designing but was a rarely seen feature of civic design practice not only in Glasgow but in the other places examined. However the civic design that was practised in the city was stronger in nature than was seen in other large provincial centres at that time and did at least, albeit in a minor way, show some association with the surrounding environment in some instances. In the case of the City Chambers, the city's most expensive, large scale and prominent scheme erected between about 1880 and 1914, the extent of civic design was stronger than in other schemes and involved the continuing of alignments established in the building's plan out into George Square, the open space to which it fronted. In addition, the strength of the scheme was recognised by it using a variety of design and planning features simultaneously, many of which were not seen elsewhere in the city or in other provincial settlements studied.
Chapter Four: MANCHESTER and SALFORD

Manchester and Salford

Introduction

Towards the end of the Middle Ages Manchester began to acquire a reputation as an industrial place where weaving and the trading of locally manufactured goods was undertaken and by about 1700 the population of the settlement was approximately 10,000. In 1721 the River Irwell, which passes through the settlement, was made navigable for the first time and in 1759 the Duke of Bridgewater constructed a canal through the settlement to his coal mine in Worsley. In 1776 the canal was extended, reaching Runcorn at the Mersey Estuary, thus making Manchester and its industries reachable by boat from the coast for the first time. Between 1790 to 1805 further canals were undertaken in the Manchester area allowing the settlement by the start of the nineteenth century to be at the hub of the Lancashire canal system. Such was the impact of the canals in Manchester that Pevsner (1969: 266) remarked that the creation of this infrastructure helped to establish the Industrial Revolution in the town.

By September 1830 a rail line was laid down in Manchester for the first time as part of the Liverpool-Manchester rail scheme and a station at Liverpool Street was erected. In 1844 the huge Victoria Station was built and in the same year Disraeli remarked that Manchester was “the most wonderful city of modern times”. In civic terms new heights were reached in 1853 when city status was granted, just fifteen years after incorporation had taken place (Messinger, 1985: 151), a period within which Manchester had developed into “not only a great city, but also a great metropolis, the centre of a vast network of suburbs and smaller towns encompassing most of Lancashire, and parts of Cheshire and Derbyshire to the south.” (ibid.: 17) The civic development of Manchester revealed itself in numerous public architectural forms by the mid-nineteenth century and prominent buildings included the Public Hall (1853), Assize Courts (1859), the Exchange (1866 by Mills and Murgatroyd), the Town Hall (from 1866) and Court House (1867 by Mangnall and Littlewood). As Archer (1985: 128) has shown Manchester’s civic ambition “found its most dramatic expression in the building of the Town Hall” while Briggs (1952: 138) noted the Town Hall was a building that notified the world that Manchester took local government seriously.
From as early as the 1790s Manchester was noted for its urban problems with Lord Torrington commenting that the town was "nasty" in nature and by 1808 Richard Holden had noted the "abominably filthy" condition of the settlement. By the mid-nineteenth century Manchester was suffering from a number of problems, principally the presence of disease, overcrowding, social class unrest, slum housing and widespread poverty among the poorest of its society, problems that helped to inspire ground-breaking reports, such as Dr. John Kay's 'The Moral and Physical Conditions of the Working Classes' (1832) and Friedrich Engels' 'The Condition of the Working Classes' (1844). However the Corporation did not stand idle to this situation and to help overcome the health problems experienced by the local population the Corporation laid out Queen's Park and Philips Park in 1846, both to plans to J. Major, as well as Alexandra Park (1869), Manley Park Winter Gardens (1877), Heywood Park (1879), Birchfields Park and Chetham Park (both 1885). A cemetery was also laid out in 1863 (by Paull and Aycliffe) and a large Infirmary (1865) was erected. But to highlight only the negative conditions of the Manchester environment would not portray a rounded picture of the settlement at that time, for it contained both vast poverty and wealth: "Manchester in the nineteenth century was very rich, but the riches were concentrated in the hands of one class, and its members were munificent or mean, humane or callous. It is all expressed in architectural terms for those with eyes to see." (Pevsner, 1969: 267)

Figure 4.3.1. Cornish's 1870 map of central Manchester.
Industrialisation was to significantly affect the urban form of Manchester. With the onset of industrialisation came the emergence to cotton manufacture in the settlement, but to recognise that the growth of Manchester from the early nineteenth century was solely the responsibility of cotton production would be inaccurate. However it did have a significant effect, hence Briggs’ (1952: 88) remark that cotton made modern Manchester, although Manchester’s growth was as much a consequence of its mercantile activities. Yet while industrialisation affected Manchester so did architectural developments that reflected the private and public progress of the town: “The growth of Manchester in the eighteenth century and up to the time when Queen Victoria came to the throne can visually be observed in the streets and by plotting churches and watching public buildings”, noted Pevsner (1969: 268). The affect of industrialisation upon the architecture and appearance of Manchester was also noticed by German architect Freidrich Schinkel who, on his first visit to Manchester in the mid 1820s, wrote of the 400 or so factories in the town, some of which he recognised were of a scale comparable to the Royal Palace, Berlin. By the time of Schinkel’s visit a number of prominent Classical public buildings could be seen in Manchester. These included the Town Hall, erected in 1823 (see figure 4.3.2), and the Royal Institution by Charles Barry, opened 1825 (see figure 4.3.3), which formed important elements in the developing political and cultural life of the settlement.

Figure 4.3.2. The Old Town Hall.
With a population of over 75,000 in 1801 (source: Census) Manchester was already a place of substantial size prior to the Victorian period. By 1851 Manchester’s population total, excluding that of Salford, had experienced a marked growth and had risen to in excess of 300,000 people (source: Census), with approximately one million people living within a twelve mile radius of the settlement due to the growth of industrial towns in Lancashire at that time (Simon, 1938: 19), such as Bolton and Oldham. By 1901 Manchester had a population of almost 544,000 (source: Census), partly due to extensions to its boundaries in the late 1880s and 1890s, in so doing engulfing previously outlying settlements, which made it the third largest in England after London and Liverpool. By the start of the twentieth century Manchester also displayed a broad range of public structures, among which were the new Town Hall and Assize Court (now removed), both designed in a Gothic manner by Alfred Waterhouse, which received much contemporary attention due to the high quality of the designs.
In planning terms the rapid urban development of Manchester and the converging of houses around numerous factories and mills, the most dominant structures of its townscape (Chadwick in Dyos and Wolff, 1978: 247), resulted in a urban form which was not only tightly packed around sources of employment but one which contained a proliferation of private and public structures that expressed the growing cultural ambitions of the town and the local population's civic pride for their place of habitation. However, remarked The Builder (1896: 369) there is "perhaps no large city in England which strikes one as so destitute of plan as Manchester", with the rapid growth of the settlement during the course of the nineteenth century being largely unregulated apart from by-laws regulating new road widths and housing densities from the late 1840s (Simon, 1938: 312-3). As Simon (Ibid.: 312) noted: "The city of Manchester is the outstanding example of a city that has never been planned", but such a remark however pays scant attention to the fact that Manchester developed with an urban environment of an artistic character for throughout the nineteenth century large, grandiose public buildings were erected within and close to its central core.

Of significance to this project are those buildings constructed as a result of local government activity and by the 1870s, as a consequence of the artistic crusade that was undertaken by the growing Middle Class population in the region (Harrison in Kidd and Roberts, 1985: 120), a social group that included philanthropists such as T.C. Horsfall who was central in establishing German notions of town extensions in the emerging national town planning movement in the early twentieth century, the Corporation had erected a significant number
Chapter Four: MANCHESTER and SALFORD

of well designed public buildings. Importantly in Manchester this encouragement by the Middle Classes for all things of an artistic nature was of a practical nature: "It was clear that the lip service that had long been paid to art was being converted into action." (Ibid.: 120) By the 1870s the Corporation was also heavily involved in urban design matters, most notably the removal of insanitary properties and the redeveloping out of the cleared areas, and the widening of prominent roadways such as Deansgate, Spring Gardens and Tib Street in the centre of the city (The Builder, 1879: 1434).

The demographic ascent of Salford, a settlement situated to the west of Manchester, with the River Irwell defining the administrative boundaries between the two settlements, in many respects typified urbanisation during the nineteenth century. With a population of only 18,179 in 1801 (source: Census) Salford was by the start of the next century the tenth largest provincial urban settlement in England having a population of over 220,000 people (source: Census, 1901). By this time the growth of Manchester and Salford had been such that their urban sprawls now adjoined. For the purpose of this study, while the distinct identities of both Manchester and Salford has been respected, the architectural and planning histories of both settlements have been brought together. But the civic identity of Salford as an individual settlement was apparent from as early as the mid 1820s when the Grecian styled Town Hall was constructed, designed by Richard Lane. By 1844 Salford has acquired a Cathedral, the same year that the town received its charter of incorporation so establishing a local authority in the settlement. However it is with a study of civic design in late-Victorian and Edwardian Manchester that this section begins.

The Town Hall

The Builder (1896: 369), as highlighted earlier, commented that Manchester by the end of the nineteenth century was a settlement destitute of plan with its "principal thoroughfares, in the central and oldest as well as most important part of the city, seem to go in all ways and acknowledge no points of the compass, no prevalent direction of main routes." However the journal did recognise that the city contained a well established municipal and architectural centre. In Manchester the architectural and civic core was based around the second Town Hall building, a structure erected prior to the period covered by this work but due to its
significant impact upon the design of the local environment it has been included for examination.

The emergence of building types related to the growth of local governments from the mid-nineteenth century onwards may be seen to be architectural statements reflecting the developing sense of corporatism evident in large towns and cities across Britain from that time, such as Manchester. "This doctrine stated that the provinces were as important as the metropolis; that sensibly run local government was both a requirement and a source of national creativity; and that a heritage of common experiences had given each of the cities which grew during the industrial revolution an intangible unity which was a source of pride and a key influence upon personal character." (Messinger, 1985: 150) No better example of this conviction can be seen than in Manchester where a new Town Hall was erected to replace the original Town Hall structure, subsequently converted into a public library by the mid-late 1870s after the Corporation had repeatedly failed to sell the building (Manchester Council Proceedings, 10th January 1877 and 11th April 1877).

The design competition established by the Corporation in 1866 for a new Town Hall, to be adjudicated by George Godwin, the editor of The Builder publication, resulted in possibly one of the greatest public buildings of the Victorian period thanks to the design and planning ability of competition winner, Alfred Waterhouse, whose design was selected on the grounds of its "architectural merit, construction, excellence of plan and arrangement, light, cost, and provision of space room" (The Builder, 1868: 190). Waterhouse prior to this particular competition win had already made an impact upon the developing townscape of Victorian Manchester thanks to another competition win in 1859 for the Assize Court, a building noted by Pevsner (1969: 280) as being a milestone in the history of the gothic revival due to its strong composition and planning arrangement. But a watershed was established with the erection of the new Town Hall, an epitome of the Town Hall building type (Cunningham, 1981: 2). The cost of the new building was put at about £860,000 (Cunningham and Waterhouse, 1992), which made the building one of the most expensive of its time.

The Town Hall (1868-77), built of brown Spinkwell sandstone, helped to established a new peak in municipal architecture. The new edifice was designed in a manner, which The Builder noted as being "absolutely Gothic in the selection of precedents upon which it is modelled, which are solely the earlier phases of the English and of French Gothic" (The Builder, 1896: 370). The journal added (Ibid.: 370) that the building "expresses its functions
in every line, and is thoroughly worthy...it looks well under every aspect of a changing English day, and from whatever direction it is approached. In after years it will probably be accounted as one of the most excellent works which the nineteenth century has bequeathed to its successors."

Figure 4.3.5. Manchester Town Hall in 1895. Note the placing of lamp posts at regular distances at the front of the building (source: De Gex, 1996).

In many respects Manchester’s Town Hall was the public building with everything in civic design terms. By this it is meant the scheme contained fine architectural detailing, an innovative plan, stylistic freedom of design, open space other than a roadway in front of it, significantly a space to be later filled with architectural elements such as statuary, a vertical element, a large bulk and a strong visual impact. The Town Hall composition provided a unique example of municipal architecture that explicitly expressed the authority of the local government (Archer, 1985: 161) and its aspirations at that time. Significantly too, the building was designed and planned in a functional way that responded to the wants of the time (Paper by Waterhouse given to the RIBA. See The Builder, 1877: 176) while its chosen design style has been noted as being a reflection of the Corporation’s insistence that the new Town Hall should try to express the kind of civic spirit evident in the city states of Renaissance Europe centuries before (Messinger, 1985: 152).
The scale of the Town Hall in Manchester was immense. The front elevation measured almost 400 feet in length and the breadth of the building was almost 350 feet while the tower, positioned at the centre of the front of the building above the main entrance, reached a height of 286 feet. The extra masonry used to support the vertical element had no impact upon the planning of the building with the stonework being used to form walls of the entrance vestibule at the ground floor level, positioned to the rear of the principal entrance, and Ante Room on the first floor level. In every aspect of its design the Town Hall dominated the local environment, assisted by it being raised above ground level, and such was its scale that it was impossible for other buildings to rival it: "None of the buildings in the immediate neighbourhood of the Town Hall compete with it at all in size" noted The Builder. (1896: 370).
While the strength of the building's gothic design and its stylistic quality has been noted in numerous pieces of literature, reference should also be made to the ingenuity of the Town Hall's plan. Erected on an awkwardly shaped plot, triangular in form wedged between Princess Street and Lloyd Street, Waterhouse devised a planning system for the Town Hall based on a combination of pragmatism and ingenuity. The shape of the site (see figure 4.3.8 for a plan of the area prior to development), and the overcoming of the difficulties faced in the planning of the building, led The Builder (1896: 371) to highlight that the structure was "a masterly feat of planning, and architects are in the habit of referring to it principally as an instance of skill overcoming the difficulties of an extremely irregular and (considering the extent and variety of the accommodation required), very contracted, and apparently insufficient site." Symmetry was a discernible element of the plan (figure 4.3.9), just as it had been in the composition of the main elevations, and can clearly be seen in the arrangement of the spaces within the building.
The planning form of the Town Hall followed closely to the building lines of the structure’s main elevations that were in turn influenced by the shape of the site. All office spaces within the building were arranged in a continuous band which were placed against the outer wall of the building, inside of which was placed a concentric corridor that provided unconstrained circulation around the building’s plan. This corridor followed an unbroken line all on every floor of the building, “so that the rooms as a rule look outwards, while the passages and staircases are well lighted throughout by windows facing the inner courts” (The Builder, 1896: 371), these being the open spaces positioned on each side of the Public Hall, the largest space within the internal arrangement which measured about 100 feet in length and 50 feet in width. This space was situated towards the centre of the building’s plan (see figures 4.3.9 and 4.3.10).
Figure 4.3.9 (top). The ground floor plan of the Town Hall, Manchester.

The main entrance of the Town Hall was positioned at the centre of the north west facing front elevation, a facade that faced towards a newly created space which was established as
part of the Town Hall scheme, while the principal entrance itself led directly towards the Public Hall and staircases which provided access to the rooms located in the building's principal floor, the first floor level. However the axis established through the centre of the Public Hall was slightly offset from the alignment established at the centre of the front elevation. But the two major axes corresponded by running parallel to each other in an east-west direction and Waterhouse was able to directly bring together the two axial lines through establishing a ceremonial route from the rear of the main entrance, a route marked by a large entrance vestibule and a large space to the front of the Public Hall, an Entrance Hall. Staircases were positioned at the north and south ends of this space, facing towards each other, in so doing reinforcing the symmetrical form of the front section of the building's plan. Goodhart Rendel (1953) remarked upon Waterhouse's ability to incorporate planning lines in the scheme through his mastery of architecturally organisation, with Manchester Town Hall being "his most perfect achievement" (1953: 158). The council chamber and the Mayor's Apartments, Committee Rooms and Reception Rooms were placed parallel to the building line of the main elevation on the first floor level as the competition regulations stated that the main rooms of the building should be at the first floor level (Archer, 1985: 130). The importance of the first floor level was emphasised by Waterhouse in the overall civic design by its floor to ceiling height being larger than other floor levels, for example.

