

**Not a Garden City: Exposing the
Broken Links Between Ebenezer
Howard's Movement and the New Town**

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Abstract

This thesis has two aims: to solve how the terms “Garden City” and “New Town” became interchangeable, and to show why the terms should not be used interchangeably. To fulfil these aims, the thesis has been written in two sections. The first section is comprised of two chapters and makes claims about who was responsible for the confusion surrounding the synonymous usage of “Garden City” and “New Town”. The second section is comprised of three chapters and shows fundamental differences between the Garden City and New Town through the themes of ownership, architecture, and transportation. The case studies of Letchworth Garden City, Welwyn Garden City, Harlow, and Milton Keynes will be used throughout the thesis to provide examples from both Garden Cities and New Towns.

The Introduction exposes misconceptions about the Garden City and is written largely from Ebenezer Howard’s early manuscripts for his text *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. The first chapter uses institutional histories of the Garden City Association/Town and Country Planning Association to show how the Association, under the leadership of Frederic J Osborn, has confused the terms “Garden City” and “New Town”. The second chapter will continue with a similar theme as the first, as it exposes Sir Raymond Unwin’s contribution to the confusion between the terms “Garden City” and “New Town”. This is accomplished by using various texts and lectures of Unwin’s, as well as texts by his contemporaries and historians. The third chapter exposes unpublished articles and lectures of Ebenezer Howard that show the importance of the principle of ownership and details the battles between different entities who are supposedly acting in the best interest of the Garden City. Fred Gibberd’s journal and Milton Keynes Development Corporation meeting minutes and correspondence are used to show the varied architecture of the New Town in the fourth chapter. Reports from experimental transportation schemes are used in the fifth and final chapter, as well as an unpublished article by Howard. The Conclusion uses social histories of late nineteenth and twentieth-century England to situate the Garden City and the New Town in their respective historical moments.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work, and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Nothing from this thesis has been published.

Introduction: The Myth of the Garden City

This thesis will suggest that the myth of the Garden City is that Letchworth and Welwyn were what Howard had in mind for the Garden City from the beginning and that the Garden City organically evolved into the New Town. To unravel this myth, I will explain the ways in which Howard's vision was only partially realised. I will expose how the partial realisations of Howard's vision did not naturally progress to be New Towns. I will do this by exposing the substantial differences between the Garden City and the New Town.

This thesis has two aims: To solve the mystery of how "Garden City" and "New Town" became synonymous, and to show why the terms should not be used synonymously. (Are Letchworth Garden City and Milton Keynes the same type of town/city? Any British person would answer a resounding "No.") Using the case studies of Letchworth Garden City, Welwyn Garden City, Harlow, and Milton Keynes, this thesis will detail the differences between the Garden City and New Town, and expose the roles of two men (Sir Frederic J Osborn and Sir Raymond Unwin) in the confusion surrounding the synonymous usage of "Garden City" and "New Town".

Archival materials from the Garden City and New Town movements from Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, the National Archives, the Gibberd Garden Archives, the Garden City Archive, and the Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies have been used to write this thesis and will be cited throughout. As this thesis has two aims, it has been written in two parts. The first aim will be fulfilled by the first two chapters. The first chapter will expose Frederic J Osborn as one of the sources of the synonymous usage of "Garden City" and "New Town". The second chapter is dedicated to exposing further confusion around the synonymous usage by examining the Raymond Unwin's Garden Suburb. The second aim will be fulfilled by the last three chapters which will show why the terms should not be used interchangeably through the themes of ownership, architecture, and transportation.

Before this examination can fully begin, though, a look needs to be given at the ways in which the Garden City has been misinterpreted. To understand how the terminology surrounding the New Towns became confused a look needs to be given to the historiography of the Garden City and New Town movements. The next sections will cover Howard's only partially realised vision, later sections of this Introduction will examine gaps in the recent historiography of the Garden City and New Town movements, and the final sections of this Introduction will detail the

recent interest in the revival of Garden Cities. These final sections will show that if Garden Cities and New Towns are the same thing, then why is there only interest in reviving the Garden City and not the New Town.

Historiography Using “Garden City” and “New Town” Interchangeably

The most seminal texts on Twentieth Century architecture have claimed that the New Town was the direct descendent of the Garden City. Manfredo Tafuri stated in his celebrated text, *Modern Architecture*, “The New Towns were projected by the finest British planners and architects, among them men like Frederick Gibberd and Berthold Lubetkin, and incorporated many ideas popular to the garden city, from the neighborhood unit to nuclei dimensioned in accord with their primary services, and so on.”¹ In *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, Kenneth Frampton wrote this on the subject on New Towns, “Howard’s schema was to lead to the reformist proliferation of ‘garden city’ communities and eventually to the equally pragmatic New Town programme that emerged in England after the Second World War.”² William Curtis’ *Modern Architecture* concluded that, “Among the projects of the immediate post-war years were the ‘New Towns’. Here the intellectual interpretations of Fabianism and the fading dreams of the Garden City movement were brought together in an adequate but uninspiring setting for the ‘New Britain’.”³ In the same text Curtis stated, “...The Garden City which was reinterpreted in the New Towns; again little architecture of lasting value was achieved.” These texts fail to mention the difference between the Garden City and the New Town, which will be exposed by this thesis.

This thesis will focus on an association that went by many names. It was originally founded as the Garden City Association in 1899. In 1909 the name was changed to The Garden City and Town Planning Association, and in 1941 it was changed to the Town and Country Planning Association.⁴ For reasons of space and clarity this association will mostly be referred to as the “Association”. The Association’s website makes this statement:

¹ Manfredo Tafuri, *Modern Architecture* (London: Academy Editions, 1980), 315.

² Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History* (London: Thames & Hudson, Ltd. 2007), 104.

³ William Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 1992), 317.

⁴ Frederic J Osborn, “Brief History of the Town and Country Planning Association”, September 1951, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

The terms 'Garden City' and 'New Town' are often used interchangeably. However, a 'Garden City' is the much more radical and powerful of the two development models: it is distinguished from a 'New Town' by its smaller scale; by its relationship to the countryside and an integral agricultural belt; by its permanently defined built edges; by its collection and retention of rising land values for the benefit of the place and its people; and by its connectivity by excellent public transport to other towns nearby which, as a groups of towns (a 'Social City' in Howard's words), could offer more in terms of social and economic life than each town individually."⁵

It is interesting to note that the website states that Garden City and New Town are used interchangeably, but that they are actually different things. This thesis will argue that the Association has played a major role in the confusion surrounding the synonymous usage of "Garden City" and "New Town". More examples of the Association pointing out differences between the Garden City and New Town will be discussed later in this Introduction.

The next sections will detail the ways that Howard's vision has only been partially realised.

Howard's Original Vision

One of the intentions of this Introduction is to expose the aspects of Howard's original vision that have been largely forgotten by the Garden City movement. The following sections will call attention to the understudied elements of Howard's proposals for Rurisville, The Master Key, and the Social City. It will also shed light on what this chapter refers to as Howard's missing diagrams, citing the vast differences in the diagrams in the first two editions of his text. This Introduction will argue that one very important diagram was omitted from the second edition, and that has added to the myth of the Garden City.

⁵ Town and Country Planning Association website, accessed 2016 and 30 September 2019, <https://www.tcpa.org.uk>

Rurisville/Unionville: The Town-Country Magnet (Howard's Early Manuscript Makes No Mention of "Garden City")

Ebenezer Howard is credited with founding the Garden City movement after writing *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*.⁶ However, the first published incarnation of the book, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* did not include "Garden City" in the title.⁷ More surprisingly, the earliest extant manuscripts of *To-morrow* do not mention the Garden City at all.⁸ When Garden City does appear in the first edition of text, it is a proper noun. Before "Garden City", Howard called it "Rurisville". Rurisville was the third magnet, and it was (part of) Howard's remedy for what he called the 'evils of society' - the most prevalent evil being the gross overcrowding of the Victorian city.

Howard described a prospective inhabitant as a needle that is drawn to either town or country, ergo the first magnet he called "Town" and the second magnet he called "Country" Howard stated, "The country magnet declares herself to be the source of all beauty and wealth; but the town magnet mockingly reminds her that she is very dull for 'lack of human society', and very sparing in her gifts for 'lack of capital'."⁹ As Howard believe that overcrowding as one of the main evils afflicting the Victorian city, he invented what he called the Town-Country Magnet. It was Howard's plan that Rurisville/the Town-Country magnet would be enough of a hybrid of the two to make it the ideal place to inhabit and attract the needle/prospective inhabitant away from town and country.

Before "Rurisville", Howard called it "Unionville", as is evident by the earliest extant writing on what would eventually become *To-Morrow*.¹⁰ Howard almost certainly chose the name Unionville as the town would be a union of town and country. Unionville was the original name of Howard's proposed municipality, but by the time the text was published in 1898, he had changed the name to Garden City, "The estate is legally vested in the name of four gentleman of responsible position

⁶ Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, (London: Swann & Sonnenschein), 1902.

⁷ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Swann & Sonnenschein), 1898.

⁸ Ebenezer Howard. Early manuscript drafts for *To-morrow* from c.1892-c.1894, not published, DE/Ho/F1 and DE/Ho/F3, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁹ Ebenezer Howard. Early manuscript drafts for *To-morrow* from c.1893, not published, DE/Ho/F1 and DE/Ho/F3, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁰ A short, handwritten chapter draft for what would become *To-morrow*. c.1892. Not published. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies. DE/Ho/F1. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

and of undoubted probity and hour, who hold in trusts, first, as a security for the debenture-holders, and secondly, in trust for the people of Garden City, the Town-Country magnet.”¹¹

Between the extant drafts and the published version of *To-morrow*, Howard made one mention of “Garden City” in his writing. Howard submitted a manuscript entitled: “The Key Move: Or One Solution to Many Problems” to *The Contemporary*.¹² According to Howard, the handwritten draft was not accepted due to space. If not the first, it is certainly one of the first mentions of Garden City in Howard’s writing. The “key move” will be discussed in detail in the next section on “The Master Key”, which will now be detailed.

Howard’s Original Title: *The Master Key*

This section will discuss a virtually unknown aspect of Howard’s vision: The Master Key. The Master Key was so central to Howard’s initial vision that it was the original title for the text that would become *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, and eventually *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. Not only was the name dropped from the published version, Howard’s Master Key was left out of the text altogether. The Master Key was intended to be Chapter XV, Howard’s original last chapter.¹³

Howard had intended for the book to culminate into the last chapter, as the Master Key would summarize the principles throughout the text.¹⁴ Howard used the imagery of a master key; as a master key unlocks many locks, Howard’s plan would attempt to solve many problems. Howard stated:

The key...consists of wards, lever, and barrel. The wards are the operative part of the key: the lever is the part on which the motive power is brought to bear, the barrel - which unites the wards to the lever - (the lever) is designed to enable the key to pass through the

¹¹ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: SwanSonnenschein & Co. Ltd.), 1898, 134.

¹² Ebenezer Howard. “The Key Move: One Solution to Many Problems.” c.1896, not published, DE/Ho/F3/2, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies. Howard attached a piece of paper to the manuscript stating that the article had been submitted to *The Contemporary*, but had been rejected due to lack of space. The manuscript was thirty-eight pages in length.

¹³ The published version of *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co. Ltd.), 1898.

¹⁴ Ebenezer Howard, “The Master Key”, handwritten chapter draft for what would have been Chapter XV of *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, no date, c.1896,1, not published, DE/Ho/F3/1, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies. The Master Key was Howard’s original title for the text.

key-hole to the central pin on which it is designed to turn, and to be capable of learning the somewhat severe strain which has to be thrown upon it.¹⁵

Howard used an image to define the Master Key (fig.1). “The Wards” represented: Town and Country united, Love of Nature, A New City on New Land, Command Land, Free Association, and Love of Society.¹⁶ “The Lever”, which does the work of the key, represented Advance of Agriculture, Improved Dwellings, Land Reform, Temperance Reform, Education, Health, et cetera.¹⁷ Science and Religion would be the barrel that united the lever and the wards. ¹⁸ Below the image of the actual key is a smaller image called, “Parts Cut Away”. This image is the negative space of the Master Key, and represented what would be omitted from previous towns in Howard’s town: “Parliamentary Method, Attack on Vested interests, Interference with liberty, Over centralization.”¹⁹

The first instance of outside sources affecting Howard’s vision occurred with his *The Master Key*. At least one person did not like the title of *The Master Key* for Howard’s text. He stated his disapproval for the name in his returned manuscript notes. Though Howard dropped *The Master Key* from the text, Howard did not completely give up on the idea of using a “key” in his writing to explain his solution. Briefly mentioned in the last section was Howard’s submission to *The Contemporary*: *The Key-Move: Or One Solution to Many Problems*. The “key-move” that Howard suggested was a chess move, not an actual key. However, as the key-move was “one solution for many problems”, just as the Master Key was one key that would unlock many locks.

¹⁵ Ebenezer Howard, “The Master Key”, handwritten chapter draft for what would have been Chapter XV of *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, no date, c.1896, 2-3, not published, DE/Ho/F3/1, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁶ Ebenezer Howard’s Master Key diagram which appeared in an unpublished chapter manuscript for *To-morrow*, no date, c. Late 19th Century, not published, DE/Ho/F1/8, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁷ Ebenezer Howard’s Master Key diagram which appeared in an unpublished chapter manuscript for *To-morrow*, no date, c. Late 19th Century, not published, DE/Ho/F1/8, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁸ Ebenezer Howard’s Master Key diagram which appeared in an unpublished chapter manuscript for *To-morrow*, no date, c. Late 19th Century, not published, DE/Ho/F1/8, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁹ Ebenezer Howard’s Master Key diagram which appeared in an unpublished chapter manuscript for *To-morrow*, no date, c. Late 19th Century, not published, DE/Ho/F1/8, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

The Social City and Howard's Missing Diagrams

This section will prove important to this thesis, as it will expose Howard's Social City's role in the confusion surrounding the Garden City. Citing four editions of Howard's text, this section will detail that Howard's true vision was the Social City - not the Garden City. Further to this, it will explain why the idea of the Social City became lost and subsequently forgotten.

The biggest difference between the first edition of Howard's text and the subsequent editions are the diagrams. In *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, Howard uses different images for diagrams number four and five than he does in than in *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. In *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, diagram number four (fig.2) is an image that describes rents and local rates. By *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, this had been replaced by, an image that was confusingly dedicated to the example of the Park Lands of Adelaide, Australia (fig.3). The fifth diagram in *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (fig.4) is a chart of the administration, this is replaced in *Garden Cities of To-morrow* by (fig.5). Fig.5 is one of the most well-known images of the Garden City movement, but as will soon be revealed, it has aided in the misinterpretation of Howard's ideas, or what this Introduction refers to as the myth of the Garden City. This has to do with its relationship to a deleted diagram. That deleted diagram which will be discussed in the next paragraph is supremely important to this thesis.

Garden City/Rurisville was only part of Howard's solution. Howard knew that a town with a maximum capacity of 32,000 inhabitants would not solve the problems of overcrowding. Howard's solution was Social Cities. Howard mapped out his Social City in the 1898 edition of his text with diagram number 7 (fig.6)²⁰. The Social City was a cluster of towns like Garden City and Rurisville, connected by a circular railway Howard called "Intermunicipal Railway". The Garden City has been misinterpreted because of the diagrams included and omitted from the subsequent issues to the original edition. The most recognisable diagrams, numbers 3 (fig.10)²¹ and 5 (fig.5) of the Garden City Movement have not been able to fully be understood; this is because it is only a section of an image that was omitted. In other words,

²⁰ Earlier version of this diagram are shown as fig.7 and fig.8

²¹ The earlier version of this diagram is fig.9.

Howard's diagram number was a pie, and diagram numbers were a slices of the pie. Further to this, the Garden City was only a slice of the Social City pie.

Diagram number 7 only appeared in Howard's original edition. It was omitted from the 1902 edition, and Frederic J Osborn (hereinafter referred to as FJO) left it out of the 1946²² and 1965²³ editions of Howard's texts that he edited. It is because a key diagram has been omitted in subsequent editions of Howard's text, and the importance of these omissions to this thesis cannot be overstated, as FJO's leaving out the diagram helped to initiate and then perpetuated the myth of the Garden City. FJO expressed regret for omitting the diagram for the editions that he edited and republished. His friend and colleague, Arnold Whittick, recounted in his biography of him:

Osborn considers the reason for the changes, which is chiefly, in his view that Howard thought the first version too visionary and fantastic...Yet Osborn had some regrets that in more recent editions of the book he edited he did not mention the deleted diagram because it is of interest when "cluster cities", in much the same scale as Howard's, have become a realistic fashion.²⁴

This quotation by Whittick will simultaneously conclude this section, and begin the next. Osborn's regret is further evidence of the importance of the omission of diagram number 7. Howard's diagram numbers 3 (fig.10) and 5 (fig.5) from *Garden Cities of To-morrow* only show a portion of Howard's initial vision. As only part of the initial vision was fulfilled, the overall vision has been confused.

Why the Social City Was Not Realised

We have just seen that FJO thought that the diagram on the Social City was too "visionary" and "fantastic". This section will offer examples of Howard's colleagues who doubted him in other ways. Ebenezer Howard was a stenographer²⁵, and not a town planner. George Bernard Shaw referred to Ebenezer Howard as a

²² Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, edited by F.J. Osborn. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1946.

²³ Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, edited by F.J. Osborn. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1965.

²⁴ Arnold Whittick, *Practical Idealist: A Biography of Sir Frederic Osborn..* (London:Town and Country Planning Association), 1987, 140. Whittick is referencing his take on FJO's article from the December 1971 issue of *Town & Country Planning*.

²⁵ Ebenezer Howard, "Biographical Note for The Growth of an Idea - The Garden City", no date, c.1905, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F10/18, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

“simpleton” in a letter to Howard’s son after the death of his father.²⁶ Howard was hardly a revered intellect, and he was often questioned by his associates (this will be discussed in greater detail in the first chapter). The Garden City Association was formed eight months after the first publication of Howard’s text. There were thirteen original members (including Howard).²⁷ It is likely that these were the members of the Association had communicated with Howard during the writing of his text. It is not out of the realm of possibility that they had influence over him. Howard made two references to his “friends” being against the Social City in *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. Howard stated, “Some of my friends have suggested that such a scheme of town clusters is well enough adapted to a new country, but that in an old-settled country, with its towns built, and its railway ‘system’ and canal ‘system’ for the most part constructed, it is quite a different matter.”²⁸ “For the vastness of the task which seems to frighten some of my friends, represents, in fact the very measure of its value to the community, if that task be only undertaken in a worthy spirit and worthy aims.”²⁹

The *Almost* Forgotten Social City

Little attention has been given to Howard’s Social City in the more than hundred years since the publication of his text, and thusly, the myth of the Garden City has been perpetuated instead. The Garden City was the theme that prevailed in everyone’s memory, and it is a topic that is still being talked about over a hundred years later. Books written on Howard’s vision have largely ignored the importance of the Social City, and most ignore the Social City completely. Interestingly, a text written by John Collins on the subject of the purported Garden City of Lusaka,

²⁶ Letter, George Bernard Shaw to A.C. Howard Esq, son of Ebenezer Howard, 25 May 1928, not published, DE/Ho/F22/10-11, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.. Please note that this letter appears in the Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies folder between a newspaper article on a takeover bid for Letchworth estate (DE/Ho/F22/10) and a printed article by Howard (DE/Ho/F22/11). Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies catalogue does not list the letter.

²⁷ Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns* (Chapman and Hall: London, New York, Tokyo, Melbourne, Madras, 1991), 16. The first meeting of the Garden City Association was located at 70 Finsbury Pavement, London on the tenth of June, 1899. The original thirteen members of the association were in attendance and are as follows: Alfred Bishop, George Crosoer, Joseph Johnson, George King, Ebenezer Howard, Joseph Hyder, Herbert Mansford, Alexander W. Payne, W. Charter Piggott, W. Sheowring, A.H. Singleton, Francis W. Steere, and J. Bruce Wallace.

²⁸ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Swan and Sonnenschein), 1898, 134.

²⁹ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Swan and Sonnenschein), 1898, 140.

Zambia, made brief mention of the Social City. In this publication, titled *Lusaka: The Myth of the Garden City*, Collins stated that people have largely gotten Howard wrong and that he had often been misunderstood and taken out of context.³⁰ Like Collins, Peter Hall, in *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, believed that Howard has been grossly misinterpreted, “It is invidious, but it needs saying: despite doughty competition, Ebenezer Howard is the most important single character in this entire tale. So it is important to get him right; even though almost everyone has got him wrong. His many self-appointed critics have, at one time or another, been wrong about almost everything that he stood for.”³¹ The fifth chapter of this thesis will take a closer look at Peter Hall, as he is important for our purposes for a number of reasons. Not only was Hall a planner-historian, but he was also President of the Town and Country Planning Association and a lifelong disciple of Howard.

Thus far in the Introduction, we have seen how some of Howard’s original vision was adapted and changed beyond recognition. Now we will switch gears to expose a misconception about the Garden City and the New Town. The historiography of the New Town has painted it as a descendant of the Garden City, but the next two sections will suggest that the Garden City is a type of New Town, and that the New Town is not a descendant of the Garden City.

Howard’s Usage of “New Town”

One of the neglected aspects of the Garden City is that before it, English towns were not *new*. A town designed totally from scratch was a foreign concept - literally. As Howard referenced, his “friends” accepted that type of planning for new countries, it was not feasible for an old-country like England. As Howard wrote, “Cities, I was told, grew up according to some subtle laws which no one could understand; they could not, like stakes, be planted in the wilderness at the caprice of anyone. But the more I thought of the matter the more clear it became that a new city was needed to save England.”³² The Garden City is considered a thoroughly English

³⁰ John Collins, *Lusaka: The Myth of the Garden City* (University of Zambia: Institute for Social Research, 1969), 3. (Please note that the title of this thesis Introduction was chosen before learning anything about Collins’s text.)

³¹ Peter Hall, *Cities of To-morrow* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), 87.

³² Ebenezer Howard, “Biographical Note” for *The Growth of an Idea - The Garden City*, no date, c.1905, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F10/18, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

creation, but it was America that gave Howard his inspiration. In an autobiographical note written in 1905 which accompanied a piece of writing entitled “The Growth of an Idea - The Garden City” lecture to the Fabian Society, Howard stated, “England is an old country: but - was it because I lived in Chicago from 1872-6? - the idea of starting in the open country a new town which should be planned and thought out before a brick was laid, assumed form and shape in my mind.”³³ This is an important quote for this thesis as Howard is referring to the idea of a “new town” in 1905. He did not capitalise the term, but “new town” was not capitalised until the second half of the twentieth century (and rarely so at that). He made a further reference in the same autobiographical note to the new town/city, “The new city, too, would prepare the country’s mind for that of decentralization of the population.”³⁴

Howard had made even earlier references to new town/city; he stated in a 1904 lecture to the Fabian Society, “Let me first in a few words state what is the main concrete idea which Garden City Association stands for. The idea is the deliberate and conscious establishment of new cities - of course in the first instance - on new site(s).”³⁵ He wrote a similar statement in a speech read by his wife entitled “The Housing Problem and Garden City”: “It is proposed to purchase a large of land...to develop a new town to be built upon the most approved plan with plenty of open space...”³⁶ The aforementioned examples are hardly isolated instances, as an even earlier example of Howard using “new town” or “new city” was referenced earlier in this Introduction; “The Wards” section of Howard’s Master Key included “A New City on a New Land”.³⁷

Furthermore, Howard was not the only person describing “new towns”. Included in his papers is a typescript for a lecture by a man named Mr Crawley.³⁸ FJO translated Howard’s Pitman shorthand at the top of the paper, informing the

³³ Ebenezer Howard, “Biographical Note” for The Growth of an Idea - The Garden City”, no date, c.1905, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F10/18, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

³⁴ Ebenezer Howard, “Biographical Note” for The Growth of an Idea - The Garden City”, no date, c.1905, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F10/18, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

³⁵ Ebenezer Howard Lecture to the Fabian Society, lecture is untitled, 11 January 1901, not published, DE/Ho/F3/6, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

³⁶ Ebenezer Howard, speech titled “The Housing Problem and Garden City”, no date, c.1903, not published, DE/Ho/F10/14, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies. According to Howard’s notation, it was a paper read by his wife.

³⁷ Ebenezer Howard’s Master Key diagram which appeared in an unpublished chapter manuscript for *To-morrow*, no date, c. Late 19th Century, not published, DE/Ho/F1/8, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

³⁸ Mr Crawley, typescript of lecture entitled, “The New Community,” no date, c.1904, not published, DE/Ho/F10/17, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

reader that Crawley had been Howard's assistant.³⁹ In his opening paragraph to the paper, Crawley stated, "The idea of planting new town settlements in countries already rich in towns may seem strange and fantastic."⁴⁰ Nevertheless, this aspect of Howard's thinking did persist in the Association's policies for a long while. A draft of the fortieth annual report of the Garden Cities & Town Planning Association closed with the policy of the Association. The first tenet stated, "To urge the necessity of an immediate check to the growth of London and other overgrown towns, coupled with a definite policy of decentralization of industry, business, and population into new towns of the garden city type and into existing towns of moderate size."⁴¹

Identifying Garden Cities as new settlements does not of itself make them New Towns, however. Newness is not their only defining feature, as will be examined in connection to such features as their architectural identities, concepts of external and internal mobility, and ownership in the final three chapters. Unfortunately, the lines between the Garden City, as defined by Howard, and the later New Town continue to be blurred, even in the most recent literature on the subject.

Gaps in the Current Literature on the Garden City and New Town Movement(s) Filled by this Thesis

Since my research began, a number of books have been published on the history of the Garden City and New Town movements. For example, Stephen Ward's text *The Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities in New Towns* published in 2016, gives a detailed history of the Garden City movement through the New Towns movement.⁴² Ward's text differs from this thesis on a variety of topics which will now be discussed. Essentially, Ward tells a very typical linear history of the Garden City, as opposed to this thesis, which argues that the Garden City's legacy in the New Town movement is much more confused.

Ward Neglects the Importance of Diagram Number 7

³⁹ FJO's translation of Howard's Pitman shorthand: "This was written by a young feller who acted as my secretary when I was manager of First Garden City. He became a solicitor."

⁴⁰ Ebenezer Howard. Paper entitled "The New Community, no date, c.1904, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F10, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴¹ (Probably then Association Honorary Secretary, FJO). Garden Cities and Town Planning Association draft of fortieth annual report, no date, c.1938, not published DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941). Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴² Stephen V. Ward. *The Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns*. (Hatfield, Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press), 2016.

While Ward does refer to Howard's diagram number 7 (fig.6), the Social City, he makes no mention that it was only published in the 1898 edition of Howard's text and, although he reproduces Howard's diagram, Ward omits what this thesis argues are its most important aspects. The only statement he makes about the diagram is, "The Social City diagram, which gives a sense of both the larger spatial network of garden cities and the extent to which Howard saw it as a way of addressing all the social ills of late Victorian society."⁴³ This thesis has already argued that the later omission of that diagram has added to the myth of the Garden City and that FJO was partly responsible for it. In the following chapter, I will examine in much more detail how FJO was at the core of the interchangeable usage of the Garden City and New Town. By overlooking the history of the excision of diagram number 7 from subsequent editions, Ward fails to see the transformations to the concept of the Garden City that would lead to its confusion with the New Towns.

Ward discusses Howard's third diagram, but he did not mention its relevance to Howard's seventh diagram. The reader is reminded that Howard's third diagram, one of the most popular images related to the Garden City, represented only a section of his plan. Diagram number three was a section of diagram number seven. Ward does not make reference to this, but instead concentrated on the third diagram's messianic undertones:

In his third diagram of Ward and Centre, a sector of the garden city from the centre to the country estate the slogan 'Go up and process the land' was added as a heading. Its messianic tone underlines these religious foundations for the key reform at the very heart of the garden city idea. It is unclear how and why these changes between early drafts and published works occurred. However, we may surmise that exposure of this evolving idea allowed him to see how removing some of its more obvious alternative or sectional references would heighten its potential appeal to mainstream opinion. And so it proved.⁴⁴

⁴³ Stephen V. Ward, *The Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns*, (Hatfield, Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press), 2016, 13.

⁴⁴ Stephen V. Ward, *The Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns*, (Hatfield, Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press), 2016, 23-24.

Ward is making important observations about the Garden City and New Town movement in this quote and appears to refer to matter this thesis will consider in detail, the 'evolving ideas' to which he refers. However, his reference to a 'sector' is different to mine. Ward refers to "a sector of the garden city", where in fact in Howard's original plan the Garden City is but a 'sector' of the Social City, the identity of which he appears to have forgotten in but a few pages. Ward, being well acquainted with the original manuscripts would know that Howard used Garden City as a proper noun. However, his text neglects to mention this research, as ostensibly, it was not relevant. This thesis argues that the myth of the Garden City, generated by inaccurate interpretations such as this, was the genesis of the confusion/synonymous usage of "Garden City" and "New Town".

The Usage of "Garden City" and "New Town" in Ward's Text

As we can see, to make his linear argument, Ward has already needed to obscure some aspects of the origin of the Garden City. As this thesis concentrates heavily on the (mis)usage of "Garden City" and "New Town", Ward's language is especially relevant as it lends further evidence of the confusion surrounding the terms. Ward further confuses the issue by making reference to C.B. Purdom's interchangeable usage of the terms 'garden city' and 'satellite town', but does not go into the subject in any detail. Most relevant to this thesis is his usage of "satellite town" in place of "new town" - this will become clearer in the paragraphs that follow. Ward introduces the reader to the satellite town as a 'further variant of the garden city tradition' that was "more readily achievable than a 'pure' garden city in interwar years."⁴⁵ What Ward has overlooked to do is pay any close attention to the history of the Association. For instance, he states that when P.M. Neville Chamberlain founded the Royal Commission, it was responsible for the appointment of Sir Montague Barlow to create a report over the overcrowding of English cities. Ward also references the participation of Patrick Abercrombie. He then mentions FJO and the Garden City and Town and Country Planning Association's role but fails to notice that Sir Montague Barlow and Patrick Abercrombie were members of the Association. FJO reportedly claimed to have even written part of the Barlow Report.

⁴⁵ Stephen V. Ward, *The Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns*, (Hatfield, Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press), 2016, 156.

In his biography of FJO, his friend and colleague Whittick cites FJO's fifth Escaped Londoner Broadcast, "Although it's a state secret, perhaps after thirty years I can disclose that in collusion with two members of the Commission I drafted some paragraphs of both the majority and the minority reports which gingered them up a bit."⁴⁶ As will be shown shortly, such omissions are common in recent histories of the Garden City and New Towns, a situation and this thesis aims to rectify.

FJO's Role in Ward's *Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns*

FJO is often portrayed as Howard's devout disciple. Though this may have been true at the beginning of his career, this thesis will show that this was not a completely fair assessment. According to Ward, "...The dominant view is that he (Howard) was not a practical man and that others played the main parts in realising his ideas. Even Osborn, Howard's great admirer, admitted that he, like many others, increasingly saw the older visionary as an 'ineffectual angel.'"⁴⁷ Ward here cites Mervyn Miller citing Unwin for this statement and gives no context for it. This thesis disagrees with this "dominant view". What separates the Garden City Movement from other utopian plans of the time, was that Garden Cities were actually built. And they were built because of Ebenezer Howard. It is often overlooked but nearly half of Howard's book, the only one he published, was dedicated to financial plans that would turn the Garden City from idea to reality. This thesis challenges Ward's statement that Osborn was merely Howard's great admirer and suggests that their relationship was more complicated. This thesis contends that Howard played the main part in realising his ideas which resulted in the Garden City movement, it was FJO who played the main part in realising the New Town movement.

Rosemary Wakeman's *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*

Ward glosses over the differences in order to tell a linear history of the Garden City and New Town movements. The same year as his *The Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns* was published, Urban Studies professor, Rosemary Wakeman, published *Practicing Utopia : An Intellectual History of the New*

⁴⁶ Arnold Whittick. *Practical Idealist: A Biography of Sir Frederic Osborn*. (London: Town and Country Planning Association), 1987, 61. Whittick does not include any reference material for this statement anywhere in the text. Fifth Escaped Londoner Broadcast.

⁴⁷ Stephen V. Ward, *The Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns*, (Hatfield, Hertfordshire: University of Hertfordshire Press), 2016, 27-28.

Town Movement, which adopts a different strategy, telling a global history of the “new town” starting at the beginning of recorded time.⁴⁸ In the first sentence of her introduction she states, “There is nothing new about new towns. They have been recorded since the beginning of recorded history.”⁴⁹ However, having made this grand statement, Wakeman only cites references to towns that were created after Howard, taking the reader around the world, describing “new towns” in Canada, Poland, Germany, Sweden, Finland, Pakistan, India, Iran, Algeria, Ghana, Japan, France, Scotland, and England. Wakeman concedes that in doing so, her definition was “not exact”, and that part of her “purpose” is to “investigate” its meaning. She states that new towns were not the same everywhere. As she deals with so many countries in her text, the task to define “new town” is especially daunting.

Wakeman’s Usage of “New Town”

It is important to note that Wakeman uses lowercase to refer to new towns. She sometimes refers to *new towns*, causing the reader to be unsure of the difference between “new town” and “*new town*”. Though the author was undoubtedly trying to use the two forms to make things clear, the opposite effect occurs. This confusion is typical with the terminology surrounding the New Towns movement, as will be exposed by this thesis. Wakeman attempts to define “new town” with the following statement, “What we can say is that the label new town has been applied at specific moments in history to denote deliberate and highly symbolic acts of territorial control and settlement.”⁵⁰ What Wakeman is basically saying is that “new towns” are deliberately built towns, they are not towns that evolved over time. She further tries to explain “new town” with the following statement, “The definition of a ‘new town’ was not exact, nor was it the same everywhere. In fact, investigating the complex meaning of *new town* is part of my purpose in the pages that follow. The complex meaning of new town has found expression as satellite towns, new communities, new cities, worker cities, cities of science, garden cities. This last - Ebenezer

⁴⁸ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*, (The University of Chicago Press), 2016.

⁴⁹ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*, (The University of Chicago Press), 2016, 1.

⁵⁰ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*, (The University of Chicago Press), 2016, 1.

Howard's formulation."⁵¹ What appears to be a useful level of specificity here in distinguishing between different types of new settlements and clarifying Howard's very particular viewpoint, is soon lost elsewhere in Wakeman's text, though.

A third of the way through her book, Wakeman starts referring to "British new towns", whereas before she included them in her discussion under the umbrella of "new town" or "*new town*". It is likely that this distinction was made to clear up any confusion. However, it only creates more confusion (a recurrent theme in this thesis). Perhaps if she had referred to the New Towns in Britain with capital letters and the other new towns around the world in lowercase letters, then that would have been clearer. However, it is possible that she did not want to make that clear a distinction to encourage the reader to think that they were closely linked. Though she states in the Introduction that new towns are as old as recorded time, the first sentence of her first chapter reads, "From the very beginning, new towns shared a complicated birthright. In traditional planning narratives, they all traced their lineage back to Ebenezer Howard's garden city movement."⁵²

When Wakeman discusses the Garden City and "British new towns" in relation to "new towns" around the globe, she does so often by referencing the Garden City and New Town architects and planners Raymond Unwin, Patrick Abercrombie, and Patrick Geddes. She states that Unwin was the "most powerful voice of the garden city movement,"⁵³ however, the next chapter of this thesis will show that he was actually the most powerful voice of the Garden Suburb movement. She also makes more than fifteen references to Lewis Mumford. However, she does not tell the story of FJO and the Association, who, as we will see, played a fundamental role in shaping the planning discourse in Britain during the twentieth century.

Wakeman Neglects the Importance of the Association and Osborn to the New Town Story

⁵¹ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*, (The University of Chicago Press), 2016, 2.

⁵² Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*, (The University of Chicago Press), 2016, 20.

⁵³ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*, (The University of Chicago Press), 2016, 26.

Wakeman makes exactly one reference to FJO: “Frederic J. Osborn, one of the most influential evangelists for the garden city movement, urged the building of a hundred new towns on garden city principles in his *New Towns after the War* (1918). Osborn and a small band of media-savvy enthusiasts organized themselves into the New Towns Men to proselytize their message during the Homes for Heroes drive.”⁵⁴ *New Towns After the War* was originally published by the New Townsmen (not New Towns Men). As will be discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, the New Townsmen were more than “media-savvy enthusiasts”; three of the four members were the most important entities of the Garden City and New Towns movements: FJO, C.B. Purdom, and Ebenezer Howard (the fourth New Townsmen was the publisher’s brother).

While Wakeman⁵⁵ makes reference to Abercrombie and Geddes, she passes over C.B. Purdom or Ewart Culpin without a single mention and, like Ward, misses the thread woven through them all: the Association. The first half of this thesis will closely look at the Association (with FJO at the helm), exposing its role in the New Town movement. It is the viewpoint of this thesis that in order to understand the the role of Garden City in the New Town, a clear understanding of the Association is necessary. As already mentioned, the Association’s name changed multiple times: Garden City Association, Garden Cities and Town and Country Planning Association, and Town and Country Planning Association. The changing of names is significant, and will be dealt with in detail in this thesis. Wakeman’s global history of the “new town” movement refers just once to the Garden City Association, “England’s Garden City Association became a fine-tuned publicity machine, hosting conferences and overseas lecture tours.”⁵⁶ However, she neglects to mention that it was this propaganda that actually led to the production of New Towns. Additionally, she makes only one reference to Town and Country Planning Association, “During the 1930s, the Town and Country Planning Association launched a whirlwind new town campaign. A cavalcade of urban reformers pounded on the urban problems of Britain, and step by step, pushed Government officials into action.”

⁵⁴ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*, (The University of Chicago Press), 2016, 25.

⁵⁵ It is perhaps also worth mentioning that Wakeman mistakenly refers to Stevenage Development Corporation as the Stevenage New Town Corporation.

⁵⁶ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*, (The University of Chicago Press), 2016, 25.

More than just failing to notice that the Town and Country Planning Association and the Garden City Association were different incarnations of the same Association; Wakeman credits “a cavalcade of urban reformers” for the accomplishments of the Association, whereas this thesis will argue that it was recalcitrant efforts of a certain individual, FJO. This is one of the countless examples of language creating confusion and creating myths in the Garden City and New Town movement exposed by this thesis.

The steps FJO took that ‘pushed Government officials into action’ were multiple and he also met specific forms of resistance. When writing about the Garden City movement and New Town movement. FJO made countless references in his papers that he hoped one day that the New Town story would be fully told. He kept meticulous, albeit largely illegible notes, Association meeting minutes, correspondence, et cetera. It was by going through the Association meeting minutes, and announcements of new members researching that I started to notice just how many major players of the movement were members of the Association. Around every corner in my archival search to find out the truth about the confusion surrounding the terms “Garden City” and “New Town”, I bumped into FJO.

If the first half of the thesis concentrates on the entanglement of the Garden City and New Town, the second half of this thesis sets out to examine the ways in which they differed. To do this, it examines the Garden City and New Towns through their ownership, architecture, and transport. Enormous changes in British economic and political history took place between Howard’s original vision and the construction of the New Towns after 1945. Planning concepts developed in the late nineteenth century could not simply be enacted in the later twentieth without equal transformation. Increases in individual home ownership and access to motorised transport are just two obvious differences and explain my selection of themes.

This is different from Ward’s *Peaceful Path: Building Garden Cities and New Towns*, as his text accepts a linear history of the Garden City movement through the New Town. Wakeman does not accept such a black and white history, but it is still a very different history from the one told by this thesis. Wakeman dedicates a chapter on the architecture of the “new town”, but in a very different manner than the architecture chapter in this thesis. The chapter name is “Architecture for the Space Age”, and in it she writes, “New towns were deliberate and highly symbolic acts.

Whether these places were just dreamscapes on paper or were actually built, cybernetics and the Space Age produced a profusion of futuristic imagery.”⁵⁷

The following sections will examine the recent push for a Garden City revival.

A “Manifesto” for Garden Cities in the Twenty-first Century

Urban planner and professor Yves Cabannes, along with former Letchworth Garden City mayor, Philip Ross, penned and self-published the 2014 text *21st Garden Cities of To-morrow: A Manifesto*.⁵⁸ Cabannes and Ross stray from using the hybrid term “New Garden Cities” by referring to them as “Twenty-first Century Garden Cities”. However, there is still confusion surrounding the terms “garden city” and “new town”.

The manifesto lists nine principles for the Garden Cities of the future, “Residents are citizens, the Garden City owns itself, The Garden City is energy efficient and carbon neutral, Provides access to land for living and working to all, Fair Trade principles are practised, Prosperity is shared, All citizens are equal, all citizens are different, There is fair representation and direct democracy, Garden Cities are produced through participatory planning and design methods, A City of Rights that builds and defends the Right to the City, Knowledge is held in common, shared and enhanced, Wealth and harmony measured by happiness.”⁵⁹ Of all the proposals for twenty-first century Garden Cities that will be discussed in this Introduction, Cabannes and Ross’ manifesto falls most in line with the original Garden City movement. However, their manifesto claims that the proposed twenty-first century Garden Cities would not be limited to “new cities or towns or those built following Garden City town planning.”⁶⁰ For the purposes of this thesis, it is worth noting usage of lowercase and uppercase letters is this quotation. Ross and Cabannes abstain from using the hybrid term “New Garden City”, a term that we will see come up time and again in the recent push to revive the Garden City. This brings us back to one of

⁵⁷ Rosemary Wakeman, *Practicing Utopia: An Intellectual History of the New Town Movement*, (The University of Chicago Press), 2016, 254-255.

⁵⁸ Philip Ross and Yves Cabannes, *21st Garden Cities of To-Morrow: A Manifesto*, (Philip Ross and Cabannes), 2014.

⁵⁹ Philip Ross and Yves Cabannes, *21st Garden Cities of To-Morrow: A Manifesto*, (Philip Ross and Cabannes), 2014, 24.

⁶⁰ Philip Ross and Yves Cabannes, *21st Garden Cities of To-Morrow: A Manifesto*, (Philip Ross and Cabannes), 2014, 23.

the two declarations that will be made consistently throughout this thesis: New Towns and Garden Cities are not the same; if they were the same there would be interest in reviving the New Town.

Ross and Cabannes' Manifesto pays more homage to the Garden City movement than that of the Association who created it. Throughout this thesis the argument has been made that the Association was to blame for the confusion surrounding the terms "Garden City" and "New Town". As will soon be shown, the Association continues to perpetuate that into the present-day.

Wolfson Economics Prize 2014

After interest in creating Garden Cities had been renewed in the late twentieth century, the Wolfson Economics Prize 2014 asked its entrants to "deliver a new garden city that is visionary, economically viable, and popular."⁶¹ 279 entries were submitted, and five finalists were chosen. The following subsections will look at each entrant's treatment of the New Town resulting in a common theme: they are each demonstrative of the confusion surrounding the difference between the Garden City. These contemporaneous examples of the misunderstanding regarding "New Town" and "Garden City" is further evidence that this thesis fills a gap in the understanding of the legacy of the Garden City in the New Town movement.

Barton Willmore's Submission, "Be a Pioneer"

Barton Willmore's submission for the Wolfson Economics Prize 2014 is important for the purposes of this thesis, as is it contains multiple examples of the confusion surrounding the terms "Garden City" and "New Town". The first page of the submission referred to "New Garden Cities"; the capitalised "New" suggests a misunderstanding of the difference between New Town and Garden City. This will be a theme throughout the submissions by the finalists. Though the New Towns themselves are largely ignored, the Garden Cities are often referred to as "New Garden Cities" and not "new Garden Cities". As there are so many examples of the capitalisation of "New" in Whillmore's submission, it is clear that the capitalised

⁶¹ "Wolfson Economics Prize 2014", Policy Exchange, last modified 3 September 2014, accessed September 2, 2019, <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wolfson-economics-prize-2014/>

usage of the word was not an oversight. This is a common thread throughout the submissions, and will be revisited in each section.

Barton Whillmore's finalist submission is especially interesting for the purposes of this thesis, as it basically states that New Towns and Garden Cities are different things. The submission even goes so far as to suggest that New Towns be reinvented as Garden Cities, "If popularity is key, and rebalancing the population brings urban regeneration efforts, the New Towns, with their continued public sector ownership and near universal absence of 'beauty' are ideal candidates for regeneration as new Garden Cities."⁶²

Joint Statement by the Wolfson Economics Prize 2014 Finalists

The finalists for the Wolfson Economics Prize 2014 produced a joint statement that is especially useful for the purposes of this thesis. The highlighted blurb on the first page of the text states, "Experts and major political parties of all persuasions are in agreement that New Garden Cities could play an important role in helping to solve Britain's housing crisis."⁶³ This quotation is the first of over twenty examples of the usage of "New Garden Cities" in the joint statement. As with the individual finalist submissions, reference to the New Towns themselves was minimal. In fact, the only direct reference to the New Town was regarding the Development Corporations is as follows, "The New Town Development Corporations used CPOS to acquire land at existing use value, then granted planning permission and used the uplift in value created to fund the infrastructure and affordable housing needed for the new towns. The legislation to create New Towns Corporations and use CPOS is still in force today, but its efficacy has been reduced by case law and its strategic function has fallen into disuse."⁶⁴ Though New Towns legislation was mentioned in conjunction with developing Garden Cities, no other reference to the New Towns was made.

The first paragraph of the statement quotes the question asked by the Wolfson Economics Prize, "How would you deliver a new Garden City which is

⁶² Barton Willmore's Wolfson Economics Prize 2014 Submission (Non Technical Summary), "Be a Pioneer", 2014, Compendium of Finalists, accessed on 30 September 2019, <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/wep-2014-compendium-of-finalists.pdf>

⁶³ Joint statement by Wolfson Economics Prize 2014 Finalists, 2014, 1, Compendium of Finalists, accessed on 30 2019, <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/wep-2014-compendium-of-finalists.pdf>

⁶⁴ Joint statement by Wolfson Economics Prize 2014 Finalists, 2014, 3, Compendium of Finalists, accessed on 30 2019, <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/wep-2014-compendium-of-finalists.pdf>

visionary, economically viable and popular?”⁶⁵ However, as earlier stated, the question asked was, “How would you deliver a new garden city which is visionary, economically viable and popular?”, and this Introduction has already suggested, the New Town was a less popular idea than the Garden City. However, the confusion surrounding the terms is so prevalent that “New Town” continues to be associated with “Garden City”. This is evident in the finalists’ joint statement, “These principles and actions should form the foundation of a comprehensive programme of New Garden Cities...Separately and together, the Wolfson Finalists will continue to promote the advantages of New Garden Cities.”⁶⁶

The Association’s Plan for Garden Cities in the Twenty-First Century

In 2017, members of the Association wrote a book titled *The Art of Building a Garden City: Designing New Communities for the Twenty-first Century*. Though this text was written by the Association, it neglects the role of Association in the New Town movement. The first half of the text discusses the history of the Garden City movement, and the second half is the Association’s plan for what they refer to as “new garden cities”. The Association’s 2017 text mentioned their frustration over the misuse of “Garden City”, but made no attempt to explain the genesis of the confusion. More importantly, they do not accept any culpability for the confusion. The following statement is made, “One of the challenges the Association has faced during the re-invigorated campaign for new garden cities is one face by former colleagues in the 1930s, and that is the use (and abuse) of the term ‘garden city’”⁶⁷, however, they fail to mention that it was battling sides within the Association who were to blame for the confusion.

Further to the Association’s failure to accept culpability for the confusion, they place blame elsewhere for the perpetuation of said confusion. The Association insinuates that political interest in the reason for the misuse of the term. This is evidenced in the following statement, “Increasing political interest in new garden

⁶⁵ Joint statement by Wolfson Economics Prize 2014 Finalists, 2014, 3, Compendium of Finalists, accessed on 30 2019, <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/wep-2014-compendium-of-finalists.pdf>

⁶⁶ Joint statement by Wolfson Economics Prize 2014 Finalists, 2014, 4, Compendium of Finalists, accessed on 30 2019, <https://policyexchange.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/wep-2014-compendium-of-finalists.pdf>

⁶⁷ Hugh Ellis, Kate Henderson, and Katy Lock/The Town and Country Planning Association. *The Art of Building a Garden City: Designing New Communities for the Twenty-first Century*. (Newcastle upon Tyne: RIBA Publishing), 2017, 79.

cities had brought with it a rush of people keen to brand their development as garden cities or suburbs, when often they are just ‘leafy and green’ and far from meet the principles of the movement.⁶⁸ This is not the only statement made by the Association that blames political interest.

Of course, the association of the term ‘garden city’ with desirable, high-quality green and walkable neighbourhoods is in itself a big part of the attraction for politicians battling with people who are resisting new development after a generation of being subjected to poor quality housing. But it is a unique and previous concept that the TCPA has had to work hard to protect. As ‘garden cities’ has become a bit of a political buzz word [sic], other terms such as ‘garden towns’, ‘garden villages’, and ‘garden communities’ have also emerged.⁶⁹

This quotation by this Association is insinuating that political interest in Garden Cities is a new occurrence, however, political interest is what made the New Towns possible. Whereas the government made the New Towns possible, Ebenezer Howard made the Garden Cities possible. Evidence will be presented throughout the thesis that Howard was the sole reason that Welwyn Garden City was created. FJO thought of it as Howard playing on the sympathies of those with money and land who were interested in the Garden City movement. Regardless, he found the initial funding. The earlier quotation also references the Association suggestion that the political interest is the reason for the confusion, as the original Garden City principles are not being observed in their rhetoric. To summarise, the Association blames others for the ‘abuse’ of “garden city”, but not only were they the Association that created the confusion, they continue to perpetuate that confusion in the present-day. The perpetuation of confusion will be addressed in the next section.

The Association’s Principles for “New Garden Cities”

We have already seen that the Association believed they had to work hard to protect the term “Garden City”, however, as will be shown in this thesis, the Association is partially to blame for the confusion in the first place. The Association

⁶⁸ Hugh Ellis, Kate Henderson, and Katy Lock/The Town and Country Planning Association, *The Art of Building a Garden City: Designing New Communities for the Twenty-first Century*. (Newcastle upon Tyne: RIBA Publishing), 2017, 79.

⁶⁹ Hugh Ellis, Kate Henderson, and Katy Lock/The Town and Country Planning Association, *The Art of Building a Garden City: Designing New Communities for the Twenty-first Century*. (Newcastle upon Tyne: RIBA Publishing), 2017, 79.

seemingly blamed politicians for the perpetuation of the misunderstanding of “garden city”, by the creation of new terms, but terms like “garden villages” and “garden suburbs” existed in the 1930s when the Association was warring over what a Garden City really was. The Association’s 2017 text always refers to “garden cities” and “new towns” in lowercase letters, so it is difficult to determine their exact meaning of “new garden cities”. As “garden cities” and “new towns” are so often discussed interchangeably in the text, the hybrid “new garden cities” is even more confusing. Are these just garden cities that are new? If so, then why not refer to them as Twenty-first Century Garden Cities? The Association’s frustration (both past and present) over the misuse of “garden city” has been closely examined in this thesis, however, the Association never makes mention over the confusion over the synonymous usage of “garden city” and “new town”.

The Association included a diagram (fig.11) of the principles they were setting forth in the “new garden cities”. More complete descriptions are given in the text, but the diagram gives the abridged versions of the principles. Though no credit is given to Howard, the reader of this thesis will no doubt recognise missing diagram number 7 from *To-Morrow/Howard’s plan for the Social City*. The Association described their diagram as “an indivisible and interlocking framework for good place-making.”⁷⁰ The principle at the centre of the diagram is titled, “Land value capture for the benefit of the community.”⁷¹ Its position at the centre of the diagram is demonstrative of its importance, as it is the cog upon which the rest of the principles hinge. The principles off-shooting from the centre principles are as follows: “Strong vision, leadership, and community engagement, Long-term stewardship of community assets, Homes that are genuinely affordable for everyone, Varied local jobs offer within easy commuting distance, Well-designed homes with gardens in healthy communities, Development that enhances the natural environment, Walkable cultural, recreational and shopping facilities, and Integrated, accessible low-carbon transport systems.”⁷² The Association is quick to criticise the “abuse” of the term “garden city”, but the misuse partially began with the Association, and continues to

⁷⁰ Philip Ross and Yves Cabannes. *21st Garden Cities of To-Morrow: A Manifesto*, (Philip Ross and Cabannes), 2014, 93.

⁷¹ Philip Ross and Yves Cabannes. *21st Garden Cities of To-Morrow: A Manifesto*, (Philip Ross and Cabannes), 2014, 93.

⁷² Philip Ross and Yves Cabannes. *21st Garden Cities of To-Morrow: A Manifesto*, (Philip Ross and Cabannes), 2014, 93.

be perpetuated by the Association. The principles that are listed fail to mention the most important principle of the Garden City: the people own the Garden City. Though no credit is given to Howard's diagram number 7, it is obvious that it was the inspiration for the Association's diagram of principles for the "new garden cities". This usage of Howard's diagram is the Association claiming ownership over Howard's idea and the Garden City.

The Association felt that "new garden cities" should be built upon the principles that made the Garden City, but they themselves fail to deliver those principles. Not only does the Association's 2017 text *The Art of Building a Garden City: Designing New Communities for the 21st Century* fail to extrapolate on the confusion surrounding the terms "Garden City" and "New Town" let alone take culpability.

Recent Plans for 5 "Garden Towns" Between Cambridge and Oxford

As recent as March 2018, Housing secretary, Sajid Javid informed the media that, "Along that corridor there's an opportunity to build at least four or five garden towns and villages with thousands of homes."⁷³ Javid's language is evidence of current confusion surrounding the terms "Garden City", "Garden Suburb", "Garden Village", and "New Town". Javid's language is illustrative of the Association's criticism of the political interest in the Garden City. According to Javid, the "opportunity" is the result of the decision made by the ministers to fund a high-speed rail line that would connect Oxford and Cambridge.⁷⁴

It is worth noting the language used by the writer of the article, Tim Shipman, "Up to five new garden towns are to be approved for the corridor between Cambridge and Oxford..."⁷⁵ Arguably this statement is evidence of the writer's own

⁷³ Shipman, Tim. "Sajid Javid Exclusive Interview: Garden Towns and Expressway to Sprout Up in Oxbridge Corridor", *The Sunday Times*, last modified 4 March 2018, accessed 2 September 2019, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/sajid-javid-exclusive-interview-garden-towns-and-expressway-to-sprout-up-in-oxbridge-corridor-m5vckx72g>

⁷⁴ Shipman, Tim. "Sajid Javid Exclusive Interview: Garden Towns and Expressway to Sprout Up in Oxbridge Corridor", *The Sunday Times*, last modified 4 March 2018, accessed September 2, 2019, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/sajid-javid-exclusive-interview-garden-towns-and-expressway-to-sprout-up-in-oxbridge-corridor-m5vckx72g>

⁷⁵ Shipman, Tim. "Sajid Javid Exclusive Interview: Garden Towns and Expressway to Sprout Up in Oxbridge Corridor", *The Sunday Times*, last modified 4 March 2018, accessed 2 September 2019, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/sajid-javid-exclusive-interview-garden-towns-and-expressway-to-sprout-up-in-oxbridge-corridor-m5vckx72g>

confusion about when to say “Garden City” and when to say “New Town”. Had Shipman stated, “Up to five garden towns are to be approved” would have implied that the towns would be *new*. This is just one the first of many examples that have shown the twenty-first century trend of combining “new” and “Garden City” into the hybrid “New Garden City” that we will see in the next section.

Conclusion: New Towns of Yesterday, New Garden Cities of Tomorrow

This Introduction has exposed the elements of Howard’s original vision that have been forgotten in the history of the Garden City movement. “Garden City” was initially a proper noun - not a type of city. Further to that point, the Garden City was only part of Howard’s solution, the Social City was his complete vision. This Introduction made the unique claim that the Garden City is actually a type of New Town, and that the New Town is not a descent of the Garden City. This Introduction has also briefly introduced the reader to FJO, the Association and Unwin who will prove to be the most important players of the first half of this thesis. This Introduction has also introduced the idea that Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City were the heart of the myth is that the Letchworth and Welwyn were what Howard had in mind for the Garden City from the begin and that the Garden City organically evolved into the New Town. Later sections of this Introduction detailed the desire to revive the Garden City, and how that lends itself to the argument of this thesis that the Garden City and the New Town are not the same. If they were the same then there would be interest in reviving the New Town.

As stated at the beginning of this Introduction, this thesis has two aims: The first half of this thesis will solve the mystery of how “Garden City” and “New Town” came to be used synonymously, and the second half will show why they should not be used interchangeably. The first chapter will make the grand claim that FJO was one of the main people who can be blamed for the confusion surrounding the terms “Garden City” and “New Town”; the second chapter follows in a similar vein, as it will show Unwin’s role in the confusion. The remaining chapters will focus on showing the core differences between the Garden City and the New Town. The third chapter will focus on ownership and will examine one of the most integral differences between the Garden City and the New Town: The people own the Garden City, but the Government own the New Town. The fourth chapter will focus on the architecture of the Garden City juxtaposed by the architecture of the New Town. The fifth and final chapter will contrast the transportation schemes of the Garden City and the New

Town. The Conclusion will examine the Englishness of the Garden City and the New Town. It will utilise social histories of late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century England to strengthen the overall argument of this thesis that the Garden City and the New Town by contextualising them within their wider respective historical moments.

Chapter I: Frederic J Osborn's New Town Contributions and Conflicts

Introduction

As stated in the Introduction, the first aim of this thesis is to show how “Garden City” became synonymous with “New Town”. This chapter will give evidence that the synonymous usage of the two terms can be traced to Frederic J Osborn (fig.12). This chapter will analyse how FJO single-handedly rallied the Association to involve the Government to push their agenda. In 1936, FJO resigned from Welwyn Garden City Ltd., and became Honorary Secretary of the Garden City Association, and his FJO's own words, “a fresh campaign for New Towns began”.⁷⁶ Had FJO not become Honorary Secretary of the Association (he would eventually become Chairman⁷⁷), the New Town movement would never have happened.

FJO was responsible for multiple conferences which were created to promote the Association's plan for creating towns to the Government. FJO also changed the name of the Association and implanted himself with bodies who were involved in town planning legislation. This chapter will detail FJO's actions and will argue that they culminated into the New Town movement and confused the legacy of the Garden City in twentieth-century planning.

Biographical Information for FJO

FJO's friend and colleague, Arnold Whittick, partially wrote his text FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn from a series of 1967 broadcasts wherein FJO discussed his life and career. Unfortunately, Whittick does not state or reference any information about who did the broadcasts or their date. Regardless, the first three chapters are transcripts from the broadcasts, and therefore serve as a partial autobiography for FJO. These broadcasts give a rare glimpse into FJO's early life. FJO's referred to himself as a “council schoolboy”⁷⁸, and his formal education ended by the time he was fifteen.⁷⁹ He felt as though his

⁷⁶ FJO's “Brief History of the Town and Country Planning Association”, September 1951, 1, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁷⁷ FJO's “Brief History of the Town and Country Planning Association”, September 1951, 3, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁷⁸ Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 9

⁷⁹ Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 7.

real education came from his keen interest in books and music.⁸⁰

After leaving school, FJO then went to work in an “unsuccessful produce-importing company”⁸¹, and then as a junior clerk in an office.⁸² His next job would be one that would start his career in planning where he served as a clerk-book-keeper for a housing society.⁸³ He stated that his desire was to be a “Specialist on Things in General,” and that “In a world of experts I became a chronic layman; and by luck this paid off when I got into the quite new business of building planned towns.”⁸⁴ FJO became manager and secretary of the Howard Cottage Society at Letchworth in 1912. His duties included collecting rents and settling families into homes.⁸⁵ In 1916, FJO married a Glaswegian named Margaret Paterson Robb whom he met through the Fabian Society. She received a Master’s degree from Glasgow University and was exceptionally well-read; FJO often consulted her throughout his career.⁸⁶ FJO credited his avid fandom of H.G. Wells for his joining the Fabian Society.⁸⁷

(The Fabian Society) took me into a really brilliant dynamic circle – quite different from my little bunch of council school boys and girls. I mixed with the younger members of the Fabian Nursery, mostly just down from Oxford and Cambridge and bursting with self-confidence and ambition. Their air of owning the earth and potentially running it made me feel like a poor relation. But as we were all socialists I also felt kind of superior as a genuine proletarian among sons of the idle rich.⁸⁸

On his time in the Fabian Nursery, FJO articulated that he was too shy to make

80 Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 15.

81 Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 8.

82 Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 9.

83 Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 11.

84 Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 15.

85 Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 19.

86 Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 25.

87 Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 17.

88 Arnold Whittick, FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 17.

speeches and referred to himself as “the backroom scribe”.⁸⁹ FJO’s voracious need to read and his interest in politics collided in “Utopian romances like Bellamy’s ‘Looking Backward’ and Morris’s ‘News from Nowhere’ inspired me with the idea that good things of life could be spread to everybody in a brotherly and happy society.”⁹⁰ The Nursery had a publication entitled *The Nurseling*. Unfortunately, none of the copies exist - which FJO observed was a shame as some of the publication’s contributors went on to become famous writers.⁹¹ The elder members of the Fabian Society showed interest in the *Nurseling*, though they were often quite critical of it. George Bernard Shaw felt that FJO had been politically inconsistent in his writing for the publication and in a letter to him stated this about the members of the Nursery, “You are, God help you, the most frightful parcel of young fools.”⁹² Although FJO had a keen interest in Socialism from a young age, he did not completely forget his roots:

As a teenager I thought I’d grown out of my parents’ Victorian ideas on politics, religion and many other matters. So in a way I had. But I can see now that I got my basic outlook from them. They gave me a respect for truth, which is as important for thought as it is for behaviour.⁹³

Former Association secretary, Gilbert McAllister, stated in a letter to FJO in 1961, “It is quite impossible to exaggerate your contribution to the Garden City and New Towns Movement.”⁹⁴ Osborn is the most important player in this thesis, even more important than Ebenezer Howard. Ebenezer Howard was responsible for the Garden City, but Frederic J Osborn was responsible for the New Town.

New Towns After the War: FJO Disparages Ebenezer Howard

⁸⁹ Arnold Whittick, *FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn*. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 17.

⁹⁰ Arnold Whittick, *FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn*. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 16.

⁹¹ Arnold Whittick, *FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn*. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 17.

⁹² Arnold Whittick, *FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn*. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 17.

⁹³ Arnold Whittick, *FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn*. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 6.

⁹⁴ Letter from former Association secretary Gilbert McAllister to FJO, 29 August 1961 not published, DE/FJO/G24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

This chapter will begin by looking at how FJO viewed Howard's disparagement of the purchase of Welwyn Garden City, as this will set-up FJO's willingness to contradict Howard. This chapter will then chronologically examine the history of the Association from FJO's time as Honorary Secretary in 1936, through his domination of the institution until his last confidential letter to the institution at the age of eight-nine-years-old. It will show how FJO confused the legacy of the Garden City by mobilising the Association from propagandists to legislators. This chapter will also detail FJO's dealings with the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (later the Ministry of Housing and Local Government). Most important to the thesis, this chapter will pinpoint FJO's reasoning for changing the name from "Garden City" to "New Town", making him responsible for the confusion surrounding the terms.

The first edition of *New Towns After the War*, published in 1918 by the New Townsmen, is one of the earliest examples of using New Town and Garden City interchangeably. The New Townsmen, or New Towns Group, was made up of four individuals: Howard, FJO, C.B. Purdom, and a man that was connected to J.M. Dent & Sons. Ltd. publishing. One of the most infamous stories and well-known facts of Welwyn Garden City was that Ebenezer Howard bought it himself. This was much to the chagrin of his cohorts. When FJO republished *New Towns After the War* in 1942 (crediting himself as sole author), he recounted his immediate reaction to the purchase of what would become Welwyn Garden City, "I was speechless with admiration and baffled rage."⁹⁵ According to FJO, "Very briefly, Howard, then a man of seventy-one, had grown tired of our pathetic pleadings to authority to act imaginatively on a large-scale"⁹⁶ so he took it upon himself to purchase the land. Arguably, FJO's subtle reference to Howard's age could have been to using Howard's age to paint him in a negative light. More importantly this is an example of the tension between private and public ownership - a major difference between the Garden City and the New Town which will be examined in depth later in this thesis.

Howard did not turn to the Government for assistance in purchasing the land - that would go against one of the core principles of the Garden City.⁹⁷ He raised the money with the help of people who were supporters of the Garden City movement; among them were R.L. Reiss, Franklin Thomasson, G.G. Blane, and F.E.

⁹⁵ FJO, *New Towns After the War*, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited), 1942, 9.

⁹⁶ FJO, *New Towns After the War*, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited), 1942, 9.

⁹⁷ The third chapter of this thesis is dedicated to this principle.

Freemantle.⁹⁸ The piece of land purchased by Howard proved problematic, as there was little room for expansion. The Marquess of Salisbury owned the adjacent land, and according to FJO, had little interest in selling. However, Lord Salisbury was President of the Garden Cities Association, and as FJO stated, “It is fair to say that, while really not desiring the building of a new town in just that position, he found himself in much the same fix as Howard’s own colleagues. Howard shamelessly played upon his lordship’s great sense of public duty.”⁹⁹

Here again FJO is negatively depicting Howard; the colleagues to whom FJO referred were the men who gave Howard money for the purchase. Reportedly he was still short on funds. FJO wrote about his frustrations with Howard, and how nobody could go against him, “We had to accept his *fait accompli* or retire into complete futility from a campaign that had become part of our lives. He had not only burnt his boat but our boats; and I’m sure he inwardly chuckled at the situation, having no sense of self-preservation when great public issues were at stake.”¹⁰⁰ This quote from FJO is evidence of how extreme his disapproval was of Howard’s actions, and it exposes his more general feelings about the strength of character. Howard’s purchase of the land that would be Welwyn without consulting three-fourths of the New Townsmen arguably made FJO feel impotent. FJO did not have the power to undermine Howard in 1918, but as we be shown in the following sections, he would acquire this power twenty years later.

FJO had written to George Bernard Shaw in 1918 to ask him to write the preface to the first edition of *New Towns After the War*. Shaw declined by letter - a letter which FJO would later ask to be used in the 1942 edition. Shaw again declined, but wrote a new letter to FJO which he allowed to be printed in the text. Shaw said this of Howard, “I knew Ebenezer Howard personally...An amazing man, whom the Stock Exchange would have dismissed as a negligible crank.”¹⁰¹ This statement is along the same lines of what Shaw’s sentiments in the Introduction of this thesis, where called Ebenezer Howard a “simpleton” in a letter to Howard’s son. The inclusion of this quote by Shaw was cleverly included in this section wherein

⁹⁸ FJO, *New Towns After the War*, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited), 1942, 9.

⁹⁹ FJO, *New Towns After the War*, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited), 1942, 9.

¹⁰⁰ FJO, *New Towns After the War*, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited), 1942, 9-10.

¹⁰¹ FJO, *New Towns After the War*, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited), 1942, 11.

FJO was disparaging Howard whilst simultaneously setting the tone for the rest of the text.

FJO's distaste for the founding of Welwyn is relevant the sections that follow, as it shows how FJO was whole-heartedly willing to go against Howard - he just needed the opportunity. FJO forever changed the Association by enlisting the help of the Government, the last place Howard would have turned. Though *New Towns After the War* was originally published by the New Townsmen, of which Howard was one-fourth, FJO was taking full credit for the text in 1942 though little had been changed. Its republication at this time was calculated, as it will soon be shown how in 1942 he was actively trying to push his own agenda within the Association and the Government. The following sections of this chapter will exam FJO's leadership within the Association and his relentless attempts to have the Association recognised as more than just a propagandist body. The chapter will conclude with FJO, aged eighty-nine-years, pointing the proverbial finger at whom he blames for the genesis of the misuse of the term "Garden City."

FJO Rallies the Association

In August 1938, FJO sent a confidential memorandum to the executive members of the Association entitled, "The Problem of Garden City Propaganda".¹⁰² FJO described the Association's previous efforts to push the Movement as "spasmodic", and tried to rally the executive members to come together to exact real progress through a series of publications.¹⁰³ The first line of the memorandum read, "I think it may fairly be claimed in the past eight months the case for decentralisation, 'new towns', and national planning has been re-stated in a way that has renewed the interest in our ideas of town-planners and others specially concerned with town problems". This quote is important for this thesis as it shows that FJO was calling them "new towns", not just towns that were new. This is something that will come up again and again.

FJO's memorandum was successful, as Association meeting minutes indicate that it was agreed that they would try to organise a group in Parliament "to advocate

¹⁰² FJO's confidential internal memorandum to the executive members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association entitled, "The Problem of Garden City Propaganda", 16 August 1938, 1, not published, DE/FJO/F3, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁰³ FJO's confidential internal memorandum to the executive members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association entitled, "The Problem of Garden City Propaganda", 16 August 1938, 1, not published, DE/FJO/F3, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

the Association's policy".¹⁰⁴ The only reference to the Garden City was in the title of the memorandum. As will be shown, FJO was frustrated over what he considered to be the "misuse" of the term Garden City. (He would become so frustrated, in fact, that he would change the name - creating more confusion.)

Arguably, FJO had been invigorated by the recent Glasgow Empire Exhibition, where he and fellow Association member, Gilbert McAllister had given speeches. In November 1938, FJO circulated a letter which began, "We think the time has come when a strong initiative must be taken to urge on the Government and the Local Authorities the need of dealing more comprehensively with the London Region."¹⁰⁵ Though FJO referred to "we", only he signed the letter. The name of the conference was "A Plan for Greater London". This is always the name of a paper written by FJO that he had circulated months beforehand. The conference was attended by 122 people who, according to the Association's Secretary report, were unanimous in FJO's call to action.¹⁰⁶ Among those who gave papers at the conference were Sir Raymond Unwin and Mr Strauss of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (later Ministry of Housing and Local Government).¹⁰⁷

FJO and Lord Harmsworth (Chairman of Council for the Association)¹⁰⁸ had a deputation with officials of the London County Council on 31 January 1939.¹⁰⁹ Lord Harmsworth spoke about the pamphlet that FJO had written and circulated. FJO's memorandum was left with the LCC. The deputation had been presided over by Mr H. Berry, Chairman of the Town Planning and Building Acts Committee.¹¹⁰ FJO stated that Mr Berry, "indicated that the LCC were seriously interested in the suggestions of the Association and that the matter would be fully considered by all the appropriate committees."¹¹¹ In fact forty-four of the Local Authorities were in favor

¹⁰⁴ Executive Committee of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association meeting minutes, 7 October 1938, 2, not published, DE/Ho/F3, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁰⁵ Skeleton letter from FJO, promoting an unofficial conference to be held 14 December 1938, 17 November 1938, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁰⁶ Secretary's Report for Garden Cities and Town Planning Association for 23 November - 31 December 1938, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from FJO to the Minister of Health, no date, c.1939, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁰⁸ Minutes of the Fortieth Annual Meeting of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association held 24 February 1939, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F3, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁰⁹ Secretary's Report for Garden Cities and Town Planning Association for 25 January - 14 February 1939, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941). Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹¹⁰ Secretary's Report for Garden Cities and Town Planning Association for 25 January - 14 February 1939, 1, not published DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941). Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹¹¹ Secretary's Report for Garden Cities and Town Planning Association for 25 January - 14 February 1939, 1, not published DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941). Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

of supporting the Association's policy, three were opposed, and thirty-seven were neutral.¹¹² FJO, though Honorary Secretary, was writing much of the material for the Association. Gilbert McAllister, the Association's actual Secretary, begins to appear less and less in 1938.¹¹³ He announced his resignation from the Association as Secretary in late 1938, stating that he had accepted a post in New Zealand. This was announced in the Secretary's report for November-December 1938; it is worth noting that the official Secretary's report announcing McAllister's leaving was written by FJO, with McAllister's name placed underneath. FJO was already acting as Secretary (and arguably had been acting as official Secretary for some time), without having been elected by the Association.

After Mr McAllister departed, FJO arguably took an even more aggressive role within the Association. In early January 1939, FJO requested to see the Association's budget for the year.¹¹⁴ Not only did FJO assume that he would be official secretary, but he requested an assistant for himself. In the process of doing this, he took full advantage of Miss Baldwin's services, who was Assistant Secretary for the Association, but whom FJO was treating as his own personal assistant. He had her write the meeting minutes, though he criticised the way she wrote them, "I think these are in a very awkward form, and I send a revised draft which is more in accordance with the usual practice, although, of course, it contains the same information."¹¹⁵

Conflict Within the Association: Osborn Called a "Dictator"

Before engaging in a detailed discussion on FJO's conflicts with the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (later Housing and Local Government), it is important that we look at how the Association viewed FJO, as there is evidence that there was also conflict over FJO's status within the Association. One Association member was so upset that he circulated a memorandum with his concerns. FJO had garnered so

¹¹² Internal memorandum from FJO to Miss Baldwin, Assistant Secretary of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. FJO communicated to Miss Baldwin that the most recent Secretary's Report left out the statistics on the support of the LCC over the Association's policy, 24 March 1939, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹¹³ Minutes and papers of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1938-1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹¹⁴ Internal memorandum from FJO to Miss Baldwin asking to see the 1939 budget for the Association. 8 January 1938, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹¹⁵ Internal memorandum between FJO and Miss Baldwin wherein he criticised her meeting minutes, "I think these are in a very awkward form," not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

much power within the Association, that he was granted a salary in order to employ a private secretary.¹¹⁶ Mr Pike succeeded Mr McAllister as Secretary of the Association, however, he resigned from the position c. 1941.¹¹⁷ A drafted letter to the Cadburys, almost assuredly written by FJO, stated “Mr Pike having resigned the Secretaryship of the Association, we must appoint someone else competent to lead an adequate campaign, and have funds with which to wage it. We feel that, if we had £2,000 a year income, with a keen band of workers, we could really do great work.”¹¹⁸ Mr Pike was omitted by similar letter drafts asking for the same amount of money that were circulated to the Association for the advancement of their cause, “We of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association advocate a large decentralisation policy...into properly constructed new towns...To get this policy adopted, however, needs an intensive campaign...We appeal for an income of £2,000 a year, and we believe with this and an earnest body of workers such as we possess we can do great work.”¹¹⁹

There is evidence that Mr. Pike resigned because of FJO. Mr. Hare stated in the opening of a four-page memorandum to the Executive Committee of the Association, “The Committee will recall how often I have felt it to be my duty, since the resignation of Mr. Pike, to question the procedure in both minor or major matters...”¹²⁰ Mr. Hare spent much of the next memorandum detailing his issues with the Association, specifically FJO. He questioned his appointment as honorary secretary as against the rules of the Association. Hare cited the case of C.B. Purdom’s assumption of the role of honorary secretary in 1922, and how it had been passed unanimously by the Council that the appointment be made *ultra vires*. He insisted that FJO be held to the same standard, “A similar decision should apply to Mr Osborn’s attempt to assume the office to which he attaches the power to ‘control’

¹¹⁶ Executive Committee of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association minutes for meeting held 8 January 1939, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹¹⁷ Letter draft (unsigned, most likely FJO) to George Cadbury, Ed Cadbury, and Barrow Cadbury, no date, c. 1941, 1, not published DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹¹⁸ Letter draft (unsigned, most likely FJO) to George Cadbury, Ed Cadbury, and Barrow Cadbury, no date, c. 1941, 1, not published DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹¹⁹ “Draft letter to members who attended the meeting on October 1st, or who sent an apology”, no date, c.1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹²⁰ Mr Hare’s memorandum for the Executive Committee of Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, no date, c.1941, 2, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

the secretary and the conduct of the Journal. Our rules should prevent him or any other member from making himself a dictator.”¹²¹

There is correspondence to suggest that FJO thought he ran the Association from the time he assumed the role of Honorary Secretary. In a 1959 letter to Dame Evelyn Sharp of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government (previously Ministry of Town and Country Planning), FJO stated that, “Having had to run the TCPA on a shoestring budget for twenty-three years, perhaps I tend to rely too much on unpaid help.”¹²² Mr Hare also made three references to FJO committing “illegal” actions within the Association: including writing and confirming inaccurate reports and attempting to have members removed from their positions within the Association.¹²³

Perhaps Mr Hare himself had been one of the members to which referred. In an internal memorandum, two years earlier, marked “private and confidential” from FJO to Miss Baldwin, the former asked the latter to apply for a civil list pension for Mr Hare. FJO asked Miss Baldwin to get a list of Association members who would be willing to donate to a fund for Mr Hare. It is worth mentioning that FJO stated to Miss Baldwin, “I think this list would have to be very carefully prepared, as those who did not know Mr Hare would resent being asked for a contribution of this kind, especially as the Association occasionally asks for special contributions.”¹²⁴ One could argue that FJO was asking Miss Baldwin to handle the situation delicately, as he himself had recently asked the Association for money for his private secretary. Money had also been requested for a salary of £50 per annum for Gilbert McAllister to carry on editing the Association’s magazine, even though he was no longer secretary. (This would have been delegated to Mr Pike as his replacement, but perhaps it was FJO’s wish for McAllister to continue as editor.) Miss Baldwin’s salary had also increased at the same time.¹²⁵ Such details are relevant to our understanding important changes

¹²¹ Mr Hare’s memorandum for the Executive Committee of Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, no date, c.1941, 2, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹²² Letter from FJO to Dame Evelyn Sharp of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government, 7 February 1959, not published HLG 116/73, National Archives.

¹²³ Mr Hare’s memorandum for the Executive Committee of Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, no date, c.1941, 1-4, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹²⁴ “Private and Confidential” internal memorandum from FJO to Miss E Baldwin, 9 March 1939, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹²⁵ Executive Committee of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association minutes for 5 January 1939, 2, no date, c. January 1959, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

made at this time to the remit and constitution of the Association and FJO's role therein, leading next to a significant change of its name.

The 1941 Vote to Change “Garden Cities and Town Planning Association” to “Town and Country Planning Association”

In February 1941, FJO, then Honorary Secretary of the Garden Cities and Town and Country Planning Association, wrote and distributed a memorandum entitled “Name of the Association”.¹²⁶ The document is FJO's argument for changing the Association's name to Town and Country Planning. FJO stated that the current name of the Association was limiting membership and “the scope of our influence”.¹²⁷ The first stated reason for the wanted change is as follows, “Unfavourable reactions of the term Garden Cities; which is connected in many people's minds with bad speculative building, and with cranks, sandals, long hair, etc.”¹²⁸ FJO went on to state, Garden Cities are still widely confused with Garden Suburbs. Past use by the Association of the term “planning on garden city lines”, which was a serious error in propaganda, has produced its nemesis.¹²⁹

FJO did not name any names within the Association during the time of February 1941 memorandum. (As will be shown at the end of this chapter, FJO would eventually name the culpable party.) FJO also stated the “cons” of changing the Association's name, though they were fewer than the “pros”. FJO feared that the name change, “May be interpreted as a loss of faith in Howard's essential idea just when it is nearest to official and public acceptance.”¹³⁰ FJO intimated that nearly every city-dweller would be enticed by the idea of having a green-belt around their

¹²⁶ FJO's confidential internal memorandum to the executive members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association entitled “Name of the Association”, 6 February 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹²⁷ FJO's confidential internal memorandum to the executive members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association entitled “Name of the Association”, 6 February 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹²⁸ FJO's confidential internal memorandum to the executive members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association entitled “Name of the Association”, 6 February 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹²⁹ FJO's confidential internal memorandum to the executive members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association entitled “Name of the Association”, 6 February 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹³⁰ FJO's confidential internal memorandum to the executive members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association entitled “Name of the Association”, 6 February 1941, ,2, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

city, and dropping the term “Garden City” from the name may “weaken the popular appeal of the Association.”¹³¹

The very fact that the personnel at present most active in the work of the Association are themselves well known to be identified with the Garden Cities and enthusiasts for Garden City principles make it possible at the present moment to change the name without a public impression that the flag is being hauled down. Continuity of personnel will minimise loss of identity or goodwill.¹³²

By this excerpt it is clear that FJO felt that he and the other “most active” members of the Association were already heavily identified with Garden City principles, and would therefore be assumed that the Association would still be associated with the Garden City. Perhaps this was a little short-sighted of FJO, as arguably, he was not thinking about future generations. The name change failed to bring about clarity, and muddied the history of the Garden City and New Town Movements. So muddy in fact, that nobody is completely sure what either is.

An overwhelming majority of the Association’s executive members were persuaded by FJO’s words, and voted to change their name from Garden Cities and Town Planning Association to Town and Country Planning Association on 18 January 1941.¹³³ Thirty-one were in favour of the change, and seven were opposed.¹³⁴ Among the reasons given for the opposition were, “Loss of identity or ‘goodwill’”, “Weakening of ‘Garden City’ propaganda”, “Supports change, but would have liked the word ‘Garden’ in the title, “Prefers ‘National Planning and Garden Cities Association’”, and “Needs further consideration.”¹³⁵ Among the reasons given

¹³¹ FJO’s confidential internal memorandum to the executive members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association entitled “Name of the Association”, 6 February 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹³² FJO’s confidential internal memorandum to the executive members of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association entitled “Name of the Association”, 6 February 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹³³ The paper with the summary of votes to change the Association’s name from “Garden Cities and Town Planning Association” to “Town and Country Planning Associations” and the reasons given is undated, however, FJO’s February 1941 memorandum states that the vote would take place at the Forty-Second Annual Meeting held 14 March 1941, no date, c.March 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹³⁴ Votes and summary of reasons given for the name change from “Garden Cities and Town Planning Association” to “Town and Country Planning Association”, no date, c.March 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹³⁵ Votes and summary of reasons given for the name change from “Garden Cities and Town Planning Association” to “Town and Country Planning Association”, no date, c.March 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

for the votes for change included, “Elevates the Association”, “Present name limits scope”, and “Present name a ‘heavy handicap’”.¹³⁶ Some members stated that they were in favour for the name change as it included the word “Country”, and many gave the reason that they just agreed with FJO’s memorandum.¹³⁷ Perhaps FJO suggested Town and Country Planning Association, as there would undoubtedly be connections made in the public’s mind between the Ministry and the Association.

FJO’s Conflicts with the Government Over the Creation of New Towns

The following sections will examine FJO’s multiple conflicts with the Ministry of Town and Country Planning over his proposed “expert” committee to aid in the creation of New Towns. FJO made multiple attempts for the creation of the committee, and the Ministry was strongly opposed it despite FJO’s persistence. These sections will prove important to this thesis, as they are evidence of FJO’s attempts to be involved in the actual planning of the New Towns. His relentless efforts are testimony to his dedication to the New Town Movement - a Movement that he absolutely had a hand in creating.

Before further discussion on FJO’s initiatives for more involvement in the creation of New Towns, a closer look should be given to the actual role of the Association. According to Ebenezer Howard, the Garden City Association was established for two main purposes, “The first is to bring about a healthy redistribution of population; the second is to take every care that the splendid opportunities which such a redistribution will offer shall be used for creating a wholesomer [sic], sweeter and brighter conditions of life for all the people.”¹³⁸ Howard did not mean that the Association would “bring about a healthy redistribution of population” by necessarily being involved in the actual planning, but through propaganda. Evidence of this can be found in a speech that Howard wrote c.1903, read by his wife:

The Garden City Association is a propagandist body. It issues literature (and) gives lectures over 300 have been given during the past session, provides speakers or drawing-room and garden meetings, arranged as

¹³⁶ Votes and summary of reasons given for the name change from “Garden Cities and Town Planning Association” to “Town and Country Planning Association”, no date, c.March 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹³⁷ Votes and summary of reasons given for the name change from “Garden Cities and Town Planning Association” to “Town and Country Planning Association”, no date, c.March 1941, not published, DE/Ho/F3 (1938-1941), Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹³⁸ Article draft entitled “Garden Cities” by Ebenezer Howard, no date, c.1907, 1, unknown if ever published, DE/FJO/180, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

this meeting has through the kindness of friends; it keeps the project before the public by contributions to the press, which has given most generous support to the movement, and in order to secure funds for these purposes, it enrolls members.¹³⁹

The members of the Association were meant to raise funds and circulate literature. (The Garden City Ltd. Company had the real power, as has been shown.) The Association's business was propaganda, so FJO really had to work to find a way to be involved with the actual planning of New Towns. He would prove to be relentless in his mission to play an active role in the creation of New Towns. The following sections will detail the multiple attempts that he made for Association members to become involved in the planning of New Towns, primarily through the establishment of an "expert" advisory committee to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. What will be shown in these sections is that the Ministry of Town and Country Planning was not interested in creating more Letchworths and Welwyns, and though they respected FJO's Garden City experience, they were strongly against the creation of the type of "expert" committee that FJO proposed.

FJO Makes His Way onto the Reith Committee

In 1945 Lord Reith formed a committee to push the agenda for the creation and development of New Towns. This committee was known as the Minister's Advisory Committee, also referred to as the Reith Committee. FJO became part of the Reith Committee, albeit reluctantly. The reluctance was not on behalf of FJO himself, or Reith,¹⁴⁰ but the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (later Ministry of Housing and Local Government). There was agreement that someone from the Association should be on the Committee, but FJO was not the first choice. In fact,

¹³⁹ Paper entitled "The Housing Problem & Garden Cities" by Ebenezer Howard, read by his wife, no date, "1903?" written possibly by an archivist, possibly by FJO, not published, DE/Ho/F10/14, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁴⁰FJO was asked to write an article on Lord Reith after his passing in 1971. FJO and Lord Reith maintained a close relationship throughout the years, as evidenced in their correspondence spanning decades. FJO was selected by the editor of the Royal Town Planning Institute Journal as the "most suitable" person to write the publication's obituary for Lord Reith. FJO used the opportunity to praise his own involvement with the New Towns. Early in the obituary, FJO stated, "Reith, who then knew nothing about town planning, called in a number of people for advice, of whom I (then chairman of the TCPA) was one, and he gave me a room next to his so furnished (I didn't know this at the time) as to give me the status of an unpaid Under Secretary." FJO stated that though the deceased had some great achievements, Reith himself "was bitterly dissatisfied with them". As Reith purportedly wrote in his 1919 autobiography *Into the Wind*, he thought that he had a higher purpose that he had still not realised. FJO noted that he was the first to make the following observation about Reith, "He had no passionate 'mission' of his own." FJO admitted that when Reith had written the autobiography in 1919 that he had been his harshest critic.

there was apparently a consensus within the Department, that it would be somewhat undesirable to have Osborn serve on the Committee:

Someone with experience, e.g. of Welwyn. An obvious candidate for consideration is Osborn...He may be felt to have won a place for himself by reason of his wholehearted enthusiasm for "the cause" for many years past; but there is no doubt in the Department that a much sounder choice be Eccles. Osborn has a particular brand of "cause" and it is difficult to hold him in the right lines.¹⁴¹

This statement makes it clear that this was not just the opinion of one person, but of the entire Department. Further proof that the Department's apprehension can be found in a letter from "H.B." of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning to Harold MacMillan, "While I think there is little doubt that Mr Eccles would be the better member from the point of view of getting the work done, there is much to be said for asking Mr Osborn, at any rate in the first instance. It is quite possible that if he does not get some official work soon he may become troublesome. The ideal solution would be that you should ask Mr Osborn, that for some reason or other he should be unable to accept, and that you should then invite Mr Eccles.¹⁴² The statement "It is quite possible that if he does not get some official work soon he may be troublesome" is especially important for our purposes, as it foreshadows the extent of FJO's relentless that will be revealed in later sections.

FJO's 1944 Attempt for the Creation of an Expert Committee to Aid the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (under Minister W.S. Morrison)

The Reith Committee was not the only way that FJO tried to involve himself in the actual planning of New Towns. After speaking with Mr Strauss of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, he wrote a letter to the Minister of the Department, W.S. Morrison. He suggested the establishment of an "expert" committee to aid in the Ministry of Town and Country Planning in the creation of New Towns. The "expert" committee would focus on the following topics: Layout and development,

¹⁴¹ Internal memorandum from Mr Neal of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning to the Minister of Town and Country Planning, Parliamentary Secretary, Mr Beaufoy, Mr Hill, Professor Holford, Mr Peplar, and Mr Vincent of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 29 August 1945, 1, not published, HLG 84/1, National Archives.

¹⁴² Internal memorandum "E.W." to the Minister of Town and Country Planning, 29 August 1945, not published, HLG 84/1, National Archives.

finance, structure of public and private enterprise, management, design, cultural amenities, and social services.¹⁴³ After describing the report, FJO stated that he himself would like to be part of the committee. Citing the benefit of the experience of Letchworth in the creation of Welwyn, FJO reminded the Ministry of his experience, and what he could offer, “I have the right experience for this, as I took part in the development of Letchworth, was estate manager for Welwyn for the first 16 years, and have closely followed most of the large-scale developments in this and other countries.”¹⁴⁴ He also stated to the Minister that he could also recommend other members for the committee, but should the Ministry not welcome the idea of the creation of the expert committee, then FJO offered to write the report himself.¹⁴⁵

Mr Strauss reported to the Ministry that though FJO was “very anxious” for the creation of the “expert” committee, he felt that would not be necessary.¹⁴⁶ Based on the internal correspondence over the matter, he was not the only member of the department who felt that way. One letter stated, “Whatever the merit of Mr FJO’s proposal (presumably there is quite an amount of information to be derived from his past experience in the establishing of new settlements), I do not think the Minister will regard the setting up of a small ‘expert’ committee to study and report as being an either an appropriate or desirable method of doing the job. The collection of information is one of the Department’s functions.”¹⁴⁷ The wording of this quote is especially important for our purposes, as there is no direct reference to the Garden City. Perhaps if the Ministry had intended to create more Letchworths and Welwyns then they would have been interested in FJO’s committee. Admittedly his knowledge on “new settlements” would be useful, but then so could that of anyone else with experience in the creation of towns. The Ministry was designed to undertake such tasks as “the collection of information”.

Strauss’ sentiments were echoed throughout the correspondence of the rest of the Department. Another internal memorandum on the subject stated, “I hope that

¹⁴³ Letter from FJO to W.S. Morrison, Minister of Town and Country Planning, 20 August 1943, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁴⁴ FJO report “The Creation of New Towns” prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1944, 1, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁴⁵ Letter from FJO to W.S. Morrison, Minister of Town and Country Planning, 20 August 1943, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁴⁶ Internal memorandum to Mr Pepler and Mr Vincent of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning from “Swed”?, 4 September 1943, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁴⁷ Internal memorandum to Mr Pepler and Mr Vincent of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning from “Swed”?, 4 September 1943, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

before long we shall, in the Research and Division Plans' assistance, undertake a comprehensive study of Mr Osborn's subject - the creation of new and extension of existing towns. We have at the moment sufficient on hand in this technical field, with our limited staff, in preparation of the general Planning Manual."¹⁴⁸ The Ministry's Research Division did not consult FJO on the manual, as they had been in contact with Louis de Soissons on Welwyn's housing lay-out.¹⁴⁹

The Ministry appreciated FJO's experience with the creation of new settlements, but they were not particularly concerned about Garden Cities. This is further shown in another memorandum on the topic, "I agree that there is a lot to be learnt from the experience of those engaged in developing and managing Letchworth, Welwyn and Wythenshawe and that Mr FJO has a good deal to contribute on the subject."¹⁵⁰ (Wythenshawe was originally intended to be a Garden City, and was recognised as such by the Association.¹⁵¹) The Ministry was not interested in creating a bunch of new Garden Cities, they were interested in creating industrial towns to decentralise London. Experience of new settlements was the only aspect that remotely interested the Ministry. As has been shown, the Government had always planned for the New Towns to be more populated than the Garden Cities.

The Minister was in agreement with the rest of the Department; reportedly, "his immediate reaction was strongly against the setting up of any 'expert' committee of outside people, such as Mr. Osborn suggests: it is work that we should do ourselves."¹⁵² It could be argued that FJO's suggestion for the creation of a "expert" committee was insulting to the Ministry. Should not the Ministry of Town and Country Planning itself be considered the 'experts' on planning? Every recorded statement made by the Ministry on the subject was against the creation of FJO's committee. The Minister did, however, agree that FJO providing an "unofficial" report would be

¹⁴⁸ Internal memorandum of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, the signature is possibly that of Mr Vincent of the Department, 9 September 1943, 1, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁴⁹ Internal memorandum of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, the signature is possibly that of Mr Pepler of the Department, 6 September 1943, 2, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁵⁰ Internal memorandum of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning Association, the signature is possibly that of Mr Vincent of the Department, 9 September 1943, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁵¹ Wythenshawe was recognised as a Garden City by the Association, or at least by FJO who likely wrote the "Report on Motion of Councillor A.L. Ritchie" which lauded the town's accomplishments.

¹⁵² Internal memorandum to Mr Neal of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning signed "Swed"? (illegible), 10 September 1943, not published, 90/336, National Archives.

potentially useful, and he formally welcomed the idea in a letter to FJO, "While I do not think it desirable to set up a small 'expert' committee to deal with this matter, I should be very happy to accept your kind offer to write a report on the subject yourself."¹⁵³

FJO attached a letter to the promised report, wherein he expressed to Mr Morrison that, due to his other obligations, he had had a very difficult time managing to write the promised report.¹⁵⁴ Arguably, he had been relying on the formation of the committee, and that his offering of writing a report was a pleasantry. He mentioned that he might include a section which covered the model "large-scale developments" of Bournville, Speke, and Dartlington.¹⁵⁵ This is mentioned here because FJO used it to once again make a (covert) plea for his proposed expert committee:

Incidentally, such an enquiry might disclose a few people with the sort of experience and outlook that would be useful on a central advisory body to stimulate or promote the type of development discussed. Such a body would be very useful, but there are all too few people with the right sort of practical experience.¹⁵⁶

The Minister himself had already turned FJO down for the offer of a committee, but he was once again making an argument for its creation. FJO no doubt saw himself as having the 'right sort of practical experience'. He obviously felt that the Ministry was lacking in practical experience. FJO was so confident that his advice would be lauded that he asked Mr Morrison to let him know if any corrections needed to be made should his report be used, "as a basis for guidance to authorities or organisations contemplating large-scale town-development schemes."¹⁵⁷ FJO's wording is interesting here, as he is making no mention of the proposed authorities making Garden Cities or New Towns - just large-scale town-development schemes. His advice and experience could be seen generally and used broadly in town-planning, the report would not prove to be a plan for the recreation of the Garden

¹⁵³ Letter from W.S. Morrison, Minister of Town and Country Planning, to FJO, 20 September 1943, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives

¹⁵⁴ Letter from FJO to W.S. Morrison, Minister of Town and Country Planning, which accompanied his report entitled "Creation of New Towns", 12 May 1944, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁵⁵ Letter from FJO to W.S. Morrison, Minister of Town and Country Planning, which accompanied his report entitled "Creation of New Towns", 12 May 1944, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁵⁶ Letter from FJO to W.S. Morrison, Minister of Town and Country Planning, which accompanied his report entitled "Creation of New Towns", 12 May 1944, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁵⁷ Letter from FJO to W.S. Morrison, Minister of Town and Country Planning, which accompanied his report entitled "Creation of New Towns", 12 May 1944, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

City. FJO's above statement, "Such an enquiry might disclose a few people...") is evidence that he was yet again asking Mr Morrison for the creation of his "expert" committee. As will soon be shown, FJO asked Morrison's successor, Lewis Silkin, for a similar committee.

It is worth noting the hyphenation of "new-town" in FJO's writing. This is different from the Ministry, as their internal correspondence referred to new settlements as "new towns" and even "satellite towns". There was never capitalization used, as it is unlikely that the Ministry was thinking about creating a Movement, they were more interested in solving the housing crisis. FJO's hyphenation of new-town is evidence that he was thinking about a Movement - a Movement that he helped to create and propagate.

FJO's Report on the Creation of New Towns for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning: FJO's Definition of a Garden City

The Ministry of Town and Country Planning did not want the proposed 'expert' committee, or for FJO to serve an active role, but they did welcome his report. Entitled, "The Creation of New Towns", the report was twenty-eight pages typed and covered various aspects of the planning and execution of Letchworth and Welwyn. This report will prove to be important to this thesis, and it will be discussed in detail.

The first section of FJO's report was entitled, "Objectives of the Garden City Schemes", and this section will argue that with this report, FJO was trying to sell the Ministry of Town and Country Planning ("and any other authorities or organisations contemplating large-scale town-development schemes") on his own personal definition of the Garden City. As earlier stated in this thesis, FJO was upset that the term "Garden City" had been, in his mind, used incorrectly. This report is another example of FJO's feeling this frustration. In the first paragraph of the report, FJO stated, "The term "Garden City" has been much misused."¹⁵⁸ He did not offer the reader Ebenezer Howard's definition of the Garden City, instead he gave a series of definitions of which he had a hand in writing.