Figure 4.3.11. The front of the Town Hall plan at the first floor level.

The competition regulations permitted the creation of architectural features at principal angles in the design and plan. Waterhouse exploited this ruling and emphasised the corners of the edifice by placing projecting pavilions that allowed the building to turn the corners of the site in a fluid manner without breaking the coherency of the design. In addition, it
allowed him to use the end pavilions as a means to not only bring the side and front elevations together with a degree of coherency but to help change the scale between the elevations as the height of the elevations varied, the side elevations being of a height that was much less than that of the principal west facing elevation. Each elevation was also designed with a central section, also emphasised by a projecting building line and the placing of a vertical element such as a tower so to draw the eye towards it and to reinforce the visual impact of the building, the scale of which was in proportion to the overall size of the elevation along which it was placed. Windows on all floor levels were designed with arched heads above them which was a common form of fenestration in Victorian and Edwardian civic design as noted by this study.

The development of a grandiose Town Hall by the Corporation was not an isolated event in the development of the area in proximity to the new building. About the same time as the Town Hall was being constructed a piece of land in front of the building's site was cleared and developed into a "fairly large open area" (The Builder, 1898: 371), named Albert Square, which subsequently became an important civic space in central Manchester. The Builder also noted that this space in front of the Town Hall "adds greatly to the effectiveness of the building" (Ibid.: 371). The size of the Albert Square was extensive, covering an area of almost 400 feet in length and in 200 feet in width. The laying out of the space from 1863, so to commemorate the life of the Prince Consort, presented an opportunity for putting statuary, including the subsequent placing of the Albert Memorial, into the space which was seen by Archer (1985: 11) as being "indicative of Manchester's physical and political development". Designed by Thomas Worthington between 1862 and 1867, the four-sided 73 feet high gothic styled Albert Memorial, paid for by public donations, became the central feature of the new public space. The statue was described as bearing a "considerable resemblance - though carried out on a smaller scale and with less costly materials - to the great monument in London, and is, like it, distinctly Italian in character." (The Builder, 1896: 373) With the funds remaining after the monument had been commissioned a building, the Memorial Hall, was erected at the corner of Albert Square and the roadway known as South Mill, also designed by Thomas Worthington in 1865 which helped to provide a rich design setting for the Town Hall which was erected a few years later. The red brick and stone Memorial Hall was designed in a Venetian Gothic style, a style that Canniffe and Jefferies (1998: 51) saw as reflecting the influence of John Ruskin in the mid-Victorian period who proposed this particular style as a model for building in Victorian mercantile districts. The most prominent design features of this particular building were its arched windows, raised ground floor level and steps leading into the recessed main entrance.
The site of the Albert Memorial statue in the centre of Albert Place was related to the plan of the Town Hall (see figure 4.3.13), as it was positioned directly in front of the Town Hall's central east-west line of axis, that is the alignment marked by the main entrance and steps in front of the centre of the building and by the clock tower above. Furthermore the position of the Albert Memorial met with the alignment of an oncoming roadway, Brazennose Street.

As a consequence of this planning practice the Town Hall, and Albert Memorial scheme, must be considered in terms of civic design for the central alignment of the building was allowed to continue away until it terminated at the statue which can be noted as being a major piece of architectural design. In addition, in a settlement that developed with few consciously planned central areas, this large scale symmetrical composition takes on greater urban design significance. By the early 1890s additional statuary had been added to Albert Square, all laid out in an organised manner so to give a sense of order to the space, being placed primarily in a north-south line which aligned with important positions of the Town Hall's front elevation, such as the end pavilions (see figure 4.3.13). These late-nineteenth century statues added to the space included one of Gladstone, erected circa 1878 and designed by M. Reggi, Bishop Fraser (1887 by Thomas Woolner) John Bright (by Bruce Joy in 1891) and Oliver Heywood (1894, also by Joy).
The Magistrates Court, Post Office and Police and Fire Station

By the mid-Victorian period the central plan of Manchester had formed into a loose grid pattern based upon a large number, for the most part, of small roadways that cut across each other at almost ninety degree angles and by the end of the nineteenth century a number of prominent public buildings had been erected along such roads. These buildings included a Magistrate’s Court (1868-71) at the junction of Bloom Street and Minshull Street, a new Post Office building (1881-7) in Spring Gardens and a Police and Fire Station (1901-6). The Magistrate’s Court (figure 4.3.14) was designed by Thomas Worthington, an architect who, like Alfred Waterhouse at about the same time, made a significant impact upon civic design practice in Manchester, and was designed in a symmetrical Gothic manner and constructed from red brick with stone dressings. A tower was the most striking design feature of this particular building which suffered in that its impact upon the eye was lessened by the poor choice of site (Pevsner, 1969: 283). But, by being surrounded by relatively thin roadways the building, the same being true for the classically styled Post Office building (1881-7, see figure 4.3.15) by James Williams at Spring Gardens, both suffered in that both buildings were difficult to view directly. Such a situation naturally affected the impact of the civic design of central Manchester, and the situation was not assisted in both of the above cases by the cramped built environment around each building.
was surrounded mainly by small scale private banking buildings and the Magistrate’s Court was located in an area of Manchester were many building types, including Georgian houses and modern warehouse structures, were erected. These environments were therefore not the most advantageous for the practising of civic design principles commonly used at that time, and as there were few buildings of architectural note or large scale in the each environment to which each public edifice could relate itself to this also affected the overall civic design impact of the building regardless of the design style and features employed.

Figure 4.3.14. The Magistrates Courts and Police building by Worthington.

Figure 4.3.15. A perspective of the General Post Office building (source: The Builder, 1896).
At the start of the twentieth century construction began on one of the largest of Manchester's public buildings, the Police and Fire Station (figure 4.3.17), a building that also contained spaces to be used for Coroner's Courts (Canniffe and Jefferies, 1998: 87), an ambulance station and spaces for testing gas meters (The Builder, 1906: 405). The cost of the new building was put at in excess of £120,000 (Ibid.: 405), a large amount for a building of its type. Erected on an isolated site of a triangular form at the junction of Whitworth Street and London Road to the south of the Manchester's central core, which was previously occupied by a large number back-to-back terraced houses, this four storey building designed by locally based architects Woodhouse, Willoughby and Langham brought the virtues of Edwardian Baroque architectural design to Manchester in a powerful manner.

Built from red brick and yellow buff terracotta (Pevsner, 1969: 283) the edifice was designed with many architectural elements common in civic design at that time. These included the symmetrical main elevation along London Road, the use of a vertical feature, a tower surmounted by cupola, the use of round arch headed windows on the first and second floor levels while the large door openings to be used for the fire engines also contained round arch heads. Other prominent features included the use of rustication along the principal ground floor level, which was also given an extended floor to ceiling height so as to allow fire engines into the central courtyard around which the building was planned. Porticos were placed at orderly distances along the main London Road facade with fenestration placed in
regular bays along the south and east facing elevations, the two most important elevations in the composition. The corner where these two front elevations met, facing Whitworth Road and London Road, was handled differently from the other corners and was rounded, surmounted at the roof level by the previously noted vertical element.

Figure 4.3.17. The Fire and Police Station (source: Canniffe and Jefferies, 1998).

Enclosed by buildings of an industrial nature the Fire and Police Station was unable to make a dramatic impact upon the civic design of Edwardian Manchester not so much due to the design style or features employed but due to the site and surroundings. For example, the long London Road elevation faced east towards an embankment above which was located the London Road Rail Station. Therefore it was unable to relate itself to the station building due to the differences in ground levels at which the two buildings were situated. Similarly the long south facing Whitworth Street elevation faced towards a number of small scale buildings which were significantly smaller in size than the public building. Among these nearby private buildings was a public house while to the rear of the Fire and Police Station were situated additional small scale buildings, possibly houses and industrial buildings such as workshops. Thus the environment was not particularly advantageous to civic design practise or particularly dignified enough for the art to occur and the only evidence to suggest
the relation of the public building to its setting comes at the rounded corner of Whitworth Street and London Road which was set back slightly from the road junction, so catching briefly the alignment of London Road as it turns northwards to approach the central core of Manchester. However this at best represents the exercise of weak civic design during the time period considered when compared with other schemes examined.

Figure 4.3.18. The setting of the Fire and Police Station (source: Ordnance Survey, 1923).

Owen's College

In 1845 when John Owens died he left in his will a considerable financial sum, almost £100,000, to be used to erect an educational college (Messinger, 1985: 141). A building (see figure 4.3.19) was subsequently erected in the Chorlton-on-Medlock district of Manchester and in March 1851 Owen's College was opened, which in the following years the was to have a growing influence upon the cultural life of Manchester (Briggs, 1952: 136). In 1868 the authorities of Owen's College proposed a new building in order to cope with the growing size of the institution and in 1880 the College, which had already acquired a reputation for being a science dominated, research orientated seat of learning (Kargon, 1977: 190, 214), became the first Manchester based institution to be amalgamated into the newly formed Victoria University, a regional establishment based in the large cities of northern England such as Liverpool and Leeds, partly to help reduce the disparity in skill levels between workers in German and British manufacturing industries (Ibid.: 200). By 1903
Owen's College had achieved University status in its own right from which Manchester University, arguably "the greatest of the early civic universities" (Briggs, 1952: 135) emerged.

Figure 4.3.19. The original Owen's College building.

Figure 4.3.20. The Owen's College building by Waterhouse (source: Thompson, 1886).

When Alfred Waterhouse was commissioned to design the new buildings for Owen's College on a site at Oxford Road, selected in October 1868, to the south of the city centre, another large-scale and grandiose public edifice was erected in Manchester, the third designed by Waterhouse after the Assize Courts and Town Hall. Built from sandstone and designed in a Gothic style the College bore a close resemblance to the Town Hall scheme (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 247), which was being erected at about the same time.
Construction began in 1870, paid for by private funds, and the first section to be erected was the western range of the quadrangle plan, said by Pevsner (1969: 309) to be “quite low and intimate in scale. It is symmetrical in its centre, but the wings differ”. An eastern range was later added between 1883 and 1887, also designed by Waterhouse, but with assistance from Osborne Reynolds (Kargon, 1977: 190).

Designed in a symmetrical manner, a lofty tower punctuated the centre of the steep roof of the main College building while bay windows were regularly positioned along the walls of the long structure. The Builder (1896: 374) described its eastern wing as being "built of very hard, light-brown sandstone, laid in alternate deep and narrow courses, as before remarked on in the case of the town hall by the same architect; the roofs are steep-pitched and covered with red tiles; and the principle of design is a highly individualised adaptation of Early Gothic suggestions, carried out with satisfactory integrity in every part". The quadrangle was completed in 1888 when Waterhouse designed yet another Gothic styled building at the northern end of the open space to be used by the Zoology Department and the Manchester Museum, which was subsequently extended in 1912 by Paul Waterhouse who had in 1902 designed Whitworth Hall close to the main eastern section of the campus. The 130 feet long Whitworth Hall building was a major addition to the College and was noted in The Builder (1902: 94) as harmonising with the rest of the College. This was achieved partly through the use of a Gothic design style but also the choice of sandstone as the primary building material, “the same as that which has been employed in the rest of the College buildings” (Ibid.: 94), and by its tower which was kept to a height of only 100 feet so not to “unpleasantly rival the main tower of the college” (Ibid.: 94).

Further buildings were added to the campus between the mid-1890s and 1910, consisting primarily of brick built science laboratories (Pevsner, 1969: 310), but these were it seems laid out to no overall plan. The Builder (1896: 374) did note however that despite the differences in dates and scale for the various sections of the University, “the buildings are fairly uniform in general appearance”, but significantly for their civic design they were not arranged in an orderly form along any lines which provided evidence of a larger master plan. As The Builder remarked, with regards to the plan of the University, the main buildings were “somewhat irregularly grouped, as if by a process of spontaneous growth” (Ibid.: 374).
In the late Victorian and Edwardian period a proliferation of public buildings were erected in Manchester many of which, like Branch Library buildings, were small in scale and had few civic design elements of note. Often these buildings, such as the College of Art (1880-1 by Tunstall Redmayne, cost £24,000), despite being of a strong architectural quality showed little evidence either in the design of their main elevations of plans of relating to their surroundings. The area about the Art College, for example, consisted mainly of Georgian terraced buildings but the situation of the new building was favourable for the practice of civic design as it was positioned opposite the south eastern corner of Grosvenor Square, an open space and was close to a number of public buildings such as the Union Offices, a local Town Hall and five small sized churches, one of which was located at the centre of Grosvenor Square. Unfortunately, and much in common with numerous other late-Victorian public buildings erected in provincial centres, the College’s design showed little consideration for its setting, instead being designed so to emphasise its design features, such as the decorated central section and its large sized window openings, rather than bringing the building’s form into association with its surroundings by, for example, planning lines.
Whitworth Park and the Whitworth Art Gallery

The death of Sir Joseph Whitworth in 1887, similarly to the death of John Owens in 1845, was to greatly affect the built environment of Manchester for Whitworth left his estate to be split among a select number of friends and to provide donations for charitable and educational purposes. By November 1887 the guardians of the estate outlined plans for an institution to be erected in memory of Whitworth so to "cultivate taste and knowledge of the Fine Arts of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. With this view we have purchased 20 acres of land in Oxford Road for £47,000", they remarked (The Manchester Guardian, 1st June 1888). Upon completion of the proposed building it was intended by the Whitworth Trustees that the property and surrounding land were to be given to the Corporation. A twenty acre site was selected for the new building in an open area south of central Manchester known at the time of construction as Potter's Field, later renamed Whitworth Park upon being replanned. Plans for the park were published in 1889 and showed "an east-to-west carriage road dividing the pleasure grounds from a five-acre strip of land on the north side along Denmark Road, this being reserved for the Fine Arts Gallery and other museum buildings. Avenues of trees were proposed, meeting at a central point" (Archer, 1985: 212). In June 1890 the park was officially opened even though development in the area was not yet complete: "there was still an elaborate fountain to be erected, and the small lake along the western boundary was still in course of construction" (Ibid.: 214). In addition Grove House, which was situated at the northern end of the park, was also underwent redevelopment and was converted in an art gallery, opened in July 1890.

The plan of Whitworth Park (figure 4.3.23) was dominated by three axial lines that were formed from carriageways that ran in a north-west to south-east direction from Comb Street towards Oxford Road, in a north-east to south-west direction and also in a north-south direction. Trees located at regular distances area lined all three carriageways and at the point in the park where these three pathways met was laid out a circular open space, the centre of which was not marked. However this feature was surrounded by a footpath. Rain gauges, a statue of Edward VII by J. Cassidy (1911-3), a bandstand and an observatory were erected in the park in the following years after the park opened to the public. A large lake was also formed in the western side of the park, the shape of which although appearing somewhat irregular contained a sense of balance for it mirrored itself across the central axis running west from the previously highlighted circular area at the centre of the park.
Figure 4.3.22. The area south of central Manchester in 1896 showing the Whitworth Park (bottom left section) before being laid out (source: Ordnance Survey).

Figure 4.3.23. Plan of the Whitworth Park area in 1923 (source: Ordnance Survey).
In 1891 a design competition was established in order to select a design for the Art Gallery and Museum building to be erected on a site formerly occupied by Grove House, which by the 1890s had acquired a national reputation due to its important art collections. Assessed by Alfred Waterhouse the competition was won by J.W. Beaumont and Sons, although the final plans for the extension were not accepted by the Whitworth Trustees until 1894. Two new gallery sections, the North and Central galleries, were initially erected, costing about £10,000 in total and by 1897 the South gallery was added to a cost of around £7,000 (Archer, 1985: 224). The resultant edifice was of a large scale and symmetrically formed, helping to enhance Manchester's reputation as a centre of art. In 1904 plans for a new library, lecture room and sculpture gallery were also proposed.