FJO first quoted the Association's definition from 1920, "A garden city is a town designed for healthy living and industry; of a size that makes it possible a full measure of social life, but not larger; surrounded by a rural belt; the whole of the land

¹⁵⁸ FJO report "The Creation of New Towns" prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1944, 1, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

being in public ownership or held in trust for the community.”¹⁵⁹ After using this definition, FJO immediately intimated that this definition was comparable to the one used in the 1918 book *New Towns After the War*, a book he helped pen as one of the Four New Townsmen¹⁶⁰. He made sure to point out that both definitions were made by people who were actively involved with the planning and development of Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City.¹⁶¹ FJO continues with:

It will be observed: (1) That the estates were designed, not as suburbs or villages, but as complete industrial towns; (2) that good conditions for work as well as living were in prominence; (3) that limitation of size is implied both in the social structure and in the relationship to a rural belt; and (4) the emphasis is lastly (?)¹⁶² on single ownership.¹⁶³

The first two ‘observations’ could be indicative of any town; what really sets the Garden City/New Town apart are the last two observations: limitation on size and single ownership. We have seen examples of the disparity in population between Letchworth and Milton Keynes. We have also seen how important it was to the principles of the Garden City for the people of the town to own the town, and it has also been shown that was an impossibility in the New Town, as the Government wanted to have and maintain complete control. The next chapter will be dedicated entirely to the principle of ownership, and will claim that it is the largest disparity between the Garden City and the New Town.

Continuing on with FJO’s defining of a Garden City, he stated, “No standard of housing is proposed in this definition.” Clearly this is FJO’s own personal definition, as he had so far quoted the Association and *New Towns After the War*. He was not describing Howard’s definition, as FJO indicated that Howard had set the maximum houses per acre at 16, and that Letchworth and Welwyn had a maximum of 12 per net acre.¹⁶⁴ FJO acknowledged that planning with a maximum housing density was

¹⁵⁹ FJO report “The Creation of New Towns” prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1944, 1, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁶⁰ New Townsmen, *New Towns After the War*, (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.), 1918.

¹⁶¹ FJO report “The Creation of New Towns” prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1944, 1, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁶² The page is damaged and that is the only word which is unclear.

¹⁶³ FJO report “The Creation of New Towns” prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1944, 1, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁶⁴ FJO report “The Creation of New Towns” prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1944, 1, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

regarded as an “important component” by the Garden City administrators,¹⁶⁵ “it is not peculiar to the Garden City idea or part of the definition.”¹⁶⁶ With his hybrid definition (based off his own definitions), FJO is declaring himself expert on the Garden City. His experiences during his own involvement in the planning and development of Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City are more central to defining the Garden City than Ebenezer Howard, the person whose vision it was in the first instance. FJO’s hybrid definition of Garden City, based on definitions that he helped to pen, is evidence that he saw himself the source on the Garden City.

FJO’s report was met with lukewarm reception on the part of the Ministry. On the subject of how to respond to FJO, Mr Pepler of the Ministry indicated, “There is a lot of useful information in the document but also a number of opinions are expressed and I suggest a non-committal reply is best.”¹⁶⁷ On 17 May, Mr Morrison thanked FJO for the report, and said that the Department would “digest it” and get back to him.¹⁶⁸ FJO did not give the Ministry long to “digest” the report, and wrote the Minister on 4 July for comments on his report. In his letter to Mr Morrison, FJO stated, “I feel that some of the material in this document may be of assistance to local authorities and private land-owners undertaking large-scale schemes, including extensions as well as new developments.”

FJO’s 1946 Attempt for an Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (under Minister Lewis Silkin)

In 1946, Morrison was no longer Minister of Town and Country Planning. It is important to note that not just the minister had changed, but also the government itself. Labour was now in power, and the New Towns were being created, however this does not necessarily mean that the New Towns should be automatically associated with Labour politics. The New Towns were not the only government creations of the time; they nationalised twenty per cent of British industries (including rail) and established the Welfare state. With the absence of Morrison, FJO tried his luck for the creation of an expert committee again with his Morrison’s replacement:

¹⁶⁵ FJO report “The Creation of New Towns” prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1944, 2, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁶⁶ FJO report “The Creation of New Towns” prepared for the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1944, 2, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁶⁷ Internal memorandum from Mr Pepler of the members of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 15 May 1944, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁶⁸ Letter from W.S. Morrison, Minister of Town and Country Planning to FJO, 17 May 1944, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

Lewis Silkin. In a letter to Silkin, FJO offered his unsolicited recommendations of members of the Association to take an active part in the planning and development of New Towns, "After close observation of our chairman (of the Town and Country Planning Association), I feel pretty sure he would be a good chairman of the first corporation."¹⁶⁹ The Association was established for creating propaganda, but FJO made consistent attempts for the Association to be involved with the planning of the New Towns.

As W.S. Morrison was no longer in the picture, FJO tried again to sell the idea of an advisory committee, this time to Silkin: "The more I think about the practical operation of the agencies, even assuming the best available personnel, the more certain I am that an Advisory Commission is indispensable to the avoidance of needless mistakes."¹⁷⁰ FJO's gumption is extraordinary here, as his previous attempts were all categorical failures. It is unclear if he had been aware off-record that such a committee would be an "embarrassment" to the Ministry. Perhaps it would not have even made a difference if he had been made aware. He thought the knowledge of the Department would prove insufficient if it did not include the advice of his own - he would not have been so adamant about the formation of such a committee. Related to this point, there is evidence that FJO believed his fellow members of the Reith/New Towns Committee to be inferior to himself. Later in his plea to Silkin he stated:

Experience on the N.T.C. which contains some people as good as the average board is likely to contain, reinforces my view good judgement and business experience in other lines is not enough: they must be supplemented with 'know-how' that can only come from having done the same job. At the same time, for a good job the boards must feel independent and responsible, and the Minister should give as few positive directive powers as possible. I am entirely against a commission which has any directive powers whatever; what it says should be considered entirely on the conviction carried by the knowledge and experience. I don't see how this purely advisory attitude

¹⁶⁹ Letter from FJO to Lewis Silkin Minister of Town and Country Planning, 14 June 1946, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁷⁰ Letter from FJO to Lewis Silkin Minister of Town and Country Planning, 14 June 1946, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

could be achieved by full-time people inside the hierarchy, who must be responsible in the chain of authority, and would always have to be guarded in their statements, and whose opinion might have too much weight. Moreover, I don't see any personnel with the experience that you could get in as full-time civil servants. When we next meet I will try to make clearer what I mean by the "know-how". I am not speaking for the N.T.C., in the way I put this. But I am quite certain that dozens of serious mistakes will be made by agencies if there is no such central body, which will be made by agencies if there is. It will also save a good deal of time by clarifying the issues that arise.¹⁷¹

This excerpt from FJO's letter to Minister Silkin is filled with evidence that he found himself superior to the Department. Without the advisement of a committee of 'experts' like himself, "dozens" of mistakes would be made. He makes all the right noise by stating that he does not want his proposed committee to have any power, because he knows that is why the Department is in place. More important than his arrogance is what FJO is what is he is not saying in this letter. He is not trying to convince Silkin to create Garden Cities, merely cities. FJO clearly viewed his fellow Reith Committee members as "average". Arguably, he also viewed the Ministry of Town and Country Planning as average and unable to deliver the New Towns without the aid of an 'expert' like himself.

Lewis Silkin was advised against the creation of a committee by the Department. An internal memorandum to the Minister stated, "I feel that an Advisory Committee would be bound to be embarrassing at the moment. It would not only be embarrassing to you in relation to your responsibilities to Parliament, it would also, I cannot help feeling, be unwelcome to the Corporations. I think myself that we want to feel our way here."¹⁷² This statement is further evidence that the Ministry wanted to do something different with the New Towns. The Department would rather 'feel their way' than to be advised by the 'experts' on the Garden City. The proposed committee would be "embarrassing" to the Minister as it would suggest the Ministry

¹⁷¹ Letter from FJO to Lewis Silkin Minister of Town and Country Planning, 14 June 1946, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁷² Internal memorandum to Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning, 25 July 1946, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

incapable of completing the job themselves. As one civil servant wrote in an internal memorandum:

The fundamental objection to an Advisory Commission, and the word commission regularly used in this connection should be noted, is the one made by the Minister that such a body would inevitably become executive in function and that that position would be inconsistent or at any rate very embarrassing in relation to his own responsibilities as Minister. At the same time, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that at a later stage when we have a number of new town Corporations in existence it might be a sensible course to have regular meetings at reasonable intervals of the Chairmen or these Committees. Such meetings might be presided over by a very senior officer of the Department, or even by the Minister himself, and it might be worth considering whether or not there should be co-opted to such an informal body any outside persons of real experience in this connection. Whether or not, for example, Mr Osborn himself would be a suitable appointment I simply do not know.¹⁷³

Mr Dobbie is reaffirming Silkin's belief that if Ministry relented and created FJO's committee, that it would ultimately have Executive power. Silkin, like Morrison, felt that FJO's committee would be indicative of a deficiency of the Department. What we witness here in the obscuring of the history of the Garden City is a contest over the professional status for town planners.

FJO's Written Histories of the Association and the Omission of "Garden City"

In September 1951, FJO wrote a history of the Association. The five-page document makes no reference to the Garden City (other than proper names).¹⁷⁴ By this point, FJO was referring to New Town with the capital "N" and the capital "T". On the first page of the document, FJO stated:

¹⁷³ Internal memorandum from Mr Dobbie to Mr Valentine of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 15 July 1946, not published, HLG 90/336, National Archives.

¹⁷⁴ FJO's "Brief History of the Town and Country Planning Association". This document makes no reference to the Garden City except when stating proper names (Letchworth Garden City, Welwyn Garden City, Garden City Association, Pioneer Garden City Co. Ltd. First Garden City Ltd., and International Garden City Association), September 1951, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

Letchworth, a true New Town on Howard's principles was successfully established despite public and official indifference. The Association continued its national propaganda, but up to the First World War no second New Town was started, though an International Garden City Association was founded about 1912...¹⁷⁵

This excerpt would be totally confusing to anyone who did not know that the same people/Association had been involved with both the Garden City and the New Town. FJO described Letchworth as a New Town, mentioned the lack of a second New Town, then immediately stated that an International Garden City Association had been formed. To anyone just learning about the New Town, they would wonder how an International Garden City Association would have anything to do with the "New Town" of Letchworth that FJO described. FJO himself took credit for 'reviving the movement' with his book *New Towns After the War*.¹⁷⁶

As has been shown multiple times in this thesis, FJO was frustrated over the misuse of "Garden City", so he changed its name. The outcome of this name change was even more confusion. In his 1951 "Brief History of the Association" he totally omits "Garden City", but in FJO's unpublished "Notes for History of Town and Country Planning Association" he stated "...Garden Cities (New Towns with industry), it could be criticised for having been too tolerant of the "garden suburb" movement, which was all right for small towns but not for huge agglomerations too large already."¹⁷⁷ This statement is further proof that FJO's attempts to clear up the confusion surrounding the Garden City only created more confusion.

New Towns Exhibition 1959:

While FJO was writing further notes on the history of the Association in 1959, he found himself planning an exhibition on the New Towns to with the Association's diamond jubilee and used it for the Association to take credit for the New Town movement.

This exhibition was held 3-17 October 1959 at the Royal Academy's Burlington House. It featured sixteen "New Towns", (though we can argue it should

¹⁷⁵ FJO's "Brief History of the Town and Country Planning Association", September 1951, 1, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁷⁶ FJO's "Brief History of the Town and Country Planning Association", September 1951, 1, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁷⁷ FJO's "Notes for History of Town and Country Planning Association", April 1959, 2, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

have only featured fourteen), with examples from England, Scotland, and Wales each represented. The point of the exhibition was to celebrate the achievements of the Association,¹⁷⁸. The diamond jubilee celebrated sixty years of the Town and Country Planning Association (originally the Garden Cities Association and then the Garden Cities and Town and Country Planning Association). By including Welwyn Garden City and Letchworth Garden City as New Towns in the exhibition, FJO (in the Association's name) repackaged them, obscuring their identities as Garden Cities, making it impossible for anyone to completely differentiate between the two. The New Towns Exhibition 1959 is important to the overall New Towns movement, as the Association and the Government were fighting for credit of the movement. The Garden City idea has had global reach, and it has always been a source of pride for British planning. It is understandable that the New Town movement would want to capitalise on the popularity of its predecessor and persuade the British public to believe Garden Cities and New Towns were essentially the same thing. Welwyn Garden City was featured in the exhibition, and a consideration was made early on in the planning process to include Letchworth as the first New Town.¹⁷⁹ This idea was posed by FJO in his notes for the general managers ahead of the first planning meeting. Under the category heading "Forerunners etc.", FJO stated, "It is for consideration whether space should be offered to Letchworth as the Pioneer New Town, and to Bournville and Port Sunlight as influential forerunners."¹⁸⁰ FJO suggesting that Letchworth be included as the pioneer New Town is discounting its claim as the first Garden City. As will be shown, there was a consistent confusion over how many New Towns there actually were. If the Association were unclear of the number of New Towns, how could the public not be expected to be confused over what was a Garden City and what was a New Town.

14, 15, 16, or 17 New Towns?

Throughout the planning process of the exhibition, there was much confusion about the actual number of New Towns as the number describing them in the exhibition varied from fourteen to seventeen. This is evidence that the Association

¹⁷⁸ Notes of FJO dispersed ahead of the first New Towns Exhibition planning meeting, 24 January 1959, 3, not published, DE/FJO/G23, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁷⁹ Notes of FJO dispersed ahead of the first New Towns Exhibition planning meeting, 24 January 1959, 3, not published, DE/FJO/G23, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁸⁰ Notes of FJO dispersed ahead of the first New Towns Exhibition planning meeting, 24 January 1959, 3, not published, DE/FJO/G23, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

itself did not know how many New Towns there were. If they did not know, then how could anyone else be expected to know? It is odd that a decision would need to be made after further consultations, as representatives from all the Welsh, Scottish, and non-London Ring English New Towns were represented. In addition to that, it is obvious from the notes of that meeting that the Glasgow overflow New Town of Cumbernauld was not yet part of the exhibition.¹⁸¹ The minutes of the first planning meeting detailed the New Towns represented and those who sent apologies. Cumbernauld was not mentioned in either section.¹⁸²

From his correspondence it is evident that FJO did not actually consider Welwyn Garden City to be a New Town, or at least he did not want Welwyn Garden City to think that he did. In a letter that he sent to Welwyn Garden City Society Chairman, A.R. Whitear, Esq., he indicated that there were only fourteen New Towns.¹⁸³ The missing “New Town” from the fifteen was not Cumbernauld, as it had already been accounted for in January,¹⁸⁴ and the letter to Whitear was written in January. FJO’s notes before the first exhibition planning meeting indicated that there were 15 New Towns built under the New Towns Act. It can only be that the missing New Town was Welwyn Garden City. The purpose of the letter was to ask for FJO stated:

You could not expect persons of judgment to go round to all the 14 New Towns, even if there were any place in them where the best work could there be gathered, supposing there is room in the galleries for 20 or 30 examples? What would you, as Chairman of the WGC Society, think of the idea? And if you think it a good one, how do you think it could be successfully operated, supposing there is room in the galleries for 20 or 30 examples?¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ Town and Country Planning Association exhibition meeting minutes from 29 January 1959, not published, DE/FJO/G23, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies. The meeting notes indicated those present and the New Towns they represented. Cumbernauld is not mentioned in those represented, or those who sent apologies for their absence.

¹⁸² Town and Country Planning Association exhibition meeting minutes from 29 January 1959, not published, DE/FJO/G23, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁸³ Letter from FJO to Welwyn Garden City Society Chairman A.R. Whitear, Esq., 8 February 1959, not published, DE/FJO/G23, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁸⁴ However, Welwyn Garden City was founded by Sir Ebenezer Howard, who died nearly two decades before the act.

¹⁸⁵ Letter from FJO to Welwyn Garden City Society Chairman A.R. Whitear, Esq., 8 February 1959, not published, DE/FJO/G23, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

This letter is not just important because of his stating that there were fourteen New Towns, but also because it was a letter not sent to any other “New Towns”. There is no record of FJO or the planning committee sending out similar letters to the New Town Development Corporations. Because FJO’s comment, “You could not expect persons of judgment to go round to all the 14 New Towns...,”¹⁸⁶ would lead one to believe that each town participating in the exhibition would be asked to provide work. More than just requesting that Welwyn Garden City Society provide work of the some of the members of the Association, he alluded to a certain person doing the selection:

It occurs to me that Mr Henry Norris, who had an official position with the Ministry of H & L.G. for matters of this class, might be willing to go round and make a selection, or act as censor of the local societies selections if in the first instance propositions are left to them¹⁸⁷

In addition to this, FJO asked for an expeditious reply, “As I have meetings on Wednesday and Thursday this week to consider various matters of the Exhibition, I would be grateful for your first reaction to the idea.”¹⁸⁸

FJO Blames Culpin for the Genesis of the Misuse of “Garden City”

This chapter has given multiple examples of FJO’s frustration over the misusage of “Garden City”, FJO even blaming the Association in a couple instances. However, he did not blame any specific person until very late in life. In 1970, FJO penned some of his frustrations over the misusage of “Garden City” in his text genesis of *Welwyn Garden City: Some Jubilee Moments*.¹⁸⁹ According to FJO, Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker’s economical housing had proved very popular - so popular in fact that speculative builders and housing societies across England (as well as other countries) “seized on the pattern with alacrity” and did so under the

¹⁸⁶Letter from FJO to Welwyn Garden City Society Chairman A.R. Whitear, Esq., 8 February 1959, not published, DE/FJO/G23, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁸⁷ Letter from FJO to Welwyn Garden City Society Chairman A.R. Whitear, Esq. 8 February 1959, not published, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁸⁸Letter from FJO to Welwyn Garden City Society Chairman A.R. Whitear, Esq., 8 February 1959, not published, DE/FJO/G23, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁸⁹ FJO. *Genesis of Welwyn Garden City: Some Jubilee Memories*. (London: Town and Country Planning Association), 1970.

titles of “garden suburbs” and “garden villages”.¹⁹⁰ Some of them were even given the name “Garden City”, and as FJO stated in the aforementioned text:

The terms became interchangeable in common use, and for a long time Howard’s carefully defined concept was lost. It was specially [sic] exasperating to Howard and his true disciples...There was a period in which the understanding of the real meaning of the Garden City idea fell to such a low ebb that it began to look as if Letchworth was to remain its single monument.¹⁹¹

It is worth noting that in the above excerpt, FJO does not make any mention of the Association’s misuse. However, just four years later, FJO would point the proverbial finger at former Association secretary, Ewart Culpin. In 1978, FJO was eighty-nine-years-old when he heard that the Association was having someone write their history for the seventy-fifth anniversary.¹⁹² FJO wrote his own “off the cuff”¹⁹³ nine-page document and included it with a letter to the Association stating that he thought it would help the author, Mr Shaffer, write the history.¹⁹⁴ He also stated in the letter, “I think he (Mr Shaffer) ought to have a talk with me at some point and perhaps take a look at some of my notes and correspondence.”¹⁹⁵

What is distinctly different from FJO’s 1974 history of the Association from his 1951 and 1959 versions is that in his last version he disclosed a previously omitted detail. The last few paragraphs of FJO’s report comprised a section marked “Confidential”, and it began, “I have not included Culpin in my list of Key Figures in

¹⁹⁰ FJO. *Genesis of Welwyn Garden City: Some Jubilee Memories*. (London: Town and Country Planning Association), 1970, 6-7.

¹⁹¹ FJO. *Genesis of Welwyn Garden City: Some Jubilee Memories*. 1970, 7. Town and Country Planning Association, London.

¹⁹² Letter from FJO to David Hall of the Town and Country Planning Association about the hiring of Mr Schaffer to write the Association’s history for the 75th anniversary. FJO attached his own ten-page written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁹³ Letter from FJO to David Hall of the Town and Country Planning Association about the hiring of Mr Schaffer to write the Association’s history for the 75th anniversary. FJO attached his own ten-page written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁹⁴ Letter from FJO to David Hall of the Town and Country Planning Association about the hiring of Mr Schaffer to write the Association’s history for the 75th anniversary. FJO attached his own ten-page written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁹⁵ Letter from FJO to David Hall of the Town and Country Planning Association about the hiring of Mr Schaffer to write the Association’s history for the 75th anniversary. FJO attached his own ten-page written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

the Garden City movement, because, though he was very active and influential, I and the others of the New Townsmen group in 1917-1918 thought it was largely his fault that the Association had allowed the essential G.C. Idea to be submerged in the fashion for open housing estates and Garden Suburbs..."¹⁹⁶

FJO's distaste for Culpin was multi-fold. FJO served as editor of the Town Planning Institute journal from 1926-1928. During this time, Culpin was President of the Town Planning Institute (TPI), and had FJO "most discourteously replaced by another voluntary editor without being informed in advance".¹⁹⁷ Culpin's reason for dismissing FJO was that he was not a member of the TPI. According to FJO, he had been asked to be the editor.¹⁹⁸

Arguably, FJO's anger towards Culpin intensified his efforts for dissolving the Garden City into the New Town. According to FJO, "There is no doubt that Culpin has a considerable place in the history of the Association, but he should not be credited as force for the essential garden city idea."¹⁹⁹ The last paragraph of FJO's recorded correspondence with the Association was used to disparage Culpin and the "rival body" to the Royal Institute for British Architects which he started.²⁰⁰ Though never having an "open quarrel"²⁰¹, FJO had been so upset by the situation with Culpin that he was still holding onto it fifty years later. His closing remarks to the Association, where he was (and he is still) the most influential person, were dedicated to placing blame on a man with whom he disagreed, and by whom had been "discourteously replaced". Instead of using propaganda (the reason for the Association) to clarify how the Garden City differed from the Garden Suburb or Village, FJO pioneered a campaign to erase the Garden City from the Association's name. A look will now be given at a text that most likely added to FJO's frustration's over Culpin's bastardisation of "Garden City".

Culpin's Definition of Garden City

¹⁹⁶ FJO's unsolicited 1974 written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, 9, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁹⁷ FJO's unsolicited 1974 written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, 9, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁹⁸ FJO's unsolicited 1974 written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, 9, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

¹⁹⁹ FJO's unsolicited 1974 written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, 9, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

²⁰⁰ FJO's unsolicited 1974 written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, 9, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

²⁰¹ FJO's unsolicited 1974 written history of the Association, 21 March 1974, 9, not published, DE/FJO/G25, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

In 1913, Ewart Culpin wrote a booklet called the *Garden City Movement Up-to-Date* that was published by the Association.²⁰² One of the criticisms that FJO had over the misuse of “Garden City” was that Garden Suburbs and Garden Villages were often mistakenly referred to as Garden Cities. As divulged in the last section of this chapter, FJO blamed Culpin. As *New Towns After the War* was published five years after Culpin’s written history of the Garden City movement. FJO and the other New Townsmen would have been well-acquainted with Culpin’s history of the movement.

Culpin’s definition will now be reviewed, as it was the genesis for FJO’s creation of the New Town movement. Had Culpin not published his history, in the name of the Association, then arguably FJO would not have tried to replace “Garden City” with “New Town”. Culpin defined Garden City, Garden Suburb, and Garden Village separately. His definition of Garden City is as follows:

A self-contained town, industrial, agricultural, residential, planned as a whole - and occupying land sufficient to provide garden-surrounded homes for at least 30,000 persons, as well as a wide belt of open fields. It combines the advantages of town and country, and prepares the way for a national movement, stemming the tide of the population now leaving the countryside and sweeping into our overcrowded cities.²⁰³

Culpin, as secretary of the Association at the time of writing the above definition, was taking liberties with the principles set out by Howard. As is widely known, the maximum of inhabitants Howard allotted was 32,000, but Culpin stated that the population of a Garden City should be *at least* 30,000. More importantly, Culpin left out one of the most integral principles of the Garden City - that the estate should be owned by the people of the town.

Culpin’s definition of Garden Suburb bears little resemblance to the Garden City, “A ‘Garden Suburb’ provides that the normal growth of existing cities shall be on healthy lines; and, when such cities are not already too large, such suburbs are most useful and even in the case of overgrown London they may be, though on the other

²⁰² Ewart Culpin. *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date*. (London: The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association), 1913.

²⁰³ Ewart Culpin. *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date*. (London: The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association), 1913, 6.

hand they tend to drive the country yet further afield, and do not deal with the root evil - rural depopulation.” This excerpt of Culpin is likely more along the lines of what had malcontented FJO (and purportedly the other New Townsmen).

According to Culpin, Garden Villages like Port Sunlight and Bournville were “Garden Cities in miniature.”²⁰⁴ This is another statement that arguably frustrated FJO, as the model villages of Port Sunlight and Bournville were not Garden Cities - not even in miniature. Port Sunlight and Bournville pre-existed Garden Cities, and it is widely known that Howard was heavily influenced by them. Culpin’s description of them as Garden Cities in miniature was inaccurate, as the Garden Cities were created to remedy overcrowding. “Garden Cities in miniature” would have a small population, and a small population would nothing to alleviate overcrowding, ergo they could not be Garden Cities. A Garden City in miniature cannot be a Garden City. Culpin later stated, “The idea, therefore, in creating garden cities is to aim at towns with population between thirty thousand, lower than which it would not be possible to go to enable the necessary provisions to be made...”²⁰⁵ This contradicts his earlier statement that the model villages of Port Sunlight and Bournville were Garden Cities in miniature, as a settlement with a population under 30,000 would not accomplish the goals set-out by the Garden City. Culpin continued to group the Garden Suburb and the Garden Village in with the Garden City, stating that over forty of them had been established by the time of his writing *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date* in 1913, and that they were “all embracing in one degree or another principles which were enunciated by the founder of the Garden City movement.”²⁰⁶ This phrase “one degree or another” is not enough to make the claim that the Garden Suburb and Garden Village should be so closely associated with the Garden City.

Culpin proposed to speak on behalf of the Association by stating, “The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association does not for one moment discourage Garden Suburbs.”²⁰⁷ His wording here is confusing; if the Garden Suburb were so

²⁰⁴ Ewart Culpin. *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date*. (London: The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association), 1913, 6.

²⁰⁵ Ewart Culpin. *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date*. (London: The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association), 1913, 9.

²⁰⁶ Ewart Culpin. *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date*. (London: The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association), 1913, 12.

²⁰⁷ Ewart Culpin. *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date*. (London: The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association), 1913, 12.

closely associated with the Garden City, then his stating that would be superfluous. Culpin continued, “(The Association) has helped in the formation of several (Garden Suburbs), and hopes to continue that work, being engaged week in and week out in preaching the advantages of the principle. But that does not mean that we have lost sight of the fact that the true solution is the Garden City.”²⁰⁸ The reasoning for FJO’s frustrations with Culpin’s appraisal of the Garden City movement is becoming clearer, as the latter’s writing on its history is confusing. If the Garden Suburb were as integral to the movement as he stated, then it would be part of the “true solution”. The Association was established to create propaganda for the Garden City - not the Garden City, the Garden Suburb, and the Garden Village. According to FJO, Culpin’s lumping them together confused what the Garden City really was.

Arguably, the section of Culpin’s text *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date* that most confused history of the movement was the inclusion of brief descriptions of over forty Garden Suburbs and Garden Villages. As the text was written in 1913, years before the founding of Welwyn Garden City, the only Garden City that had been established to date was Letchworth Garden City. Culpin conceded that Letchworth was the only true Garden City, “Letchworth, the first and only proper Garden City, rightly comes first under consideration here, both chronologically and because of its size and importance from the historical and economic aspects.”²⁰⁹ Though Culpin discussed Letchworth Garden City first, his suggestion that over forty related settlements followed confused what the Garden City movement really was, and what role Howard and the Association played.

Had Culpin focussed on the Garden City, and omitted the Garden Suburb and Garden Village then arguably the New Town may have never existed. If Culpin had cited Letchworth Garden City as the only settlement for which Howard and the Association were responsible, then there would have been less confusion surrounding the Garden City movement. FJO was arguably frustrated that Culpin included over forty non-Garden Cities in a text on the history of the Garden City movement. Examples have been given about his frustration over the misuse over the “Garden City”. Had Culpin not credited Howard and the Association for the non-

²⁰⁸ Ewart Culpin. *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date*. (London: The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association), 1913, 12.

²⁰⁹Ewart Culpin. *The Garden City Movement Up-to-Date*. (London: The Garden Cities and Town Planning Association), 1913, 16.

Garden Cities then there would have been a clearer understanding of what Howard and the Association were trying to accomplish with the movement. Because of Culpin, people associated certain Garden Suburbs and Garden Villages with the Garden City and the Association when there should not have been such a close association. This led FJO to create the New Towns movement, and to phase the Garden City out of the Association's propaganda.

Conclusion

FJO's synonymous usage of Garden City and New Town made the claim that they were the same thing, but if they were the same thing, why change the name? FJO changed the name because of the confusion surrounding "Garden City", but that confusion begat more confusion. FJO took Howard's scheme, took out the most important element (ownership), rallied the Association to push his agenda on the Government, and implanted himself on committees associated the name of Howard's Association (after he changed the name of the Association) for the Government to make the towns. This chapter also exposed how Ewart Culpin of the Association aided in the misuse of "Garden City".

The next chapter will focus on the root of the division between the camps of Culpin and FJO: Raymond Unwin's Garden Suburb.

Chapter II

The Confusion Created by Raymond Unwin's Garden Suburb

Introduction:

The preceding chapter on FJO unveiled the reasoning for the switch from “Garden City” to “New Town”, as the Association was divided into two camps – those who aligned with FJO and those who aligned with Culpin. As stated in the last chapter, the misuse of the term “Garden City” resulted in the change to “New Town”. The earlier sections of this chapter will analyse literature written by key figures in architecture and urban planning during the Garden City and New Town movements, and these sections will illustrate that these architects and planners contributed to the confusion regarding the synonymous usage of the terms “Garden City” and “New Town”. At the centre of the analysis will be Letchworth Garden City architect and planner, Raymond Unwin. These sections will show that his Garden Suburb was the genesis of the confusion. In his text, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, Robert Fishman stated, “Parker and Unwin’s plan was a sort of translation of Howard’s original diagrams. It was, however, a loose translation which introduced some themes of its own.”²¹⁰ Fishman failed to detail the ways in which their plan was like Howard’s plan, and did not highlight how Unwin was heavily influenced by Germany. This chapter will show that Unwin and the Garden Suburb were influenced by Germany and not the English Garden City, and that Unwin’s plans were not translations of Howard’s diagrams. Historian Dennis Hardy stated, “Suburbs without centres were compared unfavourably with what Letchworth and Welwyn had to offer, while the ‘straphanging’ that was part and parcel of suburban life was shown to be a far cry from the gentle walk or cycle ride to work that was promised in a garden city.”²¹¹ This observation from Hardy will set the tone for this chapter, as one of its aims is to show how Unwin was not designing along Garden City lines, yet capitalised of his association with the movement.

The latter sections of the chapter will further examine the historiography of the

²¹⁰ Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1977, 69.

²¹¹ Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for town and country planning, 1899-1946*, London and New York: Spon Press, Taylor and Francis Group, 1991, 10.

Garden City movement (written in the late twentieth century) have said about Raymond Unwin and the Garden Suburb. These will explore seminal texts on British urban planning in the twentieth century, and show how those texts have added to the confusion about the true definition of a Garden City.

Before the analysis of the texts can begin, it is necessary to reference the importance of ownership to the Garden City. The next chapter of this thesis will be dedicated to showing how important the principle of the Garden City being owned by its inhabitants was to Howard, and how that principle is totally absent in the New Town. Whilst the fourth chapter will look at Howard directly, these sections of this chapter will address how this principle divided the figures of the Garden City movement, thus giving the term "Garden City" different meanings to different people.

C.B. Purdom's Writing on the Confusion of the Garden City

C.B. Purdom was not only the secretary for the Garden City Association, but he was also one of the New Townsmen with Ebenezer Howard and FJO. Purdom's text gently brushes the subject of the misuse/misunderstanding of the Garden City, "Now what is the Garden City idea? It will be said, perhaps, that everybody knows. But is that really the case? If somewhat vague terms were sufficient, if statements subject to more or less serious qualification would do, then we might answer yes. But they will not do. Nothing but unequivocal language in which the idea is exactly defined will serve."²¹² Here Purdom is highlighting the fact that the Garden City was largely misunderstood and needed to be defined. He goes on to detail the base requirements for a Garden City, "I think that it can be stated with absolute confidence that the two essential elements in the Garden City undertaking are, (1) the ownership of the land in the interests of the inhabitants and (2) the idea of bringing town and country together."²¹³ As the principle of the town being owned by its inhabitants is mentioned first, an argument could be made that Purdom was suggesting that this element was even more important to the Garden City than the merging of town and

²¹² C.B. Purdom, *The Garden City After the War*, London: Printed by the Victoria House Printing Co., 1917, 5-6.

²¹³ C.B. Purdom, *The Garden City After the War*, London: Printed by the Victoria House Printing Co., 1917, 6.

country.

Another example in the text where Purdom stresses the importance of ownership is as follows, “The first element of this double idea is the corporate ownership of the land by or on behalf of its inhabitants. If you do not have such ownership you have good planning, decent housing, splendid factories, a thriving town; you may have anything you like. You do not have a Garden City.”²¹⁴ With this statement Purdom is suggesting that ownership is the most central element to a Garden City. As will soon be shown, Unwin ignored this principle in his creation of the Garden Suburb.

The practical effectiveness of this principle of ownership is not merely due to its eliminating the speculator and securing control over the growth of the place...but chiefly because it represents civic unity and promises to be the chief avenue of the civic spirit by which the character of the place will be established.²¹⁵

This quotation from Purdom is showing the real reasoning behind the need for the Garden City to be owned by its inhabitants. The desired goal was not chiefly to curb growth, but to create a cohesive community. Had the government owned the Garden City, its citizens would not be as connected to the land. As will be addressed in later chapters of this thesis, one of the main differences between the Garden City and the New Town is the involvement of government. Howard did not want the government to have ownership over the Garden City. Purdom stated, “It is not state ownership, or nationalisation in the ordinary sense; but a localised and communal ownership and responsibility: an ownership in which those who use the land are immediately concerned.”²¹⁶ Here is another example of the importance of the inhabitants having ownership over their community, and perhaps a closer look at why it was needed. Bournville and Port Sunlight made this idea feasible. As will be shown in the following sections, though he won the competition to design Letchworth Garden City along with partner Barry Parker, Unwin did not believe that the Garden City was the

²¹⁴ C.B. Purdom, *The Garden City After the War*, London: Printed by the Victoria House Printing Co., 1917, 7.

²¹⁵ C.B. Purdom, *The Garden City After the War*, London: Printed by the Victoria House Printing Co., 1917, 7.

²¹⁶ C.B. Purdom, *The Garden City After the War*, London: Printed by the Victoria House Printing Co., 1917, 7.

answer to England's overcrowding problem as he found it too theoretical. His answer was the Garden Suburb.

Biographical Information for Raymond Unwin

Raymond Unwin formed his ideas on how to better society before Howard wrote *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. Historians Mervyn Miller and Frank Jackson have written comprehensive biographies on Unwin, and those texts will be utilised in this section.²¹⁷ Raymond Unwin's contributions to British urban planning have been extensive. Before his death in New York in 1940, Unwin had received numerous accolades and awards in architecture and planning, both in his partnership with Barry Parker, and even more in his solo career. Raymond Unwin was born in Whiston, South Yorkshire in 1863,²¹⁸ although biographies have given conflicting reports about the names of his parents. Mervyn Miller stated that Unwin's parents were William Unwin and Elizabeth Unwin,²¹⁹ and though Frank Jackson also named Elizabeth, he listed his father Edward Unwin.²²⁰ After Unwin's birth, the next notable stage in his life was the burgeoning of his political interests as a teenager. In 1880 he joined the William Morris' Socialist League. Both Miller and Jackson highlighted the impact Morris had on Unwin.²²¹ Miller mentioned that Unwin was an early member of Morris' Socialist League, and Jackson detailed that Unwin was the league's first secretary. Jackson also reported that Unwin "hero-worshipped" William Morris from their first meeting in 1884.²²² Unwin finished his formal education as a teenager. In 1881 Unwin completed his education at Magdalen College Choir School, located in Oxford. He then went to Manchester and became a draughtsman-fitter. It was during this time that he made contacts with figures who influenced his

²¹⁷ Mervyn Miller, *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester, London, and New York: Leicester University Press, 1992. Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985.

²¹⁸ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 11.

²¹⁹ Mervyn Miller, *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester, London, and New York: Leicester University Press, 1992, 11.

²²⁰ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 11.

²²¹ Mervyn Miller, *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester, London, and New York: Leicester University Press, 1992, 10.

²²² Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 14.

ideals and career: Peter Kropotkin, Edward Carpenter, Charles Rowley, and perhaps most importantly, William Morris.²²³ Unwin remained a socialist for his entire life, viewing himself as a Morrisian Socialist and not a Marxist.²²⁴

Walter Creese stated, “William Morris and Ebenezer Howard had the dreams – Parker and Unwin in the next generation helped them to come true.”²²⁵ However, Howard was just thirteen years older than Unwin. William Morris influenced Unwin to be a planner, not Ebenezer Howard. Like FJO and Howard, Unwin was also a member of the Fabian Society (joining in 1892) and held that one’s intellect should be utilised for the betterment of society.²²⁶ Raymond Unwin married Ethel Parker in 1893.²²⁷ It is widely known that Raymond Unwin was the brother-in-law of Barry Parker, but what is less known that they were related even before Unwin’s marriage to Ethel Parker. Looking at the Unwin’s family tree is confusing, as previously mentioned, Mervyn Miller and Frank Jackson give differing details on Unwin’s background. Miller stated that Raymond Unwin’s father was William Unwin and his mother was Elizabeth Unwin,²²⁸ whilst Frank Jackson listed Elizabeth Unwin (maiden name Sully) as Raymond Unwin’s mother, he stated his father was Edward Unwin.²²⁹ Though Miller stated that Unwin’s mother was Elizabeth, he initially referred to her as Fanny. According to Miller, after the death of her husband, she married Robert Parker. This resulted in Barry and Ethel Parker half-cousins of Raymond Unwin.²³⁰

Unwin and Parker began their architectural partnership in 1896 in Quadrant,

²²³ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 178.

²²⁴ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 9.

²²⁵ Walter Creese, *The Search for Environment: The Garden City: Before and After*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1966, 158.

²²⁶ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 11.

²²⁷ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 178.

²²⁸ Mervyn Miller, *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester, London, and New York: Leicester University Press, 1992, 11.

²²⁹ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 11.

²³⁰ Mervyn Miller, *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester, London, and New York: Leicester University Press, 1992, 11.

Buxton.²³¹ In the coming years, they would be selected to design plans for settlements that would try to remedy overcrowding. In 1902, the Rowntrees selected Unwin and Parker to design New Earswick.²³² They won the competition to plan the first Garden City in 1904, and they stayed on as consulting architects after Letchworth Garden City was initially planned.²³³ Unwin alone was selected as surveyor and architect to Hampstead Garden Suburb.²³⁴ His work with Parker was limited during this time, and their partnership was finally ended in 1915.²³⁵ (Walter Creese gives the conflicting date of their partnership dissolving in 1914.²³⁶) Three years after the dissolution of his partnership with Parker, Unwin became the Ministry of Health's Chief Architect of Housing, holding this position until 1928. During his time as Housing's Chief Architect, he was also appointed to the executive committees of Town Planning Federation, and the International Garden Cities. When his tenure at the Ministry of Health ended, he became President of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning (seceding Ebenezer Howard).²³⁷ The next year published his Greater London Plan, as he had been selected as Technical Adviser to the Greater London Regional Planning Committee. He became President of the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) in 1931; he was knighted for his contributions to British urban planning the next year.²³⁸

Miller commented that John Ruskin was also a source of inspiration for Unwin,²³⁹ though Jackson gave examples of Unwin's criticisms of Ruskin later in his

²³¹ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 178.

²³² Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 178.

²³³ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 178.

²³⁴ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 178.

²³⁵ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 178.

²³⁶ Walter Creese, *The Search for Environment: The Garden City: Before and After*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1966, 159.

²³⁷ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 178.

²³⁸ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwilner Ltd, 1985, 178.

²³⁹ Mervyn Miller, *Raymond Unwin: Garden Cities and Town Planning*, Leicester, London, and New York: Leicester University Press, 1992, 10.

career.²⁴⁰ Neither Jackson nor Miller cite Howard as an influence for Unwin. His involvement with the Garden City movement was because he and his partner entered a competition, not because he was selected from the outset. The next few sections of this chapter will examine Unwin's writings, exploring the differences between Unwin's plans and the Garden City Movement.

Raymond Unwin Omits Ownership

This section will explore the writings of Unwin and how those writings consistently omit the principle of ownership to the Garden City. Additionally, this section will show how Unwin attempted to use the Garden City to push for the extension of existing towns. This push was in opposition to the Garden City, as it was designed to be a totally new town.

Unwin's text, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City type of development may benefit both owner and occupier* is important for the purposes of this chapter, as it repeatedly mentions the "Garden City principle", yet Unwin never gives an explanation as to define the lone Garden City principle. The title of the text leads the reader to believe that Garden City is the answer to Unwin's problem, but in actuality he is creating something else. He never defines the Garden City principle, and the reader is expected to already know. Further to this, Unwin confusingly switches between "principle" and "principles", but never addresses what the principle is or principles are.²⁴¹ He does give an example as to how the Garden City principle would behave, "The Garden City principle would recognise these centres, would maintain their definition by limiting their growth and the growth of the town in such a way as to preserve some belt of open country to preserve some belt of open country...to provide for the ready access to the country of all the individuals living within the urban area of the unit."²⁴² The statement makes it seem as though the

²⁴⁰ Frank Jackson, *Sir Raymond Unwin: Architect, Planner and Visionary*, London: A. Zwelner Ltd, 1985, 13.

²⁴¹ Raymond Unwin, "Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City type of development may benefit both owner and occupier" Westminster: Published by P.S. King & Son, Orchard House, for the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1912. Unwin refers to Garden City principle (singular) on pages 1 and 3, and refers to Garden City principles (plural) on page 5

²⁴² Raymond Unwin, "Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City type of development may benefit both owner and occupier" Westminster: Published by P.S. King & Son, Orchard House, for the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1912, 3.

Garden City concept was one lone principle: to remedy overcrowding with the marriage of town and country.

The Garden City has been so long associated with the Three Magnets, and the image of the Three Magnets has been one of the most celebrated diagrams from Howard's *To-morrow*. It is likely one what the Garden City is most known for. If you have visited Letchworth Garden City, you will have noticed the pub The Three Magnets in the town centre (with which Ebenezer Howard would take issue, as he viewed alcohol as one of the evils of society). Though the marriage of town and country is unquestionably one of the most central elements of the Garden City, it is not the only essential element. A Garden City is not a Garden City if it is not owned by its inhabitants.

In Unwin's text, *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs*, he stated that Howard's "little book"²⁴³ was "too theoretical and experimental to appeal very widely to the English people, but another book was forthcoming of quite a different character." This quotation is important for our purposes for multiple reasons. Firstly, his calling Howard's text a "little book" is showing the reader how he views Howard's text and perhaps Howard himself. This is a condescending statement about the Garden City, and a laudatory statement of another book. This text to which Unwin was referring was Horsfall's *The Example of Germany*.²⁴⁴ Here again, we see the influence of the German expansion of existing towns, as well as Unwin omitting Howard's principles.

Unwin makes a key statement about the Garden City wherein he suggests that the Garden City did not need to be a new town:

What is meant by the founding of a New Garden City is now fairly generally understood, but it is perhaps too often assumed that the Garden City principle is only applicable where it is possible to start a new and entirely independent town right away in the country. Mr. Howard in his book recognised that it is not possible to regulate the aggregations of population in such a way that there shall be only detached towns of a limited size scattered about independently of

²⁴³ Raymond Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, 2.

²⁴⁴ Raymond Unwin, *Town Planning in Practice: An Introduction to the Art of Designing Cities and Suburbs*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920, 3.

one another. It is important to regard this principle as forming a constituent part of the Garden City movement because of its applicability to existing towns.²⁴⁵

In this statement, Unwin is suggesting that Howard would be okay with applying the Garden City name to existing towns that were extended. However, he gives no evidence to support this statement, and the reader is left to take his word for it. As he was such an important figure to the Garden City movement because of his planning of Letchworth Garden City, this was not a tremendous leap. Unwin used “Garden City” and “Garden Suburb” synonymously in his writing, adding to the confusion as to what makes a Garden City. An example of this is in the following excerpt:

Supposing there were two village shops, and one offered to supply eighty-three common marbles for 8d, and the other one offered 261 marbles of the same size and character for 11 ¾ d, can it be supposed that there would be any village boy who would not know which shop to patronise? To put it bluntly, these are the two offers, made by the old-fashioned speculative builder on the one hand, and by the Garden City or Garden Suburb on the other.”²⁴⁶

Unwin’s reference to “Garden City or Garden Suburb” suggests that they are the same thing – or at least an approximation of each other. Another example of Unwin using the terms so closely comes from his “Notes on the Effect of Limiting the Number of Houses to the Acre” and is as follows, “The experience of garden cities and garden suburbs has established already the fact that the death rate can be reduced enormously.”²⁴⁷ This close association of “Garden City” and “Garden Suburb” arguably makes the reader closely associate the two in their mind.

Raymond Unwin’s Town Extension Plan and the Creation of the Garden Suburb

It is the position of this thesis that Unwin’s Garden Suburb was more influenced by Germany than Howard’s Garden City. In his 1912 Warburton lecture

²⁴⁵ Raymond Unwin, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City type of development may benefit both owner and occupier* Westminster: Published by P.S. King & Son, Orchard House, for the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1912, 1.

²⁴⁶ Raymond Unwin, *Nothing Gained by Overcrowding! How the Garden City type of development may benefit both owner and occupier* Westminster: Published by P.S. King & Son, Orchard House, for the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1912, 7.

²⁴⁷ Raymond Unwin, “Notes on the Effect of Limiting the Number of Houses to the Acre” by Raymond Unwin. Proceedings of the National Advisory Town Planning Committee report communicated by Mr. Raymond Unwin. Published by the National Housing & Town planning Council, c.1910, 6.

entitled *Old Town and New Needs and the Town Extension Plan*, he talks about how England had only recently started to care about its arrangement of towns, and that because of this the country should look elsewhere in the world. He stated, "There is only one way by which we may be compensated in this country for delaying until now to undertake the proper arrangement of our towns, namely to profit by the experience that has been gained in other countries, and so to avoid their mistakes and improve upon their successes."²⁴⁸ This statement by Unwin is showing that the Garden City was not the answer to sorting out England's problem of poorly arranged towns, but what the answer was what was going on abroad. Though Unwin never mentioned the Garden City by name, he did make reference to it, "If we were planning a new town the matter would be less complicated; we could begin from first principles; but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred what we are called upon to do is to make a plan to provide for the extension of an existing town."²⁴⁹ The only person more associated with the Garden City than Unwin is Ebenezer Howard. Unwin's suggestion that England look abroad for direction suggests that he did not think that the answer could be found in Howard's plan for the Garden City. The Garden City is celebrated as an English movement, but Unwin was looking to Germany to solve the overcrowding of England. As has been detailed, Unwin thought that the Garden City was too theoretical. In Unwin's mind extending old towns was the way to remedy overcrowding. Though he was disparaging of the Garden City, he capitalised off its name and popularity.

Unwin cites the examples of Frankfurt, Duesseldorf, and Cologne as his inspiration. He explains that Frankfurt was able to extend the east side of town with seven miles of wharf space. The space was created not only for the barges, but largely for housing, access to the railway, and for manufacturing and warehousing. Additionally, parks were made possible by the extension. Unwin stated that there

²⁴⁸ Raymond Unwin and Waterhouse, P, *Old Towns and New Needs and the Town Extension Plan: Being the Warburton lectures for 1912* delivered by Paul Waterhouse MA and Raymond Unwin, F.R.I.B.A. (Manchester: The University Press, 1912.), 33.

²⁴⁹ Raymond Unwin and Waterhouse, P, *Old Towns and New Needs and the Town Extension Plan: Being the Warburton lectures for 1912* delivered by Paul Waterhouse MA and Raymond Unwin, F.R.I.B.A. (Manchester: The University Press, 1912.), 35.

were similar developments happening in Duesseldorf and Cologne on a smaller scale.²⁵⁰ The importance of Germany's influence cannot be overstated. The Garden City is a celebrated English invention – even though Howard was heavily influenced by America. Unwin did not use Howard's Garden City as his inspiration. The marriage of town and country is not found in Unwin's admitted influences of the major German cities of Frankfurt, Duesseldorf and Cologne.

Thus far this chapter has shown what Unwin omitted from Howard's Garden City; it will now examine what he borrowed from Howard. In his lecture on the Town Extension Plan, he goes on to describe what he had planned for the extension of existing towns:

I venture to suggest that the ideal form of town to which we should aim will consist of a central nucleus, surrounded by suburbs each grouped around some subsidiary centre representing the common suburban life of the district; and the suburb in turn will consist of groups of dwellings, workshops, and whatnot, developing some co-operative activity either in connection with the building and the owning of the houses, or in connection with the common enjoyment of open spaces...Between each of these suburbs there might well be reserved some belt of open space, park land, wood land, agricultural, or meadow land...This form of city organization, Mr. Howard's Garden City idea applied to town development, would simplify all the problems of town planning, and the provision of the many services, water, telephone, light, etc., associated with modern town life.²⁵¹

It is important to note that this lecture occurred in 1912, a couple years before Howard took it upon himself to purchase the land that would become Welwyn Garden City. Unwin was looking to extend existing towns, and not create them from scratch. In the above excerpt, Unwin explicitly stated that his plan was "Mr. Howard's Garden City idea". This statement causes the reader to believe that his Town Extension Plan is taking Howard's ideals and applying them to old towns. This is the opposite of what Howard was trying to do. He was trying to create new towns, not extend the old. He called Howard's "little book" "too theoretical", but claimed that he

²⁵⁰ Raymond Unwin and Waterhouse, P, *Old Towns and New Needs and the Town Extension Plan: Being the Warburton lectures for 1912 delivered by Paul Waterhouse MA and Raymond Unwin*, F.R.I.B.A. (Manchester: The University Press, 1912.), 42.

²⁵¹ Raymond Unwin and Waterhouse, P, *Old Towns and New Needs and the Town Extension Plan: Being the Warburton lectures for 1912 delivered by Paul Waterhouse MA and Raymond Unwin*, F.R.I.B.A. (Manchester: The University Press, 1912.), 42.

was designing along Garden City lines.

It is the suggestion of this thesis that Unwin deliberately left out the principle of ownership because he knew that it would be much easier to expand existing cities. Unwin, though obviously closely related to the Garden City movement, as he won the competition to design Letchworth Garden City, was not actually trying to replicate the Garden City. As has been stated, Unwin did not believe that the Garden City was feasible in application. He believed that extending existing plans was the way to alleviate over-crowding. This presented a difficult obstacle: It would be incredibly difficult to change the ownership of a town that has already been in existence. For the sake of his Town Extension Plan and the Garden Suburb, Unwin could never borrow the Garden City principle of ownership. The New Townsmen by referring their towns as “New Towns” were emphasising that they were not extensions of existing towns. Dennis Hardy made the following important observation, “...The reality of suburbia fell far short of the Association’s garden city ideals; as, indeed, it did in a tenure terms, with private ownership rather than a leasehold system – a central plank in the garden city propaganda – precluding the idea of the community sharing in its own rising fortunes.”²⁵² This statement by Hardy is in agreement with the central argument to this chapter – Unwin’s Garden Suburb confused the definition of the Garden City.

Patrick Geddes’ Literature on the Garden City

In his text, *Cities in Evolution*, Geddes makes an interesting observation about the Garden City, “At the beginning of this century, Raymond Unwin, who in partnership with Barry Parker, saw at that moment the majority of new development was more likely to take the form of suburbs than of garden cities. He therefore prepared a diagram to illustrate how the garden city could be applied to the suburb.”²⁵³ With this statement, Geddes is suggesting that Unwin abandoned Howard’s Garden City for an idea of his own as the likelihood of more Garden Cities

²⁵² Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns: Campaigning for town and country planning, 1899-1946*, London and New York: Spon Press, Taylor and Francis Group, 1991, 11.

²⁵³ Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*. Edited by The Outlook Tower Association Edinburgh and the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction London. London: Williams & Norgate LTD., 1949, 191.

being created was unlikely. This abandonment by Unwin would have a chain reaction that would result in the confusion surrounding the definition of Garden City. This statement by Geddes is showing that he accepts that Unwin is applying the Garden City to the Garden Suburb. Geddes, a member of the Garden Cities Association, would have known about the division within the Association. As this statement was from a text published in 1949, the conflict would have been known about for years. Geddes stating that Unwin applied the Garden City to the Garden Suburb has added to the confusion about the true definition of Garden City, as Unwin omitted one of its most essential elements.

Regarding Unwin's Garden Suburb, Geddes stated, "Unfortunately numerous spectators cashed in on the idea, but alas, with scant regard to its principles."²⁵⁴ Here Geddes is saying essentially what this chapter is trying to convey: the Garden Suburb is not the Garden City. However, Geddes is not calling out Unwin as one of those spectators. Perhaps this was because of Unwin's close involvement to the Garden City. It is the standpoint of this thesis that the Garden Suburb and the Garden City were parallel movements – the Garden Suburb was not the Garden City's successor. Immediately after referencing the "spectators who cashed in on the idea", Geddes stated, "On the other hand, several enlightened landowners wished to apply the principles to their own estates and had plans prepared."²⁵⁵ However these "enlightened landowners" were not giving the estate to its inhabitants, so they were not actually enlightened as to the principles of the Garden City. If they were aware that the Garden City was intended to be property of its inhabitants, then they did not care. Geddes using the term "enlightened" made it seem as though the landowners were respecting the principles of the Garden City. However, the landowners were missing one of the key elements of the Garden City: that the settlement is held in communal ownership. Arguably, this statement by Geddes has added to the

²⁵⁴ Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*. Edited by The Outlook Tower Association Edinburgh and the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction London. London: Williams & Norgate LTD., 1949, 191.

²⁵⁵ Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*. Edited by The Outlook Tower Association Edinburgh and the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction London. London: Williams & Norgate LTD., 1949, 191.

confusion as to the true definition of “Garden City”. Though he rightly acknowledged that many “cashed in” on the popularity of the Garden City, he confusingly called those landowners ignored Garden City principles “enlightened”.

FJO on the Garden Suburb

The last chapter looked at the division within the Association, and FJO’s position in the split. This section will examine statements FJO made about the Garden Suburb, and his opinion of Unwin’s role within the movement. Much can be gleaned on the subject from FJO’s overlooked text *Green-Belt Cities*.²⁵⁶ FJO discussed the founding the first Garden City of Letchworth in 1904, and stated that the Garden City idea was better understood in 1904 than it was in 1920.²⁵⁷ As will be shown, this was because of the invention and implementation of the Garden Suburb. FJO stated that “good authorities have been guilty of the practice, to describe a Garden Suburb as a suburb on Garden City lines”.²⁵⁸ This section will give examples of these authorities, and where FJO places the blame for the confusion of the Garden Suburb with the Garden City. FJO did not believe that the Garden Suburb was the answer to Britain’s housing problems. He stated that Garden Suburbs were “better than tenements”²⁵⁹ but felt that they ignored the need for housing close to industry,²⁶⁰ as was so important to the Garden City idea. FJO used the example of the building of Garden Suburbs to alleviate the stress on London’s overcrowding. He stated that they would be so far from the centre of the city that the daily commute would be a “grievous burden.”²⁶¹ Of course this was exactly what Howard was trying to avoid.

Mr Lewis Mumford’s is inclined to criticize Unwin for some of the confusion between the garden city idea and the standards of open

²⁵⁶ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946.

²⁵⁷ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 54.

²⁵⁸ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 183.

²⁵⁹ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 184.

²⁶⁰ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 184.

²⁶¹ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 184.

layout. That is not my view. Unwin's double role as a great planner and a great housing reformer, and his work at Hampstead Garden Suburb, certainly made it easy for superficial students to be confused; but he himself was a clear thinker and kept the issues distinct in his teaching.²⁶²

The above excerpt suggests that FJO was unaware that the Garden Suburb was Unwin's invention. He appears to only associate Unwin with the Garden Suburb through work at Hampstead Garden Suburb but does not associate Unwin with the concept of the Garden Suburb itself. FJO made a crucial admission, "The Garden City Association struggled against the tide; it never ceased to advocate the true gospel, though perhaps at times it was too ready to be flattered by the use of the garden city label for good forms of layout in situations contrary to the garden city idea."²⁶³ FJO conceded that the Association itself was not immune to muddying the lines of the Garden City because of its popularity. It would be difficult to 'advocate the true gospel' if the Association were simultaneously accepting credit for settlements that were not planned along Garden City lines.

An example of FJO discussing the misunderstanding of the Garden City is as follows, "Confusion was worse confounded by planners and journalists who turned an honest penny by writing up the movement. Before heaven and history I rate these the real culprits because they had every chance to know better."²⁶⁴ However, the planners and journalists could hardly be blamed with the Association was allowing the public to believe that the Garden City and the Garden Suburb were synonymous. FJO claimed that the Garden Suburb builders distributed a "mass of printed material poured out" and "submerged the tiny flow from the Association."²⁶⁵ Howard continued to blame the planners and even claimed the Garden City idea had been "abused" by them.²⁶⁶ Because the "big woolly public, at first much taken with

²⁶² Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 39.

²⁶³ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 39.

²⁶⁴ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 39.

²⁶⁵ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 39.

²⁶⁶ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 39.

Howard's idea and wishful to pursue the subject, got thoroughly muddled between garden cities and garden suburbs."²⁶⁷ FJO blamed the planners and journalists, instead of conceding that it was the fault of Unwin and the Association. It is curious that FJO never pointed the proverbial finger at Unwin, and even went as far to disagree with Lewis Mumford over Unwin's involvement in the muddying of Garden City lines. However, as was shown in the last chapter, FJO did not call Culpin out by name until at the end of his life. There is no question that he took issue with Unwin's Garden Suburb, though, as is exemplified in the follow quotation, "It is unmanly to mourn the lost years, useless to cry over spilt suburbs."²⁶⁸ FJO was firmly of the mindset that the Garden City and the Garden Suburb were separate things. Another example of FJO viewing the Garden City and Garden Suburbs as separate things can be found in Arnold Whittick's biography of Osborn, "...a garden city comprehends the whole of life, where people work and live, where as the garden suburb merely comprehends where they live."²⁶⁹

Garden City Historiography and What it Says about the Garden Suburb

Gordon Cherry in his text, *Town Planning in Britain Since 1900*, stated, "The British model for twentieth-century urban development took shape – low-density housing built in the form of garden suburbs, with an extreme variant being that of the garden city."²⁷⁰ This is not Cherry's only statement about the differences between the Garden Suburb and the Garden City; in fact he commented that the Garden Suburb was a imitation of the Garden City, "A uniquely British model was promoted – the garden city...only two were ever built in Britain but it had many imitators, including the derivative garden suburb."²⁷¹ Cherry calls the Garden Suburb a derivative garden suburb but does not define what is derivative about it. It is an accepted descendant

²⁶⁷ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 39.

²⁶⁸ Frederic Osborn, *Green-Belt Cities: The British Contribution*, London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1946, 24.

²⁶⁹ Arnold Whittick, *FJO – Practical Idealist: a biography of Sir Frederic Osborn*. London: The Town and Country Planning Association, 32.

²⁷⁰ Gordon Cherry, *Town Planning in Britain Since 1900*, Oxford, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996, 28.

²⁷¹ Gordon Cherry, *Town Planning in Britain Since 1900*, Oxford, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1996, 18.

of the Garden City.

The statements made by Purdom referenced earlier in this chapter clearly show that he believed a Garden City could not exist without it being owned by the town's inhabitants, and that this was one of the two essential elements in creating a garden city. This is contrary to what historian, Michael Hebbert reports of Purdom, "For Osborn and Purdom the paramount issues were not communal ownership but geographical decentralization and low-density housing design."²⁷² Hebbert is quoted here from his chapter in the 1992 text *The Garden City: past, present and future*, writing alongside Garden City historians Stephen Ward and Dennis Hardy. This text is assuredly one of the go-to books on the history of the Garden City, however, it is the stance of this thesis that it has added to the confusion surrounding what constitutes a Garden City. Hebbert is ignoring Purdom's own words about the importance of ownership to the Garden City. As quoted earlier in this chapter, Purdom stated, "I think that it can be stated with absolute confidence that the two essential elements in the Garden City undertaking are, (1) the ownership of the land in the interests of the inhabitants and (2) the idea of bringing town and country together."²⁷³

Hebbert highlighted only three principles of the Garden City. In the beginning of his chapter, entitled "The British Garden City Metamorphosis" he stated:

For our purposes the garden city has three aspects. There is first of all the decentralist idea – outward movement from crowded metropolis to open countryside. Secondly the word garden implies low-density layout and a well-planted urban landscape. Thirdly, the word city implies a community of municipal scale and diversity underpinned – in the original conception at least – by communal landownership.²⁷⁴

Perhaps Hebbert's disclaimer, "for our purposes", is not enough, and a full definition of "Garden City" should have been included. Of the three aspects that he described,

²⁷² Michael Hebbert, "The British Garden City Metamorphosis" in *The Garden City: past, present, and future*, edited by Stephen Ward, London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 1992, 168

²⁷³ C.B. Purdom, *The Garden City After the War*, London: Printed by the Victoria House Printing Co., 1917, 6.

²⁷⁴ Michael Hebbert, "The British Garden City Metamorphosis" in *The Garden City: past, present, and future*, edited by Stephen Ward, London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 1992, 165

the last is the most pertinent to this chapter. His statement that communal ownership was the original conception implied that communal ownership was not the current conception of the Garden City. The importance of the principle of ownership to Garden City has been stated on many occasions thus far in this thesis, and it will be stated again on many more. The Garden City concept does not exist without the inhabitants being the owners of the settlement. More confusingly, by the end of the chapter he had dropped “for our purposes” and referred to only three principles of the Garden City, “In terms of the three original elements of the garden city idea, the new settlements qualify clearly enough in terms...”²⁷⁵ As this text is so widely-read in the historiography of the Garden City, it has likely influenced what the accepted Garden City principles are.

As well as being the editor of the seminal Garden City Movement text, *The Garden City: Past, Present, and Future*, Stephen Ward also wrote a chapter in it.²⁷⁶ Ward’s chapter, “Towards the Satellite Town”, referenced different factions associated with the Garden City movement, “Although the potential for a split (between ‘garden city/new town protagonists and the garden suburb revisionists’), it had not really occurred, probably because the achievements of both camps had seemed limited and not seriously unbalanced. This was to change between the two world wars, when mass low-density suburbanization occurred on an unprecedented scale, encouraged by government policy.”²⁷⁷ Ward stated the following of Unwin:

His mastery of the design of small dwellings and residential site layout...had won him a leading position in the creation and implementation of Britain’s post-war subsidized council housing programme...The outcome of this was a vigorous programme of municipal garden suburbs, providing over a million good quality cottage dwellings broadly on the lines of Unwin’s twelve houses per acre

²⁷⁵ Michael Hebbert, “The British Garden City Metamorphosis” in *The Garden City: past, present, and future*, edited by Stephen Ward, London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 1992, 181

²⁷⁶ Stephen Ward, “The British Garden City Metamorphosis” in *The Garden City: past, present, and future*, edited by Stephen Ward, London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 1992, 11.

²⁷⁷ Stephen Ward, “The British Garden City Metamorphosis” in *The Garden City: past, present, and future*, edited by Stephen Ward, London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 1992, 11.

'garden city' residential formula.²⁷⁸

The above excerpt is included here, as it is from a seminal text about the Garden City movement, and it is giving some misleading information. Ward is essentially blurring the distinctions between "Garden Suburb" and "Garden City" as he so closely associated the two in the quotation. As the text includes prominent writers on the Garden City movement, it is largely accepted as a go-to source on the topic. Arguably it has added to the confusion surrounding the true definition of "Garden City".

Conclusion:

The last chapter unveiled the reasoning for the switch from "Garden City" to "New Town", and the division within the Association. Through literature written by key figures in architecture and urban planning during the Garden City and New Town movements, this chapter has shown that at the genesis of the division was Unwin's Garden Suburb. The 'numerous spectators who cashed in on the idea' bastardised the Garden City because they ignored Garden City principles. This was a direct result of Unwin ignoring Garden City principles with his Garden Suburb, but using the name, and some of its elements.

To summarise this thesis thus far, the first two chapters have uncovered the reasons behind the confusion surrounding the terms "Garden City" and "New Town". FJO was behind a campaign within the Association that changed "Garden City" to "New Town". The two camps within the Association belonged to FJO and Culpin respectively. FJO's camp was upset over the Garden City idea becoming confused because the term was used to describe settlements that neglected Howard's principles. Unwin's creation of the Garden Suburb was the reason behind the descension within the Association, as it totally ignored the most important principles behind Ebenezer Howard's movement. There is no confusion regarding where Howard was situated within the debate. As he was one of the New Townsmen, along with C.B. Purdom and FJO, he was undoubtedly on their side of the argument.

²⁷⁸ Stephen Ward, "The British Garden City Metamorphosis" in *The Garden City: past, present, and future*, edited by Stephen Ward, London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 1992, 11.

The remaining chapters will explore the differences between the Garden City and New Town through the themes of ownership, architecture and transport.

Chapter III

Inhabitants Own the Garden City, the Government Own the New Town

Thus far, this thesis has examined the confusion surrounding the interchangeable usage of the terms “Garden City” and “New Town” and has solved the mystery of how they became synonymous. The remaining chapters will expose how not using the terms interchangeably can improve our understanding of what came to be built. The final two chapters will examine architectural and transportation schemes, whereas this chapter is dedicated to what this thesis refers to as the ownership of the Garden City versus the ownership of the New Town. As has been stated multiple times in this thesis, ownership was among the most important Garden City principles. This is in opposition to some of the historiography of the Garden City and New Town movements. An example of this can be found Robert Fishman’s seminal text, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*. Fishman believed that the most important element to the Garden City was the marriage of town and country:

How could this great social transformation be achieved? Howard summed up his response in his diagram of the “Three Magnets.” Town and country were compared to magnets each with its particular drawing power, its particular combination of attraction and repulsion. The town, with its excitement, high wages, and employment opportunities, suffered from high prices and poor living conditions. The beauty of the countryside was vitiated by its economic backwardness and “lack of amusement”. The task for the planner would be to create a third magnet, the Town-Country magnet, the new community which would have high wages and low rents; beauty of nature but “plenty to do”; “bright homes and gardens” along with freedom and cooperation.²⁷⁹

From the above excerpt, it is evident that Fishman believed that Howard’s answer to remedying Victorian overcrowding was the Three Magnets. This sentiment is not in agreement with this thesis, as this chapter will argue that the principle of ownership was more important than the three magnets. In order to support this claim, this chapter will provide statements made by Ebenezer Howard and C.B. Purdom. In addition to the highlighting the importance of ownership to the Garden City, this chapter will detail the the battles between the First Garden City Ltd. Company, the Ministry of Town and Country Planning/Housing and Local Government, the Letchworth Urban District Council, and the Association over Letchworth Garden City’s designation as a New Town, the failure of which led to the eventual, reluctant appointment of Letchworth Corporation. It will recount the court battle between the Corporation and the Company in order that we understand what was at stake in

²⁷⁹ Robert Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1977, 39-39.

Letchworth's fundamental identity.

The final sections of this chapter will look at the creation of the Commission for New Towns. These sections will aid to situate this thesis in the role will cite statements from members of the Government stating that they did not want the New Towns to control themselves. To summarise, this chapter will first look at how the Garden City was the property of its inhabitants, and then expose how the New Town was the property of the Government. Exposing this vast difference between the Garden City and New Towns will assist not only in achieving one of the two aforementioned aims of this thesis, to prove why "Garden City" and "New Town" should not be used synonymously, but also to improving our comprehension of the contests between public and private ownership of property more widely during this period.

The Importance of Ownership to the Garden City

Before delving into the many attempts that were made to designate a Development Corporation for Letchworth Garden City, the importance of the principle of ownership needs to be discussed. This thesis has already made multiple claims that the principle of ownership was central to the Garden City movement. In order for a town to be a true Garden City, it needs to become the property of its inhabitants. This section will be dedicated to giving evidence to support the statement this thesis makes that it is one of the most important requirements for a Garden City. In an essay entitled "Garden Cities", Ebenezer Howard listed "essential conditions" that must be met in order for the creation of a Garden City.²⁸⁰ The third "essential condition" was as follows, "The land on which the town is built must be administered from the outset in the interests of the inhabitants, and must ultimately become their own freehold estate."²⁸¹

This chapter will detail claims that the Company acted for profit, thus violating the principles set out by Howard. In a speech written by Howard (and read by his wife), he described the principles of the Garden City by describing what the Garden City was not. He stated that existing towns and cities were largely built upon land

²⁸⁰ Ebenezer Howard, Essay draft "Garden Cities" no date., c.1907, 2, Publication unknown, DE/FJO/I80, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

²⁸¹ Ebenezer Howard, Essay draft "Garden Cities" no date., c.1907, 3, Publication unknown, DE/FJO/I80, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

that was owned by private individuals, and that those private individuals were just out to make a profit. Howard stated that the Garden City does the opposite:

Now in Garden City all this will be completely reversed...And because of this limitation of profit, and just because of this desire to benefit its tenants, the Company will naturally attract the very people who will be required for the upbuilding of such a town. For the Company, having no interest in making large profits will be able to offer such excellent terms to proposed tenants that they will settle on the estate and thus make the security for the capital the very strongest possible...²⁸²

As this was the only principle outlined in Howard's speech, it is safe to assume that this was among the most important. The principle of ownership is really what sets the Garden City apart from towns created by the Government. The Garden City resembles more closely what came before it: the model villages of Port Sunlight and Bourneville²⁸³ than what came after it: The New Town. Another speech written by Howard and read by his wife stated, "Really and truly Garden City Limited (the Company) is simply a piece of machinery for giving to those who shall live on the estate the advantages of municipal ownership of land. The whole estate is vested in trustees who hold it in trust for the people who come and work or live in the town."²⁸⁴

A handwritten manuscript of a 1919 lecture by Howard opens with the importance of the principle of ownership to the Garden City. In the answer to his self-posed question, What is a Garden City? Howard answered, "The first essential element of a Garden City is that the whole area on which the town is built shall be, or in due course shall become the property of the community, so that its revenues shall be under the control of the inhabitants and shall be administered for their benefit."²⁸⁵ An essay draft on Garden Cities c.1907 also called attention to the importance of the principle of ownership, "Now what is the bearing of this enterprise, upon the future of England and upon the future of the world? I answer, by showing in a concrete form

²⁸² Howard, Ebenezer, Speech entitled "The Housing Problem and Garden City", no date, c.1903, DE/Ho/F10/14. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

²⁸³ Port Sunlight and Bourneville were model villages which were created to be the property of their inhabitants. They were created to be the property of the workers of the chocolate factories for Cadbury.

²⁸⁴ Ebenezer Howard, lecture titled "Garden Cities: A Solution of the Housing Problem", no date, c.1902-1903, 7, not published, DE/Ho/F11/2. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

²⁸⁵ Ebenezer Howard, handwritten manuscript for a lecture on Garden Cities, 1919, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F10/32. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

the advantages of public ownership of land - for that is the goal towards which the movement is leading..."²⁸⁶

The examples of the importance of the principle of ownership to the Garden City that have been given thus far are from Howard. The reader will recognise the name C.B. Purdom, as he was one of the New Townsmen, and he was quoted on multiple occasions in the most recent chapter. Additionally, he proceeded FJO as honorary secretary of the Association. He was also in the same camp as FJO and Howard over the usage of "Garden City". Purdom was also referenced in the Introduction to this thesis for his usage of "satellite towns" in place of "new towns". Purdom's relevance to the Garden City movement can be summed up in the fact that he wrote the text *The Letchworth Achievement* largely from the memory of his own personal experience.²⁸⁷ The text tells the history of Letchworth Garden City from its origins through the court case between the Company and the Corporation (which will be discussed in later sections in this chapter).

Early in *The Letchworth Achievement*, Purdom discusses the principles of the Garden City. He stated that there were six in total, but there were two principles "from which there was to be no departure."²⁸⁸ The first principle he described was the importance of a green belt that incorporated industry, thusly creating the marriage of town and country.²⁸⁹ It is not surprising that the town-country magnet was stated as one of the absolute requirements for a Garden City. The other principle is more in line with the purposes of this chapter and the previous chapter. Purdom stated, "Howard's second fundamental principle was that the entire land of the town-country was to be held permanently in trust for the inhabitants."²⁹⁰ To summarise, the two barebone requirements for being a Garden City: it must have a green-belt that accommodates industry and it must be owned by its inhabitants.

These examples by Howard and Purdom have been given in order to illustrate the importance of the principle of ownership to the Garden City. Howard never would have imagined what was to come of the Company, or the battles that would take place between the Company, Letchworth Urban District Council, and the Ministry.

²⁸⁶ Ebenezer Howard, essay draft "Garden Cities", no date, c.1907, 11, publication unknown, DE/FJO/180, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

²⁸⁷ C.B. Purdom, *The Letchworth Achievement*, (London, J.M. Dent and Sons), 1963, v.

²⁸⁸ C.B. Purdom, *The Letchworth Achievement*, (London, J.M. Dent and Sons), 1963, 5.

²⁸⁹ C.B. Purdom, *The Letchworth Achievement*, (London, J.M. Dent and Sons), 1963, 5.

²⁹⁰ C.B. Purdom, *The Letchworth Achievement*, (London, J.M. Dent and Sons), 1963, 5.

Letchworth Urban District Council's 1948-9 Attempt to Make Letchworth a New Town

The largest portion of this chapter will be dedicated to the multiple failed attempts to have Letchworth classified as a New Town under the New Towns Act of 1946. This section will concentrate on the four different groups involved with this aspect of Letchworth's ownership: First Garden City Limited, the Letchworth Urban District Council, the Ministry of Town and Country Planning (later the Minister of Housing and Local Government), and the Town and Country Planning Association. For the sake of brevity, First Garden City Limited will hereinafter be referred to as "the Company", the Letchworth Urban District Council will be referred to as "the Council", and as in previous chapters, the Ministry of Town and Country Planning/Housing and Local Government will be referred to as "the Ministry", and the Garden City Association/Town and Country Planning will be referred to as "the Association".

We begin with a letter from Letchworth Urban District Council clerk and solicitor, J.D. Rowland, to the Minister of the Town and Country Planning date 20 January 1948,²⁹¹ marking the first attempt to have Letchworth designated a New Town. It begins by Rowland reminding Minister Lewis Silkin about Ebenezer Howard's original intentions for the Garden City. He then discussed Professor Patrick Abercrombie's Greater London Plan, and stated that Letchworth should be expanded, through the help of the Government, under the scheme. Letchworth was to receive over 6,000 people. His letter stated:

My Council...have resolved unanimously to ask the Minister to establish a Development Corporation under the provisions of the New Towns Act 1946 for Letchworth. In their view, the establishment of such a corporation is the only way in which the Minister can readily carry out the decentralisation of population from London to the town, and the Council can ensure that Letchworth is completed as speedily as possible and with the minimum financial burden on the present

²⁹¹ Letter from J.D. Rowland of the Letchworth Urban District Council to the Minister of Town and Country Planning, 20 January 1948, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

ratepayers of the town. They hope the Minister will agree to their request.²⁹²

Rowland's statement that the Council was unanimous in their decision to approach the Ministry about designating a Development Corporation for Letchworth Garden City was perhaps misleading. Evidence given at the First Garden City Ltd. vs. Letchworth Garden City Corporation trial more than a decade later claimed that some members of the Council had been opposed. Regardless, the majority of the Council felt that a Development Corporation was needed to accommodate the expansion of Letchworth Garden City under the Greater London Plan. This letter on behalf of the Council marked the beginning of a fifteen-year period of battles for the Company to maintain its ownership of Letchworth.

Within the Ministry, it was speculated that the reasoning for the Council to submit the proposal was due to the recent proposal of Welwyn Garden City and Hatfield New Town Corporations.²⁹³ The Ministry also makes a statement that will appear again and again in the foiled attempts to make the first Garden City a New Town: Letchworth's planned expansion was simply not to New Town scale. As shown in the excerpt from Rowland's letter to the Ministry, the Council claimed that the Company was straying from the principles set-out by Ebenezer Howard for the Garden City. In the above letter Rowland used Abercrombie's plan as an excuse to expand Letchworth under the New Towns Act, but it is the viewpoint of this thesis that Ebenezer Howard's answer would not have been to designate New Town Corporation for Letchworth Garden City. As the last part of this chapter will address, and has been shown in the first two chapters of this thesis, the Government had control over the New Towns. Arguably, the Council was trying to appear as though it was the saviour of the Garden City by rescuing it from its own Company, but no consideration was given as to whether or not designating Letchworth Garden City a New Town Development Corporation would be in line with Garden City principles.

Rowland's letter on behalf of the Council to the Ministry was essentially stating that the postwar expansion of Letchworth Garden City warranted a New Town Corporation, and in the early days of the discussion, Minister Silkin seemed at

²⁹² Letter from J.D. Rowland of the Letchworth Urban District Council to the Minister of Town and Country Planning, 20 January 1948, 1-2, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

²⁹³ Internal memorandum from Sneady? (signature is illegible) to Mr Jerman of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 22 January 1948, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

least somewhat open to the idea of granting Letchworth a Development Corporation,²⁹⁴ but as will now be shown, the Department as a whole was against it. Deputy Secretary Evelyn Sharp had reservations from the offset. She wrote the formal response to Rowland at the behest of the Minister, after Rowland complained that he had not heard anything from the Ministry. Though Rowland had not mentioned Welwyn Garden City or Hatfield in his original letter, Sharp referenced the towns in her response.²⁹⁵ She stated that Letchworth's expansion under the Greater London Plan was much different, as the total pre-war population of Welwyn Garden City and Hatfield was 23,000, but postwar expansion would make the total population 61,500.²⁹⁶ Sharp's letter to Rowland also stated that Minister Silkin had been persuaded to designate New Town Corporations to Welwyn Garden City and Hatfield under the New Towns Act because they were two communities working together.²⁹⁷ The pre-war population for Letchworth Garden City was 15,000, and the expected postwar expansion was only to 32,000.²⁹⁸ Though the postwar expansion was double that of the pre-war population, this was not to the same scale as Welwyn Garden City and Hatfield. Sharp stated that because the planned expansion was not to the same scale, and that Letchworth Garden City was only one town, that it was "less in need" of a New Towns Corporation.²⁹⁹

As will be shown, Sharp was the Ministry's staunchest opponent to designating Letchworth a New Town. As she intimated in the aforementioned response to Rowland, the New Towns Act 1946 was created to decentralise London, and Letchworth could be of little help to that end. This statement by Sharp is

²⁹⁴ Lewis Silkin had deputation with the Letchworth Urban District Council with the Letchworth Urban District Council on 3 March 1948. This is evidenced in a letter from the Letchworth Urban District Council solicitor, J.D. Rowland to Evelyn Sharp, 23 February 1948, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

²⁹⁵ Letter from Ministry of Town and Country Planning Deputy Secretary, Evelyn Sharp to J.D. Rowland of the Letchworth Urban District Council, 16 February 1948, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

²⁹⁶ Letter from Ministry of Town and Country Planning Deputy Secretary, Evelyn Sharp to J.D. Rowland of the Letchworth Urban District Council, 16 February 1948, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

²⁹⁷ Letter from Ministry of Town and Country Planning Deputy Secretary, Evelyn Sharp to J.D. Rowland of the Letchworth Urban District Council, 16 February 1948, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

²⁹⁸ Letter from Ministry of Town and Country Planning Deputy Secretary, Evelyn Sharp to J.D. Rowland of the Letchworth Urban District Council, 16 February 1948, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

²⁹⁹ Letter from Ministry of Town and Country Planning Deputy Secretary, Evelyn Sharp to J.D. Rowland of the Letchworth Urban District Council, 16 February 1948, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

important for the purposes of this thesis in that it gives a clear insight as to why the other Garden City, Welwyn was included in the New Towns Act 1946. Here again the point is made that Letchworth's planned expansion would not be to scale. Letchworth was not a New Town. Welwyn Garden City was called a New Town because the expansion was large enough to justify it as part of the plan for the decentralisation of London, and because it was working in cooperation with Hatfield. Had it not been for its proximity to Hatfield, and the combination of the towns, then Welwyn Garden City would not have been a viable option for the assignment of a New Town Corporation.

Welwyn Garden City's confused identity as both Garden City and New Town has added to the confusion surrounding the interchangeable usage of "Garden City" and "New Town". Sharp's response to Rowland has provided evidence that that Welwyn Garden City was designated a Development Corporation under the New Towns Act 1946 was because of its relationship with Hatfield. If the Ministry had thought that the Garden City were the same as the New Town, then Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City would have both been designated New Town Corporations. The Garden City was simply not to New Town scale.

In an internal memorandum of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, Deputy Secretary Sharp asked for map of Letchworth expansion in relation to the expansions of the New Towns in the area to be drawn up ahead of the meeting between the Minister and the Council. Additionally, she asked for "a note" of the Greater London expansions in general.³⁰⁰ This was likely to illustrate her point not just to the Council, but also to Minister Silkin. In the memorandum asking for the map she stated, "What is in my mind is that the Minister is favourably disposed to New Towns action at Letchworth, but I feel that if we contemplate it for Letchworth we may be taken a great deal further than we had ever anticipated or that or than the Treasury is likely to agree."³⁰¹

Ahead of the deputation with the Council, a highly-detailed, four-page, point-by-point notes on Letchworth's expansion in relation to that of Hatfield and Welwyn and the Greater London plan was compiled (in all likelihood by Sharp) for Minister Silkin. A list of Pros and Cons of designating a development corporation for

³⁰⁰ Internal memorandum from Ministry of Town and Country Planning Deputy Secretary Evelyn Sharp to Mr. Jerman, 16 February 1948, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³⁰¹ Internal memorandum from Ministry of Town and Country Planning Deputy Secretary Evelyn Sharp to Mr. Jerman, 16 February 1948, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

Letchworth was included in the notes. Pros included: “Letchworth would appear to be capable of comparatively rapid expansion”, the proposed corporation could also help neighbouring New Town of Stevenage, and “It would be consistent with the Welwyn policy to set up a Corporation for Letchworth rather than leave the expansion of the town in the hands of a Development Company.”³⁰² There were more cons than pros: The first con for the establishment of a Development Corporation for Letchworth was that the expansion would be comparatively small to the New Towns. The second con stated, “No serious problem is likely to arise over the provision of services such as would require special final strength.” The third con was since the proposed expansion was minimal, it would do little to add to the decentralisation of London. The fourth con echoed the third, stating that “relief of the local housing shortage must come first”, and “The development of Letchworth could not be expected to make an early contribution to the decentralisation of workers and industry.” The final con was that if Letchworth were designated a Development Corporation then that would make it the fifth for Hertfordshire, and it would be in direct competition with Welwyn and Stevenage for labour and materials.³⁰³

The Company’s Stance on Designating Letchworth Garden City a New Town

We have seen what the Council thought about designating a Development Corporation for Letchworth, as well as the Deputy Secretary Sharp’s thoughts against it. We will now look at the Company’s stance on the proposal. Minister Silkin met with the directors of the Company on 9 June 1948. It is interesting to note that Howard was still considered so relevant in 1948. The Company was still holding strong to Howard and his ideals. Ahead of the meeting between the Company and Silkin, the Company sent Silkin a seven-page “Historical note” to prepare Silkin for his visit.³⁰⁴

In forming a limited liability company he employed the best instrument then available to him for his purpose, and by the limitation of dividends and of distribution on a winding up he took effective means to safeguard the interests of those who might become citizens of his

³⁰² “Notes for the Minister in connection with the deputation from the Letchworth U.D.C. on March 3rd, ” Ministry of Town and Local Planning, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³⁰³ “Notes for the Minister in connection with the deputation from the Letchworth U.D.C. on March 3rd, ” Ministry of Town and Local Planning, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³⁰⁴ “Historical Note” on the Company sent by First Garden City Limited Directors to Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning, June 1948, 2, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

town. The Directors can claim on behalf of their predecessors in office and themselves that they have at all times looked upon their responsibilities as primarily those of trustees for the community. They have always looked forward to the time when Letchworth would in some form or other become the property of its population.³⁰⁵

This letter to Silkin is essentially stating that the Company have always made sure that no one was taking advantage of the Directors who claimed that Howard's ideas and plans for the Garden City were still the driving force behind the Company, "These aims and objects, applied to Letchworth, have remained the guiding principle of First Garden City Ltd. to the present day."³⁰⁶

As demonstrated by Howard's statements cited at the beginning of this chapter, he never believed that a member of the Company would act for selfish reasons. Howard had faith that the Company would always act in accordance with the principles that he set for the Garden City. In their "Historical Note" to Lewis Silkin they touched on Howard and his ideals, as in the following excerpt:

The Directors claim that the establishment and development of Letchworth under their care has been in accordance with the ideals of its founder; which are so largely the ideals behind the Minister's New Towns. They urge that continuity and the maintenance of the traditions which characterise the town, in which the Directors take great pride, should not be disrupted especially as the main lines of future development have been carried out. They doubt whether a new Corporation would be likely easily [sic] to establish equally satisfactory relations with the citizens and the local authority. They are aware that the Urban District Council is attracted by the prospect of access to more ample resources under a Corporation regime. They submit that the best method of providing for the further development of Letchworth will be to entrust it to the Company as hitherto. In so far [sic] as additional responsibilities by way of financing public works beyond the scope of the Urban District Council are desirable, the Company is

³⁰⁵ "Historical Note" on the Company sent by First Garden City Limited Directors to Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning, June 1948, 2, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³⁰⁶ "Historical Note" on the Company sent by First Garden City Limited Directors to Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning, June 1948, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

prepared to undertake them provided it is put in the same position as a Development Corporation in regard to financial assistance from public funds.³⁰⁷

The first sentence of the above excerpt stated that the ideals of the Directors of the Company were in line with Howard's principles, and "largely the ideals behind the Minister's New Towns, however no description about the various ideals were detailed. Contrarily it the letter later suggests that the establishment of a Development Corporation would go against Howard's principles. It is the stance of this thesis, that both the Council and Corporation were both guilty of violating the principles that Howard set for the Garden City. The Directors concluded their text with the above quotation.

The Company's Terms and the Ministry's Decision

To summarise, Minister Silkin teetered back and forth about designating Letchworth a Development Corporation, the Deputy Secretary of the Ministry was against in from the outset, the Council was 'unanimously' in favour of it, and the Company wanted to have the money instead of the status of Corporation. In the end, a compromise was made. In a memorandum from Miss Fox (presumably Minister Silkin's administrative assistant) to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, she relayed a conversation that Silkin had with Eric McFayden, head of the Company. On the expansion of Letchworth, she stated that Silkin told McFayden that "told Sir Eric that he had been considering whether the expansion of Letchworth under the New Towns Act but thought that if he were satisfied on three conditions."³⁰⁸ The first condition was that the Company "should co-operate fully" with the Greater London Plan's population policy (de-centralising London). The next condition was that the Ministry of Town and Country Planning nominate two or three Directors for the Company. The final condition was that the Company's interest be handed over to the local authority once the expansion was completed.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁷ "Historical Note" on the Company sent by First Garden City Limited Directors to Lewis Silkin, Minister of Town and Country Planning, June 1948, 7, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³⁰⁸ Internal memorandum from Miss Fox to the Deputy Secretary and Secretary of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1948, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³⁰⁹ Internal memorandum from Miss Fox to the Deputy Secretary and Secretary of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 12 May 1948, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

Before Silkin even met with the Directors of the Company he was considering financial assistance without the designation of a Development Corporation. Ministry of Town and Country Planning Deputy Secretary was firmly against this. The day after Minister Silkin met with the Directors of the Company, Sharp stated in an internal memorandum, "You will see that he undertook to explore whether any financial assistance could be given to them in carrying out of the expansion of Letchworth...I was pretty clear that it would not be appropriate. Failing a Development Corporation, our interest and our contact ought to be primarily with the U.D.C., and if anybody is to be helped (I do not myself think there is a case in Letchworth for help) it should be the U.D.C."³¹⁰ The Development Corporations were initially formed to facilitate the creation of New Towns that would decentralise London in the postwar housing crisis. Sharp saw little opportunity for the expansion of Letchworth to assist in that goal. The Ministry was interested in creating towns to support London's overflow - not creating new Letchworths.

Minister Silkin met with the Council on 29 July 1948. He informed them of their failed application for a Development Corporation for Letchworth. The reasons he gave for his decisions are nearly identical to those set out by Deputy Secretary Sharp months earlier. The reasons he gave for his decisions are as follows: The proposed expansion would do little to decentralise London, which was the purpose for the creation of New Towns. The next reason given was that Hertfordshire already had four Development Corporations, and any additional would mean far too much competition over materials. Additionally, it was felt that "no serious problems" needing special financial assistance seemed likely.

The last that the Ministry of Town and Country Planning heard from the Company was that there should not be an issue meeting Minister Silkin's three conditions, however no formal answer was given to the Ministry. Several months passed, enough time for the matter to drift from the forefront of the Ministry's collective mind, when a letter appeared from the Company. They had grievances over money disputes with the Central Land Board, but the Company were trying to take it up with the Ministry. The Company went so far as to insinuate that the Central Land Board was the reason that they had not yet agreed to the Minister's conditions:

³¹⁰ Internal memorandum from Deputy Secretary Evelyn Sharp to Valentine of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 10 June 1948, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

Chairman Eric MacFayden sent a letter to Minister Silkin. On the subject of Letchworth's application for a Development Corporation, MacFayden stated, "Our joint exploration of this idea has demonstrated that neither in regard to powers nor in respect of finance is this practicable: so that the Company can get no concrete advantage in return for accepting the three conditions you have asked us to accept."³¹¹

MacFayden went on to indicate that the Company would be very happy for the Minister to make recommendations for two or three Directors.³¹² Throughout his correspondence with the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, MacFayden has given some indication about the feelings of his fellow directors, but did not until the current letter really address the Company's stockholders, "Of the critics one only (a Scot) blamed us for having missed a chance to sell out: the rest argued that we had failed to defend private enterprise worthily."³¹³

The 1956 Attempt to Have Letchworth Designated a New Town: The Association and the Council vs. The Company

Eight years later, there was a crisis in the directorate of the Company, which led to the resignation of one of its members, Mrs. Spence. She was not just any one of the Directors, but the one that Silkin had recommended and over whose appointment there was much controversy. So much controversy that, in fact, that hers was the only recommendation that Silkin made. Mrs Spence met with Evelyn Sharp of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning to discuss rumours about the buying up of Letchworth shares and selling them for profit. Spence had been urging the Company's Board of Directors to tell the Ministry, but they refused to do so, so she resigned and approached the Ministry. Sharp typed up the meeting in a general internal memorandum, and also indicated the Town and Country Planning Association's F.J. Osborn had made similar comments to her, and that he showed interest in the Ministry becoming involved to which Sharp stated, "I said we could do nothing short of designating a New Town, and that did not seem to be a likely

³¹¹ Letter from First Garden City Ltd Chairman, Eric MacFayden, to Minister Silkin of Town and Country Planning, 11 April 1949, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³¹² Letter from First Garden City Ltd Chairman, Eric MacFayden, to Minister Silkin of Town and Country Planning, 11 April 1949, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³¹³ Letter from First Garden City Ltd Chairman, Eric MacFayden, to Minister Silkin of Town and Country Planning, 19 September 1949, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

move.”³¹⁴ Sharp suggested that Osborn take up his grievances with the Company’s Board of Directors.³¹⁵

In a letter to the Company’s stockholders, FJO stated, “Stockholders...must themselves realise the Board’s present proposals strike at the root of the Company’s structure, and if carried would amount to an abandonment of its long-established and widely-respected claim to combine private enterprise with public purpose.”³¹⁶ Osborn continued to urge the Stockholders to vote against the Company’s proposals to remove the dividend limit. To support his case he attached an appendix to his letter with excerpts from the Company’s Prospectus (1903), Articles of Association (1903),

In a letter from Osborn to the Minister of Housing and Local Government, Duncan Sandys, he stated, “Whether under present-day conditions this principle should be applied to further new town developments financed by private enterprise is a matter on which opinions may differ.”³¹⁷ If Letchworth were really a New Town, then why was it so special? The Association was on the side of the Council, who were opposing the removal of the dividend limit, to preserve what they felt were the original principles set-out by Howard for the Garden City.³¹⁸

Former Minister of Town and Country Planning, Silkin, brought the matter before Parliament. We have taken a close look at Silkin’s standpoint, wherein he was sympathetic to the cause:

To ask Her Majesty’s Government whether attention has been drawn to the proposals being made by the Directors of the First Garden City Ltd. to remove the limit of 5 per cent per annum on its dividends and its obligation to apply any surplus profits for the benefit of the town of Letchworth and its inhabitants; and whether in order to secure for the community the financial benefits that it was intended by the Letchworth Enterprise that they could enjoy, Her Majesty’s Government will

³¹⁴ General internal memorandum by Evelyn Sharp of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 3 February 1956, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³¹⁵ General internal memorandum by Evelyn Sharp of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, 3 February 1956, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³¹⁶ Letter from Town and Country Planning Association Executive Committee Chairman FJO to First Garden City Ltd. Stockholders, 20 March 1949, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³¹⁷ Letter from Town and Country Planning Association Executive Committee Chairman, FJO to Duncan Sandys, Minister of Housing and Local Government, 27 March 1949, 1, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³¹⁸ Letter from Town and Country Planning Association Executive Committee Chairman, FJO to Duncan Sandys, Minister of Housing and Local Government, 27 March 1949, 2, not published, HLG 115/57, National Archives.

consider taking over the Letchworth Estate under the New Towns Act, 1946, or some other action that will ensure that the public is not deprived of the promised financial benefits.³¹⁹

Parliament's reply to Silkin's request for the Government to intervene under the New Towns Act, 1946 was as follows:

The attention of the Government has been drawn to the proposals of the Directors of the First Garden City Limited. They do not consider, however, that the scale of development proposed at Letchworth is such as to justify action under the New Towns Act, 1946, and they are not aware of any other powers which would enable them to intervene in these matters which are primarily for the Company to settle.³²⁰

Parliament response to Silkin's question was, in fact, what his own answer had been years before. There was no justification for treating Letchworth as a New Town, because it was doing something different. New Towns, as they were in the Mark One generation, were established to decentralise London, and Letchworth, with its relatively low population and expansion was just not to New Town scale. Further to this, the Ministry's insistence that it was the place of the Company to settle shows the limited involvement of the Government in the Garden City. As will be evidenced in later sections of this chapter, the exact opposite is true of the Government's involvement in the New Town.

The Reluctant Creation of Letchworth Garden City (Development) Corporation

Four years after Silkin took the matter before Parliament, another case was made for the creation of Letchworth Development Corporation. The impetus for the majority shareholder of the Company was Hotel York, and they were not interested in preserving garden city principles - just making money.³²¹

Company Chairman, Ralph T. Edge, circulated a letter to all the members of the Company about an "Extraordinary General" meeting to be held 7 October 1960. The letter briefed the members of the Company about the meeting and relevant past events. He discussed the events of 1949, stating that the Letchworth Urban District

³¹⁹ Lord Silkin's address to parliament, proposing that the Government 'take over' the Letchworth Estate, 28 March 1956, not published HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³²⁰ Lord Silkin's address to parliament, proposing that the Government 'take over' the Letchworth Estate, 28 March 1956, not published HLG 115/57, National Archives.

³²¹ Letter to Sir William Armstrong of the Treasury from M. Stevenson, 24 April 1968, 1, not published, HLG 115/159, National Archives.