Figure 4.3.24. The front elevation of the Whitworth Gallery building.

Commencing in 1905 three new gallery spaces were erected to the west of the building's Central Gallery, each measuring approximately 80 feet in length by 30 feet in width (The Builder, 1906: 548). The most ambitious and grandiose section of the development, taking place between 1906 and 1908, was the front of the new raised two storey building, the importance of the ground floor of building being highlighted by its large floor to ceiling height. Constructed from red brick and terracotta, the 209 feet long facade of the gallery building was a major piece of architecture which, significantly, corresponded with the design of the galleries erected in the 1890s (Archer, 1985: 227). The centre of the new building's symmetrically composed front elevation was marked by a semi-circular porch supported by grey granite paired columns behind which was placed the principal entrance with steps at its front above while on the rooftop was placed a turret. Towards each end of the front elevation were placed additional vertical elements, towers, which were given emphasis in
the design process by having the building lines projected forward of the main building line. Small towers were also used to stress the corners of the composition.

The porch and double door primary entrance of the Whitworth Gallery building gave direct access into the entrance vestibule to the rear of which was situated a hallway space measuring 33 feet by 33 feet (The Builder, 1906: 548) from which the most important room in the building, the 102 feet long and 33 feet wide Darbyshire Hall, could be entered in to. The rear of the Darbyshire Hall was terminated by an arcade and the grand staircase which provided access to the first floor of the building where the Council Chamber, Library and Exhibition Room were situated (Archer, 1985: 227). Thus a major axis was established in an east-west direction through the centre of the building. Importantly for the civic design of the building the central east-west alignment established in the plan was continued in the design of the area in front of the building by the placing of a symmetrically formed carriageway laid out after construction was completed. The open space around which the carriageway was planned was left open and not filled with any architectural features which could have further increased the civic design strength of the scheme and further marked the building's central axis. But with no other features placed in front of the building thus little further evidence of civic design in relation to the geometric plan and form of the structure can be viewed, for this general planning situation was not assisted by the lack of buildings in proximity to the Gallery and Museum which meant that it had nothing to relate to by as late as the Ordnance Survey of 1908. By this time the environment around the building was still largely undeveloped and contained only one building in close proximity to it, the Union Chapel, later used as a Sunday School, which was sited to the east across Oxford Road.

The Piccadilly Central Library and Art Gallery Proposal

During the period covered by this study new Art Gallery buildings in Manchester were erected and existing ones extended. In 1883, the Manchester Art Gallery, for example, was subject to an alteration scheme (The Builder, 1883: 237) which resulted in the internal plan of the building being changed and in 1904 the same structure was subject to a further extension scheme (The Builder, 1904: 20), at a cost about £5,000 (The Builder, 1905: 331). In 1908 the Corporation decided to erect another large scale Art Gallery and Library building, to be constructed in a Classical style (The Builder, 1908: 14) upon a site occupied
by the Infirmary in the Piccadilly district, which would be demolished to make way for the new structure (Ibid.: 14). This "great site" (The Builder, 1910: 427) in the heart of the city was seen to provide a significant civic design opportunity although the Corporation treated this opportunity for urban planning in a somewhat cautious way (Redford, 1940: 36) and acted slowly over future decisions regarding the scheme. Redford (Ibid.: 36) on this matter noted that "even when extraordinary opportunities for the improvement of the town presented themselves, the City Council usually found great difficulty in making up its mind for definite action." This was particularly true for the proposed Art Gallery and Library scheme which was to be erected on one of the most prominent sites in Manchester (Town Planning Review, 1910: 340) and was to also be an occasion to establish a design scheme consisting of a large scale building with statuary in front so as to "provide an opportunity for creating a fine monumental group which should rank as second only to Albert Square in importance". (Ibid.: 340)

The new scheme was to be financed by the selling of the existing Reference Library building, the former Town Hall, for a sum of about £160,000. In November 1910 the Corporation announced that Reginald Blomfield, an architect with an "instinct for monumental design and refined architectural treatment" (The Builder, 1910: 548), would act as assessor to the Library and Art Gallery design competition, which it said "gives every reason to hope that the competition will result in a building making the best use of such a fine site, and one that will be a credit to the city of Manchester" (Ibid.: 548).

The competition rules for the new building were essentially based upon functional lines and less upon design considerations, putting emphasis on matters concerning lighting, circulation, easy access to material held by the library, the importance of an open space within the plan and the cost of the building, which should not exceed £250,000 (The Builder, 1911: 750). The first premium was subsequently awarded to the Birmingham based partnership of Crouch, Butler and Savage, who proposed a Classical design based on the use of a symmetrically formed plan and design elements. Blomfield described the winning design as being:

"severe classic, such as was practised in Manchester and Liverpool in the earlier part of the last century, and is, in my opinion, eminently suitable for the purpose. Its details have been well considered from a practical point of view, and the result is, in my
opinion, a fine, straightforward architectural monument well adapted to the site and worthy of its position as a central feature of Manchester.” *(Ibid.: 709)*

Figure 4.3.25. The new Library and Art Gallery by Crouch, Butler and Savage (source: The Builder, 1911).

Figure 4.3.26. The ground floor plan of the new Library and Art Gallery.

The plan of the four storey Library and Art Gallery was noted in The Builder *(Ibid.: 708)* to be uncomplicated and striking, with one half of the plan being given to Sculpture Courts and the other half of the plan to be used by the Library. Space between these two areas was to positioned a vestibule, a lecture theatre and the Central Hall *(Ibid.: 708)*, which was to be surrounded on each side by the grand staircases and entrances to the Reference Library and Sculpture Court. The primary features of the main east facing elevation were the principal entrance placed in the centre of the symmetrical formed facade, positioned behind a recessed portico which was marked at the front by a large flight of steps and at the sides by columns, a rustication, also used on the lower ground floor, and ground floor windows of
a different form to those used on other floor levels. The corners were to be emphasised by end pavilions, marked at the lower ground level by window openings with arched heads, while a statue was to be sited in front of the main entrance. Other statues situated near to the site within the Piccadilly area included those of the Duke of Wellington and Robert Peel, erected prior to the building (see figure 4.3.27), and the Queen Victoria Statue which was erected in the early Edwardian period. The design and plan of the Library and Art Gallery utilised these architectural features, with the primary symmetrical lines of the building's design and plan being in accord with statue placed in front although local roads and their alignments were not utilised in the planning of the building.

Figure 4.3.27. Piccadilly in 1889.

The choice of site for the proposed Library and Art Gallery was a promising one in terms of civic design not only because statuary erected in the area but in that the site was unencumbered by other buildings and located in the centre of the Piccadilly island at the heart of Manchester's tramway system (The Builder, 1911: 74). In addition the site was
surrounded by streets that contained some of Manchester's finest warehouses and shops although in design terms they bore little relation to each other (Ibid.: 74). The Builder (1911) remarked that the overall scheme should incorporate the demolition of buildings opposite the principal, northern elevation of the new public building which should be replaced by "erections that contribute to some definite architectural scheme. No open space in a city can ever be dignified that is bounded by buildings such as these." (Ibid.: 74) Such additional development argued the journal, would help form the realisation of a worthy civic centre in Manchester of which the new Library and Art Gallery would be a major element. However this scheme was never fulfilled and the although the infirmary was cleared from the Piccadilly area the new edifice was not erected, partly due to the onset of World War One in 1914, and thus a major civic design composition in the centre of Manchester was at first suspended but ultimately abandoned due to the changing civic circumstances after 1918. The importance though of the Piccadilly development to the urban form and design of Edwardian Manchester should not be overlooked for it provided, after the clearance of the Infirmary, the only substantial landscaped open area in the centre of the settlement. The large scale of the open space, with dimensions of over 500 feet in length and over 300 feet in breadth, also required strong designing with prominent features for new buildings erected in proximity to it after 1918. The effect of new architecture around the space, for example, was dependent not only on a large scale but a sense of proportion in relation to is setting in order to make an impact upon the eye in the area. At Piccadilly this situation is made all the more necessary due to the broad roadway encircling the open area and the large sized statuary which draws the eye towards them.

The Stock Exchange

In 1904 a competition was established by the Corporation for a Stock Exchange building, assessed by J.J. Burnet, a renowned Edwardian architect. Won by the partnership of Bradshaw and Gass of Bolton, the new building, which cost approximately £30,000, was an important architectural piece partly due to its central site which The Builder (1904: 575) described as being: "a rectangle in the centre of the city" (Ibid.: 575). The site was said to measure "about 120 feet by 100 feet. It is bounded on or towards the north by Norfolk Street, on the west by Pall Mall, on the east by Sussex Street, and on the south by Kent Street." (Ibid.: 575) Despite being unencumbered from other buildings, the thin width of the surrounding streets, for example Sussex Street and Kent Street, "little more than alleys"
(Ibid.: 575), was a major civic design restriction and as the competition regulations stated that the height of the new building should not exceed that of the surrounding structures it was difficult for the new public edifice to make a dramatic impact. However the similar size and so scale of the new building with its surroundings allowed it to fit in somewhat well with the competition regulation requiring the new building not to be larger than buildings in the surroundings may be perceived as an attempt to create a sense of architectural association and so civic design by the Corporation. In addition, the thin width of the surrounding streets (The Builder, 1904: 43, 575) was to influence the new building’s design scheme. The Builder (1907: 316) noted: “Consideration for neighbouring ‘ancient lights’ has necessarily influenced the design and to some extent, both in planning and in elevation.” The building was completed in December 1906 and was built from granite and Portland stone, a commonly used material in civic design schemes examined.

Figure 4.3.28. A perspective of the Stock Exchange (source: The Builder, 1904).

Measuring 78 feet in length by 48 feet in width the new Stock Exchange was, in relative terms, a fairly small piece of public architecture when compared to other buildings constructed in Manchester and elsewhere during the period considered by this work. The Builder (1904: 575) however commented upon the strong planning of the building, “the plans as a whole are decidedly good”, with the ground floor arrangement being “excellent, and in the planning of the Stock Exchange portion the internal architectural effect has been carefully considered.” (Ibid.: 575) The journal also exclaimed that the baroque style of
design was "meritous" (Ibid.: 575) due to its design features, the most prominent of which were the arched porticos at the ends of the main elevation, the recessed entrances, one of which was situated at the centre of the main elevation, the rusticated ground floor level, the orderly placing of arched window openings on the ground floor level and the raising of the building above street level, perhaps to differentiate the building from its neighbours. The principal entrance was not positioned at the centre of the building but towards one end of main elevation, a rare feature of civic design, which The Builder (Ibid.: 575) noted lessened the building's dignity. While it has been noted earlier that the scale of the Stock Exchange was in keeping with its surroundings. However there is little further evidence provided at the time of its erection in the architectural media to highlight that the design and plan of the building paid further attention to the environment located about it.

Figure 4.3.29. The ground floor plan of the Stock Exchange, Manchester.

The ground floor plan of the Stock Exchange was dominated by an open space called 'The House', a space positioned towards the rear of the building on an alignment with the centre of the front elevation where an entrance was placed, as noted earlier, and where the main staircase was positioned. A telephone area was located within The House while nearby rooms included a cloak room, reading area and smoke room. The front section of the plan, the internal arrangement of the building was effectively divided into two sections by a corridor placed laid out at ninety degrees to the central axis from the front elevation at the centre of the building, consisted of a number of office spaces arranged near to where the main staircase and entrance vestibule was located.
Chapter Four: MANCHESTER and SALFORD

The Inter-War Period

In 1921 Manchester's population was approximately 730,000 (source: Census), making the city the fourth largest provincial settlement in Britain after Glasgow, Birmingham and Liverpool. Despite the disruption that the Great War caused to the life of the city, Manchester continued with the erection of large scale public buildings after 1918 although with not the same frequency as before. In 1925, for example, Vincent Harris designed the Town Hall extension scheme, completed in 1938, which was connected to the original section of the building by two bridges above a surrounding street. Harris was also involved in the classically designed Central Library scheme, sited to the south of the Town Hall at St Peter's Square, which Pevsner noted "ought to be judged as part of the general scheme of town-hall extension" (1969: 285). St Peter's Square was also given further architectural prominence when Lutyens' Cenotaph was placed within the space after 1918 so as to commemorate the lives of local people lost in World War One. Established educational institutions in Manchester continued to grow in size and importance up to 1939, reflected by the erection of new buildings. The Institute of Science and Technology, for instance, erected a new structure designed by Bradshaw, Gass and Hope in 1927, while Manchester University, formerly known as Owen's College, underwent significant expansion. In 1927 the Manchester Museum was extended to a design by Paul Waterhouse, and a new Arts Library (1935-7 by Sir Hubert Worthington) and Dental School (1939 by Worthington) were built. Further expansion of the University continued post 1945.

Salford

Introduction

The urban development and civic design of Salford has been treated separately from that of Manchester in this section for three reasons. The first is due to the sheer physical and demographic size of the settlement (over 176,000 by 1881, source: Census), and also because Salford historically developed as a separate urban unit from Manchester with had
its own civic identity and, finally, because Salford as a modern borough "was very much a Victorian creation." (Greenall in Bell, 1974: 35)

As a result of the spectacular demographic growth that Salford experienced during the nineteenth century an impression could be given that Salford was a town with a short history. This however is not the case with the development of the settlement going back into the Saxon period due to its important site situated between the River Mersey and River Irwell. In 1230 the town under a royal charter was granted free borough status which affected how the settlement was governed until the passing of the Manchester and Salford Police Act in 1791, by which time Salford had a population of about 7,000 persons. However the growth of Salford was rapidly increased with the onset of industrialisation. By 1811 the town's population had grown to over 10,000 and by 1841 the demographic total had rise to over 70,000 people (source: Census). With this urban growth came the emergence of social problems on a scale never witnessed before in the town. Poverty, disease and slum housing became rife with houses in some areas found at a density of over 80 per acre. Such squalid conditions in Salford were remarked upon by Friedrich Engels in the early 1840s.

In 1844 a charter of incorporation was passed allowing Salford to form its own local government so to deal adequately with its social problems and to satisfy the needs of the local population. These needs affected the local built environment, as Peel Park (1846, designed by competition winner J. Major), two workhouses (1851 and 1871), a hospital (1878) and Ordsal Park (1879 by H. Moore) showed. In 1889, after the passing of the Local Government Act in the previous year, Salford was awarded County Borough status such was its size (198,000 in 1891. Source: Census) and importance at that time. Sadly this civic importance did not manifest itself in terms of grandiose public architecture or planning forms by the end of the nineteenth century and start of the twentieth century, and one of the most significant schemes undertaken Salford at that time was the Agecroft Cemetery, designed by W.R. Sharp and F. Foster in the 1890s. But a scheme of this nature hardly reflected the civic status of a large settlement with a population of circa 200,000.

Throughout the Victorian period a number of public buildings were erected in Salford, most of which were erected along or close to two major roadways, Broad Street and Windsor Crescent, which run through the centre of the settlement along an east-west axis towards Manchester.
Salford’s Late-Victorian Civic Design

Among the first public buildings to be erected in Salford after incorporation included the combined library, art gallery and museum (1850), which was one of the earliest public library buildings in England and Wales to be erected after the passing of the Public Libraries Act in the same year. Other notable Victorian pieces in the town included the Roman Catholic Cathedral by Weightman and Hadfield, erected from 1855, which was designed in a gothic style on a site close to the early Victorian Town Hall, the Court House, erected in the early 1860s, and the public library by Royle and Burnett (1870), a small Gothic structure constructed from brick. However by the 1870s the Corporation had involved itself in broader design and planning matters, such as the widening of New Bailey Street, a scheme that involved the removal of a number of dilapidated properties (The Builder, 1879: 1434), and the erection of Trafford Bridge. The Builder (1879: 1434-5) commented upon the “steady progress” that the Corporation had made in matters relating to urban betterment and architecture in the preceding years. The journal also noted that the local authority was “alive to the importance of keeping abreast of the times” and the erection of a number of Police Station, a baths and public offices received praise. However with regards to civic design it seems the Corporation paid far less attention and in the following decades few words were written about the architectural development of Salford in the architectural press.
Despite its large size and position in the Victorian urban hierarchy, Salford had few public buildings that were constructed during the latter decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, and this was in part reflected by the town's lack of coverage in the architectural press during the period examined, as noted above. The most notable edifices that were erected during the period considered by this work included the Gas Board Offices (1880), Education Offices (1895) and the Royal Technical Institute (from 1896), later renamed the Royal Technical College, which rapidly acquired a reputation for its practical teaching methods and for the involvement of local industry. All three buildings were designed by architects who were directly commissioned to compose them.

Erected in the south western corner of Peel Park the Royal Technical College, as it known from this point forth, designed by Henry Lord, enjoyed a prominent location in Salford being situated within the only major open space near to the centre of the settlement other than that of roadways and was sited near to one of the town's major thoroughfares, Windsor Crescent, which led eastwards towards central Manchester. The site of the College despite being surrounded by open space, particularly in front of its east facing main elevation, was located close to existing buildings, these being mainly of a residential nature which were located to the south of its site along Windsor Crescent, although a number of large saw mills where also located in the vicinity of the public building to the south.

The design of the red brick Royal Technical College, from which Salford University has its origins, was noted by Pevsner (1969: 391) as being “a long, three storied red range with a big central gable”. The plan of the building took a symmetrical form with the front elevation being marked at the middle by the main entrance, the axis of which was continued by a footpath that led into Peel Park towards the Royal Museum which faced directly towards the northern end of the College building. This footpath, which led away from the main entrance of the College, also provided a vista from the building towards the River Irwell and the centre of Salford where the Town Hall and Cathedral were located. However in civic design terms apart from prominent small scale features, listed subsequently, this building bore little relation to its surroundings which was disappointing given the open space around the edifice and its situation close to another prominent public building and a major local roadway.

The most noticeable design features of the College’s main elevation included the bringing forward of its building line close to the position of the main entrance at the centre of the main elevation and the marking of the entrance by a vertical axis established by a large
circular window and a gable at the roof level. On each side of the gable were positioned small domes at the rooftop. Arched window openings, placed at regular distances along the main elevation between red brick columns, which were formed from the ground to roof level, were positioned along the raised ground floor level while all other window openings were designed with a rectangular form. The building line of the College was also brought forward at the ends of the front elevation so as to establish end pavilions, in so doing reinforcing the symmetrical impression of the building. The internal arrangement was also governed by symmetry with wings being projected back away from the main elevation at the centre and ends of the main facade. These formed longitudinal axes in the plan and the footpath in front of the main entrance, as noted earlier, had the effect of bringing forward the central east-west axis established at the front of the building, an axis also marked by a flight of steps in front of the principal entrance and marked inside the building by an entrance hall.

The construction of the Gas Board Offices at Bloom Street was Salford's first major public structure erected in the late-Victorian period. The symmetrically formed building, constructed from brick, continued the Gothic tradition established in the town during the Victorian era and the most prominent feature of the composition was its tower.

Located close to the Corporation's Gas Works in an area of Salford where the roadways were both thin and numerous, this building made little impact upon the local environment.
which comprised of numerous back-to-back terrace houses, and so small was the scale of the building that it was not marked by name on the Ordnance Survey’s maps of the town in 1909. Such a situation was also true for the Education Offices erected on a site Chapel Street in 1895 by Woodhouse and Willoughby. Located near to the Cathedral in Salford the Education Offices were situated within a setting that was a little more salubrious that that of the Gas Board Offices but this did not mean that the setting was any more advantageous for the practising of civic design.

Designed in a symmetrical French Renaissance style (Ibid.: 391) the Education Office building was faced with yellow terracotta and looked out towards Chapel Street, a major roadway in east Salford which led towards Manchester’s Cathedral, the Royal Exchange and the Victoria and Exchange rail stations. Despite its scale and height being larger than its setting the Education Offices offered little in the way of civic design. With little in the surrounding setting, consisting mainly of back to back terrace houses, to relate itself to the new public building stood as an isolated feature in the Salford environment and despite its symmetrical form and associated features, such as the centrally placed main entrance, the placing of window openings in regular bays along the front elevation, for example, the building made a limited impact upon its environment. In many respects the Education Offices scheme characterises the architectural and civic design development of Salford during the period studied and despite it being one of only a handful of buildings to be erected in the late-Victorian and Edwardian era little consideration was given during the design process to the form of its environment. However, as shown previously, such was the condition of Salford’s environment at that time, with its mass of terraced houses, that grandiose civic design was hardly encouraged. In many respects the condition of Salford’s environment arguably discouraged civic design.

Inter-War Salford

It has been shown that few public buildings were undertaken in period considered by this study. With a population of some 234,000 by 1921 (source: Census) the public architectural situation within Salford did not reflect the importance of the settlement and sadly this trend was continued up to 1939 when no new public buildings were erected in or about the central core of the settlement. After the construction of the Royal Technical College at the end of
the nineteenth century the next prominent public building to be erected in Salford was neo-Georgian styled City Police Headquarters, by Bradshaw, Gass and Hope in 1957, which was followed in 1961 by the large scale University Halls of Residence by Tom Mellor and Partners, and in 1962-3 by a City Health Department designed by City Engineer, G.A. McWilliam. For a settlement of such size Salford arguably has the weakest civic design condition out of all large sized provincial places investigated by this work. Indeed even after 1918 the Corporation made little attempt to redress the public architectural situation in Salford which it seems almost stopped after the comparative flurry of activity between the late-Georgian and mid-Victorian period.

Conclusion

The civic design of Salford during the period selected for study was disappointing. Without the Royal Technical College being erected Salford's civic design would at best be poor and even with the building it was meagre. The College displayed many features of civic design that were prevalent in other places at the time, such as the use of a symmetrical treatment of the plan and the main elevations, the placing of the main entrance at the centre of the front elevation and the bringing forward of the building line at the ends and centre of the main elevation so to emphasise these sections of the composition. In addition, the window openings were not only positioned in regular positions along the principal elevations but were often designed with arched heads. However, the civic design of this building was weakened by its lack of relation to its setting and despite the footpath leading directly from the main entrance across Peel Park, the axis and so vista along it was not marked by other architectural features, such as statuary, which were noted in other provincial civic design schemes examined.

Manchester, one of the largest settlement's studied in this project, underwent major architectural development in the period considered and this was reflected by the erection of a number of large public building both at the centre and periphery of the settlement. The Town Hall has been widely acknowledged to be a masterpiece of Victorian architecture and the strength of its design must be seen to be further enhanced by the laying out of Albert Square in front of the edifice, the centre of which was marked by the Albert Memorial whose site aligned with a local roadway and the main entrance of the Town Hall. In many respects
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Manchester's developing civic design was of a nature similar to that evident in other large provincial centres from the late-Victorian period onwards. This included the design of main elevations and planning form being governed by symmetrical lines while other notable elements included vertical features positioned above main entrances, and the orderly arrangement of windows along principal elevations, for example. However many public buildings in Manchester were recognised to only pay minimal attention to their surrounding environment, as was also identified elsewhere, and this would result in a building only showing the influence of its setting in terms of a similarity of scale or building materials used. In such cases the civic design scheme can be said to not be particularly strong.

Attempts were made in some instances in Manchester to relate large scale public buildings to the environment about them, and arguably the Town Hall was the best example of this, although the Whitworth Art Gallery is of civic design note. In this instance a carriageway of symmetrical form was laid down in front of the building, the central axis of which corresponded with the main east-west alignment of the building. Thus the overall effect continued the main building line of the building away from the internal arrangement and into the larger built environment. However, in other schemes examined in Manchester this sense of association was less successful with the Stock Exchange only had a sense of relation with its setting thanks to the competition regulations set down by the Corporation enforcing a similarity of scale between the public building and its surroundings. However scale alone is not enough to establish strong civic design, which in the period considered was established by a large number architectural and planning characteristics being applied within a single design scheme.

The civic design of Manchester, while being impressive in some schemes, could have been generally strengthened had the proposed Central Library and Art Gallery project at Piccadilly been carried out. Situated on a large unencumbered site, in front of which were placed statuary, this project offered significant potential for the practice of civic design, and this was understood by Crouch, Butler and Savage, the competition winners. Sadly the onset of War in 1914, coupled with the indecisive attitude of the Corporation towards the project in the years beforehand, meant the scheme was not undertaken until 1914 when it was suspended, and ultimately not undertaken due to the War effort. Had the scheme been carried out it would have helped form the realisation of a worthy civic centre in Manchester of which the new Library and Art Gallery would have be an important element.
Birmingham

Introduction

The history of politics during the nineteenth century after the Municipal Corporations Act (1835) reveals the gradual increase in both powers and duties assigned to local governments across England and Wales. Almost immediately after the passing of this landmark Act, local authorities sought means by which they could exhibit their power, exacerbated over time due to the passing of further Acts of Parliament and local Improvement Acts which steadily increased the duties and role of provincial governments. In this light the practical expression of local power became more imperative with each passing year and Act. Architecture played a necessary yet crucial role in the process of political and civic expression and pride with the development of classical design in Birmingham evolving from stark neo-classical forms during the 1830s into a more liberated, ornate version of design by the 1870s and 1880s (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 150). This design style ultimately developed into Edwardian baroque design by the early twentieth century.

The period leading up to the onset of World War One in 1914 for numerous reasons represents the peak of civic development in Birmingham. From the mid-1870s the settlement witnessed considerable architectural and urban planning transition with, for example, the development of new public buildings around the already existing Town Hall site, a major new central thoroughfare consisting of commercial premises, and the country's first town planning schemes under the Housing, Town Planning, Etc. Act (1909). Around the same time other events were of significance too in the urban growth and civic consciousness of the settlement. By 1888 the town had become a County Borough as a consequence of the passing of the Local Government Act and only a year later Birmingham was granted city status. This was followed in 1891 by the expansion of the city's borders, in so doing absorbing Saltley, Harborne and Balsall Heath, and adding further 50,000 to Birmingham's population at that time. In 1896 the status of the mayoralty was raised to Lord Mayor and in May 1900 Birmingham was conferred a University under a Royal Charter. Five years later the Diocese of Birmingham was created and finally in 1911 the city's boundaries were extended again to include the suburban areas of Aston, Erdington, Handsworth, King’s Norton, Northfield and Yardley. Birmingham's population as a consequence of this boundary

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change stood at over 900,000 in total by that time, confirming albeit numerically Birmingham's position as the second city of England and the Empire.

Figure 4.4.1. Map to show the spatial expansion of Birmingham in 1870, 1890 and 1918 (source: Briggs, 1952).

Despite the social and political changes noted earlier, Birmingham's urban form, particularly in its central core, still adhered closely to the general road pattern laid down during the Medieval period when the settlement developed in accordance to its primary function as a centre for market trading. The principal exception to this rule however was the Corporation Street project, begun in the mid-1870s after the falling in of leases in the area in 1866, a scheme that was one of the most articulated displays of the city's civic consciousness, the civic gospel as it was known at that time, during the period considered by this study. Corporation Street after development was described in 1890 as being "a handsome shopping district of stately and costly buildings" (Ralph, 1890: 100), although any sense of architectural unity was absent as the scheme was constructed in a piecemeal fashion (Cherry, 1994: 80). Briggs, speaking of the same scheme in the book 'The History of Birmingham', observed that Corporation Street (1952: 18) "revolutionised the topography of the whole central district", forming a major component in the physical transition of the townscape and therefore the change from dowdy, unkempt Birmingham into a modern urban place of national architectural importance. Public architecture and planning were to become significant elements in the civic rebirth of Birmingham, financed through the raising of loans, profits from the municipalised local services and funds built up during the late-1860s when the town enjoyed an affluent period in its industrial history. The subsequent construction of new public buildings, most notably the Council House (1871) and Victoria Law Courts (1885-6), along with the development of Corporation Street and Colmore Row, added not only a new larger urban scale to the city but also gave an added sense of dignity to the settlement (Cherry, 1994: 84). However during the Victorian period a number of other
added not only a new larger urban scale to the city but also gave an added sense of dignity to the settlement (Cherry, 1994: 84). However during the Victorian period a number of other prominent public schemes were undertaken in Birmingham which included a Blind Institute (1849), the Birmingham and Midland Institute (1855), the Public Baths (1858), an Exchange (1863-5 by Edward Holmes) as well as cemeteries (1846, 1860 and 1882), market buildings (1881), an eye hospital (1881), the gothic styled Mason's College (from 1875), and numerous parks (1856, 1857, 1858, 1873, 1876, 1877 and 1879) within the settlement. In 1880 the Chamberlain Memorial statue was erected in Chamberlain Place, an area of the city which will receive further examination subsequently.

The starting date for the development of civic architecture in Victorian Birmingham begins in 1832 when the municipality commissioned a Town Hall building, designed by J.A. Hansom the competition winner. Pevsner and Wedgwood (1966: 114) described this building as being “a straightforward classical peripteral temple in the Corinthian order”. However, developments did not occur again in Birmingham until the 1850s when the Corporation purchased a plot of land close to the Town Hall site in 1853 for the purpose of erecting a new public building. At almost the same time, in 1855, construction began on E.M. Barry's Ionic styled Birmingham and Midland Institute on Paradise Street, which Ralph (1890: 102) called “a very great fount of education in the city.” Construction also began on the Central Library, a building which continued the classical style (Little, 1971: 29) used by the buildings highlighted previously. The Central Library, also by Barry, was said by Dixon and Muthesius (1978: 149) to “roughly correspond to the Town Hall”.

Figure 4.4.2. A nineteenth century cartoon showing Joseph Chamberlain and the civic gospel of Birmingham, within which public architecture played a significant role.
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Inspired by developments in Paris under the regime of Napoleon III by Haussmann, the municipality’s Corporation Street scheme (see figure 4.4.3) was a project of different facets, intending not only to remove insanitary slum housing but also to redevelop the cleared land in a grandiose way recalling the boulevards of Paris. This approach towards environmental improvement, above and beyond the field of public health, itself a fundamental aspect of the municipality and its activities, very much reflected the developmental attitude towards the urban form by the Birmingham administration during and after the 1870s, which by this point in the nineteenth century included architectural and urban planning matters and was of a nature more comprehensive than health and housing matters alone. For example, Armstrong (1895: 245) highlighted a conscious resolve to make Birmingham a “cleaner, sweeter and brighter” environment while The Birmingham Post (1875) perceived the actions of the Corporation to deliberately augment a new design and environmental era in Birmingham. Thus not only was Birmingham increasingly shaped, governed and provided for by its local government from the early 1870s (Cherry, 1994: 81), but it was also able to acquire a reputation for being the best governed city in the modern world (Ralph, 1890: 99-111) under the municipal leadership of Joseph Chamberlain. In terms of civic design, significantly, it was through the mediums of urban redevelopment and municipal architecture that such a civic conviction was given arguably its most powerful and obvious expression. It was this promotion of the corporate and urban identity of Birmingham through architectural and urban development, which made a significant contribution to the vitality of the local civic consciousness.

Figure 4.4.3. Corporation Street in the late nineteenth century.
Three architects were particularly important to the civic development process during the period considered, these individuals being Yeoville Thomason, John Henry Chamberlain and Aston Webb, who later rose to national prominence after successful competition wins for some of the largest late-Victorian public pieces of civic architecture from the 1890s onwards and for his handling of the Queen Victoria Memorial Scheme in London from 1901.