Council had suggested to the Minister of Town and Country Planning that Letchworth should be designated a New Town under the New Towns Act of 1946. The Council held that ownership of the town be transferred to a Development Corporation. However, the Directors of the Company were against this, and they “were of the opinion that the proposal would not be in the best interests either for the shareholders or of the town, and they made representations to the Minister accordingly.”³²²The Chairman of the Raglan Property Trust Ltd., Maurice Ashdown, responded to MacFayden letter to his own letter to the members of the Company. In the letter he stated:

The (Company’s) shares were coming to be much more widely spread among investors and the proportion of those who had acquired theirs as an investment rather than for ideological reasons was growing...Share owners can now look for a realistic return on the investment they have had at risk all these years...It has been established, therefore, that the constitution and objects of the Company are now no different from those of any normal property owning company.³²³

This quotation by Ashdown is another example of the Company trying to act for profit and not in the interest of the inhabitants of the Garden City. Howard would have undoubtedly been unhappy with what was happening within the Company. C.B. Purdom certainly was. He was present at the 7 October Extraordinary General meeting, and made it clear that he was unimpressed by the actions of some in the Company. Purdom stated:

I devoted my life to it (the First Garden City). It was the interest of my life, and I think, looking at it from that point of view and remembering what was the intention of those who put up their money, I can say that they were not merely philanthropists, as has been suggested, but they were also people full of public spirit...I look upon the Company in its present state as being in the state of a flock of sheep, with the wolves,

³²² Letter “To all members of the company” (First Garden City Limited) from Chairman Ralph T. Edge about an upcoming “Extraordinary General Meeting” to be held 7 October 1960, not published, HLG 115/59, National Archives,

³²³ Letter from Raglan Property Trust Ltd. Chairman Maurice Ashwood to “All Stock and Share Holders of First Garden City Ltd, 30 September 1960, 1-2, not published, HLG 115/159, National Archives.

i.e. those who have no other interests than an immediate financial interest, endeavouring to destroy them and to make a very good meal out of them.³²⁴

Perhaps this quotation by Purdom from the verbatim report of the meeting is the most damning for the Company. As has been shown throughout this thesis, Purdom was a key member of the Garden City movement. He knew the principles of the Garden City better than anyone. The Company had become overrun by “wolves”, and that was far from the Howard’s vision for the Garden City movement.

Mr. E.G. Gardiner, honorary secretary of the Letchworth Civic Trust, who represented its trustees at the meeting that was known as “Extraordinary meeting of 1960”. In an argument between the Council (Letchworth County Council) and the Company (First Garden City Limited), Gardiner’s statement is especially important as he was representing a trust that was entirely charitable from its inception in 1914.³²⁵ Gardiner explained that, outside of the Company members, that nobody else knew more about the Company than him. He had been a longtime resident of Letchworth Garden City. He read the Memorandum and Articles of Association of the Garden City Limited when he moved to Letchworth in 1923; this prompted him to read Howard’s *Garden Cities of To-Morrow*.³²⁶ He spent thirty-seven years of his professional life in Letchworth, even working in the same building as the Company. He was not completely unbiased, as he mentioned that he served on the Council for six years - two of those years serving as chairman.³²⁷

Gardiner described three events that he said to “stand out in the life of the town so far as it relates to the Council and the Company.”³²⁸ The first and third

³²⁴ “Verbatim Report of Statements made in reply to the Statement of the Raglan Group who requisitioned the Meeting.” Proceedings of an “Extraordinary General Meeting”, 7 October 1960, 2, LBM3120.7.377. Garden City Collection, accessed 28/09/2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3120-7-377>

³²⁵ “Verbatim Report of Statements made in reply to the Statement of the Raglan Group who requisitioned the Meeting.” Proceedings of an “Extraordinary General Meeting” 7 October 1960, 1, not published, Garden City Collection, LBM3120.7.377, accessed 28/09/2019. <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3120-7-377>

³²⁶ “Verbatim Report of Statements made in reply to the Statement of the Raglan Group who requisitioned the Meeting.” Proceedings of an “Extraordinary General Meeting” 7 October 1960, 1, not published, Garden City Collection, LBM3120.7.377, accessed 28/09/2019. <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3120-7-377>

³²⁷ “Verbatim Report of Statements made in reply to the Statement of the Raglan Group who requisitioned the Meeting.” Proceedings of an “Extraordinary General Meeting” 7 October 1960, 1, not published, Garden City Collection, LBM3120.7.377, accessed 28/09/2019. <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3120-7-377>

³²⁸ “Verbatim Report of Statements made in reply to the Statement of the Raglan Group who requisitioned the Meeting.” Proceedings of an “Extraordinary General Meeting” 7 October 1960, 1, not

events detailed by Mr. Gardiner are especially important for our purposes, and will be recounted here. The first event between the Council and the Company that Gardiner described was the Council's initial attempt for the designation of a Development Corporation for Letchworth Garden City. Gardiner expressed that he had been in the minority who were opposed to the Council approaching Lewis Silkin. In fact, Gardiner had reported to Silkin on why a Development Corporation should not be granted for Letchworth Garden City. Gardiner quoted himself at that deputation, "First Garden City Limited has built the town to a population of 20,000 without any outside assistance, and we are capable of finishing the job." As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this attempt for the designation of a Development Corporation failed. Gardiner stated that Silkin's denial of the Development Corporation proved that, "First Garden City Limited was and is able to do it their own way."³²⁹

The second event between the Council and the Company recounted is not particularly important for our purposes, but the third event will now be discussed. Gardiner stated that ten years earlier an attempt had been made by a "certain body" to change the Company's Articles of Association after purchasing a shareholding. He stated that he believed they had wanted to "chop the Estate into little pieces" to raise money for themselves, and not the community. Gardiner expressed that his feelings were the same as they were then. He recounted what he had said ten years ago. Gardiner stated that he was deeply rooted in Garden City principles and had always advocated them. Gardiner would make it a point to tell people that Letchworth Garden City was unlike any other leasehold estate because one day the town would be the property of the people. This was made possible because the Company was not just about making money, and that for fifty years the Company had given money that they might never recoup. If the money was recouped, it would never be more than a five per cent dividend.

Despite all of the resistance over fifteen years, on 20 July 1961, the Council notified the public of Letchworth that they would be promoting a bill for the creation of a Development Corporation for the Garden City, and the proposed Corporation

published, Garden City Collection, LBM3120.7.377, accessed 28/09/2019.

<http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3120-7-377>

³²⁹ Proceedings at Extraordinary General Meeting of First Garden City on 7 October 1960.

would acquire the assets of the Company.³³⁰ The bill became law under the Letchworth Garden City Corporation Act 1962, and the Corporation took control 1 January 1963.³³¹

The Letchworth Garden City Corporation Act 1962 allowed the (Letchworth) Urban District Council to transfer the assets of the First Garden City Ltd. to the newly formed Letchworth Corporation. The aim of the Letchworth Corporation was to “secure that the Garden City was administered and developed along the original Ebenezer Howard lines and not sold for profit.” The Act allows for the Minister to appoint three members of the corporation and the chairman, but that would be the extent of the involvement. The transition from the First Garden City Ltd to the Letchworth Corporation was tenuous, they could not come to an agreement over-compensation for eighteen months after the Act was passed.³³²

The reader will notice that the Letchworth Corporation Act was very similar to the agreement with Silkin and the Company, “The Letchworth Corporation Act makes the Minister responsible for appointing the Chairman and three of the members of the corporation but gives him no power to intervene in their affairs.”³³³

First Garden City Ltd. vs. Letchworth Garden City Corporation

The handover was not seamless, as we will now look at the battle between the Company and the Corporation over-compensation for their assets. The Company was initially paid £90 000, but they claimed that they were owed much more. The matter was ultimately taken to court where a seventy-seven day hearing took place. The decision was so long that it took three hours to deliver, with two tribunal members taking turns reading, and taking a break for lunch.³³⁴ The events of the hearing that are the most relevant for our purposes will now be examined. The claimants (First Garden City Limited) felt that they were owed 3.6 million pounds, but

³³⁰ Decision of the Land’s Tribunal between claimant First Garden City Ltd. and Compensating Authority Letchworth Garden City Corporation, 1964, 2, not published, HLG 115/159, National Archives.

³³¹ Decision of the Land’s Tribunal between claimant First Garden City Ltd. and Compensating Authority Letchworth Garden City Corporation, 1964, 2, not published, HLG 115/159, National Archives.

³³² “Agreement Sought in the Garden City” Evening News newspaper 22 April 1964, no page number as the article was clipped from the newspaper and placed into a Ministry of Housing and Local Government Folder which is now located in HLG 115/159 at the National Archives.

³³³ Letter to Anthony Royle, Esq, MP from Parliamentary Secretary FV Corfield, 26 June 1964, not published, HLG 115/159, National Archives.

³³⁴ “Reward of £3m to Garden City”, *Times*, 26 July 1966, page number is unknown as the article was clipped from a newspaper and placed in a Ministry of Housing and Local Government folder which is now located in 115/159 at the National Archives.

the Letchworth Garden City Corporation felt the Company was owed much less. They were not just arguing over money, whilst also arguing over the principles set out by Letchworth's founders.

Garden City Principles According to the Corporation

Since these "principles" have been referred to multiple times throughout this chapter, they will now be discussed. According to the recently created Corporation, who were accusing the Company of violating them, the principles for the Garden City were as follows:

1. That the town should be surrounded by a large agricultural belt, being part of the estate;
2. That density should be controlled and the town well supplied with open spaces;
3. That the population should be limited to 35,000 people or thereabouts;
4. That industry should be selectively sited;
5. That, on the extension or renewal of ground leases, regard should be had only to the increased value of land clear of the buildings (if any) situated on the land and of any improvements to the surface made by the lessee;
6. That the estate should be developed and kept as an entity on the leasehold system, and no freehold sale should be alleged save to public bodies such as local authorities or for public purposes such as the provision of churches and schools.³³⁵

The Company's Response to the Corporation's Principles for the Garden City

The Company "opted without reserve" to the second, fourth, and sixth principles. They completely denied (the third and fifth) principles, "That the population should be limited to 35,000 people or thereabout", and "That, on the extension or renewal of ground leases, regard should be had only to the increased value of the land clear of the buildings (if any) situated on the land and of any improvements to the surface made by the lessee." The Company accepted the first principle only in part, "That the town should be surrounded by a large agricultural belt, being part of the estate."³³⁶

³³⁵ Letchworth Garden City Corporation, "Garden City Principles According to the Corporation, no date, not published, HLG, 115/159, National Archives.

³³⁶ Decision of Lands Tribunal between the First Garden City Limited and the Letchworth Garden City Corporation, 1964, 11, not published, HLG 115/159, National Archives.

As there was no debate over the second, fourth, and sixth, principles, the Tribunal was only concerned with judgment over three. For the alleged principle 1 on the Agricultural Belt, the Tribunal stated, “The size of the belt, as prescribed in the documents, varies...Here it is described as a “wide” belt; there a “broad” belt; elsewhere it is stipulated that the town should be “entirely surrounded...Broadly we uphold the principle subject to minor deviations being permitted...”³³⁷ The Tribunal also sided with the Corporation about the third alleged principle. Solicitor for the claimants, Mr Mergarry, held onto an inaccurate 1939 publication wherein the ultimate population was stated to be between 40,000 and 50,000 inhabitants. The Tribunal found no other evidence of any number exceeding 35,000, and deemed the 1939 publication false.³³⁸

The Creation of the Commission for New Towns: The Government Did Not Want Local Authorities to Control the New Towns

This section will examine the creation of the Commission for New Towns, the reasoning for its creation, its powers, and its relationship to the Development Corporations. Most importantly, it will give evidence that the Government did not intend on letting the New Towns run themselves. As the name “Development Corporation” would suggest, they were set up to establish the New Towns. The Commission for New Towns would be responsible for the New Towns once they were ‘developed’. The New Towns Act 1946 stipulated that the Development Corporations transfer ownership over to the local authorities. However, the Act was amended in 1957 for control to be given to a Commission for New Towns upon completion as opposed to the local authorities.³³⁹ It is important to note that power had changed hands from the Labours to the Tories by 1957. In a letter from a member of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to the Prime Minister he stated:

The Treasury of course is keenly interested, and there is entire agreement among Ministers that what the New Towns will now need is a period of some years of good management, husbanding

³³⁷Decision of Lands Tribunal between the First Garden City Limited and the Letchworth Garden City Corporation, 1964, 11, not published, HLG 115/159,National Archives.

³³⁸Decision of Lands Tribunal between the First Garden City Limited and the Letchworth Garden City Corporation, 1964, 14-15, not published, HLG 115/159,National Archives.

³³⁹ Letter from H.B. of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning to Prime Minister Harold MacMillan, 17 October 1958, not published, PREM 11/2523, National Archives.

and enhancing the value of the assets. After a further period of years it will then be desirable to decide whether a policy of general disposal should be followed; but that will need further legislation when the time comes. For the time being the Commission would have the same disposal as Corporations. No more and no less.³⁴⁰

With this excerpt the Ministry is essentially stating to the Prime Minister that for many years to come the ownership of the New Towns would, all going to plan, remain with the Government. This is much different from what happened with Letchworth Garden City. The New Town was destined to be controlled not just by the Development Corporation, but also the Commission for New Towns. The creation of the Commission for New Towns was an extension of the power of the Development Corporations. After the New Towns were established, control would go to the Commission.

The reasoning for creating the Commission for New Towns was pretty clear: the Government did not want to give up control of them. In an internal memorandum from "H.B." of the Ministry (at this time called Ministry of Housing and Local Government) to the Prime Minister he stated, "Industrialists with factories in the New Towns are most apprehensive at the possibility of entire ownership passing to the local authorities."³⁴¹ He later stated, "The Chairmen (of the Development Corporations) are all agreed that transfer to the local authorities would be disastrous. Their relations with their local authorities become increasingly difficult as the New Towns get nearer to completion..."³⁴² This is very telling of the relationship between the local authorities and the Development Corporations. Here is an admission by the Ministry of Housing and Local Government that there was tension between the two entities, but the Commission for the New Towns stated that everything was fine.

In a letter to the Chief Whip, Prime Minister Harold MacMillan stated, "We certainly do not want the New Towns when the Corporations are wound up to become the property of the town councils."³⁴³ The Commission and the Development

³⁴⁰ Letter from H.B. of the Ministry of Town and Country Planning to Prime Minister Harold MacMillan, 17 October 1958, not published, PREM 11/2523, National Archives.

³⁴¹ Letter from "H.B." of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to Prime Minister Harold MacMillan, 15 July 1957, not published, PREM 11/2523, National Archives.

³⁴² Letter from "H.B." of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to Prime Minister Harold MacMillan, 15 July 1957, not published, PREM 11/2523, National Archives.

³⁴³ Letter from Prime Minister MacMillan to Chief Whip, July 1957, not published, PREM 11/2523, National Archives.

Corporations were essentially the same, they were just called different things. Plainly stated, the Government wanted to control the towns, and did not want them to be run totally independently.

The Minister has sounded opinion among Conservative back-benchers, Who generally support his proposals. Current discussion of the Home Affairs Committee is concerned mainly with the extent to which the new Commission, in whom the ownership of the New Towns would be vested, should have power to dispose of property. It is thought that this power should be limited by the bill to prevent the possibility that a future Labour Government might, without further legislation, use the bill to sell the New Towns to the local authorities.³⁴⁴

The above quotation is clear evidence of the Government wanting to completely control the New Town. This is in stark contrast to what has been shown to be Howard's intention for the Garden City.

The First Annual Report of the Commission for the New Towns

The Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report gives a clear look into the powers of the Commission, as well as the local authorities, and is therefore important for our purposes. The report looks at the first two New Towns to be handed over to the Commission by their respective Development Corporations: Crawley and Hemel Hempstead. Their "assets and liabilities" were transferred to the Commission for the New Towns in 1962.³⁴⁵

We have seen that Letchworth was controlled locally, and the Government would have the majority of the control/ownership of the New Town. So what control would the local authorities actually have? According to the first report of the Commission for New Towns, there were not that many - two to be exact. The "local committees" of the respective New Towns would have the following control: management of residential property, and the duty of fixing rents.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁴ Internal Memorandum from Prime Minister Harold MacMillan to the Prime Minister's Office, 23 July 1958, not published, PREM 11/2523, National Archives.

³⁴⁵ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office). 31 March 1963, A4

³⁴⁶ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office). 31 March 1963, A4.

To add to the Commission's control, they had staff in each New Town, which were called the Local Executive.³⁴⁷ The members of the Local Executive were nearly all members of the Development Corporations. The majority of the Commission's work was carried out by the Local Executive in the New Towns. The Commission's headquarters in London had a small staff, reportedly just "the Secretary and the Chief Officers, who in co-operation with the Managers in each of the towns, work closely with the Chairman and the Commission themselves."³⁴⁸ In March 1963 the Commission for the New Towns had a staff of 345, with 159 members in Hemel Hempstead, 164 at Crawley, and only 22 at the headquarters in London.³⁴⁹

All of the members of the Development Corporations of Crawley and Hemel Hempstead were transferred to the Commission in April 1962.³⁵⁰ Reportedly there was a good deal of tension about the future of their jobs, so "the Commission therefore undertook a review at once in order that the members of the staff should know their position."³⁵¹ However, there was no real cause for concern because most of them were kept on.³⁵² It is apparent that not only did the Commission for the New Towns have the same powers as the Development Corporations, but additionally it comprised the same people. The local committees were, in part selected locally, as in the instances of Crawley and Hemel Hempstead where the Crawley Urban District Council and the Hemel Hempstead Borough Council were consulted.³⁵³ Both committees included "local people well acquainted with public opinion and local interests."³⁵⁴ However, the Chairmen of the local committees were members of the Commission.³⁵⁵

³⁴⁷ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office). 31 March 1963, 2.

³⁴⁸ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office). 31 March 1963, 2.

³⁴⁹ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office). 31 March 1963, 23.

³⁵⁰ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office). 31 March 1963, 23.

³⁵¹ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office). 31 March 1963, 23.

³⁵² Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office). 31 March 1963, 23.

³⁵³ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office), 31 March 1963, A4.

³⁵⁴ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office), 31 March 1963, A4.

³⁵⁵ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office), 31 March 1963, A4.

With the evidence provided thus far, it is obvious that the Government had the control, and the local authorities had a very limited say. Ebenezer Howard, inspired by industrial villages like Port Sunlight and Bournville that operated independently, where the workers actually owned the town, would arguably be horrified that he was, in part, credited with the creation of the New Towns. He would undoubtedly be happy with the decentralisation of London, however, he would not like that the Government owned the towns. In the purchase of Letchworth, where did he turn for money? Not the Government, but to the Cadburys and other wealthy people that he knew who were interested in his cause.

As evidenced in the Introduction and first chapter of this thesis, Howard found the funding for Welwyn Garden City. Whilst on the subject of Howard, the First Annual Report of the Commission for New Towns also stated that the population of Crawley in March 1963 was 58,160.³⁵⁶ This is close to double Howard's target population 32,000. Let us also consider the projected population of the "New Towns" in 1965/66: Welwyn Garden City 41,600, Harlow 70,000, and Stevenage 60,000.³⁵⁷ In fact, the only New Town with a projected population under 32,000 was Hatfield with an estimated 25,000. And as we have seen, Hatfield was also viewed in conjunction with Welwyn Garden City - making a combined projected population of approximately 66,000. This is further evidence that the Garden Cities and New Towns were not to the same scale.

The Absence of the Garden City in the Government's Announcement of the New Towns

This section will give further evidence to the claim this thesis makes that the Association is responsible for the interchangeable usage of the terms "Garden City" and "New Town" by evaluating the Government's announcement of the New Towns. This evaluation will show that in August 1945, the Ministry of Town and Country Planning submitted a drafted Government announcement to the Parliamentary Secretary. The following excerpt is the only clue to a legacy of Howard; it describes the Minister of Town and Country Planning intentions to appoint an Advisory Committee whose purposes would be to include :

³⁵⁶ Commission for the New Towns First Annual Report, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office), 31 March 1963, 9.

³⁵⁷ Internal memorandum from R. Metcalfe of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to Mr. Schaffer on the "Transfer of New Towns to the Commission", 23 October 1961, 1, not published, HLG 116/132, National Archives.

To consider the general questions of development, organisation and Administration that will arise in the promotion of New Towns, as the result of the Government's forthcoming legislation and in furtherance of a policy of planned decentralisation from congested urban areas; and accordance therewith to suggest guiding principle on which such Towns should be developed as self-contained and balanced communities for work and living - whether by Corporations as proposed or otherwise.³⁵⁸

It is important to note that the above excerpt is quoted in the draft, though no reference is given. One can only assume that this has come from the Minister's Advisory Committee, also known as the Reith Committee, of which FJO was part. The statement "self-contained and balanced communities" is the only remote reference to Howard.

Conclusion:

This chapter has given examples directly from Howard and Purdom about the importance of the principle of ownership to the Garden City. This chapter has argued that the multiple failed attempts to designate a New Town Corporation for Letchworth Garden City is enough evidence alone to prove that it is not a New Town. However, most important of the material covered in this chapter is possibly The Letchworth Achievement, however, it has been largely ignored in the historiography of the Garden City and New Town movements. The Council stated that they were acting in the best interest of Garden City principles, whereas the Ministry thought the Council was trying to take advantage of the support being given to Welwyn Garden City and Hatfield. The Company was accused of forsaking the most fundamental of Garden City principles by the Council. In order to save the Garden City from its own Company, a New Town Development Corporation was eventually granted. The last sections of this chapter looked at the ownership of the New Town. The description given about the creation of the Commission for New Towns suggests that the Government was not going to let the New Towns control themselves. The Development Corporations were not enough, the Government needed an organisation in place to control the New Towns after they were developed.

³⁵⁸ Internal memorandum from R. Metcalfe of the Ministry of Housing and Local Government to Mr. Schaffer on the "Transfer of New Towns to the Commission", 23 October 1961, 1, not published, HLG 116/132, National Archives.

This chapter has supported the claim of this thesis that the Garden City is fundamentally different from the New Town. As one of the core requirements of a Garden City is that it should become the property of the inhabitants, this automatically disqualifies the New Town as some sort of reinterpretation of the Garden City. This has been the first chapter of three that will expose the differences between the Garden City and New Town, showing why the two terms should not be used interchangeably. The next chapter will look at the uniformity of architecture of the Garden City, and the variety of the architecture of the New Town.

Chapter IV

The Uniformity of Garden City Architecture, the Variety of New Town Architecture

The last chapter looked at the ownership of the Garden City versus the ownership of the New Town. Evidence was given to support the claim that the town being the property of its inhabitants was one of the most important principles of the Garden City movement. The last chapter also detailed the multiple failed attempts for the designation of a Development Corporation for Letchworth Garden City, and stated that those failed attempts were enough evidence alone to prove that Letchworth Garden City is not a New Town. A Development Corporation was only designated in order to save Letchworth Garden City from its own corrupt Company. This chapter will continue in the same vein as the last, continuing to give evidence to support the claim by this thesis that the term “Garden City” and “New Town” should not be used interchangeably. To do so, this chapter will contrast the uniformity of the architecture of the Garden City with the variety of the architecture of the New Town.

The architecture of the case studies of Welwyn Garden City, Harlow, and Milton Keynes will be reviewed to show the differences between the Garden City and the New Town. This chapter will argue that the architecture of the Garden Cities of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City was uniform, and that there was a Garden City style, whereas the architecture of the New Towns of Harlow and Milton Keynes was varied. It was important to the designers of the Garden Cities for them to have a look that would be cohesive throughout. This is evident in the plan for Welwyn Garden City, but this was not a concern to the designers of the New Towns of Harlow and Milton Keynes. In fact, this chapter will cite multiple examples from the designers of Harlow and Milton Keynes that their intent was for the respective New Towns to have a varied look. Some of this variety extended to the very plan of the New Towns themselves; the Garden City was designed to be symmetrical, and the New Town was designed to be largely asymmetrical.

The Garden City Style: The Uniformity and of Unwin and Parker’s Garden City Architecture (Citing examples from Letchworth, New Earswick, and Hampstead Garden Suburb)

Before getting into a discussion about the particulars of the architecture of Letchworth Garden City, an introduction needs to be given on the first Garden City's consulting architects, Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker. In a drafted obituary of sorts from 1945, Barry Parker briefly described their partnership (as well as their relationship as brothers-in-law, as Unwin was married to Parker's sister)³⁵⁹. They became design partners in 1896.³⁶⁰ Together they designed New Earswick, a village near York.³⁶¹ Unwin and Parker were appointed consulting architects of Letchworth Garden City by Garden City Ltd. in 1904.³⁶² Parker goes on to mention that Unwin left Letchworth as consulting architect in 1914, but he himself stayed on until 1945.³⁶³ There is no concrete answer as to why Unwin left Letchworth, though attempts were made by FJO (by that point he Chairman of the Association) to find out the reasoning behind his resignation.³⁶⁴ After leaving Letchworth, Unwin went on to design houses in Hampstead Garden Suburb (whilst Parker continued on in Letchworth).³⁶⁵

In an article entitled "Cooperative Architecture" in the November 1909 edition of the 'The City', a magazine about Letchworth Garden City, Unwin discussed variety at length:

³⁵⁹ Barry Parker's typewritten draft of his description of Raymond Unwin's life and works with a handwritten note at the top of the first page, "Sent to the editor of the Dictionary of National Biography", December 1945, 1, not published, LBM4351.5, Garden City Collection, accessed on 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm4351-5>

³⁶⁰ Barry Parker's typewritten draft of his description of Raymond Unwin's life and works with a handwritten note at the top of the first page, "Sent to the editor of the Dictionary of National Biography", December 1945, 1, not published, LBM4351.5, Garden City Collection, accessed on 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm4351-5>

³⁶¹ Barry Parker's typewritten draft of his description of Raymond Unwin's life and works with a handwritten note at the top of the first page, "Sent to the editor of the Dictionary of National Biography", December 1945, 1, not published, LBM4351.5, Garden City Collection, accessed on 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm4351-5>

³⁶² Barry Parker's typewritten draft of his description of Raymond Unwin's life and works with a handwritten note at the top of the first page, "Sent to the editor of the Dictionary of National Biography", December 1945, 1, not published, LBM4351.5, Garden City Collection, accessed on 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm4351-5>

³⁶³ Barry Parker's typewritten draft of his description of Raymond Unwin's life and works with a handwritten note at the top of the first page, "Sent to the editor of the Dictionary of National Biography", December 1945, 1, not published, LBM4351.5, Garden City Collection, accessed on 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm4351-5>

³⁶⁴ Letters exchanged between Mrs. Barry Parker and FJO indicated that she did not know why Unwin left Letchworth, not published, DE/FJO/J38, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

³⁶⁵ Barry Parker's typewritten draft of his description of Raymond Unwin's life and works with a handwritten note at the top of the first page, "Sent to the editor of the Dictionary of National Biography", December 1945, 1, not published, LBM4351.5, Garden City Collection, accessed on 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm4351-5>

During the last century architecture in this country has been, generally speaking, individual only. There has been no tradition, no conscious agreement, no regulation to coordinate the work of different men. Each has his attention on his own building. Too often influenced by the wishes of his client or by the necessity of making a name for himself, the architect has considered mainly how he could make his building stand out in distinction from those surrounding it...Individuality, indeed, is needed to make the part worthy of its place in the whole, but as the whole is greater than the part, so the unity of the whole must dominate the individuality of the part. Something of that unity we need to secure to-day, either, as in past ages, by a common tradition accepted by all, changing but gradually and followed instinctively, or by voluntary co-operation, or, as a last and worst resort, by some method of central guidance and control.³⁶⁶

Unwin took issue with the trend over the last hundred years, at least in his eyes, to make designs stand out from each other. His statement is evidence that he wanted to harken back to tradition, and to not make “individuality” the focus. Unwin’s above statement, “the whole is greater than the part, so the unity of the whole must dominate the individuality of the part”, is especially important for our purposes. Unwin described it as “unity”, and this chapter is arguing that the architecture of the Garden City was uniform. Unwin detailed his viewpoint on variety in the following quotation:

We must never forget the true meaning of variety. How often when we suggest some unity of design or treatment are we met by the opposition of those who say that they like “plenty of variety.’ These people seem to think that variety means mere unlikeness or several things to each other, changes of some fixed type...Variety consists of subtle changes wrought in things essentially related. Unity must dominate if the variations are to please. Once...the variations dominate and the result becomes a jumble, the relationship is lost. There is

³⁶⁶ Raymond Unwin, “Co-operative Architecture”, 249-250. ‘The City’ no.11, vol.1, (Letchworth and London: J.M. Dent and Co.), November 1909, According to a footnote on the first page, the article was based on a lecture that Unwin gave to the Letchworth Art Workers’ Guild on October 12, 1909.

nothing more tedious and monotonous than a succession of different things jumbled together without relation and without unity.³⁶⁷

Here again Unwin refers to unity with “unity of design” or what this chapter is arguing as “uniformity”, and here again, the idea of designing for unity trumps designing for variety. Variety in design, to Unwin, was shown through subtleties. As we will later see in this chapter, this is different from the designs of Harlow and Milton Keynes. Not only was there “unity of design” within the towns Unwin designed, but there was also a cohesiveness between the towns themselves, as we will soon see. Even though Parker was not designing with Unwin in Hampstead Garden Suburb, the aesthetic of the housing of the garden suburb of Hampstead is much like that of Parker and Unwin’s designs in New Earswick and Letchworth. Parker and Unwin’s designs for the respective towns/villages all reflect a similar style, arguably a Garden City style. To illustrate this, a housing example will now be given for Hampstead Garden Suburb.

In a 1923 lecture on the design of New Earswick, Barry Parker indicated that they had made some mistakes in their pre-war (WWI) designs for New Earswick that were corrected in designs later designs.³⁶⁸ The floor plans evolve from the early New Earswick homes to the Hampstead Garden Suburbs homes, but that they are all aesthetically similar is undeniable. Of course this is to be expected, as the same pair designed them all, but they were the only design pair to design multiple towns in Garden City and New Town movements. Unwin and Parker are essentially the unofficial architects of an unofficial Garden City style. Unwin and Parker designed multiple towns under Garden City principles, whereas multiple architects would design one New Town (as we will see later in this chapter with the case studies of Harlow and Milton Keynes). Granted Parker and Unwin were not the *only* architects to work on Letchworth Garden City, but they had to approve every design for any house built in the town.

³⁶⁷ Raymond Unwin, “Co-operative Architecture”, 249-250. ‘The City’ no.11, vol.1, (Letchworth and London: J.M. Dent and Co.), November 1909, According to a footnote on the first page, the article was based on a lecture that Unwin gave to the Letchworth Art Workers’ Guild on October 12, 1909.

³⁶⁸ Barry Parker, pamphlet for “A Lecture on Earswick Delivered by the Town Planning Institute on October 6th 1923 by FRIBA, MTP”, October 1923, 6-7, LBM4329.17, Garden City Collection, accessed 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm4329-17>

The Uniformity and Symmetry of Welwyn Garden City Architecture

In November 1920, the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association published a special issue of their magazine which was dedicated to the architecture of Welwyn Garden City. The Association stated that the inspiration for the look of Welwyn was not the architecture of the twentieth-century, but the architecture of the eighteenth-century, “In the traditional eighteenth-century work, which was the source of inspiration for the treatment of these cottages, the examples were usually townhouses, and the effect was practically always one of long, formal, symmetrical lines - whole streets or groups of houses.”³⁶⁹ This is different from what we will see happen in the New Towns. The case studies of Harlow and Milton Keynes will reflect that variety is integral to the overall design for the towns. This was not the case in the Garden City, as we will now see with Welwyn Garden City.

Howard’s plan for the Garden City was looking to the future, but the manifestation of his vision ultimately looked to the past. The Garden City was designed with old architecture and old ideas. The eighteenth-century served as inspiration for Welwyn Garden City, not the contemporaneous architecture of the early twentieth-century. Louis de Soissons was appointed to design Welwyn Garden City in 1920. According to the special Welwyn architecture issue, the reasons given for Louis de Soissons’ usage of flat roofs were many, though aesthetics were not among them. Roofing tiles were of short supply in Hertfordshire, and consideration was not given to going outside of the county.³⁷⁰ Because there would be fewer materials, the cost would be more effective - another reason stated for the usage of flat-roofs.³⁷¹

Another consideration for the flat-roofs was drainage; because the roofs sloped back, only one set of rain-water pipes were needed.³⁷² “Simplification in planning and greater freedom, as the roof-plan - an awful bugbear when dealing with

³⁶⁹ Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 215.

³⁷⁰ Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 217.

³⁷¹ Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 217.

³⁷² Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 217.

sloped roofs-does not need to be considered.”³⁷³ Along the same lines, the last reason given for Soissons’ usage of flat-roofs was that they allowed the building line to be broken up, giving more variety to the overall plan.³⁷⁴ This was the Garden City idea of variety - breaking up the building line. As will be shown later in this chapter, the New Town ideas of variety are taken to much further.

Louis de Soissons was not the only architect for Welwyn Garden City. As will be seen with the other case studies, many architects were involved in the planning of them all. However, the plans of the architects of the Garden Cities were more cohesive, but the New Town architects were striving for variation. Louis de Soissons did not design the labour-saving housing scheme, but its design was not dissimilar from his. The labour-saving housing scheme catered to, “Generally speaking, people with relatively limited incomes, who nevertheless are not weekly wage earners can, however, be catered for by a Public Utility Society,” and as a result, Labour-Saving Houses Limited was formed.³⁷⁵ Forty houses of varying sizes were designed for maximum domestic work with minimum space in Welwyn Garden City. They were designed to be labour-saving.

The houses themselves varied in size, “The largest contain four bedrooms two sitting-rooms, kitchen, bathroom, etc., and the smallest of all, which are designed for newlyweds, married couples, or, say, two ladies living together, contain only two bedrooms.”³⁷⁶ However, though they varied in size here were still similarities among the design of the building. In terms of square footage of the floor plans between the labour-saving houses for the working class and the middle class, there was not a huge disparity.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the Association used the example of the floor plan for the largest labour-saving houses, a four-bedroom house (fig.13) in its magazine. The bedrooms in the house are not that different in size to the ones shown in the floor plan for the house for the middle classes (fig.14). The largest

³⁷³ Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 217.

³⁷⁴ Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 217.

³⁷⁵ Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 220.

³⁷⁶ Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 220.

bedroom, or bedroom one, on the labour-saving house measures 13'.11" x 11'.0", and bedroom one in the middle-class example measures 17'6" x 11'2". Bedroom two on the labour-saving example is 13'9" x 9'0" and the middle-class example is 11'0" x 9'7". The kitchens are of comparable sizes; the labour-saving example measures 8' x approximately 9', and the scullery in the middle house example measures 10' x 8'. The largest disparity in size with the labour-saving and middle-class examples is in the communal spaces. The middle-class example shows a living room and a parlour, whereas the labour-saving example only shows a living room.

Images of the dwellings that were constructed from these plans further show the uniformity of Welwyn Garden City's architecture. For example fig.15 is a photo of a pair of houses by architect C.J.Kay,³⁷⁷ and fig.16 is taken from a photograph of the Guessens Court Flats designed by architect H.Clapham Lander.³⁷⁸ The pair of Kay's middle-class houses is aesthetically similar to Lander's flats. Though these edifices were being constructed for different classes of people, they mimic each other. With similar facades, roofs, chimneys, and windows, Landers flats appear to be Kay's houses repeated.

The Uniformity of the Garden City Countryside: "To Those Who Build in Hertfordshire"

The chief Garden City architects were not just concerned with designing for uniformity within the Garden Cities themselves, but also the countryside of their counties. We will now take a look at the architecture of the countryside of Hertfordshire. With the exception of New Earswick, our discussion on the uniformity of the architecture of the Garden City has looked at only towns constructed in Hertfordshire (as Letchworth Garden City, Welwyn Garden City, and Hampstead Garden Suburb are all in the county). The Hertfordshire Society circulated a pamphlet entitled "To Those Who Build in Hertfordshire". This gave detailed recommendations about building houses in the countryside of the county. The panel of consulting architects were appointed by the Royal Institute of British Architects,

³⁷⁷ Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 222.

³⁷⁸ Town and Country Planning Association Magazine, Special Welwyn Architecture Issue, (Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.), November 1920, 252.

most notably among them were Louis de Soissons of Welwyn Garden City, and the panel chairman, Barry Parker. The first paragraph of the pamphlet stated:

The beauty of the English countryside is a heritage handed down from the past, and the present generation must recognise the responsibility of passing it on unspoiled for the enjoyment of their successors. Nothing is easier than to mar the natural beauty of a neighbourhood by buildings of bad design and unsuitable materials, but even from the commercial point of view, this destruction of our rural beauty is a profound mistake.³⁷⁹

In this statement, the Hertfordshire panel of architects suggests that the aesthetic of the countryside was aesthetically as important as town design. One would not typically think about the architecture of a decently expansive countryside needing to be cohesive; after all, why would your house need to look like another one miles away? The urging of the Hertfordshire Society panel of architects is evidence of the importance of the idea of uniformity to Garden City architecture.

The pamphlet went on to state that historically houses have been constructed with local materials because of the ease of the close proximity. Not only was it convenient to build with local building materials, due to ease of access and transportation, there would be an overall cohesiveness because the materials were sourced from the same place. At the time of the publication, building materials had been becoming cheaper and easier to access from farther distances.³⁸⁰

Examples of Hertfordshire's urges for uniformity in design can be found throughout the pamphlet. One of the main recommendations of the panel's desire for cohesiveness was through consistency in colour. For example, under the heading "Colour", the panel stated:

³⁷⁹ Pamphlet entitled "To Those Who Build in Hertfordshire", circulated by The Hertfordshire Society in Hertford and compiled by a panel of architects appointed by RIBA, no date, 1, not published, LBM3202, Garden City Collection, accessed 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3202>

³⁸⁰ Pamphlet entitled "To Those Who Build in Hertfordshire", circulated by The Hertfordshire Society in Hertford and compiled by a panel of architects appointed by RIBA, no date, 2, not published, LBM3202, Garden City Collection, accessed 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3202>

...White paint is the traditional colour for windows, and from a practical point of view white paint is best, not merely because it is pleasing, but because no other colour looks so clean and lasts so long. In any case frames and sashes should be painted the same colour, since nothing looks more vulgar than frames painted one colour and sashes another.³⁸¹

This recommendation for the colour of paint for the windows and sashes was for the same for the entire county. In fact the section on paint applies to the entire county. It restated the recommendation of white paint for the windows and in addition made further recommendations of, “Green is a suitable colour for doors and gates and shutters / Grey or black is best for gutters and general ironwork.”³⁸² And the only “unsuitable” colours, indicated in red text, were “Graining and liver-brown should be avoided.”³⁸³ Though “graining” and “liver-brown” are the only colours listed in the unsuitable red text, only one colour for each category is listed as “suitable”. This would lead one to believe that the panel’s true meaning was that everyone should paint their doors, gates, and shutters green, and their gutters and ironwork grey or black. Any other colour would be unsuitable - and “graining” and “liver-brown” would be very unsuitable.

In addition to paint, the Hertfordshire Society panel of architects, detailed three other sections of housing design: windows, walls, and roofs. We have already looked at the colour of paint strongly recommended for all the windows in the county, but there were further window recommendations made regarding materials and size.³⁸⁴ The remaining two sections, walls and roofs were subdivided into North and

³⁸¹ Pamphlet entitled “To Those Who Build in Hertfordshire”, circulated by The Hertfordshire Society in Hertford and compiled by a panel of architects appointed by RIBA, no date, 2, not published, LBM3202, Garden City Collection, accessed 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3202>

³⁸² Pamphlet entitled “To Those Who Build in Hertfordshire”, circulated by The Hertfordshire Society in Hertford and compiled by a panel of architects appointed by RIBA, no date, 4, not published, LBM3202, Garden City Collection, accessed 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3202>

³⁸³ Pamphlet entitled “To Those Who Build in Hertfordshire”, circulated by The Hertfordshire Society in Hertford and compiled by a panel of architects appointed by RIBA, no date, 4, not published, LBM3202, Garden City Collection, accessed 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3202>

³⁸⁴ Pamphlet entitled “To Those Who Build in Hertfordshire”, circulated by The Hertfordshire Society in Hertford and compiled by a panel of architects appointed by RIBA, no date, 2, not published, LBM3202, Garden City Collection, accessed 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3202>

East Hertfordshire and South, Mid, and West Hertfordshire, and within those sections “suitable” and “unsuitable” building materials were listed.³⁸⁵

The Architecture of Harlow

The remainder of this chapter will deal with the architecture of the New Town. This chapter has argued that there is a Garden City style. The architecture of the Garden City is mostly uniform, and the different housing types mirrored each other. Lower cost houses still looked like more expensive houses. As Unwin suggested, any variety came in the details. This is different from the architecture of the New Town. In the sections that follow, the housing of our case studies of Harlow and Milton Keynes will be examined.

Harlow’s architecture was varied, more than this - each Harlow neighbourhood looked different from the next. As will soon be shown, this was deliberate from the outset, and each neighbourhood not looking like the others was arguably Gibberd’s solution to making Harlow look like the “evolved towns”. The neighbourhoods had different architects which aided in them not resembling the next, “An original principle in the design of housing was that each housing group should have its own character through architectural design. This, apart from giving the tenants a sense of belonging to a particular place, can help to mitigate the sameness that arrives from building at more or less one time.”³⁸⁶

Fred Gibberd’s 1946 Journal and Harlow’s Earliest Days

Fred Gibberd started designs for Harlow after the New Towns Act of 1946. His journal entries from 1946 give a detailed account of what he envisioned for the New Town of Harlow from the earliest stages. Gibberd made in very clear in those journal entries that he did not want the New Town of Harlow to be like Welwyn or Letchworth. The New Town was designed to be different from its inception. Gibberd did not view the Garden City plan as modern:

³⁸⁵ Pamphlet entitled “To Those Who Build in Hertfordshire”, circulated by The Hertfordshire Society in Hertford and compiled by a panel of architects appointed by RIBA, no date, 2, not published, LBM3202, Garden City Collection, accessed 28 September 2019, <http://www.gardencitycollection.com/object-lbm3202>

³⁸⁶ Fred Gibberd, “The Master Plan. Condensed Critical Review by the Architect Planner”, (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), 1964, 6.

Start where Welwyn left off. No modern plan yet. Welwyn after Letchworth is furthest, fails. But is Welwyn as beautiful as Bath or Sidmouth or Burton Radstock or Oxford or Cheltenham. No. But these towns evolved. Can you plan a town at one time that will be as beautiful. Probably. Because that of these towns, Radstock, Cheltenham Bath were evolved at one time. But certainly, without doubt, without question. You can plan and make such developments possible. That is where Welwyn fails. It can never be a Bath, a Florence or Rotenburg. That is where Welwyn fails. It can never be a Bath, a Florence, a Rotenburg. As Welwyn has the advantage over the old towns that it is planned...for health, for convenience etc. the New Town could be more beautiful than any.³⁸⁷

This statement from Gibberd is proof that Harlow was made to do something different from the outset than Welwyn. Gibberd wanted something that went beyond Welwyn, not just a carbon copy of it. He did not think that Welwyn was a modern town. This journal entry of Gibberd's was his brainstorming, his initial thoughts of what he wanted Harlow to be. He clearly wanted it to be modern, and he wrote, "No modern plan yet. Welwyn after Letchworth is furthest." His comparison to the "old towns" made it clear that he did not think Welwyn was as beautiful. It succeeded in some aspects, but the fact that the towns like Bath, Florence, Rotenburg, etc evolved instead of being planned all at once allowed for them expand naturally. It allowed them to be made by pieces from different parts of time and history, to be influenced by other towns, to influence other towns. The "old towns" were composites of time and that made them beautiful. This first passage - the first words of his plans for Harlow, is essentially stating that Welwyn was not beautiful as the "old towns", but that there was potential to make a New Town (all at one time) that was.

To Gibberd, the symmetry of the Garden City plan was one of the aspects that kept Welwyn and Letchworth from being modern. According to his journal, town planning was not yet modern not modern nor was it trying to be. In the same journal entry, he stated: "It is civic design that all modern town planning purposely fail. They

³⁸⁷ Fred Gibberd's journal entry, 1946 Diary, 29 September 1946, no page number, not published, FG2/1, Gibberd Garden Archive.

are either too gone by a preconceived 19 [sic] century...of symmetry...or they are equally lost by a self-conscious will to be modern.”³⁸⁸ As we have already seen, Welwyn is guilty of harkening back to past in terms of its architecture. Howard intended the Garden City to be the plan for a new future, but in its realisation, it was more characteristic of the past.

Enclosure: “Outside Rooms” and Cellular Building

A 1946 journal entry by Gibberd included his own photographs of the landscape that would become Harlow. (fig.17). If there is symmetry in the plans for Harlow, it is arguably in its outside spaces. A week and a half after writing his initial thoughts on Harlow’s plan, it is apparent that Gibberd visited sites upon which Harlow would be built. His notes and sketches give one of the key themes in Gibberd’s plan for Harlow was enclosure, and one of the key features of enclosure in Harlow’s design was what Gibberd described as “outside rooms”. These “outside rooms” allowed for a variety of Green spaces were to be cordoned off into different sections. Gibberd stated in his journal, “It is the design of the “outside rooms” that is so important and has so...missed.” These ‘rooms’ were again mimicked in the cellular structures of Gibberd’s Harlow buildings. Enclosed spaces, constructed around another, made very public spaces, private. This is evident in one of Gibberd’s first brainstorming sketches (fig.18). The notes on the page were quickly jotted down, as they were written so they are difficult to transcribe. What is different about the exterior space, is that it is arguably more ordered and “symmetrical” than the interior. Meaning, the cellular structures are ordered, equidistant. Gibberd scribbled the following in his journal, “The neutral thing of both town and square is the quality of the enclosed space. You couldn’t get the condition...a whole town. But you could get it for the building...A series of cellular structures in isolation. This would give the aesthetic (reboot?) of medieval city at a (catastrophic?) scale.”³⁸⁹ This fragmented statement by Gibberd could be interpreted as referring to the medieval cathedral. He wanted to create that on a larger scale with a succession of tall buildings.

The sketches on the next page of his journal are differing perspectives on a ‘series of cellular structures in isolation’. The tall buildings (mimicking medieval

³⁸⁸Fred Gibberd’s journal entry, 1946 Diary, 29 September 1946, no page number, not published, FG2/1, Gibberd Garden Archive.

³⁸⁹ Fred Gibberd’s journal entry 1946, no date, no page number, FG2/1. Gibberd Garden Archive.

cathedrals) would be separated by green spaces; the green spaces adding to the overall feeling of enclosure. Of all his sketches for the early planning of Harlow, this is the most symmetrical. (fig.19).

We have seen how Gibberd wanted to enclose open spaces and the buildings themselves, but he also wanted to enclose the man-made features within the open spaces. This is especially evident in his early thoughts on “Z Block” (fig.20). The sketch gives an aerial perspective of how the buildings fit into the land. Gibberd would use existing landscape and plan around it, creating a labyrinth of housing and greenery. When fully realised, the blocks of housing, with their closed off ends would carefully fit around the landscape - both natural and man made. This arrangement of housing blocks on the land would ultimately achieve Gibberd’s goal of creating “outside rooms.” Of the Z block plan, Gibberd stated, “This should be gently imposed in the flat area in a very formal manner. A man made...thing with man made patterns and extremely organised layout. Can’t with rest of open spaces etc.”³⁹⁰ At the bottom of the page the a single sentence separated from the paragraph reads, “But don’t impose it on the landscape.”³⁹¹ Building around the landscape allowed for even more variety in Harlow’s architecture.

The Festival of Britain 1951

Gibberd’s “The Lawn” was one of the first designed residential areas in Harlow New Town, and was the first tower block in Britain. It is the most well-known design of the New Town, and it was featured in the Festival of Britain in 1951. In the exhibition pamphlet for Harlow the Harlow Development Corporation stated:

Whilst it is a “landscape plan” it breaks right away from the character of the traditional Garden City or Greenbelt towns in that it seeks to provide built-up areas in which there is a definite urban or town sense. The pattern, a new one in English planning, is one of compact built-up areas in which buildings are the dominant element contrasted with landscape ways in which natural things predominate.³⁹²

³⁹⁰ Fred Gibberd’s 1946 journal, no date, not published, FG2/1, Gibberd Garden archive.

³⁹¹ Fred Gibberd’s 1946 journal, no date, not published, FG2/1, Gibberd Garden archive.

³⁹² Harlow Development Corporation, Harlow exhibition pamphlet for the Festival of Britain 1951, May 1951, Gibberd Garden Archive.

This statement from the Harlow Development Corporation clearly states that the New Town of Harlow is not a Garden City. Gibberd's plan for Harlow is different from Howard's plan for the Garden City. Gibberd's plan for Harlow was a collection of neighbourhoods - each of which operates as its own town. This is not totally unlike Howard's plan, however, Gibberd was not concerned about connecting them. Fig.10 shows a diagram of the Harlow neighbourhood structure.³⁹³ Each neighbourhood has its own town centre, its own schools, shopping centres, residential and industrial areas. Instead of connecting the towns like Howard, Gibberd separated them with green wedges of land. The neighbourhoods, named after previous parishes, were designed to operate independently of the others.