Incorporated into the previously noted Corporation Street scheme was the Victoria Assize Law Court building (see figure 4.4.3), "perhaps the most outstanding civic structure of the 1880s" (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 176), and arguably the most important modern public edifice within Birmingham outside of those structures positioned around Victoria Square, the civic forum of the city. Erected between 1887 and 1891 in an European Renaissance style (Service, 1977: 149), albeit with a Gothic inspired spirit and grouping, and designed by competition winners Aston Webb and Ingress Bell, the Law Courts not only reflected the newly given Assize status to the city but also resonated the municipality's efforts to improve the appearance of the settlement and therefore create an admirable place. Heavily detailing, the decorative work was by W. Aumonier, made the building impressive to the eye as was its the use of terracotta which Waterhouse, as assessor of the competition, said was 'undoubtedly...the best material for Birmingham' (See Assessors Report). Other notable public buildings erected at about the same time as the Law Courts included the Italian Renaissance style County Court (1882 by J. Williamson) and the Birmingham College of Arts and Crafts (1881-5 by Martin and Chamberlain).

Figure 4.4.4. The Assize Law Courts, Birmingham (source: Briggs, 1952).
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The building of the new Law Courts marked an important stage in the architectural development of Victorian Birmingham, not simply because of its huge scale or due to the building giving the settlement a new, distinct landmark but because of its success (see Little, 1971) as a design piece and for its employment of terracotta. The construction of the Courts brought national interest to Birmingham, for the building was to become significant to the history of the terracotta revival in Britain, as the Victoria Law Court was the first major public edifice in Britain to have its main elevations faced entirely in red terracotta, the material subsequently becoming the "architectural symbol of the civic gospel" (Stratton in Tilson, 1989: 21) in Birmingham. Importantly too, the "fame of this building...was the making of the architect and the making of Modern Architecture as represented by the South Kensington Art Museum, Imperial Institute, Palace Theatre, Savoy Hotel and Treadwell and Martin Pubs." (Architecture and Building News, 1955: 172)

In local terms, the employment of terracotta, along with red brick, was of great meaning during the late-Victorian period in Birmingham, explicitly representing a "concerted effort by the Victorians to create a distinctive public architecture out of the exploitation of an essentially new decorative building material." (Stratton in Tilson, 1989: 21) As Pevsner and Wedgwood (1966: 100) have noted, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century there developed a red brick and terracotta school for public architecture: "This combination of materials was of course widely used throughout the country in these years, but in Birmingham its use was most frequent and the style and colour most suitable to their surroundings." (Ibid.: 100) In such a context the use of materials such as terracotta not only offered a plausible route towards finding an architectural style which was appropriate to the time, as well as local and national circumstances, but also offered a route to establishing beauty which was befitting to the developing, modern provincial city.

The widespread use with terracotta in Birmingham's architectural practice revealed the impact of the material and the Law Court building upon the city. Not only did the Law Courts stimulate "an outburst" (Little, 1971: 33) of the use of terracotta in the late-nineteenth century but The Builder (1898) also noted how the Law Courts had became a decisive influence on the architecture and construction of other later buildings in the immediate vicinity, such as the nearby hospital at Steelhouse Lane. In addition, the prevalent use of the material after the completion of the public building must be viewed within the contemporary situation of concern for the standard of the local urban environment and the indigenous aspirations to improve Birmingham so that it could culturally, socially and economically
compete with other large cities, especially London. This latter point concerning cultural and social development should not be underestimated, particularly given the fact that the growth of administrative, cultural and educational institutions formed significant elements in Birmingham's municipal evolution. The prestige of art, for example, within local society encouraged, or certainly did not dissuade, civic leaders to take cultural institutions into municipal control. The identity of Birmingham as a place of art and culture made a notable contribution to the vitality of the emerging civic consciousness (Hartnell, 1995: 233) and by the 1880s was evident too in the construction of a new School of Art on Margaret Street and a Museum and Art Gallery, located to the rear of the Council House. The role of the local Society of Artists should also not be overlooked in understanding public architectural activity in Birmingham for the society encouraged the civic leaders to take under its control local several cultural establishments which would also serve as symbols of the new civic feeling.

The Council House

The history of public architecture within late-Victorian Birmingham did not begin in earnest until 1874 when the Corporation cleared a previously purchased site close to the Town Hall
and erected the Council House, a building "which marked the beginning of a period of extensive development in its immediate neighbourhood." (Briggs, 1952: 18) The design of the new building not only showed a stylistic relation to the existing buildings close to it, most notably the Birmingham and Midland Institute (Pevsner and Wedgwood, 1966: 115), but helped to stimulate the development of other public buildings in the area, in so doing creating a centre for civic administration at the heart of the city.

Figure 4.4.6. The Town Hall (left) and front of the Council House.

The position of Birmingham’s Victorian civic area lay to the western extreme of Colmore Row, a prominent central thoroughfare that formed a significant part of the business district. The piece of land that was developed for the Council House was previously "a network of dingy and dirty passage-ways and courts" (Briggs, 1952: 17), located near to the north west of the Town Hall (see figure 4.4.7). As Bunce (1885: XXVI) recognised: "So neglected was the whole of this central district, that Birmingham people, jealous of the credit of their town, were ashamed to show it to visitors as the heart of Birmingham." The development of this area of central Birmingham radically altered this once ramshackle area so as to form a centre of local government in the city, a change that physically and symbolically represented the development and advancement of Birmingham during that time, in so doing bringing about not only a change in land use in the area but also a change in the urban form too.
In many respects the Council House, designed in a rich Renaissance style by a local architect, H.R. Yeoville Thomason, whose only previous competition win was for the Town Hall in Smethick, formed the anchor of the group of public buildings in the area. With an overall effect that was jolly (see Pevsner and Wedgwood, 1966), thanks to its variety of decorative features and Classical form, the Council House even by nineteenth century standards was a huge municipal building (Cunningham, 1981: 6) by reason of its large size and scale. The area of its site alone measured almost 11,500 square yards in area with the front elevation of the new building measuring over 320 feet in length.

The influence of the design of the nearby Town Hall, which sits on a strictly geometric site unencumbered by the other structures, should not be overlooked in the Council House scheme and the development of the civic district for the subsequent buildings placed near to it all took account of the Town Hall in their elevations (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 149). For example, the Council House retained the Corinthian order of the neighbouring Town Hall in its design (Ibid.: 149), although it expressed this style though not only columns but piers and pilasters so to articulate its main floor levels (Pevsner and Wedgwood, 1966: 115), emphasised further by them being composed with a floor to ceiling height higher than the secondary floor levels. The curved south western corner of the building, an unusual occurrence in civic design for just one front corner to be rounded, on the main elevations...
were also given civic design significance through the placing of segmental arched pediments to each side of the curvature with columns beneath.

The treatment of the main elevations of the Council House, erected from Darley Dale stone, was symmetrical in nature. Window openings were positioned in regular bays from the central axis of the building, marked at ground floor level by the south facing recessed main entrance, recessed so to allow for civic design elements to be placed in front of it, such as the huge portico (see figure 4.4.8). The axis marked by the main entrance was also inscribed at the rooftop by a large copper dome placed directly above the entrance vestibule space which was situated immediately to the rear the main entrance. Rustication marked the ground floor level, which was also given an extended floor to ceiling height, so to reflect its importance to the composition. Columns and pilasters were placed beneath the central portico at the side of the main entrance and the use of vertical features such as columns and pilasters was continued across the elevations, being located between window openings which were placed at orderly distances from the centre of the building. The Council House, as highlighted previously, was formed with the curvature of one its front elevation corners, undertaken so to possibly capture the vista coming northwards towards it from an approaching roadway known as Hill Street.

Figure 4.4.8. The centre of the front elevation of the Council House with portico.
While the Council House can be perceived to represent an imposing piece of civic design, a piece of large scale architecture that functioned well ceremonially and administratively (Little, 1971: 30), its designer was very much constrained by regulations devised by the Corporation which dictated that the edifice should have numerous functions. This was to be reflected in terms of the design and plan of the building which would comprise a number of distinct sections. As a consequence of this decision Thomason was deprived of an opportunity for establishing greater civic grandeur (Cunningham, 1981: 85). Nevertheless the building represents one of the most dramatic pieces of architecture constructed in provincial Britain during the period considered by this work.

The main facade of the Council House faced south towards an open area known as Victoria Square and was, as stated previously, dominated by its dome and portico, inside of which was placed a mosaic by Salviati. Another portico and a clock tower, 'Big Brum', monopolised the design of the western elevation which faced onto another open space, Chamberlain Square (see figure 4.4.9 and 4.4.12), with the clock tower somewhat unusually for civic design practice being placed not at the centre of the elevation but at the north western corner of the building's plan. The extra masonry used to support this vertical element formed part of the walls of an office in the Town Clerk's Department. At the side of the clock tower was situated a portico and six huge columns and pilasters that arose from the ground to the cornice line at the top of the second floor.
The plan of the Council House was simple in form and consisted of secondary longitudinal axes running in an east-west direction and a strong central north-south axis that was marked at the front by the main entrance and the portico on the front elevation and to the rear of the front elevation by an entrance hallway, above which was placed the dome, and a flight of steps and a staircase which gave access to the first floor of the building, the principal floor level (The Builder, 1878: 219). To each side of the central north-south axis, towards the ends of the main elevation, were situated the longitudinal axes, going north-south parallel to the line of two roadways, Congreve Street and Eden Place, situated at the side of the building's wings. Each wing contained different departments of the Corporation. The Congreve Street block contained spaces to be used by the Town Clerks office. This wing also accommodated spaces such as Ante Rooms, Retiring Rooms and Council Lobby Rooms as well as the Council Chamber, the largest room in the plan measuring some 30 feet by 25 feet, at the first floor level. The Eden Place wing had spaces for the use of the Gas Department and the Borough Treasurer's Department which included a large office space measuring some 25 feet in length by 20 feet in width.

The end pavilions of the front elevation each contained important spaces within the symmetrically arranged plan. The corner of the front elevation nearest to Eden Place comprised the Borough Surveyors Office while the corner at Congreve Street, the corner of the front elevation which was rounded, formed the outer wall of the Mayor's Office. The open space to the rear of the building's original plan was to be originally developed as a site for a new Law Courts building. However, as shown in the introductory section of the Birmingham case study, the Assize Law Courts was erected in the city near to Corporation Street. In 1881 the foundation of the Art Gallery section of the Council House was laid down and a design by Yeoville Thomason was chosen for the new building, designed in such a manner so as to continue the design style of the original Council House section. "The elevation to Edmund Street will be in harmony with the other elevations of the Council House", noted The Builder, "but in a much plainer style, the principal portion having a receding centre, with projections at each end, finished with curved pediments." (The Builder, 1881: 127) In addition to the floor to ceiling height of the new section of the building was increased, to 16 feet, being higher than that of the Council House, a practical measure by the architect so as to add to the amount of wall space available for hanging portraits.
The first floor plan of the Council House continued the symmetrical form of the ground floor arrangement. The centre of the first floor plan, for example, consisted of three large Reception Rooms, one of which was square in form while the other two had dimensions of 35 feet in length by almost 20 feet in breadth. The squarest of the three reception rooms was positioned at the centre of the first floor plan, the main staircase being situated directly behind it, with the Council House's dome above. This room also was formed with a balcony above the main entrance which faced towards Victoria Square and was marked at the street level by a number of lamp posts placed in front of it in accord with the central axis of the elevation. The balcony was supported by a number of stone columns that were also placed in positions that were in accord with the central mark of the front elevation and the central north-south axis of its internal arrangement.
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Figure 4.4.11. The setting of the Council House so to show the influence of the local road pattern upon the handling of the south west corner of the front elevation (source: Ordnance Survey, 1888).

While the internal arrangement of the Council House has been examined in terms of its civic design the plan of the building also provided some evidence of relating to the surrounding environment. The central axis of the front elevation and north-south alignment of the plan, for example, were continued away from the building by the positioning of a line of lamp posts in front of the central section of the main elevation where features such as the principal entrance, for example, were positioned. In addition, many of the most prominent design characteristics of the Council House were maintained in the design of adjacent public buildings erected later in the vicinity so as to establish a sense of relation between the public buildings situated in the area. For example, the central Post Office in Pinfold Street by Henry Tanner, erected in the 1890s (now demolished), was also designed in a Classical Renaissance style with its vertical axes along its main elevation marked by features such as turrets. The large scale of the building also gave it a sense of association with the nearby Council House.
From the first half of the 1880s until the early 1900s Birmingham’s public architecture continued along the lines already set out in previous practice (Little, 1971: 30), with E.M. Barry’s Midland Institute being extended, “an incongruous Gothic extension” (Ibid.: 31), the erection of a New Reference and Lending Library, opened in 1882, and the City Museum and Art Gallery, discussed previously, located to the rear of the Council House, being opened. This building, erected between 1881 and 1885, was designed with both a decorative scheme similar to that of the earlier public building and elements such as the two storey entrance portico (Pevsner and Wedgwood, 1966: 118) so as to attempt to associate the new building with its neighbour.

The Council House Extension

In the early twentieth century (1905) the Corporation decided to extend the Council House onto a site to the north of the existing Art Gallery building on a site at Edmund Street. The site of the new building was previously filled with numerous small scale industrial units and slum houses that were located along narrow courts. The building, designed by H.V. Ashley and Winton Newman, was opened in 1912 but was not completed until 1919. Thus the scheme provided the opportunity to remove the unsightly buildings which were located next
to the developing civic core as well as enhancing the artistic appearance of the centre of the settlement.

The form of the Council House and its extension was dominated, as was the case for buildings designed in a Classical manner, by horizontal and vertical alignments. The extension scheme was of an immense scale and its design and planning form continued many features that were evident in the Council House composition. For example, the front section of the extension scheme, facing west towards Congreve Street, was designed in a symmetrical manner and while the design and planning of the extension scheme will be discussed further subsequently it is sufficient to state at this point that the new building's front elevation was designed with a solid looking central section and with end pavilions. Towards the southern end of the extension a bridge above Edmund Street was erected so to join together the two Council House sections (see figure 4.4.14), although its position did not conform to any visible alignment in the new or existing buildings' plan or design.

Figure 4.4.13. Ground floor plan of the Council House extension scheme.

Occupying an “island site about 320 feet by 270 feet to the north of the Council House and Corporation Art Galleries” (The Architectural Review, 1912: 34), the Council House
extension scheme was the most large scale piece of civic design undertaken in central Birmingham prior to 1914 with its form dominated by a huge dome placed over the main entrance and by the round arched windows and rustication used on the raised ground floor level. Significant civic design features used in the scheme also included the symmetrical front elevation along which the ends and central section were given a projecting building line so to possibly emphasise their importance, the placing of the recessed main entrance (see figure 4.4.14) at the centre of the front elevation while to its rear was established a central east-west axis in the plan marked by an entrance vestibule and the large sized General Office, 80 feet in width and length, at the centre of the building. This axis was further marked by the placing of the dome to the rear of the main entrance, as noted above. The form of the Council House extension (see figure 4.4.15) was not only governed by symmetrical lines but by other factors such as the slope of the site from east to west, the possible need for future extensions and the necessity to plan each of the council's department's separately from each other with their own entrances. The roadways around the extension site had little influence upon the plan of the building for they were all side streets. However their similar widths not only around the Council House and its extension but also south of the area around Victoria Square did ensure that all public buildings were found at similar distances from each other which helped to give the area an added visual sense of harmony.

Figure 4.4.14. The Council House extension's main entrance (source: Architectural Review, 1912) showing, for example, the use of rustication.
Described as being "a building of considerable merit, more particularly inside" (Ibid.: 34), the baroque styled extension provided accommodation for four municipal departments, Gas, Education, Health and Tramways, as well as providing space for a number of art galleries and museum areas on the first floor of the plan. The new building, while being designed in relation with the Council House, that is displaying similar architectural features to it, was designed with some different elements from the existing Council House building. The windows, for example, were generally larger and more rounded in form, round window openings being positioned along the ground floor level while the smallest of the window openings were located on the upper floors of the structure. However the scale and cornice lines of the old and new buildings were of the same height so that a sense of relation could be established, enhanced further by the same building material, Darley Dale stone, being used for the extension. The significance of the attempt by the architect to associate the extension scheme to the existing Council House building should not be underestimated and in terms of civic design is of note.
Birmingham University

Birmingham University was erected on an open area of land some two miles south of the city centre in the early years of the twentieth century. The scale of the project was huge and because of its sheer size the scheme represented an exercise in both planning and architecture. However what is clearly evident in the scheme, designed by Aston Webb with assistance from Ingress Bell, was that it was dedicated to modernism not only in its educational constitution but right the way through to its layout and design in a deliberate attempt to create a model university for the twentieth century.

The chronicle of the development of Birmingham University from the late 1890s centres upon Mason's College, an establishment briefly mentioned earlier in this section. Created by Sir Josiah Mason in 1875 as a gift to the people of Birmingham, Mason's College on the 1st January 1898, under an Act of Parliament, became Mason's University College. In the same year the Minister of the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, a former mayor of Birmingham, was appointed President of the University College. A new period was reached in the life of Mason's College as a result of this decision to allow Chamberlain to become the University College's President and it would be erroneous to underestimate the role of Chamberlain, as Vincent and Harris (1947: 1) have shown: "Many were associated with the initial idea and organisation of a university for Birmingham, but at the point of final crystallisation there was a driving force - Joseph Chamberlain." Appealing on patriotic grounds and stating that no greater project had even been proposed in the city, Chamberlain used his name and public weight in the Midlands region to act as a means of patronage for the estimated £250,000 needed to establish the new university. By February of 1899 funds raised stood at over £326,000, thanks largely to significant donations by American philanthropist Andrew Carnegie. Eventually the total sum of money raised exceeded £500,000 despite no site for building being secured at that time.

On March 24th 1900 the Royal Warrant was passed granting a University Charter. The Birmingham University Act received assent at the end of May of that year and came into effect on 1st October, 1900, the rapidity of Parliamentary action being attributed to the influence of Chamberlain. In July 1900 the problem of a site for the new university was solved when Lord Calthorpe donated twenty areas of his land at Bournbrook, Edgbaston, at the edge of the city. In many respects the gift of the land by Lord Calthorpe was the final act
of faith in Chamberlain’s crusade. In practical terms this land and its subsequent
development was the principal consideration in the first few years of the life of the university
and its authorities. Again Chamberlain played a significant role. After visits to a number of
American universities, including Cornell University, Chamberlain believed that an American
styled institution would be appropriate in Birmingham even though the consensus of opinion
said that magnificent architecture for the new buildings was not imperative. The scenario
however altered somewhat when Chamberlain in outlining his thoughts and ideas on what
was intended to be a prototype establishment approached Aston Webb. Webb, who in a
letter to Sir Oliver Lodge, a famous contemporary academic and the first Principal of the
new establishment, dating from May 1900, revealed that special treatment would be
necessary in the planning of the buildings and despite stating that he would be unable to
produce a design comparable to the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge Webb did add that
he could compose a new university which “should by some means of co-operation display all
that is best in the modern community of Birmingham and this is worth looking for.”

Even though few people had called for grandiose architecture, Chamberlain argued that it
was a requisite of Birmingham University. Hence a tall clock tower, a landmark, was erected
as part of the scheme so that the campus could be seen from miles away. What was
intended architecturally and in terms of the plan, wrote Webb and Bell, was “that when
completed the buildings shall comprise all the departments necessary for the purpose of a
modern University devoted to the scientific instruction in many subjects and especially those
which have a bearing on the several trades and manufactures of the Midlands together with
the usual university training.” (The Builder, 1902: 448) The institution thus in its built form
and constitution was to reflect the progressiveness of society as a whole which for
Chamberlain was indispensable in the scheme so as to establish the rebirth of Britain
through the stimulation of intellectual growth in the industrial Midlands region. Therefore the
university had to have virtually no trace of historicism in plan, architecture or constitution and
the modern attitude made the entire scheme somewhat of an antithesis of traditionalism.
King Edward officially opened Birmingham University in 1909 and in his opening address
stated that it will “encourage the growth of the highest forms of public spirit. A man educated
at this University will be a better citizen of Birmingham and a better subject of the Empire.”

In 1902 Webb exhibited his drawings for the university at The Royal Academy. The project
was shown to be a complete arrangement, an intrinsically planned radial landscape,
although the process of construction was to take place in a number of defined stages.
Webb's plan showed a revolutionary yet simple semi-circular walled community design, an enclosed city of sorts in the style of the ideal cities of the Renaissance period. The design related perfectly to the ambition and requirements of what was to be a model university although the balanced shape of the plan was determined by the topography of the site and not so much from imitating perfectly geometric Renaissance settlements. Both the shape and contours of the site had a fundamental influence on the design of the building pattern: "There is a rapid fall on the site from the north to south of about 30 feet, and the natural contours of the site suggested the semi-circular treatment as the best adapted in its configuration. The site has accordingly been prepared on two circular terraces, with the difference about 16 feet." (Ibid.: 448) The Builder also recognised the influence of the Iform of the site when it suggested that it "was this peculiarity in the configuration of the site which suggested the arrangement of the buildings." (1907: 54)

Figure 4.4.16. The plan proposed for Birmingham University by Aston Webb.

Between the slopes at the northern and southern ends of the University's site lay a plateau, utilised by Webb so to become a central courtyard around which the main buildings would be situated. By relating the overall plan to the natural topography Webb and Bell had let the character of the landscape influence the planning form of the scheme. This meant that the site acted not as a hindrance but as a complementary factor upon the scheme's arrangement. The radiating wings of the terrace bound the circumference of the centrally
placed courtyard while the Great Hall (figure 4.4.17) marked the centre of the building, its axis corresponding with the position of the clock tower and the main entrance of the campus which was positioned beneath the Library building. Thus the buildings simultaneously acted as a perimeter wall which looking from the rear of the site, where the ground level was lower due to the slope of the land, gave the impression of a hill town.

The style of the University's architecture was Byzantine, possibly reflecting the preference for the style as an outcome of Bentley's successful Roman Catholic Cathedral composition at Westminster, erected about the same time. However as Fellows (1995: 125) has highlighted, "the broad massing of the style fitted into the morphology of the building." The Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in a discussion on 'The Planning of Collegiate Buildings' in 1903 stated that Birmingham University had "great dignity and quietness, and at the same time appeared to have a flavour which belonged essentially to this modern time, and was in no sense a cope of the past - precisely that flour which the medievalists would have given to it if they had remained down to these days." (1903: 211) Yet the treatment of the style plays a secondary role to the ambitiousness and courage of Webb's overall plan.

Figure 4.4.17. The Great Hall.

Visually the campus focuses upon the clock tower, the main architectural feature of the scheme, which is situated close to the centre of the courtyard space. The 325 feet high tower not only served an aesthetic purpose for it also contained spaces to be used as
offices and a science (acoustic) testing areas. The form of the vertical element was based upon the fourteenth century Torre del Mangio at Siena, which Chamberlain had admired on his travels around Italy and the tower soon acquired the nickname ‘Big Joe’ thanks to Chamberlain’s influence in founding the university. The cost of tower was funded by an anonymous donation of £50,000 as a memorial to the sterling work carried out by Chamberlain in establishing the educational institution and, as stated previously, it was used as a means to draw attention to the new buildings, particularly from the nearby rail line. Webb positioned the clock tower on the central north-south axis of the scheme that was marked by the central alignment of the Great Hall, its main entrance and the gateway building positioned near to University Road at the opposite end of the campus. The axis was continued outside of the campus across University Road by a straight, tree lined avenue so to create a powerful vista towards the university. The gateway like the clock tower also served a double purpose, not only marking the entrance into the area but housing the Harding Library which was found in the first floor of the structure above the five large sized archways which dominated the ground floor level.

Figure 4.4.18. The central north-south axis of the University plan, marked by a huge vista from the entrance gates of the campus by the avenue of trees, continuing under the Library building to the clock tower and the Great Hall (dome partially visible to the rear of the clock tower).

The Birmingham University scheme in planning terms was a unique venture. This modern scheme set new design standards by acting as a model for future university planning. Civic
architecture as a result of schemes such as this and their enormous scale pushed into larger urban design fields. The University, for example, measured some 900 feet in length and 500 feet in breadth. This extension of public architecture into larger domains showed itself to be a natural development and helping to push modern as well as traditional architectural principles into larger design areas such as civic design and town planning.

The University scheme consisted of a number of separate blocks in the style of pavilions used in hospital planning. The central block, the basilica-esque Great Hall, was the largest and most prominent piece of the overall composition. Each pavilion was to accommodate a different department of the University and had dimensions measuring 160 feet in length by about 50 feet in width, which were to be linked together by a corridor that had a semi-circular arrangement. Lecture theatres and administrative rooms were placed in the inner belt of each building, being placed close to the main corridor that provided views down into the courtyard space. Rooms for research, drawing areas and laboratories were located towards the rear of each respective pavilion.

Figure 4.4.19. The plan of one of the University's blocks.

As stated earlier Webb selected a design style that has been said to be "loosely Byzantine" (Service, 1975: 149), although other design styles were visible. The clock tower, for
example, exhibits an Italianate style while the Great Hall was designed with mullioned windows in a Gothic style so that it had its general appearance was more in keeping with a church than an educational establishment. However none of these additional styles infringed upon the overall Byzantine flavour. The scheme used a range of building materials such as Tiberthwayte lead, red brick, terracotta and Darley Dale stone, material also used in Birmingham's most prominent public architectural schemes during the period selected for study, the Council House and Council House Extension.

The symbolism of the Renaissance was a hovering omnipresence at Birmingham in the University project not only because of the stylistic form of the scheme but because Webb placed nine life sized statues of artists, philosophers and scientists from history to stand over the main entrance of the Great Hall. Decorative elements were also added to the buildings through friezes designed by R.A. Bell, brother of Webb's professional partner, Ingress Bell, which "intended to represent the sciences and industries, to the elucidation of which the several blocks of university buildings will bear in relation to the function of the University at large." (The Builder, 1902: 448) The rigid geometry of the University's plan may be seen as well to highlight and symbolise the organised learning which the establishment offered to students in Birmingham, particularly in the modern fields of mining, commerce, engineering, mineralogy, hydraulics, brewing and other technical fields which subsequently included town planning, Raymond Unwin being the first Professor of this subject, intrinsic to the needs of the time. Furthermore the choice of modern fields of learning at the University represented a triumph of liberal notions over conservative ones in Edwardian academia.

Inter-War Birmingham

The momentum established in Edwardian Birmingham's civic design practice was continued after the end of World War One in 1918. While the public buildings surrounding the Town Hall have been noted, their close positioning to each other as a "pleasant jumble" was noted by Pevsner and Wedgwood (1966: 115) as displeasing the Corporation who later required something more grandiose to be worthy of the regional capital (population 919,000 in 1921, source: Census). In 1926 a design competition was established by the Corporation for the laying out of a civic centre but as selected architect Maximilian Romanoff's scheme was deemed to be too expensive the project was suspended until 1935 when T. Cecil Howitt, the
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architect of the Council House, Nottingham, won the second competition. Howitt’s plan included two office buildings, a Museum, a City Hall and Library. Work began in 1938 but was severely disrupted by the outbreak of War in the following year. Only Baskerville House, a symmetrically formed neo-Georgian styled building erected from Portland stone, was completed before 1939. The overall civic centre scheme was taken up again in the late 1950s by the City Architects Department but A.G. Sheppard Fidler’s plan for the civic centre removed much of the classical design, the sense of monumentality and symmetry established in Howitt’s original project.

Between 1918 and 1939 a number of large scale buildings were erected in central Birmingham including the Hall of Memory (1923-4) by S.N. Cooke and W.N. Twist. In 1935 a new Central Fire Station was constructed on a site at Corporation Street and the new building was designed in a Georgian style from brick and Portland stone, a common material in public architecture schemes in Britain before 1914. In 1938 Ashley and Newman were awarded first premium in a competition for a Central Technical College. However in 1939 the scheme was suspended and was not taken up again until 1949 when it was apparent that the original design was insufficient for post-war requirements (Ibid.: 132). City Architect A.G. Sheppard Fidler took over the scheme in 1956 and a School of Printing was subsequently added to the general scheme.

Conclusion

Birmingham during the period considered by this study was architecturally enhanced by a number of public buildings erected not only at the urban core but also at the urban fringe. Not only were these buildings often large scale in nature but furthermore they were designed and planned with many civic design elements. The development of the area around the Council House in Birmingham arguably represents the most widespread use of civic design principles in the development of the settlement during the period considered. The impact of the development of the civic area in proximity to the Council House cannot be ignored in a study such as this for it affected the design, morphology and land use of the central core during the late-Victorian and Edwardian Birmingham, changing what was largely an industrial and slum housing area into one of the most grandiose districts of the settlement. As noted previously credit for the large extent of civic design in the settlement
must be given to the Corporation with its efforts to enhance the environment about the Town Hall and Council House buildings, erecting new buildings after undertaking slum clearance so to remove unsightly buildings in the area.

The role of Corporation and its progressive attitude towards the urban form, its regulation and form, must be further credited at this point with regards to the civic design of the settlement. The Corporation Street and Colmore Row schemes, for example, can be viewed to consist of an urban improvement projects which contained many architectural elements, schemes which few other Corporations considered or undertook during the period covered. Many of the schemes undertaken in late-Victorian and Edwardian Birmingham were of a scale unsurpassed in few other provincial towns and cities at that time as well. The Council House, for example, was designed an a site measuring some 11,500 square yards in area and the Council House extension was of an equally large size. The Birmingham University campus was of an even greater scale, being one of the largest design and planning schemes undertaken in Britain before the onset of World War One in 1914.

Many civic design elements used in Birmingham during the period examined were in keeping with those practised in other large sized provincial settlements at that time. These characteristics included the use of symmetry in the plan of the public buildings erected and symmetry in the form of the main elevations, the use of vertical elements such as clock towers and domes, which would often be placed in central positions along the main elevation of a public building, while main entrances were often centrally placed along a principal elevation and would be marked by a architectural elements including porticos, columns or pilasters and flights of steps, for example. Round or arched window openings were also a common feature of civic design in Birmingham, a form of fenestration evident in other provincial centres. But, Birmingham's public buildings erected in the period examined did display many of the less common elements of civic design such as the rounding of a corner of a main elevation and the placing of a vertical element along the side of a building. Both these characteristics were noted in the Council House scheme but the rounding of the front corner of this building was a deliberate ploy by its designer so to capture the vista along an approaching roadway to the building and this association between the form of the public edifice and its surroundings must be seen as significant in the building's civic design.
Leeds

Introduction

Leeds like a good number of other large urban settlements suffered from the effects of industrialisation and urbanisation during the nineteenth century. As a significant economic centre in the Yorkshire region Leeds has a history that stretches back into the fifteenth century and under the forces of industrialisation in the eighteenth century life in the town was given new impetus. This modern stimulus resulted in a marked growth in population so that by 1851 the population of the town stood at 172,000, a marked increase from the population total of approximately 53,000 some fifty years earlier (source: Census). The growth of the settlement was also reflected architecturally with the erection of public buildings such as the Leeds Library in 1808 by Thomas Johnson, the late-Georgian Stock Exchange building, St. Peter's Church (1838-41), the parish church of Leeds, and the prison (1847), by competition winners Hurst and Miffat of Doncaster. At the start of the twentieth century the population of Leeds had risen further to about 428,000 (source: Census, 1901), in so doing making the settlement the fifth largest urban settlement in England and the largest settlement in the Yorkshire region. By this time too Leeds' spatial extent had swallowed a number of once isolated townships situated close to its bounds such as Hunslet and Holbeck.