The Lawn was in the Mark Hall neighbourhood, the first neighbourhood designed in Harlow, and the most well-known. It was the main feature of Harlow's part of the Festival of Britain in 1951. The tower block was the perfect vantage point; Gibberd, Harlow Development Corporation, members of the Association, and other guests viewed the developing New Town from the roof of the tower block (fig.21). The exhibition booklet included photos of models of the buildings, as it was the early days of Harlow development, and not much had been completed by that point.

Harlow Development Corporation stated that the houses of the developing New Town were something new, "The housing areas themselves must not be thought of in terms of the usual English terraced and semi-detached working-class housing. All type of dwellings are [sic] being provided from single flats to bachelors to five-bedroomed houses for large families."³⁹⁴ This is different from the eighteenth-century inspired terraced houses of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. Harlow promised to cater to a variety of households, with varying levels of income. As we have seen, there was not a huge difference between the labour-saving houses and the houses for the middle classes. Harlow would have different types of housing for different incomes, with them all in the same area and community - no real separation of people based on money.

According to the Harlow Development Corporation, "The housing layouts are being carried out on the principle of mixed development, i.e. that both flats and

³⁹³ Fred Gibberd, *The Architect and Building News*. 3 July 1952, 8.

³⁹⁴ Harlow Development Corporation, Harlow exhibition pamphlet for the Festival of Britain 1951, (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), May 1951, 5.

houses are grouped together to form compositions of great visual variety.”³⁹⁵ This is very different from the designs for Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, as they were cohesive throughout. Gibberd’s nine-story tower block was described as the “focus” of the focus of the housing scheme for the Mark Hall Neighbourhood,³⁹⁶ and was surrounded by a variety of other housing types: a large four storey-block of flats, a three-storey block of flats, and grouped terraced houses.³⁹⁷ Though Letchworth and Welwyn offered different price points, all the houses looked similar. In Harlow, the various housing types looked different. The various housing types were connected by green spaces, creating a diverse community. With designing for 60,000 individuals, it was an impossibility for everyone to have a garden, as was the ideal in Howard’s plan for the Garden City. But the gardens were shared spaces, so they operated more like a city park than a garden. One could not grow their own vegetables or flowers, but they could access a green space. As previously mentioned, Howard’s plan was for each Garden City to have no more than 32,000 individuals. From the offset, Harlow was supposed to have no more than 60,000 individuals. This means that, by definition, Harlow is not a Garden City.

The Harlow section of the Festival of Britain in 1951 was divided into four “distinct” exhibitions.³⁹⁸ The first exhibition was “The Neighbourhood Under Construction” where visitors could walk over to the site of the developing Mark Hall Neighbourhood (North).³⁹⁹ The second exhibition was entitled “House Design and Layout” where the tower block and some of the completed houses acted as “live exhibitions”. When describing the second exhibition, Harlow Development Corporation stated that “quite new house types” were being implemented and that they, “will be of great interest embracing as they do reinforced concrete, brick and timber for walls, slate, copper, aluminium, tile and felt for roofs.”⁴⁰⁰ The third

³⁹⁵ Harlow Development Corporation, Harlow exhibition pamphlet for the Festival of Britain 1951, (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), May 1951, 5.

³⁹⁶ Harlow Development Corporation, Harlow exhibition pamphlet for the Festival of Britain 1951, (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), May 1951, 5.

³⁹⁷ Harlow Development Corporation, Harlow exhibition pamphlet for the Festival of Britain 1951, (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), May 1951, 5.

³⁹⁸ Harlow Development Corporation, Harlow exhibition pamphlet for the Festival of Britain 1951, (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), May 1951, 6.

³⁹⁹ Harlow Development Corporation, Harlow exhibition pamphlet for the Festival of Britain 1951, (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), May 1951, 6.

⁴⁰⁰ Harlow Development Corporation, Harlow exhibition pamphlet for the Festival of Britain 1951, (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), May 1951, 6.

exhibition was “The Landscape of the New Town”, where exhibition visitors would be able to view the developing neighbourhood from the vantage of the tower block roof terrace (photos of Gibberd and Association members). Gibberd’s master plan was on display, as well as signage indicating where finished projects would be in the neighbourhood. The fourth and final exhibition detailed by the Harlow Development Corporation took place on the top floor of the tower block (fig.21) which included perspective drawings, plans, working drawing and models.⁴⁰¹

In the draft for the exhibition booklet, the Harlow Development Corporation discussed what set Harlow apart in terms of housing, “The pattern, a new one in English planning, is one of compact built-up areas.”⁴⁰²Gibberd’s Harlow plan was not new in every single aspect, and admission to this was made by the draft for the exhibition booklet. In terms of the Mark Hall-Netteswell neighbourhood example, the Harlow Development Corporation (most likely Gibberd) gave a detailed account of how the Harlow plan relates to English planning:

The plan for the town accepts the English method of precinctual and neighbourhood planning in which the roads run between well-defined housing areas, but develop a quite new method of neighbourhood planning. Instead of the usual neighbourhood of some 10,000 people the housing is designed as a cluster of three district neighbourhoods of between 3,000 and 7,000 people. The cluster focuses on a main neighbourhood shopping and community group, but each neighbourhood has its own smaller shopping centre, primary school, and meeting hall situated near its centre.⁴⁰³

With the above statement, Gibberd is saying that though there are some elements of Harlow that are true of English planning, he is essentially doing something new. This admission is another example of how the New Town is different from the Garden City.

⁴⁰¹ Harlow Development Corporation, Harlow exhibition pamphlet for the Festival of Britain 1951, (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), May 1951, 8.

⁴⁰² Harlow Development Corporation, “Draft of description matter for the Exhibition Harlow Newtown - 1951 Exhibition,” no date, c.1951, not published, Gibberd Garden Archive.

⁴⁰³ Harlow Development Corporation, “Draft of description matter for the Exhibition Harlow Newtown - 1951 Exhibition,” no date, c.1951, 1, not published, Gibberd Garden Archive.

We have looked at the green spaces in Harlow, but not yet given any attention to the garden. The tower block, “The Lawn”, acts a large communal garden, but to say the private garden is illusive in Harlow would be an understatement. In a 1964 critique of Harlow, Gibberd was satisfied with patios in place of private gardens. This is evident in the following statement, “The patio is a reasonable substitution for the private garden, providing it is properly paved and walled-in and not a sub-standard back garden. It is intimately bound up with interlocking dwelling types and there seems little point in patios with conventional layout.”⁴⁰⁴

The preceding sections have shown that Gibberd was quite deliberately trying not to construct another Garden City. The provided examples of multiple statements by Gibberd and the Harlow Development Corporation are evidence of that they had no interest in constructing another Garden City. The planning and construction of Milton Keynes will now be examined. Like Harlow, the architecture will prove to be varied.

The Architecture of Milton Keynes

The Milton Keynes Development Corporation stated in the Interim Report, “Architectural design in detail is not regarded as part of the master planner’s task - rather should the plan provide for the engagement of many contributors in this field in order to achieve diversity.”⁴⁰⁵ Later in the same report the development corporation further stated the importance of variety in the residential areas, “Variety means that residential areas should be small enough to have a distinctive local character and identity.”⁴⁰⁶

Like Harlow, a key component to the architecture of the Milton Keynes neighbourhoods was variety. Evidence that the Milton Keynes Development Corporation wanted variety in their housing through can be found in meeting minutes between the Milton Keynes Development Corporation and the Ministry of Housing and Local Government from a meeting on 15/1/1976. They were discussing Higher Standard Housing, “They (Milton Keynes Development Corporation) had originally

⁴⁰⁴ “The Master Plan. Condensed Critical Review by the Architect Planner,” (Harlow: Harlow Development Corporation), 1964, 1.

⁴⁰⁵ Milton Keynes Development Corporation, *Milton Keynes Interim Report*, (London: Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier-Walker, & Bor), December 1968, 9.

⁴⁰⁶ Milton Keynes Development Corporation, *Milton Keynes Interim Report*, (London: Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier-Walker, & Bor), December 1968, 22.

assessed that throughout the city they required 27.6% of all dwellings to be higher standard. The Corporation were anxious to build as many higher standard dwellings as the Department's policy allowed for aesthetic reasons and because they wanted variety in the city. The Department had acknowledged this in the past but had told the Corporation to overcome this within the framework [sic] of the 20% limit."⁴⁰⁷

Different architectural firms were chosen to design the neighbourhoods in Milton Keynes. Each neighbourhood would have a number of architects designing in them. Not only would the neighbourhoods look different from each other, but houses within the same neighbourhood would look different. In order to illustrate this point, multiple houses constructed in each of the neighbourhoods will be compared and contrasted. Pictures obtained by photographers hired by the Milton Keynes Development Corporation will serve as references for the individual houses and neighbourhoods. Multiple examples will be taken within each of the following Milton Keynes neighbourhoods: Great Linford, Neath Hill, Milton Keynes Village, and Central Milton Keynes. In order to demonstrate the variety of the architecture of Milton Keynes, some of the elements of the neighbourhoods that will be compared and contrasted are the usage of garages, fences, and landscaping.

More evidence to support the claim that the Milton Keynes Development Corporation wanted variety of architecture in the New Town can be found in the minutes of a meeting held between the Development Corporation and the Department of the Environment.

Mr Roche outlined the background to the Corporation's proposals for Higher Standards and Standard II Housing. The combination of "green field" situation and a high rate of development in Milton Keynes greatly increased the danger of producing housing of uniform quality and limited variety...⁴⁰⁸

This quotation is proof that the architecture of Milton Keynes was meant to be varied. The architecture was supposed to be so varied that the prospect of the housing

⁴⁰⁷ Meeting minutes between the Ministry of Housing and Local Government and the Milton Keynes Development Corporation from 15 January 1976, not published, HLG 115/864, National Archives.

⁴⁰⁸ Meeting minutes between the Department of the Environment and Milton Keynes Development Corporation on housing standards, 11 February 1974, 1, not published, HLG 115/864, National Archives.

being uniform was seen as a “danger”. Further examples of the Milton Keynes Development Corporation’s intention for the architecture to be variety in other meeting minutes. For instance, minutes from a 21 December meeting indicated, “The Development Corporation had urged the need for more varied and imaginative architectural for some of their rented housing if the town were to avoid monotony of minimum-cost housing.”⁴⁰⁹

In addition to meeting minutes, the desire for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation to design the New Town can be found in their correspondence. A letter from Milton Keynes Development Corporation Chief Finance and Administrative Officer, K Wren, to the Secretary of the Department of Environment stated, “If the Corporation is to achieve the goal of variety of choice in housing, then all of these methods will need to be utilised if the full range of variety of houses is to be available in the city.”⁴¹⁰

Not only was the Development Corporation interested in having variety of architecture in Milton Keynes, they also placed importance on the housing being beautiful. A New Town that was intended to be both beautiful and varied will remind the reader of Gibberd’s journal, and his Evidence of the Development Corporation’s desire for Milton Keynes to be beautiful can be in their discussions with the Department of Environment over proposed balconies in Fishermead, “The Development Corporation’s representatives agreed that an important aim in using the balconies - which were generally agreed to be the most difficult item to admit within the terms of the “higher standards” delegation - was to import some sculptural quality to the appearance of the houses...”⁴¹¹ The balconies were not just supposed to be there for aesthetic reasons, as the proposed balconies would provide space to extend the living room.⁴¹² Additionally, the balconies would also provide a car-port

⁴⁰⁹ Meeting minutes discussing Fishermead housing in Milton Keynes between the Department of the Environment and Milton Keynes Development Corporation, 21 December 1973, not published, HLG 115/864, National Archives.

⁴¹⁰ Letter from Milton Keynes Development Corporation Chief Administrative & Finance Officer K Wren to AFW Swift, Esq. the Secretary of the Department of the Environment, 23 June 1971, not published, HLG 115/942, National Archives.

⁴¹¹ Meeting minutes discussing Fishermead housing in Milton Keynes between the Department of the Environment and Milton Keynes Development Corporation, 21 December 1973, 1, not published, HLG 115/864, National Archives.

⁴¹² Meeting minutes discussing Fishermead housing in Milton Keynes between the Department of the Environment and Milton Keynes Development Corporation, 21 December 1973, 1, not published, HLG 115/864, National Archives.

roof. Their functionality was the only reason that the Department of the Environment considered the balconies on the “higher standards” housing, as they would not have entertained the suggestion on aesthetic grounds only.⁴¹³

Variety of Architecture in Houses for Sale in Great Linford

The following sections will examine a case study within our case study. The architecture of the Great Linford district will be examined in order to demonstrate the variety of Milton Keynes architecture. The first comparison will be of two houses both located in Kindleton in Great Linford. Figure 22 (fig.22) gives an aerial view of the street. Unlike Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City, the houses are not on a main road. Not only does the pavement separate the houses from the road, but so does the landscaping. The aerial view shows that the spacing of the houses is asymmetrical, and the houses are as aesthetically varied as their spacing. For instance, upon entering Kindleton there are two houses immediately on the left, but four immediately on the right. The asymmetry does not stop there, as houses continue to be scattered throughout the aerial image. Figure twenty-two (fig.22) is another aerial look at Kindleton. The landscaping helps to obscure and offset the houses from each other. This image also tells us that each house has a garage.

To further illustrate the variety of architecture of Kindleton, a closer look will now be given at two of the houses on the street. The images show the houses during construction. The first house (fig.24) appears to be smaller than our other examples from the street (fig.25), or it could appear this way because of the angle that the photograph was taken. More than this, these two images could even be from the same house. If this were the case, that would only prove that there is so much variety in the architecture, that the same house looks different from different vantage points.

Also in the Great Linford district is Stonehayes, wherein we will look at four examples. The first two are shown in the same photo (fig.26), as they are direct neighbours. These two houses are further examples of houses on the same street looking different from each other, but even more so than the Kindleton examples.

⁴¹³Meeting minutes discussing Fishermead housing in Milton Keynes between the Department of the Environment and Milton Keynes Development Corporation, 21 December 1973, 1, not published, HLG 115/864, National Archives.

Not only are these houses aesthetically different from the Kindleton, but they look different to each other. The house on the left extends where the house on the right is recessed, and the house on the right is recessed where the house on the left extends. As far as building materials go, they are the same, with the exception of the wood used on the house on the left. They complement each other, as opposed to being copies of each other. This theme continues throughout Stonehayes. The third Stonehayes example (fig.27) resembles the house on the left in the first Stonehayes example, but is completely unlike the fourth Stonehayes example (fig.28). The final Stonehayes house does not resemble any of the other examples, nor does it look like the houses from Kindleton in Great Linford. It uses the same building materials, but that is one of the only similarities. The most striking differences on the last Stonehayes examples are the windows and the fact the frontage is totally flat.

Our next comparison comes from two very different detached houses in two different parts of Great Linford. The first example (fig.29) is a detached house from The Pavilions in Great Linford, and is aesthetically very much from the second example of (fig.30) from Alverton, Great Linford. The houses are both detached and they both utilise brick and wood, but the similarities end there. The Alverton example has a much more simplified and straightforward design, but the Pavilions example is much more complex. The small wall/fence appears to obscure a driveway, though this is an uncertainty. There is also no obvious way of entry into the house, unlike the Alverton example. The Alverton example uses wood at the top half of the house and brick on the bottom half. The Pavilions detached example shows the house to be made of brick, but part of the roofing is made of wood. There are also two clear levels in the Alverton example, whereas the number of floors in the Pavilions house is unclear.

The Lodge Gates houses in Great Linford are detached (fig.31 and fig.32). They are unlike the Kindleton and Stonehayes houses, as the Lodge Gate houses are located directly on the street. They are aesthetically most like the Alverton detached house example (fig.30), although they use different building materials. The Alverton example is a combination of wood and brick, whereas the Lodge Gate houses are brick.

All the Great Linford houses that have been discussed thus far have all been houses that were for sale. As we saw earlier in this chapter, the planners of Welwyn Garden City tried to make the houses that were designed for the lower classes aesthetically similar to those of the upper classes. The Welwyn Garden City planners tried to make the houses for the different classes as similar to each other as possible in general. The planners of Harlow and Milton Keynes seemingly had the opposite goal, and tried to make the New Towns as varied as possible.

Variety of Architecture in Great Linford Rental Houses

The rental houses in Milton Keynes' Great Linford district are aesthetically varied from each other as well as the houses that were for sale in Great Linford. Our first example of rental houses are in Hazelwood of Great Linford show our only example of a playground (fig.33). This is worthy of mentioning as shows a communal area. This is different than some of the examples of the houses for sale. For instance, as the aerial views of Kindleton (fig.22 and fig.23) which show divisions between the houses. The Hazelwood houses are not divided but are terraced. As will be shown, all Great Linford rental houses are terraced with the exception of one, though they are all terraced differently.

France Furlough was designed as an estate of rental houses (fig.34), the most distinguishable feature of these houses being tall, open fencing (fig.34 and fig 35). Not only were the rental houses of Hazelwood and France Furlough different each other and different from the houses for sale in Great Linford, they were also different from the other rental houses. To illustrate this, we will take a closer look at the Marsh Drive (fig.37) and Champion rental houses (fig.38). The rental houses of Great Linford's France Furlough were red brick, but Great Linford's Champion rental houses (fig.38) were made of wood at the top and brick at the bottom.

Garages in Great Linford Sale and Rental Houses

As Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City were not planned for the automobile, they did not need to have a garage. As will be shown in the chapter on Transportation, Harlow was largely designed around the automobile, but it had not been so fully adopted than to make the garage a necessity in the New Town. By the time that Milton Keynes car ownership was at an all-time high. Architects were definitely planning with the garage in mind, when it doing so was feasible.

The Kindleton aerial view (fig.22 and fig.23) shows that each house on that street would have a garage on completion. Fig.27, one of the Stonehayes examples, shows a driveway and a garage. The Alverton detached house example (fig.30) also has a garage, as well as the houses for sale in Lodge Gates (fig.32). It is worth noting that most of the garage examples used here, have the car outside the garage. Often the garage is used as storage, or as an additional room.

With the exception of the Nicholas Mead semi-detached houses, all of the Great Linford rental houses are terraced. Because the rental houses are terraced, there is no room for a driveway or a garage. The residents of the rental houses would park in car parks, as shown in the France Furlough example or on the street as shown in the Nicholas Mead semi-detached house examples (fig.41 and fig.42).

Variety of Landscaping in Great Linford Sale and Rental Houses

As one might expect, the landscaping in the houses for sale in Great Linford was designed to be more elaborate than those for rent. One of the best examples of this can be seen in the aerial views of Kindleton (fig.22 and fig.23). These images show models of shrubbery acting as fencing for the houses on the street, as well as creating fencing between neighbors. Though not much greenery is shown in most of the Stonehayes examples, the third example (fig.27) does show that trees had been planted in front of the house. The landscaping was also different between the Great Linford rental houses. The France Furlough houses have trees planted throughout (fig.34, fig.35, and fig.36), the Marsh Drive houses have very sparse shrubbery (fig.37), and the Champion houses have a canal and additional water features (fig.38, and fig.40).

Variety of Fencing in Great Linford Sale and Rental Houses

We have looked at the differences in parking, landscaping, aesthetics of the houses in the Great Linford section of Milton Keynes. Another aspect that shows variety in architecture is the fencing used throughout Great Linford. Where the houses for sale had garages as a feature, some of the examples of rental houses in Great Linford had fencing. This ultimately served as a division, or a creation of privacy. Whereas areas like Kindleton would have privacy from landscaping, fences would be used to create the same effect for rental houses. Fencing is repeated theme in the Great Linford terraced rental houses, though the respective fences are

different. We have already looked at the terraced rental houses of France Furlough's distinctive fences (fig.34 and fig.35). Instead of creating division, these fences behave differently as they act as a bridge between the blocks of houses. The Campion terraced rental houses had two types of fences. One type was made of concrete and can be seen in fig.40 and the other type was wooden and that fencing was very low to the ground, appearing as almost an afterthought.

Conclusion:

This chapter has examined the architecture of Letchworth Garden City, Welwyn Garden City, Harlow, and Milton Keynes. It has cited publications and statements by the designers of the respective towns, and their intentions for how they wanted the towns to appear. Unwin wanted subtly in any variation of architecture. As Unwin was quoted earlier in the chapter, "Unity must dominate if the variations are to please."⁴¹⁴ The opposite has been shown to be the case for the planning of the New Town. Gibberd wrote in his journal that he did not want Harlow to look like a Garden City. He cited the examples of Bath, Florence, and Rotenburg, and stated that those cities were more beautiful than Welwyn Garden City because they evolved. The Garden City had its own style, but Gibberd wanted Harlow to have a varied look. The different levels of income within Garden City had little effect on the housing design. In contrast, the different levels of income within Harlow were evident in Gibberd's designs. His famous tower flats are within view of different types of houses. Like Harlow, the architecture of Milton Keynes has been shown to be varied through the examination of the Great Linford district.

To summarise thus far, the Introduction showed the ways that the Garden City has been misinterpreted, and stated that the two aims of this thesis were to solve the mystery of how "Garden City" became synonymous with "New Town", and to prove why the terms should not be used interchangeably. The first two chapters claimed and gave evidence that FJO was responsible for the confusion surrounding the usage of the terms. The third chapter contrasted the ownership of the Garden City with that of the New Town, and the current chapter has examined the uniformity of the architecture of the Garden City juxtaposed by the variety of the architecture of

⁴¹⁴ Raymond Unwin, "Co-operative Architecture", 249-250. 'The City' no.11, vol.1, (Letchworth and London: J.M. Dent and Co.), November 1909, According to a footnote on the first page, the article was based on a lecture that Unwin gave to the Letchworth Art Workers' Guild on October 12, 1909.

the New Town. The next chapter will be the last and will conclude the argument made in the current chapter and the one previous, giving evidence as to why “Garden City” and “New Town” should not be used synonymously. To do this, the next chapter will examine the transportation of the Garden City versus the transportation of the New Town.

Chapter V:

Disparities Between Transportation Planning in the Garden City and the New Town

This will be the third and final chapter that will give evidence to support this thesis' claim that the terms "Garden City" and "New Town" should not be used interchangeably. This thesis has examined the role of the Association in the Garden City and the New Town, and this chapter will continue in that thread. Whereas the first two chapters of this thesis examined the importance of FJO to the confusion surrounding the synonymous usage of terms, this chapter will look at the transportation schemes of the Garden City and New Town through the lens of former Town and Country Planning Association chairman and president, Sir Peter Hall. In addition to Hall, the writings of Transport Strategy professor, Dr Stephen Potter of the Open University will also be utilised. Potter's writings will be used in attempt to re-enforce my argument that the terms "Garden City" and "New Town" should not be used synonymously.

Howard was able to imagine his Garden City because of the massive expansion of railways during the nineteenth century. The cutting-edge technology of the railway allowed Howard to imagine his Garden City. The railway transformed how people and goods travelled across the country. Because of this transformation, Howard would have been surprised to learn that, less than a hundred years later, one of his own disciples would be campaigning for the conversion of railway lines into motoring roads. The disciple, Peter Hall, will act as a bridge between the Garden City and the New Town. Hall has the perspective of a planner-historian who was well versed in the Garden City, but who planned during the New Town years. Not only was Hall chairman and president of the Association, Hall had even designed a New Town in mid-Wales.⁴¹⁵ Referencing Hall will show that the terms "Garden City" and "New Town" should not be used synonymously.

By the time of the New Town, rail was no longer the most advanced form of transport; the railway was no longer cutting edge. The future was no longer the train.

⁴¹⁵ "New mid-Wales town 'viable'." *The Times*, 27 July, 1966, 9. The town that Hall designed was supposed to be based around an old Roman site at Caersws. It was planned to house 70,000 and cover fourteen miles of the Severn Valley, but the plan was shelved and the town was never made.

Later in the chapter we will consider how the New Towns of Harlow and Milton Keynes experimented with their own cutting-edge technology in transport: the 'Dial-A-Bus' scheme.⁴¹⁶ Examining the 'Dial-A-Bus' scheme tells us a great deal about the transportation planning concepts of the New Town, and how they differed from those of Howard's Garden City. The Dial-A-Bus experiments will be discussed later in the chapter.

Howard's Plan for the Railway in the Garden/Social City

To understand the transport of the Garden City, it is integral to understand the importance of the railway to Howard's plan. By again looking at the fifth diagram included in *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (fig.5), it is obvious just how important the railway was to Howard's overall plan. The title for the diagram reads, "Correct Principle of a City's Growth," and the description of the diagram was as follows, "Illustrating correct principle of a city's growth-open country ever near at hand, and rapid communication between off-shoots." The image itself was of three circles that were connected by a triangle. Text running through the middle of the image indicated that the railway was intended to intersect the space between the large circle and the two smaller circles. The large circle (representing the "central city") is connected to the smaller circles (Garden Cities) by a series of railways. The railway was integral to Ebenezer Howard's plan for an improved way of living, by accommodating the overflow from the grossly overpopulated Victorian city. The distance between the Garden City and the central city would be bridged by a series of railways. Howard also planned that every citizen of the Garden City would be within 660 yards of the railway.⁴¹⁷

An even greater insight into Howard's plan for the Garden City is gleaned from the seventh diagram of *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*). The reader will be familiar with this deleted diagram, as it was discussed at length in the

⁴¹⁶ The function of the 'Dial-A-Bus' was a simple one: if you wanted to go somewhere, you called a bus from one of its designated telephones along the route. In short, the 'Dial-A-Bus' operated as a bus/taxi hybrid. To the twenty-first century mind, it is difficult to fathom a time when something like the 'Dial-A-Bus' seemed revolutionary, but contemporary reports of the 'Dial-A-Bus' presented it as the next new thing in transport: the marriage of mass motoring and telecommunications.

⁴¹⁷ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 17.

Introduction to this thesis. It is evident by this image that Howard intended for the railway to be circular. This circular railway would connect a series of Garden Cities to form what Howard referred to as the Social City. The previously overpopulated central city is, by no surprise, placed at the centre of the diagram. Howard was a strong proponent for decentralisation, and without the railway, decentralisation would not be possible.

The marriage of town and country that Howard preached throughout his text, would not have been possible without decentralisation, and in turn, it would not have been possible without Peter Kropotkin. Kropotkin published his ideas in a series of articles which were later published in the text *Fields, Factories and Workshops of Tomorrow*.⁴¹⁸ In his own words, “Agriculture calls manufactures into existence, and manufactures support agriculture. Both are inseparable; and the combination, the integration of both brings about the grandest results.”⁴¹⁹ Through this quote, it is evident that Kropotkin wanted the “decentralisation of industries” (the title of the first chapter of the text⁴²⁰) for the benefit of agriculture and industry. Kropotkin took issue with Britain’s inability to sufficiently provide for itself in terms of agriculture.⁴²¹ Kropotkin wanted Great Britain to be able to sufficiently provide for itself. His idea of bringing industry into agriculture undoubtedly influenced Howard. The two were even acquainted, as they had met in London during the 1880s and 1890s.⁴²²

The shape of the Howard’s railway was undeniably central to his plan for the Social/Garden City. As we have already seen, Howard intended for the railway to be circular. On the surface, this was a very bizarre choice, but there was solid reasoning behind it. Howard’s “Inter-Municipal Railway” would connect the Garden Cities to the Social City, as well as each other, and this would only be possible because of its circular shape. The metaphorical centre of the Social City and the Garden City is the railway. Its shape was so important to Howard’s plan, that he replicated it in

⁴¹⁸ Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow*, (London: Freedom Press), 1985.

⁴¹⁹ Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow*, (London: Freedom Press), 1985, 25.

⁴²⁰ Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow*, (London: Freedom Press), 1985, 27.

⁴²¹ Peter Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow*, (London: Freedom Press), 1985, 49.

⁴²² Dennis Hardy, *From Garden Cities to New Towns* (Chapman and Hall: London, New York, Tokyo, Melbourne, Madras, 1991), 24.

other aspects of the planning of the Garden/Social City, "...Garden City, which is to be built near the centre of the 6,000 acres, covers an area of 1,000 acres, or a sixth part of the 6,000 acres, and is of circular form..."⁴²³ Howard continued to describe other elements of his plan that would mimic the circular railway:

Six magnificent boulevards...dividing it into six equal parts or wards. In the centre is a circular space containing about five and a half acres, laid out as a beautiful and well-watered garden; and, surrounding this garden, each standing in its own ample grounds are larger public buildings...The rest of the large space encircled by the 'Crystal Palace' is a public park...which includes ample recreation grounds within very easy access of all the people.⁴²⁴

The circle is undoubtedly a recurring theme in Howard's text. His whole plan is circular: one circle is placed inside another which is placed inside another, et cetera. So, why was the circle so important? Upon closer probing of the text, one can suggest some deep meaning linking to his ideals of social reform to the shape of the circle through a paragraph from Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* that he quotes, "...So all that is needed to break through the magic circle of social life, deliverance from which seems so hopeless, is that one man should view life from a Christian standpoint and begin to frame his own life accordingly, whereupon others will follow in his footsteps..."⁴²⁵ This reference, taken from Chapter eleven, "A Unique Combination of Proposals" is just an excerpt from the page-long Tolstoy quote. Howard could have taken the symbol 'magic circle of social life' and applied it to the literal structure of the town. As was discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, Ebenezer Howard planned for many eventualities. He was pragmatic in his plans, and there is no evidence to support that his reasoning for creating a circular plan was symbolic.

The circular railway would achieve decentralisation, and perhaps the circles

⁴²³ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 14.

⁴²⁴ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 14.

⁴²⁵ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 102.

that were designed to be placed within were merely contextual. Speed significantly played into the importance of decentralisation to the railway's shape. According to Howard, the outer ring of Garden Cities would be twenty miles in circumference, "so that to get from any town to its most distant neighbour requires one to cover a distance of only ten miles, which could be accomplished in say twelve minutes."⁴²⁶ Howard also noted that the trains would only stop within towns and not between.⁴²⁷ This was most likely to achieve the twelve minutes of travel time that Howard promised. Howard also noted that the distance from any Garden City to the Social City would only be three and a one quarter miles and could be travelled in five minutes.⁴²⁸ The speed that was allowed by the planned circular railway would play nicely into the decentralisation of the Social City and Garden Cities. The speed with which one could travel within the towns made decentralisation a possibility, as the towns would be far enough away from each other to give the citizens plenty of space but easily and quickly accessible due to the Inter-Municipal Railway.

The Importance of Pedestrian Access to the Garden City

We have examined the importance of the railway to the Garden City. However, Howard made extensive plans for another mode of transportation: pedestrian accessibility. In the first chapter of *To-morrow*, Howard quoted John Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies* on his thoughts of an ideal city:

...Clean and busy street with within and the open country without, with a beautiful garden and orchard round the walls, so that from any part of the city perfectly fresh air and grass and sight of far horizon might be reachable in a few moments' walk. This is the final aim.⁴²⁹

This quote was undoubtedly important to Howard, as he used it not only in the first chapter, but also on the first page. Howard ended the excerpt with the 'final aim'

⁴²⁶ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 132.

⁴²⁷ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 132.

⁴²⁸ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 132.

⁴²⁹ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 12.

being pedestrian accessibility, clearly showing its importance to his purposes. Pedestrian accessibility, like the railway, was key to Howard's plan. The Inter-Municipal Railway was intended for movement between the cities, but walking was the mode of transportation within the cities. Howard gave a tour of the Garden City to the reader in the first chapter of his text.⁴³⁰ He took the reader through the set-up of the proposed Garden City, beginning with the boulevards that surrounded it and worked his way into the centre. It was clearly intended to be a walking tour, as he did not mention it until he talked about viewing the Crystal Palace, "...As we continue our walk, we observe that the houses are for the most part built either in concentric rings, facing the various avenues (as the circular roads are termed)."⁴³¹ The avenues are another example of how the Garden City was circular. As previously discussed, the Garden City was an element of the Social City which was also intended to be circular. However, the diagrams that are heavily associated with the Garden City diagram (fig.5 and fig.10) only show part of the plan.

Pedestrian accessibility was key to Howard's plan for decentralisation. The very centre of the town was to be occupied a 145-acre park that was to be used by all the city's residents, and then surrounded by the Crystal Palace.⁴³² The public buildings were not directly in the centre, but on the outskirts of the centre. Not only were the public buildings not located in the direct centre of the Garden City, but they were not all grouped together, "In the centre is a circular space containing about five and a half acres, laid out as a beautiful and well-watered garden; and surrounding this garden, each standing in its own ample grounds, are the larger public buildings – town hall, principal concert and lecture hall, theatre, library, museum, picture-gallery, and hospital."⁴³³ Nowhere on this diagram did he mention any of the civic buildings. In the direct centre of the diagram is central park, indicating that the park is the most

⁴³⁰ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 15.

⁴³¹ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 15.

⁴³² Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 14.

⁴³³ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 14.

important element to the Garden City and not public buildings. In concentric circles outside the centre, the sections were designed as follows: Crystal Palace, houses with gardens, Grand Avenue.⁴³⁴ The avenues not only moved concentrically, but they also intersected with other sections, so that pedestrians would have a much easier route.

The industry of the Garden City was also planned to be decentralised, “On the outer ring of the town are factories, warehouses, dairies, markets, coal yards, timber yards, etc., all fronting on the circle railway, which encompasses the whole town...”⁴³⁵ The factories being on the outskirts of the Garden City would allow for a healthier living environment. The railway would allow for materials to be easily delivered to the various businesses, whilst keeping the air in the centre of the city clean. Although the industry was located on the outskirts of the Garden City, it was still accessible by foot. This was not possible in the New Town, as we have already seen, the scale of the New Town was much larger.

As the railway line was located on the outskirts of the Garden City, this obviously meant that the railway station would be on the outskirts, as well. This is clear when looking at the triangular diagram to which was earlier referred. This was unusual as the railway station was usually located centrally. We will come back to this later, when we look at the location of the rail station in the New Towns of Milton Keynes and Harlow.

The Importance of the Bicycle to the Garden City: Ebenezer Howard’s Unpublished Article, “How the Bicycle Saved a City”

We have looked at the importance of the railway and pedestrian access to the Garden City, but in the early days of constructing Letchworth Garden City, Ebenezer Howard wrote an article that was never published entitled, “How the Bicycle Saved a City” written c. 1908. As will be suggested later in this section, this is another difference between the Garden City and the New Town, as the bicycle played little importance in the latter. Howard’s article will now be discussed in detail, as it makes

⁴³⁴ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 16.

⁴³⁵ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 16.

the grand claim that the bicycle, or as Howard called it, the “the poor man’s steel nag”⁴³⁶ made the Garden City possible:

Now the Garden City project, regarded at first with so much scepticism by the public, is being saved by a very simple thing, which, certainly I, though the originator of the idea, had not thought of as a thing that would have the least bearing on the enterprise. But it had the very closest and most immediate bearing; and indeed, without it one of two things would have happened. Either the experiment must have failed, or the public must have been a very great deal more thorough-going in their support of what ought to be regarded as a really national undertaking towards the success of which each should do his or her share. The bicycle has worked a miracle which was beyond the faith of the 20th Century Britisher...⁴³⁷

By stating that the Garden City was, at first, looked upon with “so much scepticism” suggests that, at the time of his writing the article, it was no longer looked upon as so. In his article on the bicycle saving Letchworth, Howard stated over and again that it was the bicycle that made the Garden City a success. We will compare these statements to the principles of the Garden City movement.

The problem at Letchworth needs to be defined before an explanation of how the first Garden City was saved. Howard described the forming of Garden City Ltd. (the Company), and the subsequent purchase of 3,800 acres of land in Hertfordshire, which was the designated area for the development of Letchworth, the first Garden City.⁴³⁸ Howard then described the early days of work at Letchworth, and how a certain problem affected production from the outset - housing the workers.⁴³⁹ Howard thought that the workmen should have been provided shelter on the site, “Then these could have all lived on the estate and formed a splendid

⁴³⁶ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 6, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴³⁷ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 1-2, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴³⁸ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 2, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴³⁹ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 2, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

nucleus of population, spending their earnings there, and like wheels, propelling other wheels.”⁴⁴⁰ The symbolism of the circle was discussed earlier in the chapter, and the ‘wheel’ is certainly represented one of the earlier versions of what would become deleted diagram number 7 (fig.8) It is logical that Howard would view the individual components of the city (even its inhabitants) as wheels.

Howard proposed that two hundred cottages should have been constructed before any real work on the city was to be done, as a small army of workers were needed at Letchworth to make roads and sewers, as well as to install gas and water pipes.⁴⁴¹ The workers needed to be housed on site, but Howard stated that the housing available on the site was “small villas and numerous cottages of superior type.”⁴⁴² Howard revealed that the bicycle made the Garden City possible. About 360 of the workmen could not afford to live in Letchworth and had to commute to the Garden City:

...and these people...instead of what should have been their natural home ---the City which they, by their own labour, skill and energy are erecting...who at the close of the day, wet or fine, have to go off to Hitchin, Baldock, Stotfield, and even Stevenage. The bicycle enables many of them to do this, and thus the bicycle has saved the situation; has saved the Garden City; and as perhaps time may prove, has even saved the country.⁴⁴³

This quotation is the explanation of Howard’s claim that the bicycle saved the Garden City. The workmen commuted by bicycle to construct a city that was supposed to be based around the railway. There was no “splendid nucleus of population” as the only thing the workmen were able to do in the Garden City was work. They had no cottage. They had no garden. According to Howard, Letchworth was supposed to be, “...as a model industrial and residential town; the town in the

⁴⁴⁰ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 4, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴⁴¹ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 4, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴⁴² Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 4, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴⁴³ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 4, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

centre, a ring of agricultural land around; industries to be attracted to the estate by special advantages to be offered; cottages, with good gardens, to be erected, and let at low rents near the works so that the men might go home to all their meals...⁴⁴⁴

The Garden City was created to offer industry and residence in proximity. By these standards, Letchworth was not a “model industrial and residential town”, as its workmen could not afford housing in the Garden City, and have to travel for miles by bicycle every morning and evening. As earlier mentioned, Howard stated that, in time, the bicycle, “has saved the situation; has saved the Garden City; and as perhaps time may prove, has even saved the country.”⁴⁴⁵ This quotation is evidence that Howard felt that the “poor man’s steel nag” saved not only Letchworth, but the Garden City movement. Howard also stated that the Garden City should not have only addressed depopulating urban centres, but also rural districts:

For the housing problem; the unemployed problem; the problem of depopulation of rural districts, and control of the liquor traffic; of getting the people back upon the land, of putting agriculture on a second and profitable [sic] basis - all these problems much at least be illuminated by a successful issue of the experiment.⁴⁴⁶

The workmen had to drive their “poor man’s steel nag” back to their homes in the rural district. According to the above excerpt, for the experiment to be considered successful it had to solve the problems that were plaguing Victorian living. Howard stated that the bicycle saved a city. Perhaps the “poor man’s steel nag” saved Letchworth, but did not save the Garden City. The Letchworth workmen could not live in a town that was supposed to be owned by its workers. The story of the bicycle and Letchworth Garden City also illustrates another difference between the Garden City and the New Town. The bicycle played an important role in Letchworth Garden, but Milton Keynes (arguably the most well-known New Town) was planned without

⁴⁴⁴ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 1, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴⁴⁵ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 5, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

⁴⁴⁶ Ebenezer Howard “How the Bicycle Saved the City”, no date, c.1908, 3, not published, DE/Ho/F3/24, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

cycle paths.⁴⁴⁷

Desire Lines in the Garden City and New Towns

The preceding sections of this chapter have examined the methods of transportation that were integral to the Garden City. We have seen the inflexible circular railway of Howard's initial plan, and the following sections will detail the flexibility of the transportation in the New Town. Now we will switch gears to examining the flexibility of the transportation of the New Town in comparison with the inflexibility of Howard's railway and road systems. We begin the discussion with the work of someone who was very familiar with transportation and New Towns, Dr Stephen Potter. Potter, Professor of Transport Strategy for the Open University, published a series of books about the transportation of the Garden City and New Towns. Potter is important for our purposes because he was based in Milton Keynes and worked with a group called the New Towns Study Unit. He wrote extensively on the transport of the New Towns and Garden Cities. Regarding Potter's series, perhaps it would be useful to revisit one of the major claims of this thesis. In the first chapter, it was outlined how the term "Garden City" and "New Town" are often incorrectly used synonymously. Potter goes on to perpetuate this myth that they are interchangeable by two texts that has written. In 1976, when he started his series of texts on transport in the New Towns, he began with a book entitled *Transport and New Towns: The Historical Perspective*. This text was not about New Towns, it was about Howard's plan for the Garden City as well the early transport of the Garden Cities of Letchworth and Welwyn. What is more interesting to note, especially for our purposes, is that Potter (like Howard) republished the text five years later under a different name. This time he called the text *Transport in the Garden Cities*. The New Towns Act was not passed until 1946, but nothing in Potter's first text dates after the 1930s.

Potter's volume on the Garden City gives a closer look at the Social City than most anyone that was looked at in the Introduction to this thesis (with the obvious exception of Peter Hall). It is interesting to note that though Potter knew about the Social City, that he still used the triangular diagram in his text.⁴⁴⁸ Not only did he use

⁴⁴⁷ Peter Bagwell and Peter J. Lyth. *Transport in Britain: from canal to gridlock*, London, Hambeldon and London: A&C Black), 2002, 120.

⁴⁴⁸ Stephen Potter, *Transport Planning in the Garden Cities*, (New Towns Study Unit: Open University), 1981.

Howard's original design, but he also included a triangular section of the Garden City by his own design (fig.44).⁴⁴⁹ Interestingly, this diagram was entitled "The Tram Lines of Garden City compared to Journey to Work Desire Lines", but as referenced earlier in this chapter, Howard made little reference to tramways. The desire lines of which Potter referred (as we have just seen in fig.44), are key to understanding the planning of the roads and transportation surrounding New Towns.

Authors Nick Shephard and Noleen Murray of the text *Desire Lines: Space, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid City*, define a desire line as "An informal path that pedestrians prefer to take to get from one location to another rather than using a sidewalk or other official route."⁴⁵⁰ Martin Hall wrote the afterword to that text and included a more detailed definition (speaking in the context of the post-apartheid city); "Lines of desire cut across the formal grid, challenging the search for order, engaging in a tussle for recognition and difference, and risking disappointment and destruction as the stamp of authority."⁴⁵¹ This quotation is seemingly obtuse, as he is talking about the post-apartheid city, but there is a correlation to the desire lines of which Potter was referring. There was a hierarchy in Howard's arrangement of the Garden City. The Crystal Palace and park were placed in the town centre, as healthier living was a focus of Howard's plan (through the marriage of town and country). The pollution-producing factories were relegated to the outskirts of the Garden City, as this was largely what trying to be avoided by escaping London. Like circular Parisian arrondissements, the locations closest to the centre are of most appeal and acclaim. Though Howard was so concerned about walking access, the concentric circles of Howard's plan made it inherently inflexible, and the pedestrian creates desire lines to traverse the Garden City. According to Potter, Howard should have been designing regarding desire lines. The problem with Potter applying desire lines to the Garden City is that the Garden City predated desire lines. Potter, writing on transport for the Open University in the

⁴⁴⁹ Stephen Potter. *Transport Planning in the Garden Cities*. (New Towns Study Unit: Open University), 1981, 17.

⁴⁵⁰ Noleen Murray and Nick Shepard, *Desire Lines: Spaces, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid*, edited by Martin Hall, (USA and Canada: Routledge), 2007, 1.

⁴⁵¹ Noleen Murray and Nick Shepard, *Desire Lines: Spaces, Memory and Identity in the Post-Apartheid*, edited by Martin Hall, (USA and Canada: Routledge), 2007, 287.

1970s, would have been familiar with the phenomenon as it was developed in the 1940s,⁴⁵² after Howard's time. The United States Bureau of Public Records conceived a new type of traffic survey in 1944.⁴⁵³ They went door-to-door and asked citizens specific questions about the starting and end points of any trips that they had made on the previous day. With that data, they were able to connect the dots between spaces, creating straight lines. These straight lines were designated "desire lines".⁴⁵⁴ The desire lines allowed planners to see patterns which improved traffic conditions.⁴⁵⁵ It is understandable that Potter applied desire lines to Howard's plan, but there was no such concept in 1898.

The New Towns were being created simultaneously to advent of the desire lines. Desire lines, are all about the individual: 'Where do I want to go?' We have already seen the boost of consumerism that was evidenced in the planning of New Towns. Consumer culture and desire lines are closely linked. It is all about pleasing the individual's wants and needs as opposed to the betterment of a group. Milton Keynes' centre has a shopping mall, whereas Howard's planned centre for the Garden City was the Crystal Place. Though the Garden City's road design was inflexible, New Towns were flexible. Cities like Milton Keynes were built on the grid system. They have order, but they have no hierarchy. The plan is flexible in the sense that one can easily traverse any part of the city, as side-streets make everything accessible. There is less need for the desire lines in the New Towns as there are more pavements, or "official routes" than there was in the Garden City. The New Town is also made flexible because of the roundabout. As far as the actual road construction of Letchworth, like Howard's plan, it was radial in shape. But according to Potter, Unwin and Parker had reason to do what they did, "Unlike in Howard's model, there was justification for a radial road pattern as the land use

⁴⁵² Henry Fagin. "Improving Mobility within the Metropolis" from Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science. Vol. 27. No. 1. *The Urban Problems*, May, 1960, 61.

⁴⁵³ Henry Fagin. "Improving Mobility within the Metropolis" from Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science. Vol. 27. No. 1. *The Urban Problems*, May, 1960, 61.

⁴⁵⁴ Henry Fagin. "Improving Mobility within the Metropolis" from Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science. Vol. 27. No. 1. *The Urban Problems*, May, 1960, 61.

⁴⁵⁵ Henry Fagin. "Improving Mobility within the Metropolis" from Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science. Vol. 27. No. 1. *The Urban Problems*, May, 1960, 61.

distribution was expected to yield an essentially radial flow.”⁴⁵⁶ This is evident that the road system of Letchworth, like that of Howard’s plan for the Garden City was inflexible. That was also the case in Garden Cities of Letchworth and Welwyn where there is a large amount of cul-de-sacs. Cul-de-sacs, by the nature of their design, are inflexible - they are essentially dead-ends.

The Transportation of Harlow

As Harlow was designed in the mid twentieth-century, it was not intended to be a city for the automobile as not many people owned cars. This is why the railway station was originally located in the centre of town, however, as we will soon see, the location of the station moved as the New Town grew. The last chapter of this thesis introduced Gibberd’s plan for Harlow, so the reader will be familiar with the four quadrants of the New Town. There were four main roads that connected the quadrants and formed an irregular grid system.⁴⁵⁷ Here we see the beginning of the transition to the grid city that is realised in Milton Keynes. We have already seen that Harlow was not designed for the automobile, and it allowed for some pedestrian movement unlike other New Towns. Milton Keynes has few pedestrians, and as previously mentioned, is unaccommodating to cyclists. As the rail station is located on the outskirts of the city, it is evident that the city was not planned to be that pedestrian friendly. The station is not central to the city like older European cities – or even newer ones like Harlow. It is interesting to note, however, that Harlow eventually moved its railway station. What was previously known as Burnt Mill station was renamed Harlow Town Station. The previous Harlow Town Station became known as Harlow Mill Station.⁴⁵⁸ As there was little car ownership, there was a need

⁴⁵⁶ Stephen Potter. *Transport Planning in the Garden Cities*. (New Towns Study Unit: Open University), 1981, 33.

⁴⁵⁷ "Harlow Town," in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 8*, ed. W R Powell, Beryl A Board, Nancy Briggs, J L Fisher, Vanessa A Harding, Joan Hasler, Norma Knight and Margaret Parsons (London: Victoria County History, 1983), 149-158. *British History Online*, accessed 1 May 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol8/pp149-158>.