In terms of road layout Leeds developed during the nineteenth century with few long and direct vistas in the central core, "everything is at odd angles" commented The Builder (1896: 505). While there was a strong element of truth in the above remark such a statement belied the nature of the urban form of Leeds for there was a planned, rational and orderly layout of the western area of the settlement, notably within the Park district which developed during the eighteenth century close to the Mixed Cloth Hall, now the site of the Post Office building overlooking City Square, a late-Victorian development. However it was not until the erection of the Town Hall in the 1850s that Leeds began to acquire an architectural face of a more public nature although by this time the town still had no civic street or space (Beresford in Fraser, 1980: 108). In terms of the development of the local townscape no other single building had such an impact on the built environment of Leeds in the Victorian period than the Town Hall (Ibid.: 108) and in the context of growing affluence of the
settlement from industrialisation, the construction of such a grand building was not without local cultural significance, "for, like similar monuments of the middle ages, it shows not only the wealth to which the cities have attained, but the development of municipal institutions." (Building News, 1958: 1289) However by the mid-1850s the Corporation, possibly encouraged by the success of the Town Hall scheme, had also become heavily involved in the development of the built environment, erecting large-scale public schemes like the City Markets (from 1857 by C. Tinley, the Borough Surveyor, with assistance from Sir Joseph Paxton), the workhouse (1857 by Perkin and Backhouse), the Grammar School (1858-9), Poor Law Offices (1859-60), the Mechanics Institution (1860) and the Corn Exchange (1861-3), for example. In addition the Corporation became involved in urban design matters through establishing comprehensive building by-laws which regulated the construction of new buildings in the settlement. From the 1860s it had also become involved in design schemes at the urban periphery, laying out cemeteries such as Armley Cemetery (1887), parks (1869, 1870, the 175 hectare Roundhay Park in 1872 to a plan by competition winner George Corson, the largest of all public parks laid out in Victorian Britain, as well as other park areas in 1876, 1877 and 1879), asylums, schools, infirmary buildings (1861 by Lockwood and Mawson, 1863-8 by George Gilbert Scott and 1870 by Walker) and hospitals (1868-9, 1900-4). The civic development of Leeds was further enhanced when Alfred Waterhouse, architect of the University College in the late 1870s, another large public building located at the urban fringe.

The Town Hall and District

Leeds Town Hall has been called "a masterpiece of High Victorian Classicism" (Fletcher, 1996: 1116) and arguably represents one of the finest examples of municipal architecture erected in the Victorian period. The Builder (1896: 505) noted that the building "may be said to stand second only to St. George's Hall, Liverpool, as an example of a great building of the Classic revival in this country." Pevsner and Radcliffe (1959: 314) remarked that the Town Hall at Leeds was one of the most convincing and one of the most successful Classical buildings of its time, adding that, "Leeds can be proud of its town hall, one of the most convincing buildings of its date in the country, and of the classical buildings of its date no doubt the most successful." (Ibid.: 314)
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The origins of the Town Hall begin about 1850, a date well before that covered by this study but such was the importance of the building to the civic design of Leeds that it cannot be ignored, when it was proposed at a public meeting that a fitting memorial consisting a public hall and memorial statue should be made to Sir Robert Peel (Briggs, 1963: 156). However the idea of building a grand piece of public architecture was made more imperative as a result of Bradford, Leeds's industrial and civic rival, constructing St George's Hall in 1851-2 to a design by Lockwood and Mawson. By 1852 the Corporation in Leeds decided to erect a structure consisting of a Town Hall and Law Courts at a proposed cost of £22,000. An open design competition was subsequently organised (Wilson, 1937: 16). The competition rules specified clearly the character of the new building: the structure was, for example, to have an area of no less than 12,000 square feet and a height of more than 50 feet (The Builder, 1952: 503). Thus the scale of the new building was to be large and the competition highlighted that just as “Liverpool wanted to emulate Birmingham, so Leeds wanted to rival Liverpool” (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 152) in the construction of its Town Hall. Significantly, the proposal for a grand new public building was a paradigm in the cultural activities of the civic elite in Leeds who resented the contemporary opinion that the settlement was a place of unsightly and unimportant buildings. “So, to celebrate their wealth, they went out and bought the biggest town hall” (Morris in Fraser, 1980: 218).

It has been noted by Linstrum (1978: 343) that during the preparation for the building the Corporation was influenced by both contemporary foreign and domestic architectural practice although there is no suggestion that the new building should be anything but Classical in style, thanks to the Town Hall precedents established at Birmingham and Liverpool, both of which had been visited by the Leeds Council's Building Committee.

A young and hitherto unknown architect from Hull, Cuthbert Brodrick, won the design competition assessed by Sir Charles Barry. The total cost of the Town Hall upon completion was around £120,000, a large sum of money, but in terms of civic pride and as a symbol of municipal achievement the building's impact was immeasurable. At the laying of the foundation stone the Council's Town Hall Committee chairman claimed that the Corporation “intend, in the first place to erect a building which will improve the public taste, and give an improved architectural appearance to the town”, and to secondly erect a structure, “as an ornamental building, and in order
that the local or municipal business of the borough may be concentrated in one building, and thereby be done better and cheaper than it could be were it otherwise.” (Cunningham, 1981: 38-9) Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort officially opened the building as part of a large civic pageant in 1858.

Brodrick’s design for the Town Hall, with its near square form, has been said to conform to a Renaissance manner (Wilson, 1937: 19). Decoration primarily consisted of a Corinthian Classical order (The Builder, 1896: 505), incorporating columns and pilasters supporting a host of balustrades and a rich entablature which rises to a height of seventy feet (The Builder, 1858: 624). The cornice line was continued all around the building, as was the placing of columns at regular distances along the building. Such a design, with a strong sense of proportion and scale, enabled the civic splendour of Italy to be imported into Victorian Leeds (Morris in Fraser, 1980: 215), which prompted Banister Fletcher (1996: 1116) to note: “Grandiose in conception, rugged and massive in outline and opulent in detail, it asserts the independence and pride of a prosperous industrial city.” The building materials used included local Yorkshire stones and Darley Dale stone.

Figure 4.5.1. Perspective of the Town Hall, Leeds (source: Building News, 1858).

The tripartite main entrance, facing south towards the residential roadway known as Park Lane, was placed inside a recess so to introduce civic design elements in front
of it that included a row of ten columns, each with a diameter of almost 3.5 feet, approached up a flight of 19 steps that were 135 feet in length (The Builder, 1858: 624). The design of the building exploited the raised site upon which it was erected although it was gave the impression of being elevated further from the ground level due to the large and imposing flight of steps, highlighted previously, which were placed in front of the centre of the main elevation and the principal entrance. The steps helped establish the impression that the building was set on a plinth, which is this instance was the rusticated basement level.

Figure 4.5.2. The central section of the front elevation of the Town Hall, Leeds, with main entrance positioned behind the columns and flight of steps.

One of the most striking element of all the facades of the Town Hall were the large columns and pilasters with their heavily rusticated bases, the largest of which were placed at the centre of the main elevation at the top of the flight of steps (see figures 4.5.1, 4.5.3 and 4.5.5). Columns, located at regular bays along all four elevations of the Town Hall, were also used to decorate the corner pavilions of the structure, emphasised by their building lines being brought forward from the rest of the edifice with coupled pilasters and arch headed windows being used to decorate the two storey corner sections (Pevsner, 1959: 314). Sculptured urns (see figure 4.5.2 and
4.5.6) were positioned along the roof level, located on the vertical lines established directly beneath by the columns and pilasters along all elevations. The corners of the front elevation were marked at ground floor level by four Portland Stone lions, designed by W. Keyworth, important elements to the general composition. "These lions, which form a symmetrical group architecturally, but each differ in attitude, are meritorious" proclaimed The Builder (1896: 505).

The axis established by the centrally placed principal entrance, a double doorway, was continued out of and into the plan of the building (see figure 4.5.3) thanks to the arrangement of prominent spaces within it and the placing of architectural features in the surrounding environment. Thus the civic design worth of this building can be regarded as being high. Situated directly behind the main entrance was the South Vestibule, the thick walls of the space being used to support the 225 feet high clock tower located directly above it. Positioned immediately to the rear of the vestibule was the largest space and one of the most important rooms in the Town Hall's internal arrangement, the Great Hall, whose plan corresponded with the axial line established to the rear the main entrance. At the opposite end of the building to the main entrance was located a subsidiary entrance that faced northwards to Great George Street, positioned in the centre of the rear elevation with a small flight of steps in front of it. A vestibule space, the North Vestibule, was located directly behind this entrance. Therefore the central (north-south) alignment of this building, marked at each end by an entrance, was continued throughout the internal arrangement. An additional secondary entrance was situated at the centre of the eastern elevation and was also marked by a small flight of steps and by two lamp posts (see figure 4.5.12), one on each side of the central axis of this elevation in proximity to the aforementioned steps.

The alignment of the main entrance was marked outside the front of the Town Hall's south elevation by the placing of a statue of Queen Victoria, erected after the completion of the public building. Significantly, in terms of civic design the placing of a statue at the front of the centre of the main elevation of the Town Hall also corresponded with the prominent line of central (north-south) axis within the structure's plan (see figure 4.5.3), and, importantly the position of the statue also corresponded to the oncoming alignment of Park Road. Thus the figure was used as to assist in the process of association between the new public building and its surroundings.
The site of the unencumbered Town Hall measured about 250 feet in length with the front and rear elevations of the building covering some 200 feet in width. The site of the building was enhanced during the course of constructing the Town Hall by the site being literally elevated in order to resolve the problem of its low height above sea level when compared with other districts of Leeds which enjoyed a more lofty situation. Thus, the Corporation ensured that the site would be covered by a large platform of earth upon which the building would stand to make it more visible from other areas of the settlement (Butler Wilson, 1937: 17). The architect as stated previously further enhanced this situation by designing his building with a raised ground floor level.

Butler Wilson (1937: 17) remarked the Town Hall plan was designed “in the grand manner, symmetrical in its part and bold in the simplicity of its layout.” The plan of Town Hall was “basically a simple square, and in elevation (setting aside the tower) it is a rectangle, concealing the division of the interior” (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 152), with the internal arrangement largely mirroring itself across the central (north-south) axis. As was the case with other Victorian Town Halls the building had to perform a variety of functions which were reflected in the diverse nature of its rooms and spaces within, such as the Council Chamber, Committee Rooms and Municipal Offices, rooms used for entertaining guests, a Borough Court, a Civil Court and the...
Crown Court, waiting rooms and a large public hall, the Central Hall which was used as public hall.

Cunningham (1981: 25) has shown that a large hall space in any Town Hall building was fundamental to the display aspect of the building and often the position of the room played a crucial role in determining the form of the plan. The uncomplicated internal arrangement of Leeds Town Hall was dominated by the Central Hall, a room measuring 161 feet in length, 72 feet in width and 75 feet in height, a size so immense noted Briggs (1963: 180) that it was larger than any other room within a public building scheme erected at that time. Double columns placed at regular distances towards the walls of the space supported the low pitched roof structure placed above it, low pitched so to perhaps not be seen from the street level.

The front of the Town Hall was left open by a newly created space other than that of the roadway positioned in front of the building, in so doing forming an open space called Victoria Square (see figure 4.5.4). The open space was important to the effect of the public building for it allowed the Town Hall to have a greater impact upon the townscape not only presenting an opportunity for visual effect and the introduction of civic design elements in the area but for varying the perspective of Park Cross Street towards the building. The space in front of the Town Hall was not, however, left open but was decorated with statuary, as noted earlier, which were positioned in accord with prominent sections of the building’s front elevation and its planning axes.

Figure 4.5.4. Vista eastwards along Victoria Square. The main entrance to the Town Hall is on the left in the foreground.
By the end of the nineteenth century three statues were erected within Victoria Square, one on the line of the north-south axis running centrally through the Town Hall, as highlighted previously, while the other two statues, of Peel and Wellington, were put in positions in accord with the centre of the ends of the Town Hall's principal elevation. Furthermore lamp posts were placed around the base of the Town Hall at regular distances in an attempt to conform with the symmetrical form of the building and the placing of the building's entrances which were all at the centre of the building's main elevations. The placing of all these lamp posts in a deliberate order around the Town Hall (see figure 4.5.12) has great civic design significance and helped to reinforce the symmetry of the building's elevations and internal arrangement.

It has been noted previously that the position of the Central Hall within the Town Hall was towards the centre of the building's plan with its north-south alignment relating to the central axis of the Town Hall at its front elevation. The laying out of this space
along the central axis of the plan is of civic design worth. Law Courts and the Council Chamber were each placed within the corner pavilions and these rooms, measuring 50 feet in length by 45 feet in breadth, opened up from a corridor encircling the Central Hall (The Builder, 1896: 506). The corners of the building were enhanced by the pavilions which were designed with vertical elements, loggias and decorative ventilation flues, each 12 feet square and 106 feet high. However the largest vertical element in the composition was the clock tower.

Figure 4.5.6. The clock tower of Leeds Town Hall. Note the balustrade above the cornice line and the position of the decorative urns directly above the columns.

The Town Hall's tower was, as noted earlier, positioned directly above the South Vestibule, a space almost square in plan measuring 48 feet by 45 feet with a domed roof of seventy feet in height (The Builder, 1858: 624), located along the central north-south axis established to the rear of the main entrance. The Builder (1896: 505) noted that the tower was “well proportioned, and, moreover, original in general design and composition.” The tower, which gives the building a height in excess of 220 feet, serves not only an aesthetic purpose but a functional one too, masking the roof of the Central Hall behind it, as did the balustrades positioned at the corners of the building. The clock tower’s design consisted of a detached square colonnade, with six Corinthian columns along each side above which are positioned the four clock faces and the “big, tall, rather elongated domical top with concave side.”
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(Pevsner and Radcliffe, 1959: 314) The tower not only crowned the Town Hall composition, marking the vertical alignment at the centre of the main elevation, but allowed the building to make a significant impact upon the townscape in that it draws the eye to it not only in the immediate area around the structure but across the central core of Leeds as well.

Cuthbert Brodrick, the architect of the Town Hall, also influenced the appearance of central Leeds thanks to a competition win in 1860 for the Institute building in Cookridge Street (see figure 4.5.7). The Renaissance style of the new structure was visually dominated by the centrally placed and recessed main entrance in front of which was located a flight of steps, marked on each side by a low stone wall and lamp posts which made for a notable civic design feature in front of the building. Of note as well was the large central pavilion with a curved ornamented pediment beneath which was positioned the main entrance, flanked on each side by pilasters. Pilasters were also employed at the ends of the structure. Round-headed windows and a rusticated basement decorated the main elevations, in so doing complimenting its solid looking appearance (Dixon and Muthesius, 1978: 153) of the building. Unfortunately for the civic design of the building little effort was undertaken on the part of Brodrick to relate the large sized structure to its setting. The Leeds Institute showed little association in its plan or design form with the Public Baths located opposite its site, but it did relate albeit loosely to this building in that both buildings were formed with a large scale. The large size of the Institute also allowed it to fit in rather well with other buildings of a public nature in the district, such as the Modern School, School of Art and Higher Grade School, but these all faced away from the Institute.