⁴⁵⁸ "Harlow Town," in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 8*, ed. W R Powell, Beryl A Board, Nancy Briggs, J L Fisher, Vanessa A Harding, Joan Hasler, Norma Knight and Margaret Parsons (London: Victoria County History, 1983), 149-158. *British History Online*, accessed 1 May 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol8/pp149-158>. (The author cites *The Builder* 7, October 1960)

for reliable public transportation. The first bus depot was established in 1961.⁴⁵⁹

The Railway Conversion Scheme

For our purposes, it is important to examine the railway conversion scheme as it is evidence of the waning interest in the railway during the time the New Town was fully taking shape. New Town transportation was something entirely different. The New Town did not need the railway to move within itself, unlike the Garden City. The New Town could not possibly be seen as a Garden City as Howard's initial plan was totally dependent on a circular railway. The railway is only important to the New Town as it connects the New Town with the rest of the country - not to itself. The scheme to convert the railways into motorways was founded by a group entitled the Railway Conversion League. The league was founded by Brigadier T.I. Lloyd and was first mentioned in his book *The Future of British Railways*.⁴⁶⁰ Founded in 1958, the league was created because its members felt that railway was on the decline and that redundant tracks could be used more effectively as roads.⁴⁶¹ The league submitted a memorandum to the British Transport Commission in June of 1960 that stated that railways were no longer essential and could be replaced with motor roads, "the only solution of present traffic problems lies in the complete abandonment of trains running on rails and the development of the present permanent way network."⁴⁶² As one might imagine, this was not a popular idea. One letter to *The Times* from a Major-General J.C. Latter stated:

Sir, The Railway Conversion League advocates in your March 12 issue the replacement of all train by road transport. York is 188 miles from London by rail. Weekday trains cover the journey in a little over three

⁴⁵⁹ "Harlow Town," in *A History of the County of Essex: Volume 8*, ed. W R Powell, Beryl A Board, Nancy Briggs, J L Fisher, Vanessa A Harding, Joan Hasler, Norma Knight and Margaret Parsons (London: Victoria County History, 1983), 149-158. *British History Online*, accessed 1 May 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/essex/vol8/pp149-158>

⁴⁶⁰ "Motor Roads from Railway Routes", *Times* (London), 24 October 1960: 4, *The Times Digital Archive*. *Web*, accessed on 20 Feb. 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnY5Y3>

⁴⁶¹ Byron Rogers, "Ramblers want freeze on rail land-rush", *Times* (London) 13 Oct. 1969: 2, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 21 February 2016 and 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYFN2>

⁴⁶² "Motor Roads from Railway Routes", *Times* (London), 24 October 1960: 4, *The Times Digital Archive*. *Web*, accessed on 20 Feb. 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnY5Y3>

hours, a few in less. They are usually very punctual, often arriving ahead of time at both ends...The trains are comfortable and run very smoothly. The catering is satisfactory, sometimes very good, with an adequate wine list. What has the Railway Conversion League to offer compare with this?⁴⁶³

Because of the distance from York to London, in the case of Major-General L.C. Latter, rail was a better option than using a car on a motorway (assuming that he even owned an operable vehicle and possessed a licence). Though the number of people who owned motor vehicles increased greatly in the second half of the twentieth-century, obviously not everyone (if anyone) was ready to abandon the railways. But the Railway Conversion League was not willing to abandon the fight for conversion. In a letter to *The Times* in 1972, the then league chairman, M.J. Douglass, was still pleading its case, "Given the necessary routes there is nothing that railways now do which cannot be done as well or better by road, so why do we have to go on paying out endless millions to prop up the railways...?"⁴⁶⁴ G.C. Jenkins, chairman of the Transport Subcommittee of the Committee for Environmental Conservation responded to Douglass' question in a letter to the editor. He stated that former railway lines were inadequate as they would not all be wide enough to facilitate a modern motor road.⁴⁶⁵ Chairman Jenkins also thought that the conversion of railways into roads would just generate more pollution and traffic problems.⁴⁶⁶ He closed with, "I would like to suggest that the Railway Conversion League reconsiders its brief, as the possibility of reforming as the Railway Re-conversion League."⁴⁶⁷ P.G. Sain-Ley-Berry of Essex also submitted a

⁴⁶³ J.C. Latter, "Road and rail", *Times* (London), 19 March 1971: 21. *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 21 February 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYKd9>

⁴⁶⁴ M.J. Douglass, "A case for roads" *Times* (London), 6 April 1972: 18, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 21 February 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnXwm6>

⁴⁶⁵ G.C. Jenkins and P.G. Sain-Ley-Berry, "Railway lines and roads, *Times* (London), 12 April 1972: 22, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 21 February 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYN86>

⁴⁶⁶ G.C. Jenkins and P.G. Sain-Ley-Berry, "Railway lines and roads, *Times* (London), 12 April 1972: 22, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 21 February 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYN86>.

⁴⁶⁷ G.C. Jenkins and P.G. Sain-Ley-Berry, "Railway lines and roads, *Times* (London), 12 April 1972: 22, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 21 February 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYN86>

letter to the editor of *The Times* wherein he described the Railway Conversion League as the “Turn all the railway lines into roads so we can pollute and smash ourselves to death at twice the present rate society.”⁴⁶⁸ With reviews like these in the early 1970s, it is no surprise that Hall and Smith were met with controversy when their 1976 study was published.

Because of the oil crisis, Railway Conversion League coordinator, Alan Allard, had the following to say at a meeting for Railway Conversion League at the Institute of Civil Engineers on 12 December 1973, “It might not be the best moment for arguing our case...But feeling has only gone against us in the past two or three weeks. It will come back the other way again. The important thing is that the trains are not very economic anyway. You can not take a train from door to door, so rail will never be very efficient.”⁴⁶⁹ The Garden City was based around a circular railway, but the centre of town was meant to be largely pedestrian. More details of Howard’s transportation vision for the Garden City will be discussed in the next section. Allard’s quotation that the railway is inefficient because it can never travel door-to-door is insinuating that the automobile can transport people door-to-door. However, it is more difficult for an automobile to approach a busy town centre, then it is for a train to arrive into the station in a busy town centre. Further to that point, Howard’s plan for the Garden City stated that the warehouses should be 150 feet from the railway.⁴⁷⁰ Allard’s statement at the Institute of Civil Engineers was the last that was heard of the argument, until Peter Hall and Edward Smith entered the scene.

Peter Hall and Edward Smith’s Argument for Railway Conversion

Peter Hall and Edward Smith entered the scene two years later. Hall is important to our argument for several reasons. Hall was a historian, academic, and planner, and most relevant to our purpose, he was a lifelong disciple of Ebenezer

⁴⁶⁸ G.C. Jenkins and P.G. Sain-Ley-Berry, “Railway lines and roads, *Times* (London), 12 April 1972: 22, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 21 February 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYN86>

⁴⁶⁹ PHS, “The Times Diary”, *Times* (London), 13 Dec. 1973: 18, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 22 February 2016 and again on 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYVH2>

⁴⁷⁰ Ebenezer Howard. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, (London: Sonn & Sonnenschein), 1898, 17.

Howard. As mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis, Hall was one the first historians to bring any exposure to Howard's Social City.

Hall along with transport economist and civil engineer, Edward Smith, conducted and published a controversial study in 1976 entitled *Better Use of Railways*.⁴⁷¹ This study found that the conversion of six East Anglian railway lines to express busways would save thirty million pounds a year.⁴⁷² The popularity of this study pressured the Government to conduct a busway trial which would test the findings of Hall and Smith.⁴⁷³ A report by the National Transport Council was reviewed in a Times article in 1977. The newspaper quoted the report as saying the following:

The Government's view is that it is impossible to generalize about the desirability of rail conversions and that much depends on the particular characteristics and circumstances of any individual route. It is also difficult to identify railway lines whose conversion for what would be exclusively a passenger-carrying operation would not present insuperable difficulties.⁴⁷⁴

As is evidenced by this report, the Government was not keen on Hall and Smith's study, but former chairman of the Railway Conversion League, Angus Dalgeish, expressed his approval of the study in a newspaper article in 1975.⁴⁷⁵

The study by Hall and Smith was met with considerable controversy. So much so, in fact, that it started before the study was ever published. A citizen of Oxfordshire, S.C. Hawtrey wrote a letter to the editor in *The Times* after the study was announced. He stated that though criticism of the study should wait until

⁴⁷¹ Michael Baily, "Busway' trial sought for East Anglia rail tracks", *Times* (London), 2 Feb. 1976: 3, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 20 February 2016 and 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYb88>

⁴⁷² Edward Smith, *Better Use of Railways: Comments and Rejoinders*, Foreword by Peter Hall, Reading: Department of Geography, University of Reading, 1978.

⁴⁷³ Michael Baily, "Busway' trial sought for East Anglia rail tracks", *Times* (London), 2 Feb. 1976: 3, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 20 February 2016 and 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYb88>

⁴⁷⁴ Michael Baily, "Busway' trial sought for East Anglia rail tracks", *Times* (London), 2 Feb. 1976: 3, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 20 February 2016 and 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYb88>

⁴⁷⁵ Michael Baily, "Busway' trial sought for East Anglia rail tracks", *Times* (London), 2 Feb. 1976: 3, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 20 February 2016 and 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYb88>

after the study was published, it was “ironic that your announcement should have appeared the day after a report (headed ‘Fog and Ice affect flights and roads’) in which we read that on December 15 the M4 into London was affected by fog which caused a long queue of traffic 17 miles long...⁴⁷⁶ Hawtrey went on to suggest that even if motor roads replaced railways, there was no way to ensure that it would be safer.⁴⁷⁷ Hawtrey was not the only concerned citizen to question the safety of the railway conversion scheme. P.G. Sain-Ley-Berry of Essex also addressed the fact that though railways met with strict health and safety regulations, motor roads and cars did not.⁴⁷⁸ Former operating officer and head of Southern and Western regions of British Rail, Lance Ibbotson, praised the possibilities of railway conversion under a think-tank founded by Margaret Thatcher and Sir Keith Joseph called Centre for Policy Studies.⁴⁷⁹ The existence of the railway conversion scheme suggests that the Garden City died along with the railway. The New Town could not possibly be seen as a Garden City as they were designed to be self-contained and the railway had little to no importance.

The Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment

An example of the difference between the New Town and the Garden City is the New Town’s experimental bus services. Harlow’s bus services and Milton Keynes roundabouts would not prove flexible enough, as both New Towns embarked upon an experimental and highly unusual program: The Dial-a-Bus. This section will be dedicated to the Harlow Dial-a-Bus experiment, and the following section will examine the Milton Keynes Dial-a-Bus. The idea behind the Dial-a-Bus was simple enough: you would call the service and they would come pick you up and take you to your destination. As we have seen, New Towns were built for the consumer. A more

⁴⁷⁶ Leopold Kohr., et al., “Changing railways into busways”, *Times* (London), 23 Dec. 1975: 9, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 22 February 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYgu0>

⁴⁷⁷ Leopold Kohr., et al., “Changing railways into busways”, *Times* (London), 23 Dec. 1975: 9, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 22 February 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYgu0>

⁴⁷⁸ G.C. Jenkins and P.G. Sain-Ley-Berry, “Railway lines and roads”, *Times* (London), 12 April 1972: 22, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 21 February 2016 and again 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYN86>

⁴⁷⁹ Michael Baily, “Railways are outdated, says ex-BR chief”, *Times* (London) 29 November 1982, *The Times Digital Archive*, accessed on 22 February and 29 September 2019, <http://tinyurl.gale.com/tinyurl/BnYkS1>

detailed explanation of the Dial-a-Bus (hereinafter referred to DAB) experiment is needed to give a clearer view of the scheme. The Department of the Environment's Transport and Road Research Laboratory (hereinafter referred to as TRRL) made predictions on the ridership on the Harlow DAB in order to plan for its development and implementation. Unfortunately, as we will see in the paragraphs that follow, those predictions were badly awry.

One TRRL report gives a very rare and detailed account of the specifics of the Harlow DAB's operation. From this report, we know that the system had a fleet of five 16-seater Ford minibuses from Monday to Saturday. Three of the buses operated between 06:58 until 19:40, whilst only one serviced Harlow from 19:40 until 23:42.⁴⁸⁰ But these hours of operation were based purely off predictions; and the Department of the Environment's Transport and Road Research Laboratory seriously underestimated the ridership for the DAB. The Transport and Road Research Laboratory (hereinafter referred to as "TRRL") also researched the overall effectiveness of public transportation by doing a comparison of the DAB, the conventional bus, and the fixed-route minibus.⁴⁸¹ This programme was held in Harlow, which makes it especially useful for our purposes. Each method of transport was examined against the others during a common operating period: 09:30 until 16:30, Monday through Saturday.⁴⁸² Both the fixed-route minibus and the DAB (which was also a minibus) offered sixteen seats, whilst the conventional bus offered thirty-five. Harlow's own buses were used in the research.⁴⁸³ The abstract for the report makes an important statement about the overall effectiveness of the DAB (and since this is based off Harlow as the model, it is especially useful here), "...It was concluded that, when operated at the same frequency all three services were attractive to passengers. The Dial-a-Bus service was, however, found

⁴⁸⁰ P.H. Martin, *The Costs of Operating Dial-a-Bus, Minibus and Conventional Bus Services*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory) 1978, 2.

⁴⁸¹ R.J. Turnbridge, *A Comparison of Optimal Minibus, Dial-a-Bus and Conventional Bus Services*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1980.

⁴⁸² R.J. Turnbridge, *A Comparison of Optimal Minibus, Dial-a-Bus and Conventional Bus Services*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1980, 2.

⁴⁸³ R.J. Turnbridge, *A Comparison of Optimal Minibus, Dial-a-Bus and Conventional Bus Services*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1980, 3.

to be less efficient and more expensive to operate. None of the services could be operated at a net profit, although the conventional bus approximately covered its costs at a frequency of two buses an hour whilst generating a positive net social benefit.”⁴⁸⁴ From this Department of the Environment survey, it is apparent that the conventional bus was the most effective method of transportation, though it did not service the same routes as the DAB. The DAB was too expensive to operate, and this is another reason why it did not work.

The TRRL predicted the overall ridership to be 300 of passengers a day but the observed patronage was approximately 670 passengers a week.⁴⁸⁵ Not only were the predictions wrong regarding the actual number of patrons, but they were also wrong about who those riders would be:

Predictions were made of the age, sex and socio-economic group distributions of the users of the Dial-a-Bus service...The model considerably over-predicted the proportion of male travellers (thirty-nine per cent compared with an observed twenty-five per cent). To some extent this reflects capacity limitation during the peak periods when work trips are being made. However, this effect could not account for all of the discrepancy.⁴⁸⁶

The predicted purposes of the journey were also incorrect. They estimated that the main purpose for travel would be for work, however, it was resoundingly for shopping.⁴⁸⁷ These predictions of ridership of the Harlow DAB were made by the TRRL were based on a number of factors and approaches. One approach relied heavily on surveys. There were two types of surveys: on-vehicle and household. The household surveys were first circulated to 201 houses in Old Harlow

⁴⁸⁴ R.J. Turnbridge, *A Comparison of Optimal Minibus, Dial-a-Bus and Conventional Bus Services*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1980, 1.

⁴⁸⁵ C.G. Mitchell and P.H. Martin. *Some Pre-liminary Results of the Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1976, 3.

⁴⁸⁶ P.H. Martin, *The Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment: Comparison of Predicted and Observed Patronage*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1977, 3.

⁴⁸⁷ P.H. Martin, *The Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment: Comparison of Predicted and Observed Patronage*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1977, 4.

in September of 1973. This information helped the TRRL to forecast traffic patterns in terms of expected ridership.⁴⁸⁸ The next household survey was circulated between April and May of 1974 and was different from the first. This survey focused not only on the households, but also of Old Harlow workers. It not only questioned 300 households in Old Harlow, but interviewed a further 300 households in the Latton Bush area of Harlow.⁴⁸⁹ Another survey of the same number of households in Old Harlow (presumably the same households) was taken a year later, between the April and May of 1974, and was used to, “determine effect of the Dial-a-Bus service”.⁴⁹⁰

There were, at least, two series of on-vehicle surveys conducted on the Harlow DAB.⁴⁹¹ These surveys were not just observations of the individual rider’s approximate age or presumed purpose of their journey – they were more like interviews. The surveyor asked the rider if they owned a car, how they had contacted the service (hailed a bus, called the dispatcher, et cetera), or what was the reason for their trip.⁴⁹² By the time that this report was being published, the results of the experiment resulted in the following sentiment, “It is not yet decided whether a future household survey will be necessary during the second year of the experiment.”⁴⁹³ This statement foreshadows the end of the experiment. In addition to the surveys, the TRRL also made some assumptions of their own. They expected that half of the users of other methods of transportation would move over to the DAB. This was approximately 600 people per day, resulting in the assumed 300 passengers. Interestingly, they also looked to the Americas for their predictions, “Assume, on the basis of North American experience, a rate of Dial-a-Bus trip making 15 trips per person per year for the service area population.”⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁸⁸ C.G. Mitchell and P.H. Martin. *Some Pre-liminary Results of the Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1976, 4.

⁴⁸⁹ C.G. Mitchell and P.H. Martin. *Some Pre-liminary Results of the Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1976, 4.

⁴⁹⁰ C.G. Mitchell and P.H. Martin. *Some Pre-liminary Results of the Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1976, 4.

⁴⁹¹ C.G. Mitchell and P.H. Martin. *Some Pre-liminary Results of the Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1976, 4.

⁴⁹² C.G. Mitchell and P.H. Martin. *Some Pre-liminary Results of the Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1976, 5.

⁴⁹³ C.G. Mitchell and P.H. Martin. *Some Pre-liminary Results of the Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1976, 4..

⁴⁹⁴ C.G. Mitchell and P.H. Martin. *Some Pre-liminary Results of the Harlow Dial-a-Bus Experiment*, (Department of the Environment: Transport and Road Research Laboratory), 1976, 3.

Unfortunately, the TRRL surveys do not give the actual thoughts and opinions of the DAB riders; it does not even make generalisations about the overall reception of the service. So, what did the people of the time think? It is possible to at least get an approximate idea of the attitude of the people living in New Towns by reading newspapers and journals of the time. One article, which appeared in the *Architect's Journal* in February of 1975, did nothing but praise the Harlow DAB. Unlike other reports of the New Town DAB schemes, Tony Aldous, actually asks for the opinions of the DAB riders and not just their demographic information, and these were his findings:

I tested the service in later November 1974 by going unannounced to Old Harlow and walking to a residential road about a quarter of a mile from the now pedestrianised High Street. I used the roadside telephone provided, which, mounted on a telephone pole, was not too easy to find. As soon as I lifted the phone, the dispatcher answered, and said that it would be six to seven minutes before a bus could pick me up. He took my name. The bus arrived in six minutes. There were five other passengers, mostly picked up after I boarded. One, a woman old age pensioner, used the service two days a week when she came to clean for an Old Harlow householder. It picked her up and dropped her off at the gate. She thoroughly approved of the service, found it much more reliable than conventional buses, and remarked that it saved her a walk and a wait at a main road bus stop, both of which were unpleasant to the point of danger in wet weather.⁴⁹⁵

Aldous went on to detail other interactions he had with passengers on the DAB service. One gentleman in his twenties described the experience as preferable to previous forms of public transportation. He also indicated that, in the past, those methods had been so unreliable that he often had to take a taxi to work. This cost him 60-70p a ride, whereas Pick-me-up only cost him 10p.⁴⁹⁶ People did seem to appreciate the service, and it was affordable for them, though the DAB was overall ineffective regarding cost.

⁴⁹⁵ Tony Aldous, *Architect's Journal*, 26 February 1975, 460.

⁴⁹⁶ Tony Aldous, *Architect's Journal*, 26 February 1975, 460.

The Milton Keynes Dial-a-Bus Experiment

Harlow was not the only New Town to have a Dial-a-Bus scheme. The Milton Keynes DAB experiment was conducted by the Dial-a-Bus Policy Committee, made up of members of the Buckinghamshire County Council, Milton Keynes Borough Council, Milton Keynes Development Corporation, and National Bus Company (part of United Counties).⁴⁹⁷ Residents of Milton Keynes were so unhappy with the city's public transportation that the New Town was starting to get national attention over it. The Prime Minister was contacted by an angry Milton Keynes resident in December 1974. His letter opened, "It is now high time that there was a public enquiry held into the way the United Counties Omnibus Company are operating public transport in the "NEW", "MODERN" City of Milton Keynes."⁴⁹⁸ Mr. Ravilious detailed an incident where he and seventy other passengers were stranded because their bus never came. He also told the Prime Minister that the Milton Keynes Development Corporation had held surveys about public transport the year before, and that they knew there were problems but that nothing had been done to remedy them:

The situation in the last two years has gone from bad to impossible. Buses are invariably late - often by 20 minutes or more. Sometimes they do not run at all - leaving Senior Citizens, Women and Children, and Workers standing at exposed Bus Stops in all weathers, in the feeble hope that the bus may only be Later as Usual", but not knowing that the bus is not running at all. Buses have been known to go on "Mystery Tours" away from scheduled routes. Return Tickets have been known to be issued showing the previous days date - thus making them invalid for the return trip. Buses are more often than not in a filthy condition. Certain buses are grossly overcrowded.⁴⁹⁹

The resident, Mr Ravilious, had copies of the letter circulated to the national press and television; he also wrote a letter to Lord Campbell, the chairman of the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. In the letter to Lord Campbell, Mr. Ravilious

⁴⁹⁷ Internal memorandum between DW Glassborow to SJB Skryme Esq of the National Bus Company, 28 November 1975, not published. FH2/30, National Archives.

⁴⁹⁸ Letter from Milton Keynes resident Mr. Ravilious to the Prime Minister, 2 December 1974, not published, FH2/30, National Archives.

⁴⁹⁹ Letter from Milton Keynes resident Mr. Ravilious to the Prime Minister, 2 December 1974, not published, FH2/30, National Archives.

referenced a recent article in the Guardian wherein many had complained about the current state of Milton Keynes public transport.⁵⁰⁰ Ravilious told Lord Campbell that he and many others were “fed up” with the state of the Milton Keynes transportation and that it was “expensive” and “bad”, and how he was “trying to get something done to get this excuse for a bus system sorted out so that people in this area are not allowed to suffer as they have done in the past.”⁵⁰¹

Mr Ravilious’ experience has been recounted here in full, not merely for the fact that it is useful to know what the New Town residents thought about the city’s transportation, but because it made a difference in the history of the Milton Keynes. Milton Keynes Development Corporation General Manager, Fred Lloyd Roche, used Mr. Ravilious complaint to try to expand the Dial-a-Bus experiment. This is evidenced in a letter between members of the National Bus Company:

...We reviewed the correspondence and, in particular, the transport situation at Milton Keynes. Both the Milton Keynes representatives were attempting to use Mr Ravilious’ correspondence and complaints as a means to go back to the early position whereby the Development Corporation would be the providers of the transport. They agreed that the co-operation and liaison which has been achieved during the Dial-a-Ride experiment have been excellent and that they would have liked that situation to have obtained for the whole of their transport.⁵⁰²

New Towns were built to be cities for the future. Milton Keynes initially looked at other options for public transport, “We have considered forty-six equipment types for public transport...light railways, monorails, buses on separate rights of way, buses travelling on roads shared with other vehicles and taxis, private or shared.”⁵⁰³ An interest was expressed in the Interim Report to keep traffic minimal, “By keeping down the volume of traffic within the residential areas to levels sufficient to ensure

⁵⁰⁰ Letter from Milton Keynes resident Mr. Ravilious to Lord Campbell, the chairman of the Milton Keynes Development Corporation, 2 December 1974, not published, FH2/30, National Archives.

⁵⁰¹ Letter from Milton Keynes resident Mr. Ravilious to the chairman of the Milton Keynes Development Corporation, 2 December 1974, not published, FH2/30, National Archives.

⁵⁰² Internal memorandum from National Bus Company Group Executive John Niblock to S.J.B Skryme, the National Bus Company Chief Executive, 17 December 1974, 1, not published, FH2/30, National Archives.

⁵⁰³ Milton Keynes Development Corporation, *Milton Keynes Interim Report*, (London: Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier-Walker, & Bor), December 1968, 26.

safety, noise and air pollution are also controlled.” If this were really a concern for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation then why were they so interested in instating a DAB service? All those intended buses would undoubtedly create constant noise and air pollution. The idea of the DAB seems counter-intuitive to the goal. The Milton Keynes Development Corporation ultimately decided against a flat track system, and one reason for this was the concern about over-expenditure, “...from these studies we concluded that with present technologies and whilst lower passenger volumes apply in Milton Keynes, public transport systems based on fixed track or separate rights of way would not be competitive in service or cost with a road-based system.”⁵⁰⁴ However, they knew that the experimental DAB scheme would also be costly, yet they pursued it and put it into action. Perhaps they chose the DAB scheme because they viewed it as being the method of transportation of the future, as the monorail and other fixed track had already been done. Whilst the Dial-a-Bus experiments ultimately failed they are still worth discussing as they demonstrate the differences in the urban identities of the Garden City and New Town, respectively.

Peter Hall’s Return to the Railway

Hall’s attitude towards the railway is representative of the whole twentieth century, as it fluctuates between the extremes. At first the railway was totally embraced and full of possibilities, then it was discarded and underestimated, but eventually it became loved again. New developments in technology provided the possibility for high-speed rail. Like with the railway conversion of the 1970s, high speed rail lines of the TGV were built over pre-existing rail lines.⁵⁰⁵ Peter Hall really started to talk about High Speed 2 in 2010. High Speed 2 would be a y-shaped system that linked the north to the south. The trip time from London to Birmingham would be 38-49 minutes.⁵⁰⁶ The journey from London to Leeds would be cut down to 80 minutes.⁵⁰⁷ As Hall was a decentralist, it should not be all that surprising that Hall was a proponent of keeping the HS2 stations out of the city centres. He explained

⁵⁰⁴ Milton Keynes Development Corporation, *Milton Keynes Interim Report*, (London: Llewelyn-Davies, Weeks, Forestier-Walker, & Bor), December 1968, 26.

⁵⁰⁵ Peter Hall. “Speedy trains have a Heineken Effect”, *Regeneration and Renewal*. 21 Nov. 2008, 14.

⁵⁰⁶ Peter Hall. “Fast rail plans could create two-speed UK”, *Regeneration and Renewal*, 27 April 2010.

⁵⁰⁷ Peter Hall. “Fast rail plans could create two-speed UK.” *Regeneration and Renewal*, 27 April 2010.

that there were successful models of HS2 sites that were in town but not in the centre in Japan and other parts of Europe.⁵⁰⁸ With the HS2 stations being accessible to town without being enveloped by the city centre, the outer-lying areas' commerce would be able to grow and the region would be strengthened. The north would have access to the south, and vice versa. Decentralisation would ironically make the country united.

Hall has described Ebenezer Howard's Social City as a polycentric settlement.⁵⁰⁹ Polycentric settlements would dominant in *The Polycentric Metropolis: Learning from Mega-City Regions in Europe*, he stated that the polycentric mega-city region was a new phenomenon. He is taking Geddes' idea of world cities one step further. These global cities, as Hall and Pain referred to them, create a mega city region (MCR). This MCR network to which Hall and Pain are referring is located in Northwest Europe. The network is linked via air, but also through rail, though skeletally.⁵¹⁰ In a sense, the MCR could be thought of as an extension of the Social City. Substitute global cities for Garden Cities, and it functions essentially the same way – multiplied cells that are connected by a railway.

Peter Hall was director of a program called SINTROPHER (Sustainable Integrated Tram-Based Transport Projects for Peripheral European Regions) until the time of his death. Though, not tied to high-speed rail, this program is important for our purposes as in it we see a strong return to Howard. SINTROPHER was created as a five-year program (still unfinished at the time of this writing) to connect five regions in north-west Europe: Nijmegen-kleve (The Netherlands), North Hesse (Germany), West Flanders (Belgium), Valciennes (France).⁵¹¹ Though here crediting Germany for the repurposing of the rail tracks, this is another return to Howard's Social City. Hall was head of a programme that was seeking to accomplish the same thing that Ebenezer Howard mapped out more than a century previously: multiplying

⁵⁰⁸John Geoghegan. "Cities query out-of-centre HS2 station sites." *Planning*. 8 Feb. 2013.

⁵⁰⁹ Peter Hall. *Urban and Regional Planning*, (New York: Routledge), 1992.

⁵¹⁰ Peter Hall and Kathy Pain. *The Polycentric Metropolis: Learning from Mega-City Regions in Europe*. (London, Washington, D.C.: Earthscan), 2009.

⁵¹¹ Sustainable Integrated Tram-Based Transport Projects for Peripheral European Regions (SINTROPHER), The Bartlett School of Planning, University College of London, accessed on 28 September 2019, <https://sintropher.eu/>

cells and connecting them by railway. The railway is as important today as it was to Ebenezer Howard's Social City.

Peter Hall's involvement in controversial transportation did stop with the railway conversion revolution of the 1970s, or with his diametrically opposed work with high-speed rail from the 1990s until his death. Hall also very briefly looked into the possibility of a taxi-bus. In a paper on possible future sustainable transportation, Hall, along with two colleagues, mentioned the potential viability of a taxi-bus scheme for the more rural parts of Oxfordshire.⁵¹² An argument could be made that Peter Hall was interested in using the possibility of a taxi-bus was because of his involvement with the New Town movement.

Conclusion:

This chapter has focussed on the development of transportation in the Garden City and New Towns, through the lens of the work of Peter Hall, as Hall has been used to focus the argument that the New Town is not the rightful successor of the Garden City. This chapter has also looked at how the Garden City and New Town planned for what people wanted in terms of transportation. Consumerism has played an important role in making a distinction between the Garden City and the New Town. This need (or lack thereof) for consumerism was reflected in the options for transportation between the Garden City and the New Town: it was central to the twentieth century and to the planning of the New Towns, but it was not part of Howard's plan. Shopping was central to the life of the New Town, unlike the Garden City.

This chapter has also looked at how the transportation in the Garden City played into its attempted decentralisation, and explored the legacy of the attempted decentralisation in the New Town. Garden City and the legacy of that attempted decentralisation in the New Town, and the inflexibility of the Garden City versus the flexibility of the New Town. Specifically, this chapter examined how the unusual shape of Howard's intended Inter-Municipal railway did not quite allow for the

⁵¹² David Banister, Peter Hall, and Robin Hickman. "Planning for more sustainable mobility." *Journal of Transport Geography*: 33, 2013, 233.

decentralisation of cities, and it also examined the role of speed in the Garden City and New Town. Specifically, this was achieved through researching the location of the railway station in the New Town, and citing the examples of Milton Keynes and Harlow.

This chapter has shown another significant difference between the Garden City and the New Town in terms of their plan for transportation: flexibility. The Garden City's transportation plan regarding roads and transportation was inflexible, whereas the New Town transportation plans were flexible. This was accomplished by looking at desire lines and their impact on planning in the New Town. The flexibility of the New Town transportation plans were proven even more flexible by examining the understudied experimental scheme of the Dial-a-Bus.

Peter Hall has been cited extensively throughout this chapter, as he was not only a celebrated planner-historian and disciple of Ebenezer Howard, but he was also president of the Association. This has maintained the thread of the Association throughout each chapter of this thesis (as well as the Introduction). This chapter is the last of three themes (ownership, architecture, and transport) that have been used to show the differences between the Garden City and the New Town.

The Conclusion to this thesis will examine the Englishness of the Garden City and the New Town. To do this, it will use social histories of late nineteenth-century a twentieth-century England to contextualise the Garden City and the New Town in their respective wider historical moments.

Conclusion: The Englishness of the Garden City and the New Town

The Conclusion to this thesis will use social histories of late nineteenth and twentieth-century England to explore the Englishness of the Garden City and the New Town. Thus far, this thesis has examined the differences between the Garden City and the New Town through the themes of ownership, architecture, and transport. The Conclusion will use social histories on late Victorian England by Mearns, Flanders, and Hall, as well as social histories on mid twentieth-century England written by Kynaston, Sandbrook, and White. The utilisation of these social histories will situate the Garden City and the New Town in their respective wider historical moments, contextualising them with how society was developing at the time, and how they were created in response to those societal developments.

The Conclusion will focus on three time periods of English social history: the end of the nineteenth century, the Second World War/the immediate post-war years, and the 1960s. These time periods coincide with pivotal moments in the Garden City and New Town movements, as both these movements were created as an answer to problems developing within society at the time. Detailing the living and working conditions of late Victorian life will show what prompted Howard to create the Garden City. The creation of the first New Towns was a direct result of the devastation of the Second World War, and they would not have existed in a world without the war. The next New Towns were not built until the last time period that will be discussed: the 1960s. The reasoning for the creation of the Garden City and the New Town were different, and the following sections will expose these differences. These differences will strengthen the overall argument of this thesis that the Garden City and the New Town movements were fundamentally different.

Living in the Dark, Dank Late Victorian City

This section will detail what everyday life was like for late Victorians. A pamphlet entitled “The bitter outcry of outcast London, an inquiry into the condition of the abject poor” was written by Andrew Mearns in 1883 to give insight into the deplorable living conditions of the late Victorian city. Before giving the reader a description of individuals homes, Mearns discusses what it was like to enter building

in which they were housed:

To get into them you have to penetrate courts reeking with poisonous and malodorous gases arising from accumulations of sewage and refuse scattered in all directions and often flowing beneath your feet; courts, many of them which the sun never penetrates, which are never visited by a breath of fresh air, and which rarely know the virtues of a drop of cleansing water. You have to ascend rotten staircases, which give way beneath every step, and which, in some places, have already broken down, leaving gaps that imperil the limbs and lives of the unwary...⁵¹³

With the above excerpt, Mearns is painting an incredibly dark picture, as just entering the building there were multiple health and safety issues. His review of the rooms in which the people of the late Victorian city lived was equally as scathing, “Every room in these rotten and reeking tenements houses a family, often two. In one cellar a sanitary inspector reports finding a father, mother, three children, and four pigs! In another room a missionary found a man ill with small-pox, his wife just recovering from her eighth confinement, and the children running about half naked and covered with dirt. Here are seven people living in one underground kitchen, and a little dead child lying in the same room.”⁵¹⁴ These are the type of conditions that would have caused Ebenezer Howard to take action to quell what Howard described as the “evils of society”. As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, the main evil of society was the overcrowding of the Victorian city.

There were more issues for the inhabitants of the late Victorian City than housing. Crime was rampant. One unusual, albeit lucrative, form of crime was dog theft.⁵¹⁵ Crime in late Victorian England was not exclusive to London. Peter Hall recounts that in 1886 and 1887 “the respectable citizens of Liverpool began to complain that they were being terrorized by gangs.”⁵¹⁶ He goes on to discuss how to

⁵¹³ Andrew Mearns, “The bitter outcry of outcast London, an inquiry into the condition of the abject poor,” not published, 1883, 4, Google Play.

⁵¹⁴ Andrew Mearns, “The bitter outcry of outcast London, an inquiry into the condition of the abject poor”, not published, 1883, 5, Google Play.

⁵¹⁵ Judith Flanders, *The Victorian City: Life in Everyday Dickens’ London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2012) 285, Google Play.

⁵¹⁶ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880*, fourth edition (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014) 66, Google Play.

most infamous of all Liverpool gangs, the High Rip Gang, assaulted men, women, and children at random with slingshots and knives.⁵¹⁷ Violence was a regular occurrence, and some was even sanctioned by the state. In these sanctioned instances, it was seen as retribution and not actually violence.⁵¹⁸ The living conditions in the late Victorian city were dire, and that it was a violent time. To compound this, there was little in the way of entertainment. One form of entertainment for the citizen of the late Victorian City was street theatre, however, as Judith Flanders points out in her text, *The Victorian City: Life in Everyday Dicken's London*, this sometimes resulted in violence.⁵¹⁹

The working conditions of the late Victorian city were also deplorable, and historian and Peter Hall states that this was at the core of the problem, "At the root of the problem was the fact that the people of the slum were overwhelmingly, grindingly poor. Women trouser-finishers worked seventeen hours, from five in the morning to ten at night for one shilling. For shirt-finishing, the rate was half that. Illness and drink compounded their plight."⁵²⁰ The working conditions of the late Victorian City were of great concern to Ebenezer Howard. As has been shown throughout this thesis, Howard wanted the Garden City to be the marriage of town and country. The Garden City citizen would be free from the crime of Victorian London. They would be free from the threat of violence, and they would earn a good wage. Most importantly, the Garden City citizen would own the city.

Keep Calm and Carry On: The English During the Second World War

As White recounts in his text *The Battle of London: 1939-1945, Endurance, Heroism and Frailty*, that after months of bombing in 1941 some were becoming desensitised to it.⁵²¹ He goes so far as to say, "Everyone had adjusted to some

⁵¹⁷ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880*, fourth edition (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014) 66, Google Play.

⁵¹⁸ Judith Flanders, *The Victorian City: Life in Everyday Dickens' London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2012) 270, Google Play.

⁵¹⁹ Judith Flanders, *The Victorian City: Life in Everyday Dickens' London* (London: Atlantic Books, 2012) 270, Google Play.

⁵²⁰ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880*, fourth edition (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014) 54, Google Play.

⁵²¹ Jerry White, *The Battle of London 1939-1945 Endurance, Heroism and Frailty Under Fire* (Random House, 2014) 103, Google Play.

extent.”⁵²² He shares the story of a person whom he feels their sentiments could “no doubt” be held by others:

I’m distinctly pleased with the fact that I haven’t slept in a shelter for a month, in spite of warnings, planes, guns, and a few bombs around. Last night an odd incident showed me that my nerve was improved. There was no warning on [sic] I was sleeping peacefully in my bed when I was jerked awake by a high-pitched whistle. It shrieked over my head, then came an explosion so near that the bed gave an enormous heave, and in the same moment I heard the heavy buzz of a German plane dying away...I heard footsteps hurrying down to the basement, and after a minute of the warning going, but I turned over and went off to sleep again. It bucks me up to know that I couldn’t have done this a few weeks ago.⁵²³

This quote is a first-hand account of a Bloomsbury woman named Phyllis Warner. There is a strong sense of pride in this account, this is especially evident in the last sentence wherein she describes the experience of ‘bucking her up’. This suggests that ‘bucking up’ was how she felt that she should be reacting – she should have a stiff upper lip. Keep calm and carry on.

Warner’s experience was not unique. In White’s chapter titled “Life is Dull Now: 22 June 1941-30 November 1942”, he recounts the tale that was told to journalist James Lansdale Hodson by a fellow journalist, “Speaking of the spirit of England, he said that London folk are bored and critical because life is dull now. Not long ago London had a daylight air warning. He said, ‘I was in bed and I hopped out feeling fine. I opened the window. The policeman started wisecracking with me; everybody was smiling.’”⁵²⁴ White also commented that mental health professionals observed, “As time went on, psychiatrists noted, ‘there was a definite decline in overt fear reactions as the air blitz continued, even though the raids became heavier and more destructive.’”⁵²⁵ This desensitisation did not happen overnight, as early on the

⁵²² Jerry White, *The Battle of London 1939-1945 Endurance, Heroism and Frailty Under Fire* (Random House, 2014) 103, Google Play.

⁵²³ Jerry White, *The Battle of London 1939-1945 Endurance, Heroism and Frailty Under Fire* (Random House, 2014) 103, Google Play. White’s source is something that he refers to as “Warner Papers 18 January 1941), not published.

⁵²⁴ Jerry White, *The Battle of London 1939-1945 Endurance, Heroism and Frailty Under Fire* (Random House, 2014) 138, Google Play.

⁵²⁵ Jerry White, *The Battle of London 1939-1945 Endurance, Heroism and Frailty Under Fire* (Random House, 2014) 115, Google Play.

effects on mental health were severe. According to White, they were reported cases of exhaustion, depression, and anxiety.⁵²⁶ Many even lost the ability to speak and eat after seeing their homes devastated.⁵²⁷ White indicates that did not go on for long, because (in part) people were getting used to the bombings.⁵²⁸

We have seen some of the effect that the Second World War had on the English during the war, but how did they feel about their future? In his text, *Austerity Britain 1945-1951*⁵²⁹, Kynaston references a 1941 article in *Picture Post* entitled 'A Plan for Britain.' On the subject of the end of the First World War, the article stated, "The plan was not there. We got no new Britain... This time we can be better prepared."⁵³⁰ But the plan was there. As shown in the Introduction to this thesis, *New Towns After the War* written by the New Townsmen published in 1919 was the same text as *New Towns After the War* published by FJO in 1945. It was the same plan for reconstruction. Due to the devastation of the Second World War and FJO's dogged attempts to infiltrate the government, the first New Towns were made. Howard had wanted to get Londoners out of the slums, but it was not until the bombings of London in the Second World War would that be feasible. London's population was devastated during the war, with boroughs facing massive losses. Bermondsey's population fell by fifty-six per cent, Stepney's by sixty-four per cent, and West Ham's by sixty-five per cent.⁵³¹ Whereas the Garden City was born out of want and need, the New Town was born out of immediate necessity.

The Post-war Mood of England and the Birth of the New Town

As the war was ending, the mood in England was not that of elation, as

⁵²⁶ Jerry White, *The Battle of London 1939-1945 Endurance, Heroism and Frailty Under Fire* (Random House, 2014) 115, Google Play.

⁵²⁷ Jerry White, *The Battle of London 1939-1945 Endurance, Heroism and Frailty Under Fire* (Random House, 2014) 115, Google Play.

⁵²⁸ Jerry White, *The Battle of London 1939-1945 Endurance, Heroism and Frailty Under Fire* (Random House, 2014) 115, Google Play.

⁵²⁹ David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2010) Google Play.

⁵³⁰ David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2010) 21, Google Play.

⁵³¹ Jerry White, *The Battle of London 1939-1945 Endurance, Heroism and Frailty Under Fire* (Random House, 2014) 114, Google Play.

Kynaston points out.⁵³² He recounts the attitudes of the English on VE Day, “Adeline Vaughn Williams...was struck by how ‘very sedate’ Dorking in Surrey was, while Cecil Beaton found Kensington ‘as quiet as a Sunday’. And he added, ‘There is no general feeling of rejoicing. Victory does not bring with it a sense of triumph – rather a dull numbness of relief that the blood-letting is over.’⁵³³ The English were tired. They had rationed, they had been bombed, they had bombed, they had struggled, but they had endured. What could have been a yawp was more like a whimper. Kynaston shared this account about the austerity of the English reaction to the end of the war, “What curious people are we English? There was no cheering or rowdying. About two thousand folk stood there silently watching flames lighting up the dark skies. We were all content, apparently to stand still and to stare. One or two attempts to launch a song died away.”⁵³⁴ Perhaps the mood was sombre because there was a collective subconscious realisation that there was still much to do. It was time to rebuild.

Had the war never happened, the New Towns of the mid-to-late twentieth century would likely never have existed. What immediately resulted after the war was a change in government. Labour seized control in 1945, and has been shown throughout this thesis, Osborn applied constant pressure on the government to produce the New Towns. In contrast to this thesis, Kynaston accepted Osborn as Howard’s rightful replacement, “Howard’s direct successor, and a formidable but in many ways attractive figure in the planning world, was Frederic Osborn, kingpin by the 1940s of the Town and Country Planning Association and an indefatigable propagandist as well as administrator.”⁵³⁵ This thesis agrees with everything else this statement except the aforementioned claim that Osborn was Howard’s rightful replacement. As has been shown throughout this thesis, Osborn’s agenda was not

⁵³² David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2010) 9, Google Play.

⁵³³ David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2010) 9, Google Play.

⁵³⁴ David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2010) 14, Google Play.

⁵³⁵ David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2010) 32, Google Play.

Howardian. Osborn had solicited the assistance of the government to produce the New Towns, and this was in direct opposition to what Howardian ideals. We have already seen that Howard would much rather raise the money himself (as he did with Welwyn Garden City) then give ownership of the Garden City to the government. The Garden City could not exist without its inhabitants having ownership over the municipality. The New Town only existed because of the involvement of the government.

Like many other historians referenced in this thesis, Kynaston accepted the New Town as the direct descendent of the Garden City:

During the war, the Howardian agenda entered the political mainstream as a series of reports and plans, culminating in the *Greater London Plan* published in 1945, recommended a less populous inner core, a suburbia contained by a substantial green-belt ring and, beyond that ring, the building of environmentally favoured new towns.⁵³⁶

The *Greater London Plan* is largely credited as the work of Patrick Abercrombie, However, the second chapter of this thesis looked at the involvement of Raymond Unwin on the plan. These elements of that Kynaston references are no doubt important to what he refers to as the “Howardian agenda”, but one key ingredient of the Garden City recipe is missing: the city must be the property of its inhabitants. Kynaston’s close association with the Garden City and New Town have further added to the confusion surrounding the synonymous usage of “Garden City” and “New Town”.

Twentieth-Century English Social History and the Architecture of the New Town

Whilst discussing *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951*, we saw Kynaston praise FJO. He makes further reference to the role of FJO in his text, *Modern Britain, Book Two: A Shake of the Dice, 1959-1962*, “Frederic Osborn, a long-ago founder of Welwyn Garden City and still a passionate advocate of dispersal and New Towns looked on

⁵³⁶ David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2010) 32, Google Play.

with horror.”⁵³⁷ The “horror” was a reaction to six fifteen-storey housing blocks being erected in Paisley after a slum had been cleared. Kynaston went on to detail thoughts on slum clearance in favour of tower flats like those that ‘horrified’ FJO. Kynaston included the opinion of St. Pancras Council housing manager, A.W. Davey. Davey cast dispersions upon the modern housing estate, stating that their atmosphere was that of “worry, tension, and slobbishness [sic].”⁵³⁸ To contrast Davey, Kynaston included the account of Barbara Pike, a twenty-one-year-old housewife and mother of three who stated that she was the happiest that she had ever been since leaving her “leaking Kentish Town slum.”⁵³⁹ To contrast the housewife and bolster the statements made by Davey, Kynaston included the thoughts of a seventy-nine-year-old man named Greg Phelps on modern housing, “The people are nosy, there are too many snobs and the children are badly behaved and rude.”⁵⁴⁰

The architecture chapter of this thesis explored the variety of New Town architecture, however, it did not address to what extent, if any, this variety of architecture had on society. Kynaston recounted the experience of Tory MP Michael Burns growing up in a neighbourhood with variety in its architecture, “Half our road where all my friends lived had semi-detached houses and detached bungalows while at the bottom end the houses were small and terraced.” Burns stated that when he was growing up in Tolworth that his parents and the parents of his direct neighbours would not let their children invite children from the terraced houses to their party, so that the neighbourhood had two parties separated by two hundred yards.⁵⁴¹ Had the houses in the neighbourhood all been the same, there likely may have been only one party. The diversity of the architecture of Burns’ neighbourhood caused a social rift

⁵³⁷ David Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: Book Two: A Shake of the Dice, 1959-62* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014) 17, Google Play. As stated earlier in the thesis, Osborn opposed Howard buying Welwyn Garden City.

⁵³⁸ David Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: Book Two: A Shake of the Dice, 1959-62* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014) 17, Google Play.

⁵³⁹ David Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: Book Two: A Shake of the Dice, 1959-62* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014) 18, Google Play.

⁵⁴⁰ David Kynaston, *Modernity Britain: Book Two: A Shake of the Dice, 1959-62* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2014) 18, Google Play.

⁵⁴¹ David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain: 1945-1951* (London, New Delhi, New York, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2010) 17, Google Play.

within the community.

We have just seen the influence of the variety of architecture on society, and we will now see that this variety was reflected within the English home. In his text, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties*, Sandbrook reports that variety was apparent within the household. He quotes a reprinted newspaper article that described the uniqueness of English furniture and wallpaper, “Furniture design tended to be organic and curvilinear, while decorative patterns for wallpaper, curtains and carpets similarly combined ‘natural’, organic shapes with spiky abstract doodles...The aim was to create an overall impression of innovation, brightness...”⁵⁴² This variety of organic and synthetic shapes in household decoration created a pattern. This is much the same as the variety of the architecture in the New Town: though neighbourhoods were comprised of different looking houses, patterns emerged. Going onto any extant New Town housing estate, one can see that through that there is a cohesiveness to their variety. The houses are different, but they all look like they are parts of a whole.

Sandbrook relates that the overall goal was for the home to look modern and to reflect the time period. He describes what constituted a modern look, “Modular furniture, glass tables, inflatable chairs, brilliant white walls and geometrical tableware all created the right impression of space youth and modernity.”⁵⁴³ One problem was that millions of people lived not in the specially-built open-plan villas but in flats, narrow terraces or semi-detached houses, so the sixties were boom years for renovations, knocking down walls and generally bashing houses about.”⁵⁴⁴ Even though the architecture of the 1960s was varied, and elements of household furnishings took on elements of variety, there was still an overall style. Though people were living in different types of houses (semi-detached, terraces, flats, etc.) they were all knocking down walls to create an open floor plan. Though variety was

⁵⁴²Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London: Abacus, 2015) 78, Google Play. Sandbrook’s source is a reprinted article from Juliet Gardiner’s *From the Bomb to the Beatles* (London: Collins&Brown, 1999).