Figure 4.5.7. The Leeds Institute's front elevation (source: The Builder, 1867).
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The Municipal Building and Calverley Street

"In the last quarter of the nineteenth century were laid the foundations of the city's cultural life in the twentieth" (Morris in Fraser, 1980: 219), and this was to have significant civic design implications in Leeds. Of importance to the cultural growth of Leeds was the Corporation which was increasingly encouraged by its more progressive and imaginative members into becoming the primary cultural supporter of the town. In 1876, for example, the Corporation endeavoured to improve the surroundings of the Town Hall by allowing another public building to be erected close to it on a site at Calverley Street. The construction of a new public building in proximity to the Town Hall prompted The Builder (1896: 510) to later recognise that the Corporation had made an attempt to establish a municipal centre in the heart of the city.

A competition was established by the Corporation and a local architect, George Corson, was awarded the first premium. Corson's design contained many elements that related the new structure to the Town Hall (Linstrum, 1978: 71) and the large scale of the new municipal building, in general terms and in relation to its high floor to floor heights, further assisted the attempt to establish a sense of civic design relation. Indeed, this notion of design association was a deliberate intention on the part of Corson, for he had decided that "the new building...should be similar in style to the Town Hall, but not identical" (Ibid.: 356). However Corson did add that a certain degree of variation, and so individuality, should be apparent in the design of the new building for this "would be to the advantage of the effect of both." (Ibid.: 356)

But further evidence of a sense of relation between the new and existing public buildings was provided by Corson, who as the first President of the Leeds and Yorkshire Society of Architects, addressed fellow members of the society in 1877 on the matter of the Town Hall and the Municipal Building, and stated that "some regard should be had to neighbouring buildings in designing the one between. They ought to be connected in their horizontal lines...and so designed to group with them." (Speech on 31st October, 1877) The outcome of this attitude was that by 1884, the date of the opening of the Municipal Building, as it became known, a respectfully composed building was erected opposite the Town Hall in Calverley Street, as shown by figure 4.5.7, a structure that was formed with many elements so as to attempt to relate it to its grandly composed neighbour.
The Municipal Building was designed in an Italianate style (Pevsner and Radcliffe, 1959: 315), which according to The British Architect (1884: 54) had an "effect which is striking, reminding one more of a Venetian palace than a Leeds corporate building". The new building also contained many design features that visually were in accord with the Town Hall located opposite it. For example, the new structure was designed with round arched windows on the ground and first floor levels, located in regular bays along the main elevations which were also decorated by elements such as coupled columns and pilasters, all notable features on the main elevations of the Town Hall. The new building also contained minor sculptured features, principally stone urns, along its roof line which were similar to those positioned above the cornice line of the Town Hall, the urns being put in locations such as at the centre section and ends of the main west facing elevation of the Municipal Building.

The Italianate style of the Municipal Building (see figures 4.5.8 and 4.5.9) it should be noted was not too dissimilar from the chosen design style of its neighbour. The Builder (1898: 509) remarked that the new structure "is a quietly designed building; probably it was thought that the neighbouring Town Hall furnished all the municipal pomp necessary for the situation, and rendered the distinction of a tower unnecessary and out of place." Other notable design elements of the Municipal Building included the recessed double doorway of the main entrance, the principal
entrance being located at the centre of the main elevation and a flight of steps positioned in front of it. The extended height of the ground floor level, so as to possibly emphasise its importance, over other floor levels, should also be regarded and the importance of the ground floor level was also shown in the internal arrangement of the building, for within this floor level the most important, and largest, spaces were placed. Of note too, the side entrance was marked by a recessed doorway and by a flight of steps in front of it, the recessing the main doorways thus being used to provide an opportunity to introduce civic design elements in front of them.

Figure 4.5.9. The front elevation of the Municipal Building.

The principal elevation of the Municipal Building, as noted previously, faced west towards the Town Hall, which possibly reflected of the importance of the building upon the immediate neighbourhood. The front elevation measured about 150 feet in length with a breadth of the building being about 110 feet. End pavilions marked the corners of the front elevation and helped to strengthen the symmetrical effect of the front elevation which was marked at the centre by the main entrance and other design elements such as a flight of steps in front of it and columns to each side of the double doorway. The central axis established by the main elevation was continued into the internal arrangement of the Municipal Offices by a 23 feet long vestibule positioned to the rear of the doorway which led to the Inner Hall (see figure
4.5.10), a large space laid out at ninety degrees to the alignment behind the principal entrance. Situated behind this space was one of the largest rooms in the building, the General Pay Office, which was 78 feet long and 38 feet wide, containing a public counter measuring 62 feet in length. Other important spaces such as the News Room and Clerks of the Gas and Water Office were situated towards the sides of the building and the differing functional uses of the new building was necessary as the Corporation erected the edifice for the purpose of accommodating within one building many of its departments.

While a central axis was established in the plan of the Municipal Building and the design of the front elevation unfortunately for the civic design of the scheme its position did not meet directly with any other buildings, particularly the central point of the eastern elevation of the Town Hall which was marked by an entrance, steps and lamp posts. Had the two buildings' axes aligned then a significant civic design...
composition would have been produced, in so doing directly continuing two major civic buildings together by planning lines. Instead the centre of the Municipal Building was situated away from the middle (see figures 4.5.11 and 4.5.12) of the Town Hall's side elevation.

Figure 4.5.11. The Municipal Building and surroundings (source: Ordnance Survey, 1890).

Figure 4.5.12. View from the side entrance of the Town Hall to the Municipal Offices.
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The evolution of Calverley Street as a district of public architecture in late-Victorian Leeds was enhanced in 1879 when George Corson designed the Leeds School Board Office on a site to the north of the Municipal Building at the junction of Calverley Street with Great George Street. The building was completed in the following year. As a result of this grand, if albeit somewhat small scale, new building being erected Calverley Street became one of the noblest streets in late-Victorian Leeds (Linstrum, 1978: 358). In the design of the two storey building Corson continued to use the Town Hall again as a source for inspiration, using double columns to mark the recessed main entrance and double pilasters at the corners, as well as round arched windows at the ground floor level, located in regular bays, and a balustrade and decorative stone urns along the rooftop. The stone urns were situated at regular intervals along the roof, marking the vertical axes established by the double columns and pilasters on the front elevation beneath. The ground floor level was designed with an increased floor to ceiling height so to presumably emphasise its significance within the composition. Rustication, a common feature of civic design at that time, also formed a significant civic design feature of this building, being used on the lower ground floor level and a steeply pitched roof was placed at the centre of the building above the main entrance gave the impression of surmounting the vertical alignment established at the centre of the front elevation.

Figure 4.5.13. Main Elevation of Leeds School Board Office, Calverley Street. In the right foreground is the basement level of the Town Hall.
The main entrance of the raised School Board Office not only marked the centre of the main west façade but in addition the building line of the northern elevation of the Town Hall, although this may be more coincidence than a deliberate planning attempt on Corson's part to relate the two buildings to each other. Nevertheless this occurrence should not be disregarded. The main entrance was reached up a small flight of steps, to the rear of which was located a vestibule and two staircases, placed in positions reinforcing the symmetry of the front section of the building's plan, one to be used only by boys and the other for girls, both of which led to an examination hall on the first floor level. Little further evidence of civic design elements was evident in the form and plan of the building, which like the new Art Gallery building erected in the district, received little attention in the contemporary architectural press.

In 1884 the Corporation tried to further improve the architectural condition of the environment about the Town Hall when it purchased land covering an area of over 2000 square yards at the rear of the Municipal Buildings along a side street called Alexander Street, with the intention of constructing a new Art Gallery and Museum building (Yorkshire Post, 18th June, 1884). The purchase of land close to the rear of the Municipal Building allowed the Corporation to develop the civic district based about the Town Hall by undertaking a slum clearance scheme in order to remove unsightly, small scale private buildings located on a piece of land between Park Lane and Centenary Street in proximity to the existing public buildings. The clearance of this site allowed Victoria Square, Leeds's most important civic space at that time, to expand in size. Butler Wilson (1937: 23) commented that the expansion of the open space made "a valuable contribution to the Civic Centre, which is gradually emerging, through the praiseworthy efforts of the Corporation, towards producing a better centre for the city." The newly expanded Square was left open in the following years until it was laid out by John Proctor to a cost of £10,000, within which was placed in 1918 a War Memorial, also by Proctor.

The construction of the new Art Gallery scheme began in 1887, designed by W.H. Thorp, the competition winner, as an extension to Corson's Municipal Building (Linstrum, 1978: 358) on a site situated immediately east of the existing public building. The Builder (1896: 509) called this new structure "a very plain stone building flanking a narrow lane". The confined site of the building was raised as a major design issue by the Leeds Society of Architects prior to the erection of the
building for it was perceived to allowed little room for architectural ingenuity (The Builder, 1886: 610) in the design and planning process. The visual impact of the building was recognised even before erection to be limited by the surroundings of the site which were tightly packed together (see figure 4.5.14). The building would be only visible along the side street lined with warehouses, the large scale of which would allow the new building to fit in well, and small buildings which may be assumed to be either houses or small industrial units such as workshops. However the sense of relation between the new public building and these structures was at best weak and no evidence was provided in the architectural media to highlight any association.

Figure 4.5.14. The surroundings of the Art Gallery (source: Ordnance Survey, 1891).

The City Square

A further civic space was created in Leeds at the very end of the nineteenth century some forty years after Victoria Square was established as part of the Town Hall scheme. The origins of the new public space begin with the passing of local Act in 1885 which freed the former Cloth Hall site (Linstrum, 1978: 101) for the building of a new Post Office (Beresford in Fraser, 1980: 110), as shown by figure 4.5.15. In 1889
the Corporation purchased land once belonging to the Quebec Estate so as to "form part of an space in front of the new Post Office, now called City Square." (Yorkshire Post, 2\textsuperscript{nd} January, 1893) The cost of the land was £66,000. Beresford (in Fraser, 1980: 110) noted that the development of this site for a major public building had a large effect upon the built environment of Leeds, for it presented an opportunity to make a public space in front of the proposed structure which would be more comprehensive in nature than a mere turning circle for local trams. The issue was also given greater design significance by the proximity of two rail stations, Wellington Station and New Station, to the site of the open space. Thus the area would be one of the first parts of central Leeds entered into by rail passengers. The open space, to be known as City Square, was laid out in 1896.

In 1896, the same year that City Square was laid out, construction began on the Post Office building to the west of the area, designed by Henry Tanner in an Italianate style, a design form used sparingly in Victorian public building in Leeds. The overall composition of the new building received much criticism. Pevsner (1959: 515), for example, described the structure as being of "no special interest." The Builder (1896: 506) called its main facade "a weak and commonplace elevation", while it also added that: "It is a pity that the proposed new place", that is City Square, "has nothing
better, to back the long side of it, than the new Post Office, an emanation of course of the Office of Works." (Ibid.: 506)

Figure 4.5.16. The Post Office, City Square.

Similarly to the Post Office at Forster Square, Bradford, also designed by Henry Tanner and facing towards an open space other than that of roadways, the new four storey Post Office in Leeds was marked on its front elevation by two entrances. The doorways were marked above by pediments and double columns at each side, being positioned at equal distances from the central axis of the building, while the ends of the main elevation of the Post Office building was emphasised by the building line being projected forward which formed pavilions. The centre of the building was marked at the ground floor level by large window openings with arched heads and at the roof level by a small clock tower surmounted by a dome on large drum. The positions of the main entrances played an important role in the laying out of the space at its front, their locations acting as points of reference for the circular feature laid out in City Square at the front of the building.

The centre of the symmetrical front elevation of the Post Office was not marked by an entrance doorway but as noted earlier only by a clock tower on the rooftop. However the marking of the centre of the front elevation with this vertical feature was significant for the planning of the area to the front of the building, corresponding with the position of the equestrian statue of the Black Prince (see figure 4.5.17) by Thomas Brock, paid for a donation and officially given to the City in September 1903,
which was erected in the centre of the open space. About the statue was placed a circular wall, of a low height, broken at regular distances by flights of steps. Thus the building and its setting were related to each other, in so doing becoming a coherent civic design scheme although in a rather manner which was less strong than other civic design schemes at that time. Furthermore the overall scheme employed few civic design features together and so cannot be considered to be a strong public design composition when compared to schemes elsewhere in Britain in the late-Victorian and Edwardian era which used more design and planning elements.

Figure 4.5.17. City Square in 1910 (source: Ordnance Survey).

Figure 4.5.17. The Black prince statue with 'Morn' and 'Even' figures, City Square.
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The stone wall marking the periphery of the circular area where the Black Prince statue was placed was decorated by eight sculptured electric lamps, located at equal distances from each other, holding sculptured figures called 'Morn' and 'Even', designed by Alfred Drury. The positions of these lamps relate to the nearby Post Office building as the circumference of the circular layout, as highlighted previously, was in accord with the main entrances of the public building sited to the west. Statues of James Watt (1898, by H. Fehr), John Harrison (also by Fehr), Dean Hook (by Pomeroy) and Joseph Priestley (1899, by A. Drury) were also placed within City Square, helping reinforce the dignity and effect of the space upon the eye, with two of the statues being situated in front of the each end of the Post Office's main elevation. Thus the symmetrical form of the building was reinforced in the composition of the surrounding environment which is of civic design significance.

Inter-War Leeds

During the late-Victorian and Edwardian period a number of significant public buildings were erected in Leeds. After 1918, by which time Leeds had a population of about 450,000 (source: Census), the civic design traditions largely established prior to the outbreak of War were removed and the Corporation adopted a different urban building policy to improve traffic circulation around the central core instead of constructing new and large scale public buildings. Various central streets were widened and a new roadway, the Headrow, to the east of the Town Hall and Victoria Square was laid out. However only two major public edifices were erected, one being the Civic Hall, on a site to the north of the Town Hall and Calverley Street. The building by E. Vincent Harris was completed in 1933 and Pevsner noted that the building was as "ambitious as the Town Hall" (1959: 315) with a "scale, character, and position in keeping with the boldness of Town Hall and Headrow." (Ibid.: 307-8) The dominant elements of this scheme included the portico to the front of the principal entrance and Baroque towers positioned at each end of the front elevation. The second notable public scheme to take place in Inter-war Leeds was Lanchester, Lucas and Lodge's monumental Greek revival styled University building. Erected in 1926 this large scale Portland stone building was dominated by its tower, a vertical element that along with the towers of the Civic Hall added to the skyline of Leeds before 1939.
Conclusion

The development of the area about the Town Hall arguably represented the most widespread use of civic design principles in the development of Victorian and Edwardian Leeds, despite the Town Hall being erected prior to the period selected for study. As was also so the case in many other provincial towns and cities during the Victorian and Edwardian period, the Town Hall was subject to the greatest use of civic design characteristics, such as the symmetrical formed front elevation, the centrally placed main entrance with steps positioned in front of, the placing of a space directly behind the main entrance, the placing of a prominent Hall in the internal arrangement along the same axial line and the marking of the axis in front of the building by features such as lamps and statuary, one of which aligned with an oncoming roadway. In the design of other public buildings in Leeds while these same characteristics were noted to be employed fewer of the civic design elements were noted to be employed within each scheme. Thus their civic design was not as strong as the Town Hall scheme.

The impact of the Town Hall upon Leeds cannot be understated. Not only did it affect the design of public structures located close to it in the following decades but it also affected the urban form of the settlement, attracting urban development to the districts in proximity to it. Mention must be given to the Corporation for their efforts to enhance the environment around the building, undertaking a scheme so as to establish a large open space in front of it, erecting new public buildings alongside it and removing unsightly buildings that were situated nearby. In addition, the newly created space was filled with statuary which were sited in positions that corresponded the form and the planning alignments of the Town Hall. However, other attempts at civic design in Leeds can be said to be of a somewhat thinner nature. This is especially true of the Leeds Institute that paid little attention to the environment around it and the same can be said to an extent to the development of City Square which arguably represented Leeds' greatest opportunity for civic planning during the period considered. While a sense of relation was evident between the Post Office building and the space in front of it the association between the space and building was not particularly strong and must be seen as a disappointment considering the potential for large scale civic design in the area when its was initially developed.