⁵⁴³ Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London: Abacus, 2015) 91-92 Google Play

⁵⁴⁴ Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London: Abacus, 2015) 91-92 Google Play

apparent in New Town architecture, many living within the different types of domiciles were doing the same things to their interior walls: knocking them down.

The title of Sandbrook's first text on the 1960s, *Never Had it So Good, A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*⁵⁴⁵ comes from the following 1957 quote by Harold Macmillan, "Let's be frank about it; most of our people have never had it so good. Go around the country, go to the industrial towns, go to the farms, and you will see a state of prosperity such as we have never had in my lifetime – nor indeed ever in the history of this country..."⁵⁴⁶ Harold MacMillan no doubt thought himself to be at least partially responsible for this, as he stated in his Introduction for the New Towns Exhibition 1959 booklet, "He proudly described his involvement in the New Town movement, and boasted the contributions of his fellow MPs, "I was myself responsible for twelve out of fifteen New Towns in Great Britain."⁵⁴⁷ Sandbrook's usage of MacMillan's words is sarcastic, as he sets out early on that he (Sandbrook) had "very little interest in celebrating a golden age of hedonism and liberation, or in condemning an equally exaggerated era of moral degradation and national decline."⁵⁴⁸ Life Kynaston, Sandbrook references the austerity of England in the 1940s. He does so by mentioning it in juxtaposition with the culture of England in the 1960s, "To older observers, especially those who had lived through the austerity of thirties and forties, there was something bewildering about a 'here today, gone tomorrow' consumer culture."⁵⁴⁹ 1960s Household furnishings were not made to last, and the concern was over style and not function.

Conclusion:

The Garden City was created to remedy what Howard referred to as the "evils of society". As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, Howard viewed the "evils"

⁵⁴⁵ Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had it So Good, A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* (London: Abacus, 2014) Google Play.

⁵⁴⁶ Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had it So Good, A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* (London: Abacus, 2014) 10, Google Play.

⁵⁴⁷ Town and Country Planning Association. *New Towns Exhibition 1959* booklet, (London: Town and Country Planning Association), 1959, 7.

⁵⁴⁸ Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had it So Good, A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles* (London: Abacus, 2014) 10, Google Play.

⁵⁴⁹ Dominic Sandbrook, *White Heat: A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties* (London: Abacus, 2015) 91, Google Play

of Victorian society as overcrowding and alcoholism. It was more than just remedying the living conditions of the everyday Victorian. The Garden City was designed to remedy the everyday Victorian. It promised its inhabitants jobs in clean, healthy spaces and freedom from the threat of violence. The Garden City promised that the city would be the property of its inhabitants. As shown through the social histories detailed by Mearns, Hall, and Flanders, the promises of the Garden City were a far cry from what was happening in the late Victorian City.

The New Town was the direct result of the Second World War. As shown early on in this thesis, the New Townsmen attempted to bring about the New Town after the First World War to no avail. The devastation of London during the Second World War and the dogged efforts of FJO in soliciting the support of the government were the key factors in the creation of the New Town. The social histories of mid-twentieth century England by Kynaston, Sandbrook, and White have been used to contextualise the Garden City and the New Towns within their respective historical moments.

Thesis Summary:

The Introduction to this thesis exposed that the myth of the Garden City is that Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City were what Howard had in mind to solve the housing problems of Victorian England, when this was only a partial realisation of his vision. Related to this, this thesis exposed that the Garden City did not naturally progress into the New Town. The first half of this thesis exposed FJO and Unwin as the sources of the confusion surrounding the synonymous usage of the terms “Garden City” and “New Town”. The first chapter, “Frederic J. Osborn’s New Town Contributions and Conflicts” recounted institutional histories of the Association, bringing to light the accusations FJO made shortly before his death about Ewart Culpin. This chapter also showed FJO’s strained relationships with fellow members of the Association as well as the Government. The chapter also detailed FJO’s repackaging of the Garden City as the New Town with attempts to

use not just Welwyn Garden City, but also Letchworth Garden City as New Towns. The second chapter looked at Raymond Unwin, and how his Garden Suburb was also to blame for the confusion surrounding the terms “New Towns” and “Garden Cities”.

The second half of this thesis exposed the reasons as to why the terms “Garden City” and “New Town” should not be used interchangeably through the themes of ownership, architecture, and transport. The third chapter, “The People Own the Garden City, The Government Owns the New Town” detailed the many attempts to designate Letchworth Garden City a New Town. The chapter also examined the creation of the Commission for New Towns, and provided evidence to show that the Government did not want the New Towns to be able to control themselves. The fourth and fifth chapters used the case studies of Letchworth Garden City, Welwyn Garden City, Harlow, and Milton Keynes to show why “Garden City” and “New Town” should not be used interchangeably. The fourth chapter reviewed the uniformity of the Garden City style, and called attention to the variety of architecture in Harlow and Milton Keynes. The fifth chapter exposed the disparities between the transport planning of the Garden City and the New Town. Finally, the Conclusion used late Victorian and mid twentieth-century social histories of England to contextualise the Garden City and the New Town in their respective historical moments. This thesis has exposed and explored the differences between the Garden City and the New Town, and has shown the confusion between the two terms and discovered the geneses of the confusion.

Illustrations

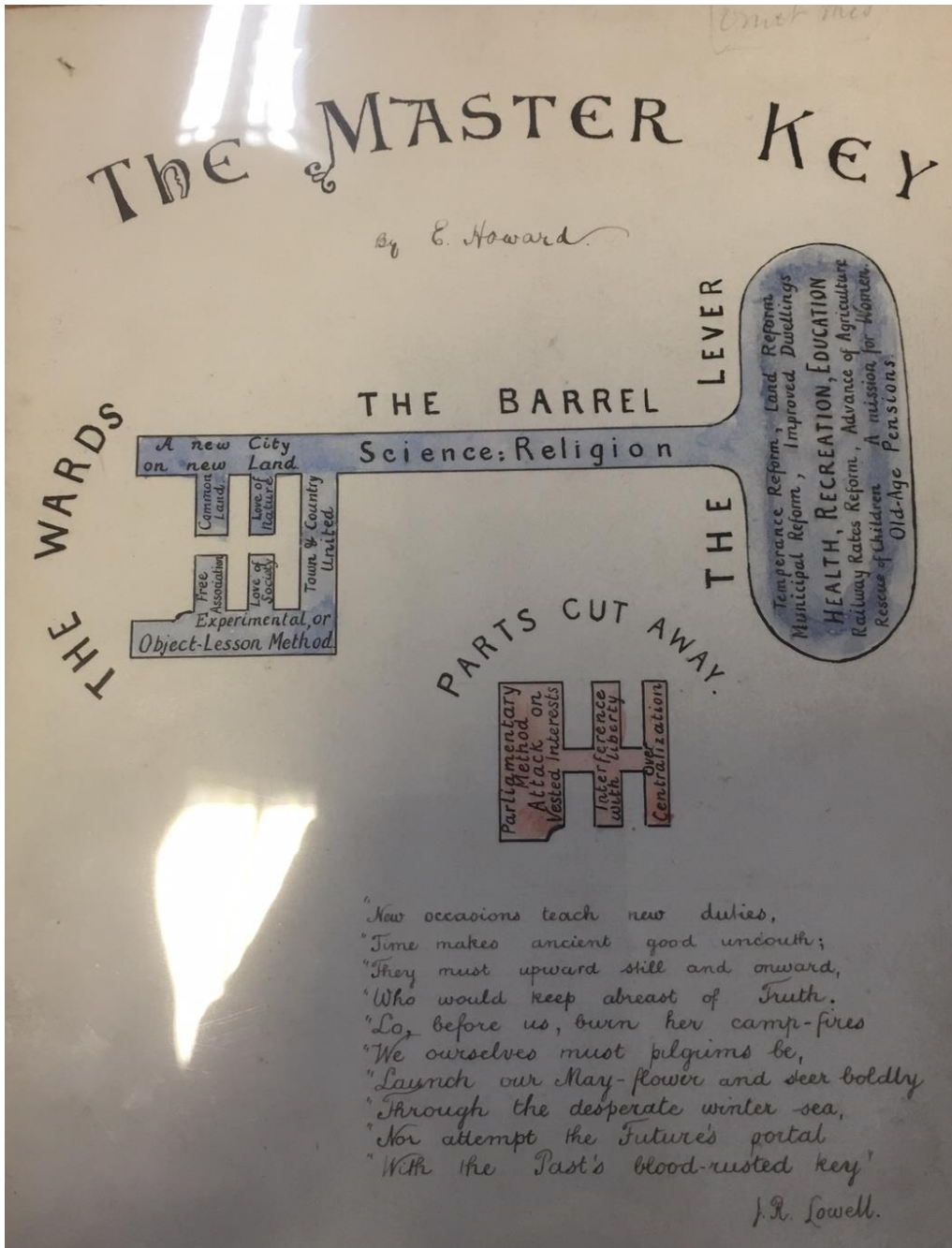


Fig. 1. Howard's diagram of the Master Key which never made it into his book. DE/Ho/F1/14. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

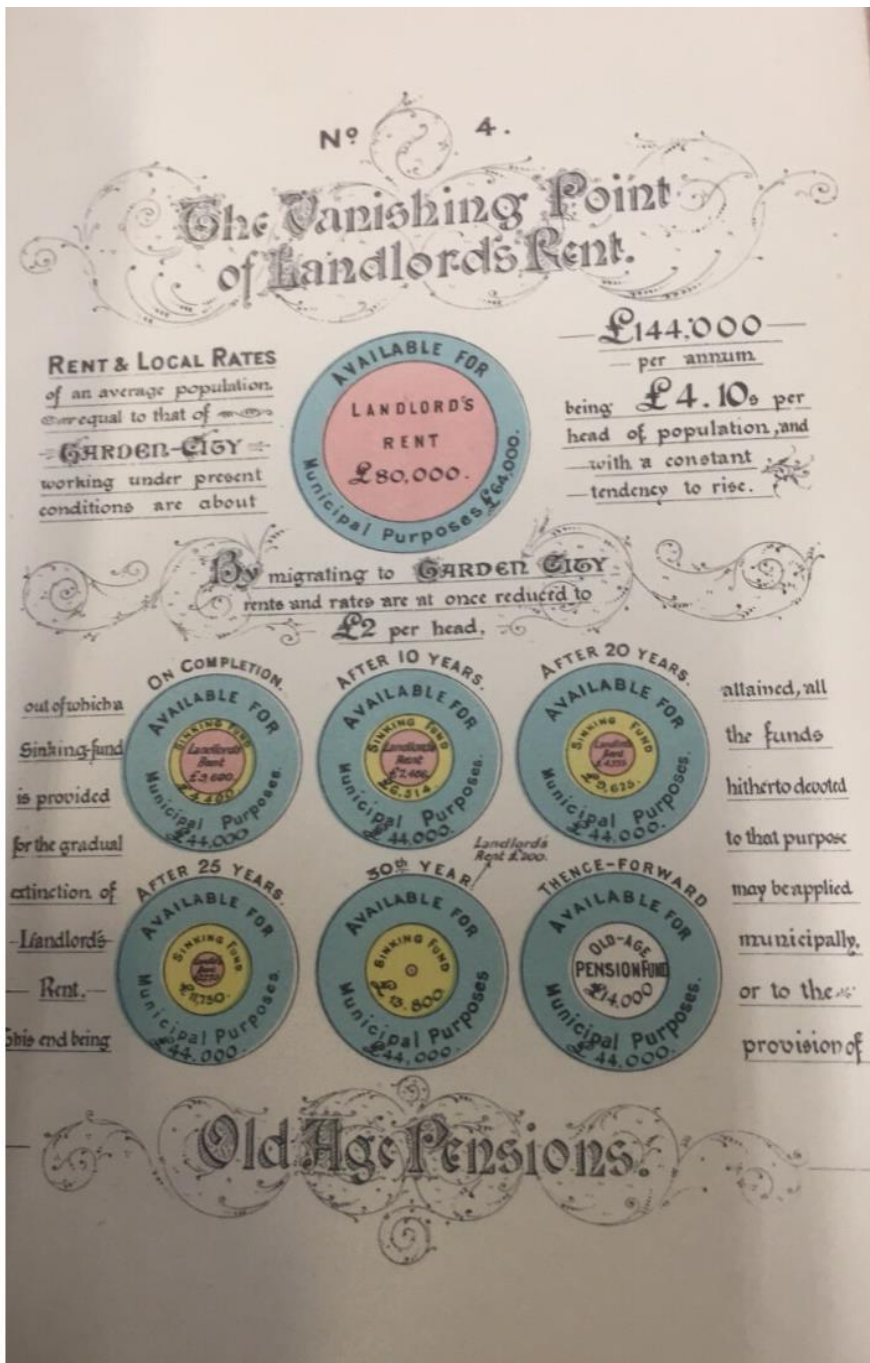


Fig.2. Howard's original diagram number 4. *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1898.



Fig.3. Howard's replacement diagram number 4. *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1902.

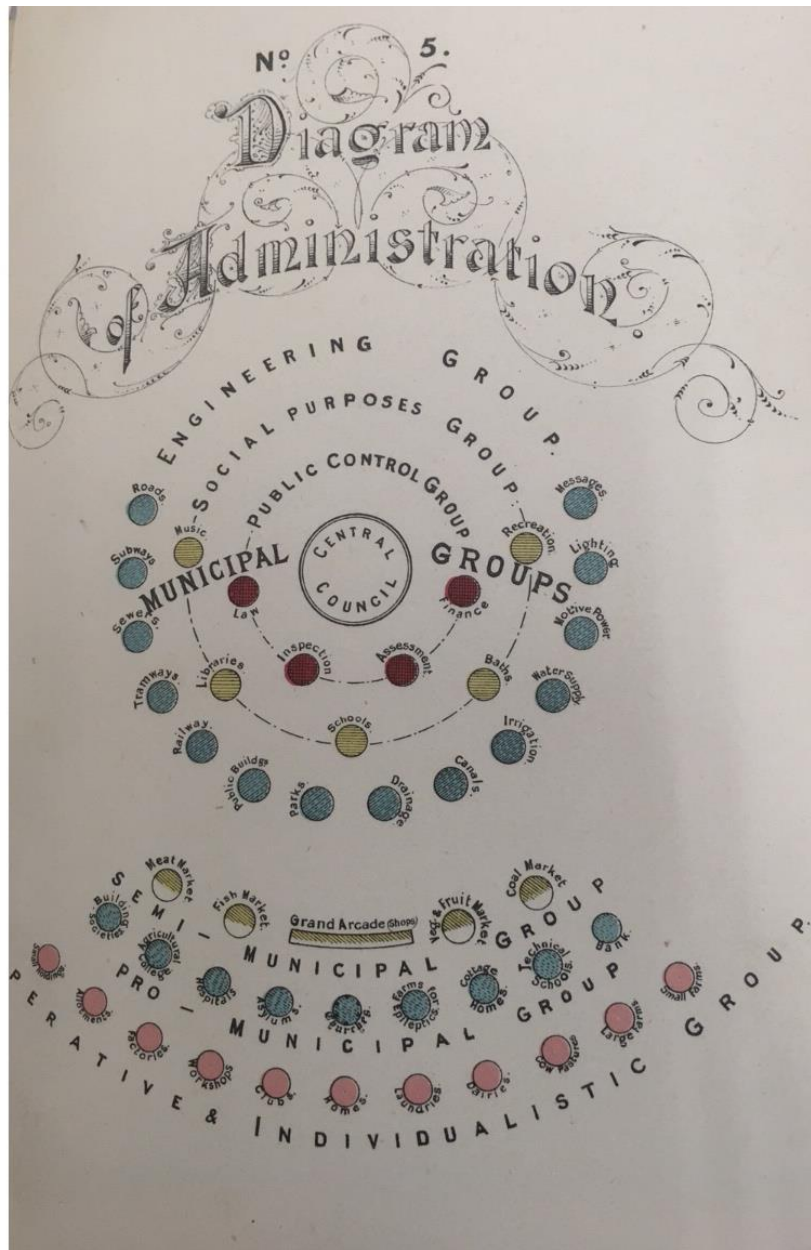


Fig.4. Howard's original diagram number 5. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1898.

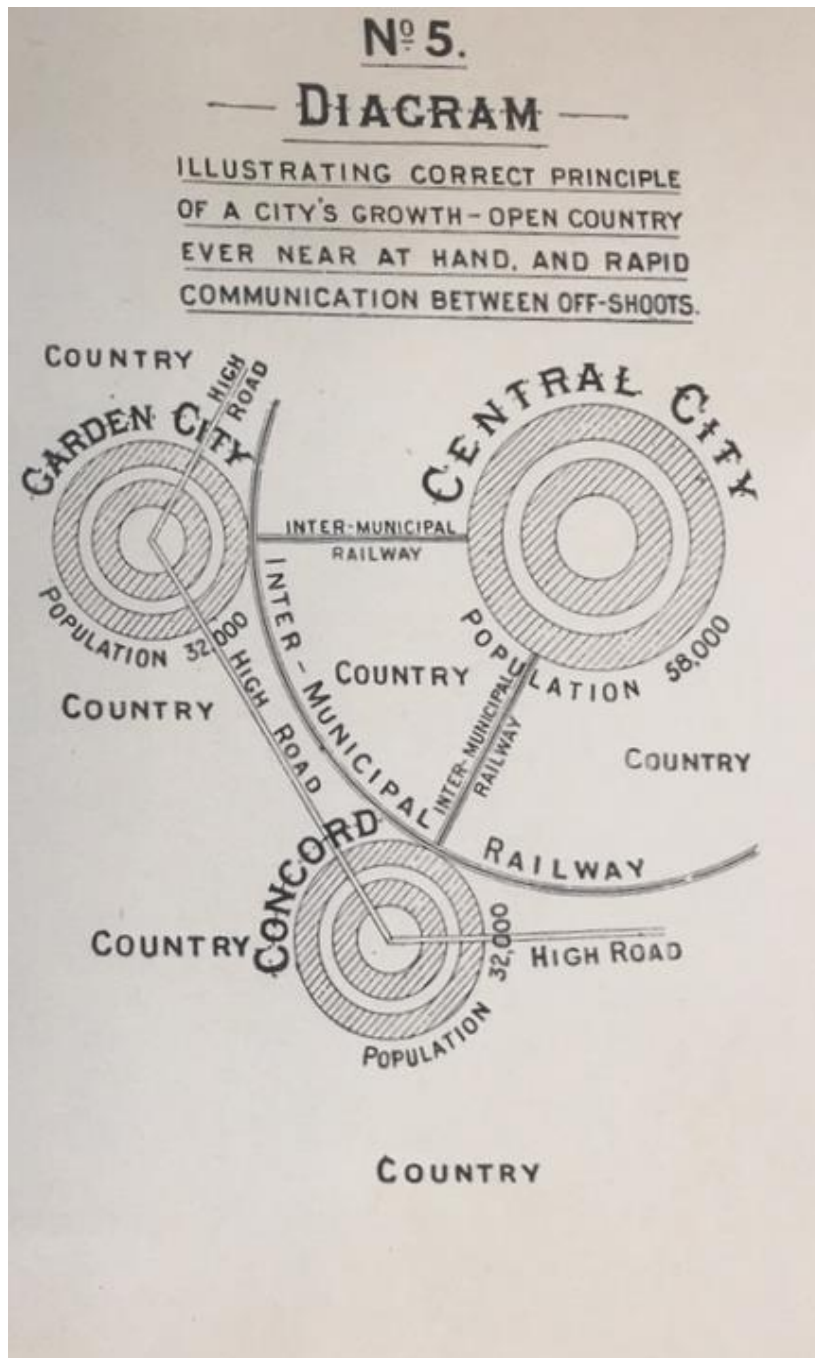


Fig.5. Howard's replacement diagram number 5. *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1902.

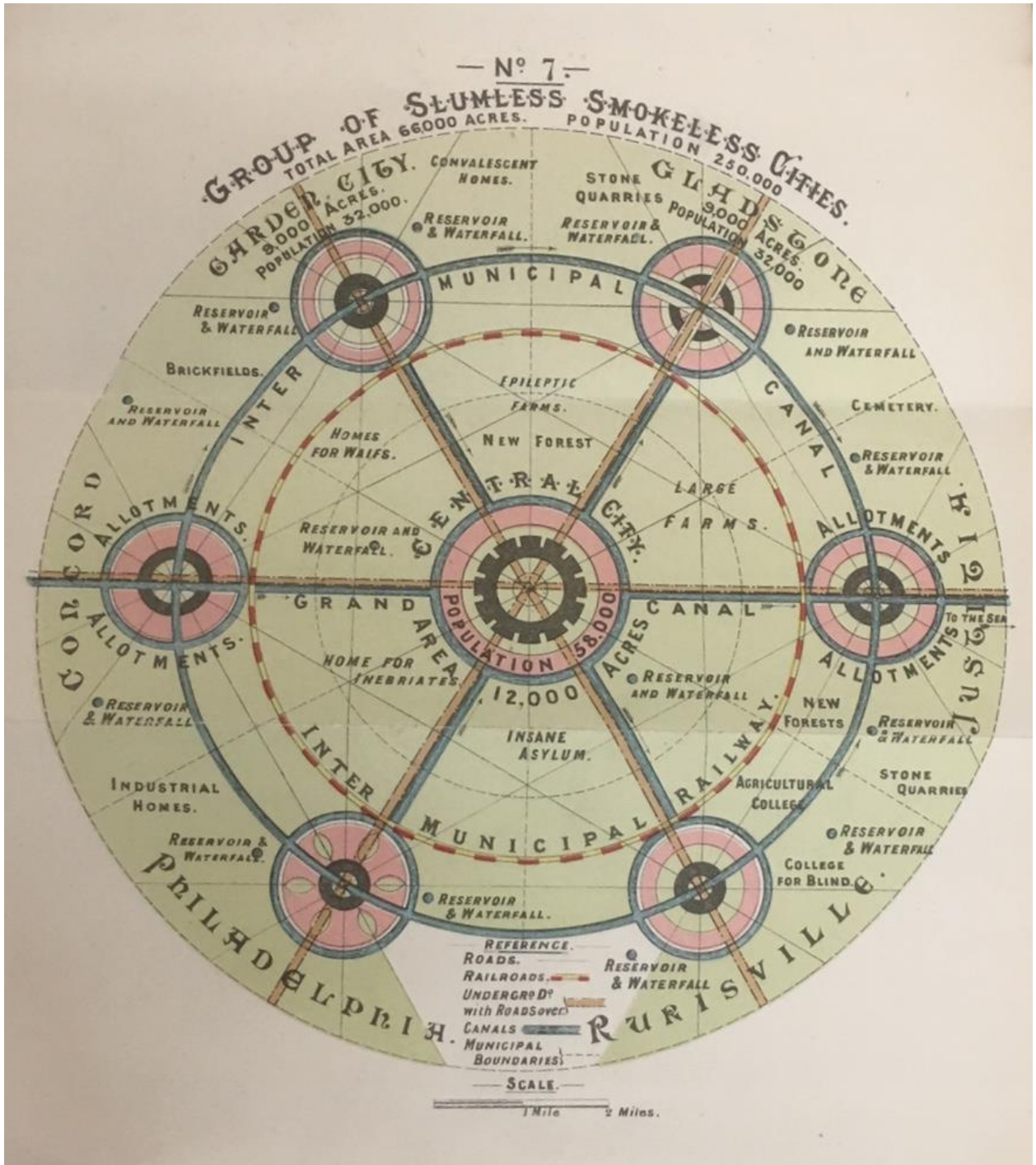


Fig.6. Howard's diagram no. 7. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1898. This diagram was removed by the second edition of his text, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1902. FJO also left it out of both editions of the books he edited and republished. (Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, edited by F.J. Osborn. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1946. Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, edited by F.J. Osborn. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1965.)

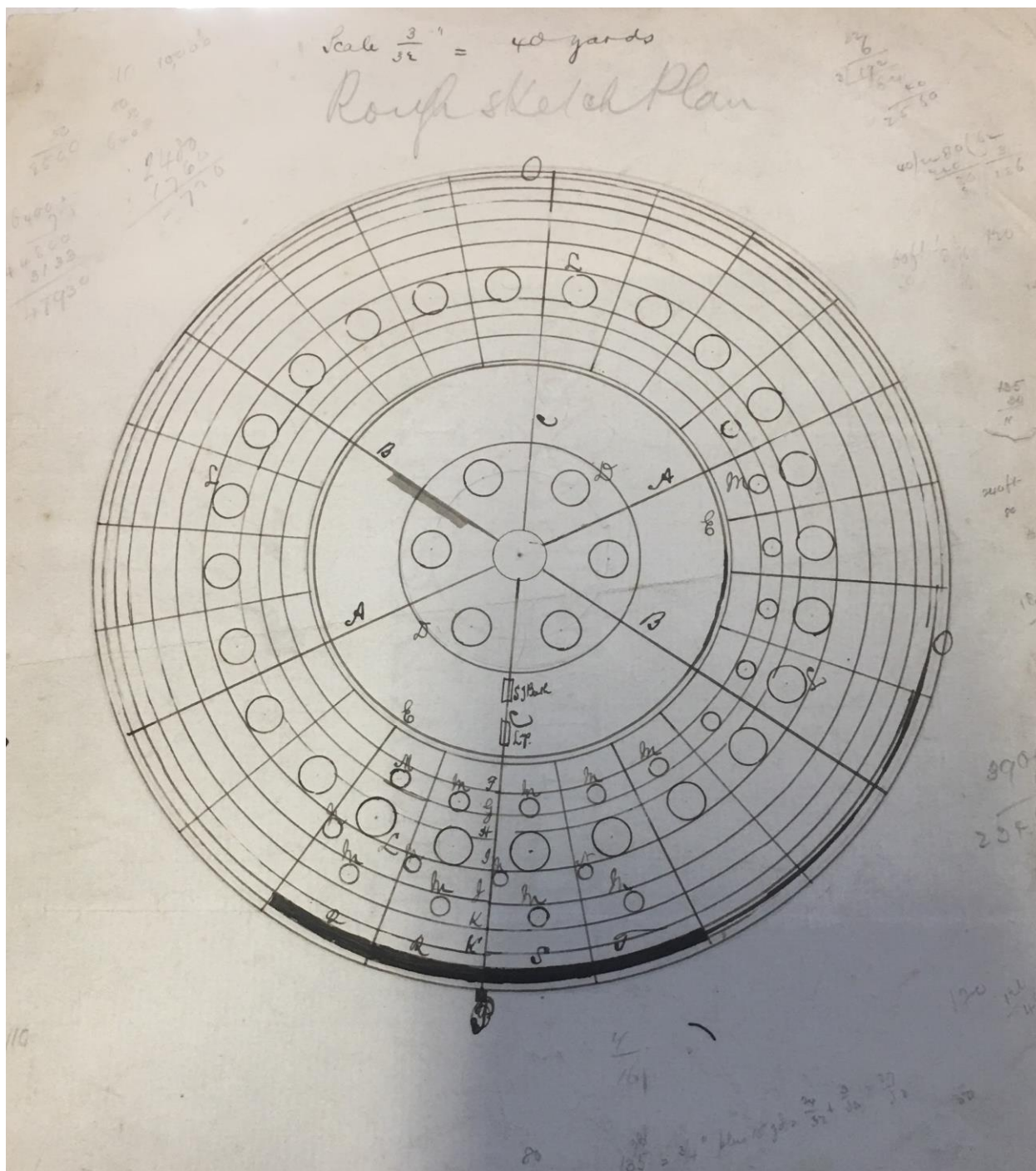


Fig.7. Howard's "Rough Sketch" of what would become diagram no.7. DE/Ho/F1/3. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

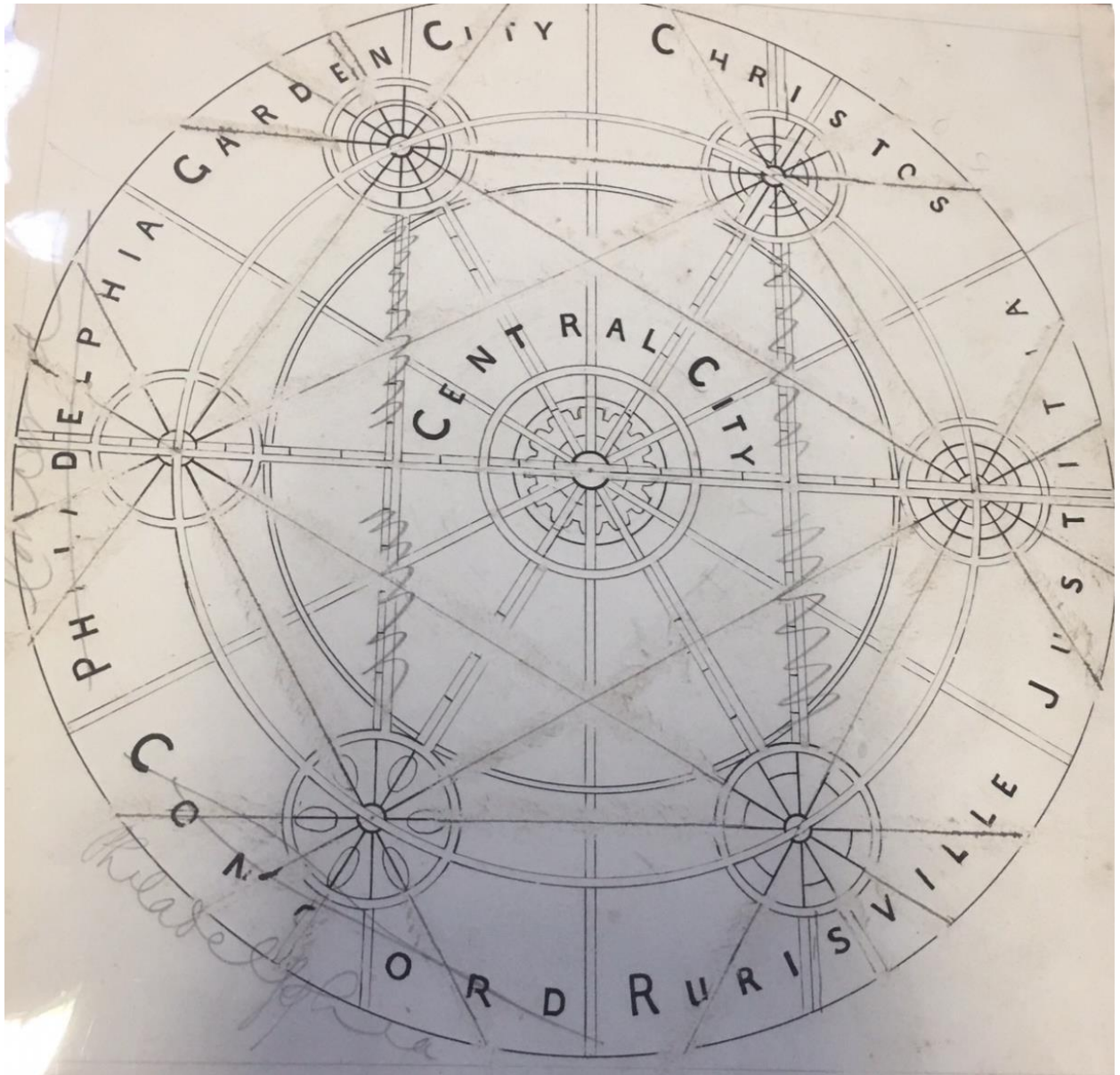


Fig.8. An early version of what would become diagram number 7. DE/Ho/F1/2. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

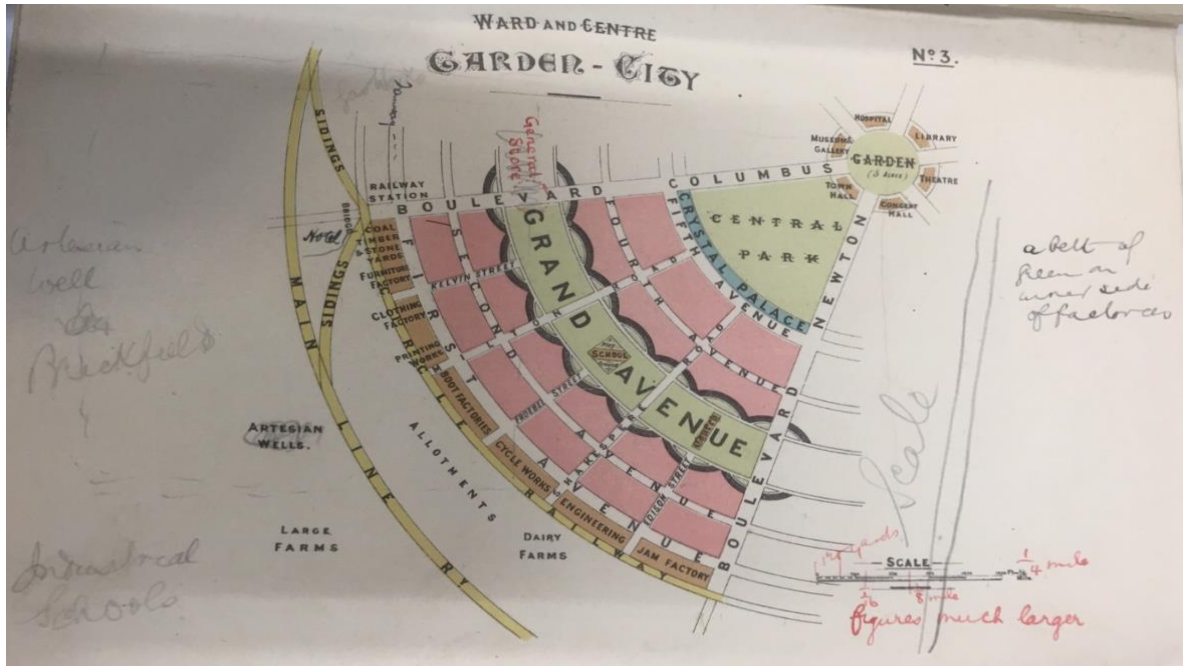


Fig.9. Howard's original diagram number 3, from his very own copy of the text. Howard, Ebenezer. *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. London: Swann Sonnenschein & Co. Ltd., 1898. (Howard's copy is located in is found in DE/Ho/F4.) Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

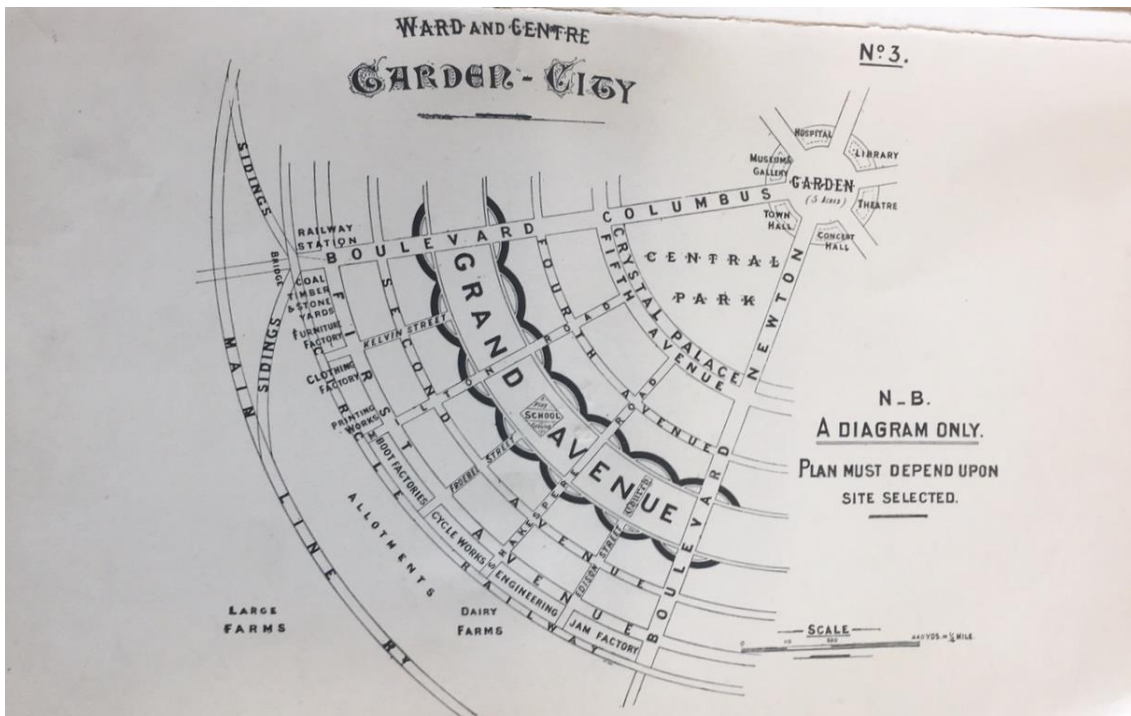


Fig.10 Howard's Diagram No. 3 remains unchanged in the second edition of his text, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, Ltd., 1902.



Fig.11. Hugh Ellis, Kate Henderson, and Katy Lock/The Town and Country Planning Association, *The Art of Building a Garden City: Designing New Communities for the Twenty-first Century*. (Newcastle upon Tyne: RIBA Publishing), 2017, 93. The image lists the Association's Garden City principles. It mimics Howard's missing diagram number 7, but makes no mention of it.



Fig.12. FJO (far right) photographed with members of the Association and ELMA at a Town and Country Planning Association meeting. 25 May 1944. DE/FJO/G1 (1944, 1945). Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

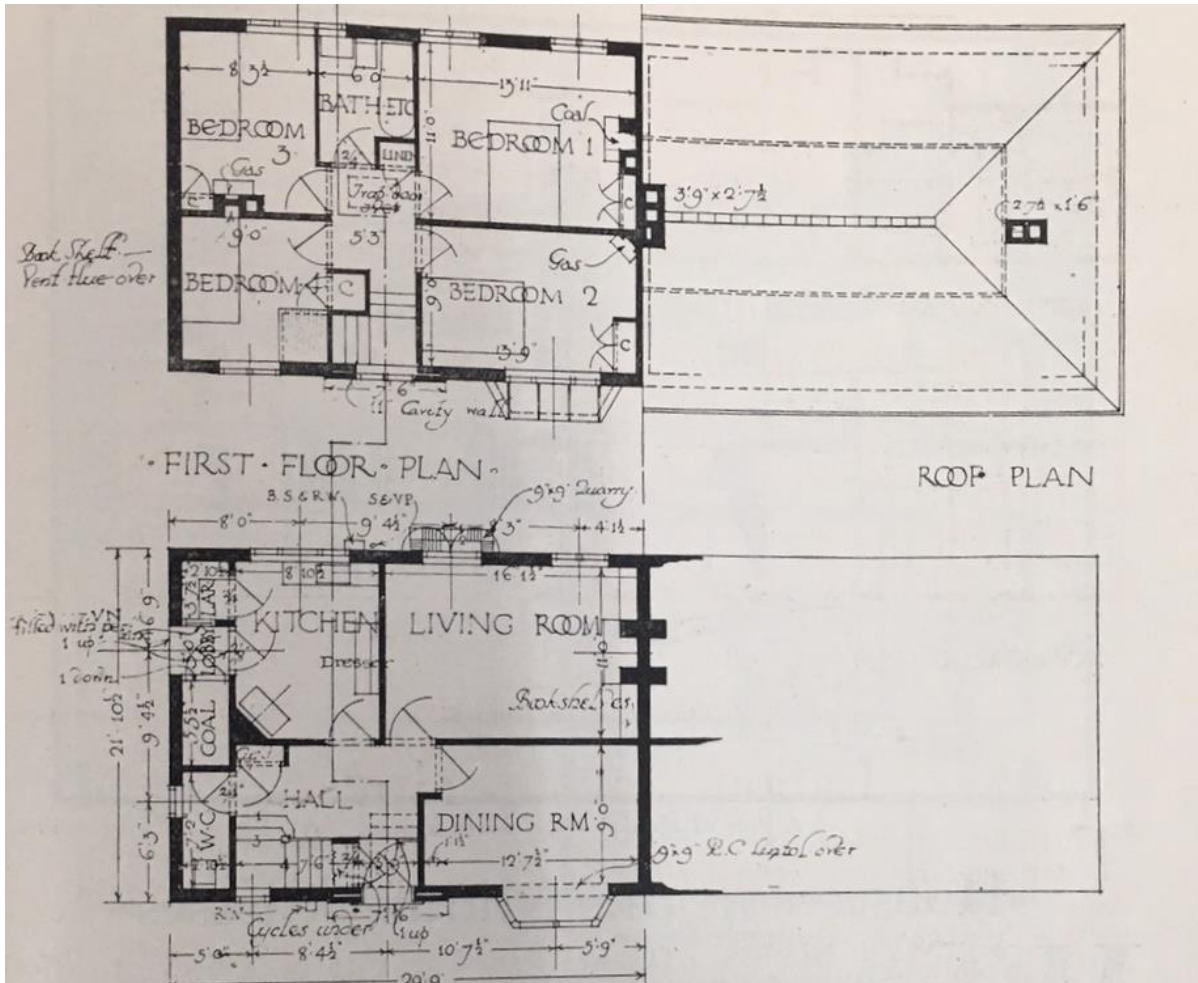


Fig.13. Pair of Labour-Saving Cottages. Architects Hennell & James. Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Magazine. Special Welwyn Number (Architecture Issue). November 1920, 221. P.S. Westminster: King & Son Ltd.

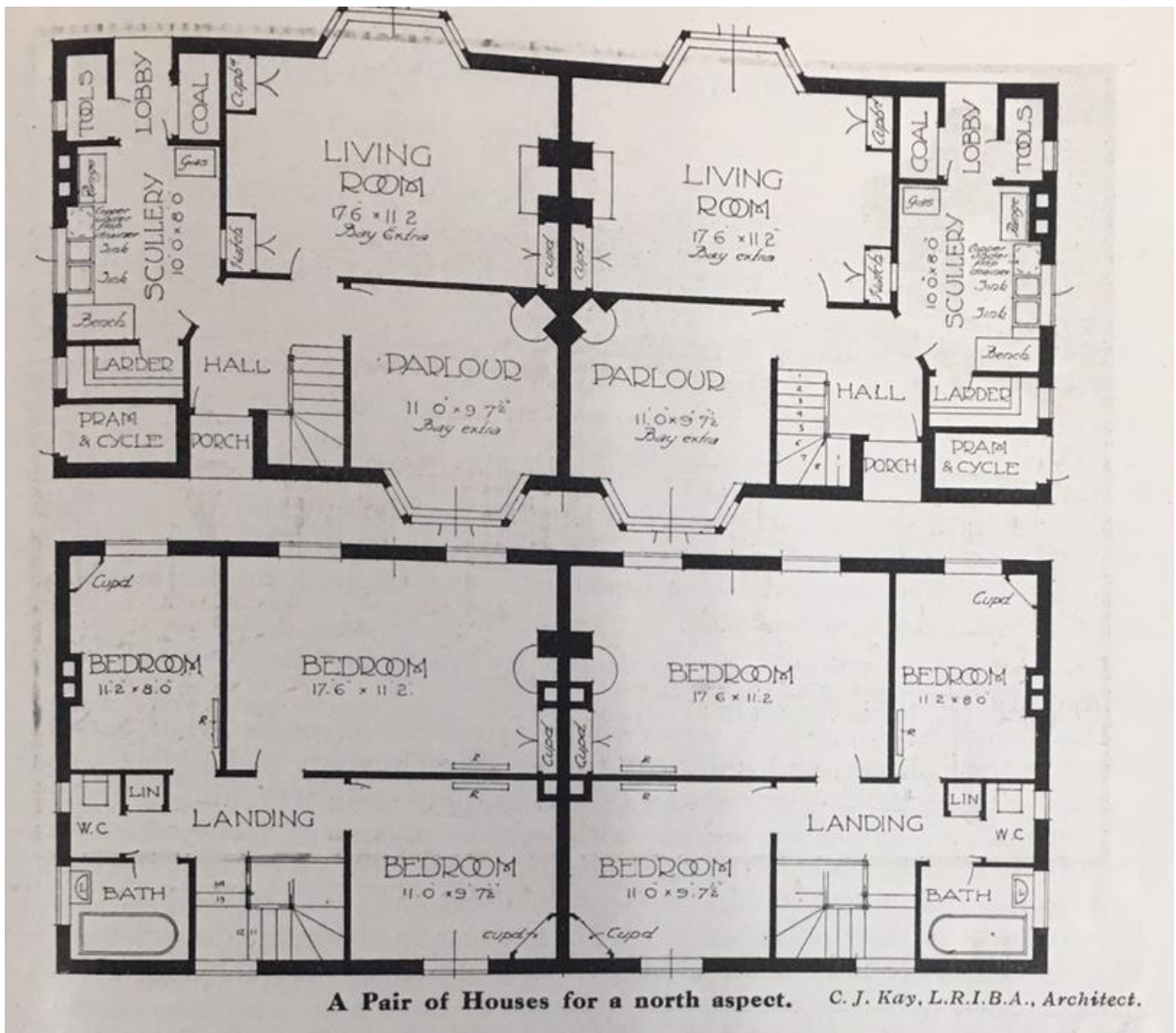
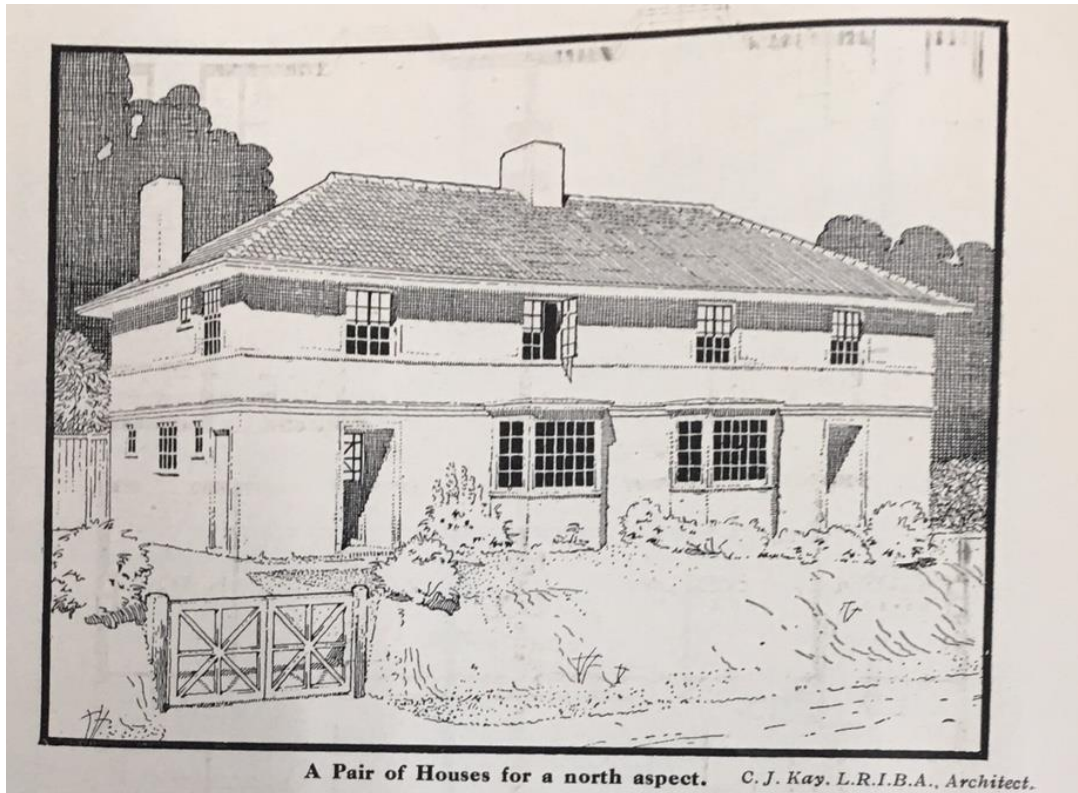


Fig.14. Pair of houses designed for the middle class. C.J. Kay architect. Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Magazine. Special Welwyn Number (Architecture Issue).. November 1920, 223. Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.



A Pair of Houses for a north aspect. *C. J. Kay, L.R.I.B.A., Architect.*

Fig.15. Pair of houses designed for the middle class. C.J. Kay architect. Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Magazine. Special Welwyn Number (Architecture Issue). November 1920, 222. Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.



Fig.16. Guessens Road Flats designed by H. Clapham Lander. Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Magazine. Special Welwyn Number (Architecture Issue). November 1920, 252. Westminster: P.S. King & Son Ltd.



Fig.17. 1946 journal entry with photographs of the site that would become Harlow New Town. FG1/29. Gibberd Garden Archive.

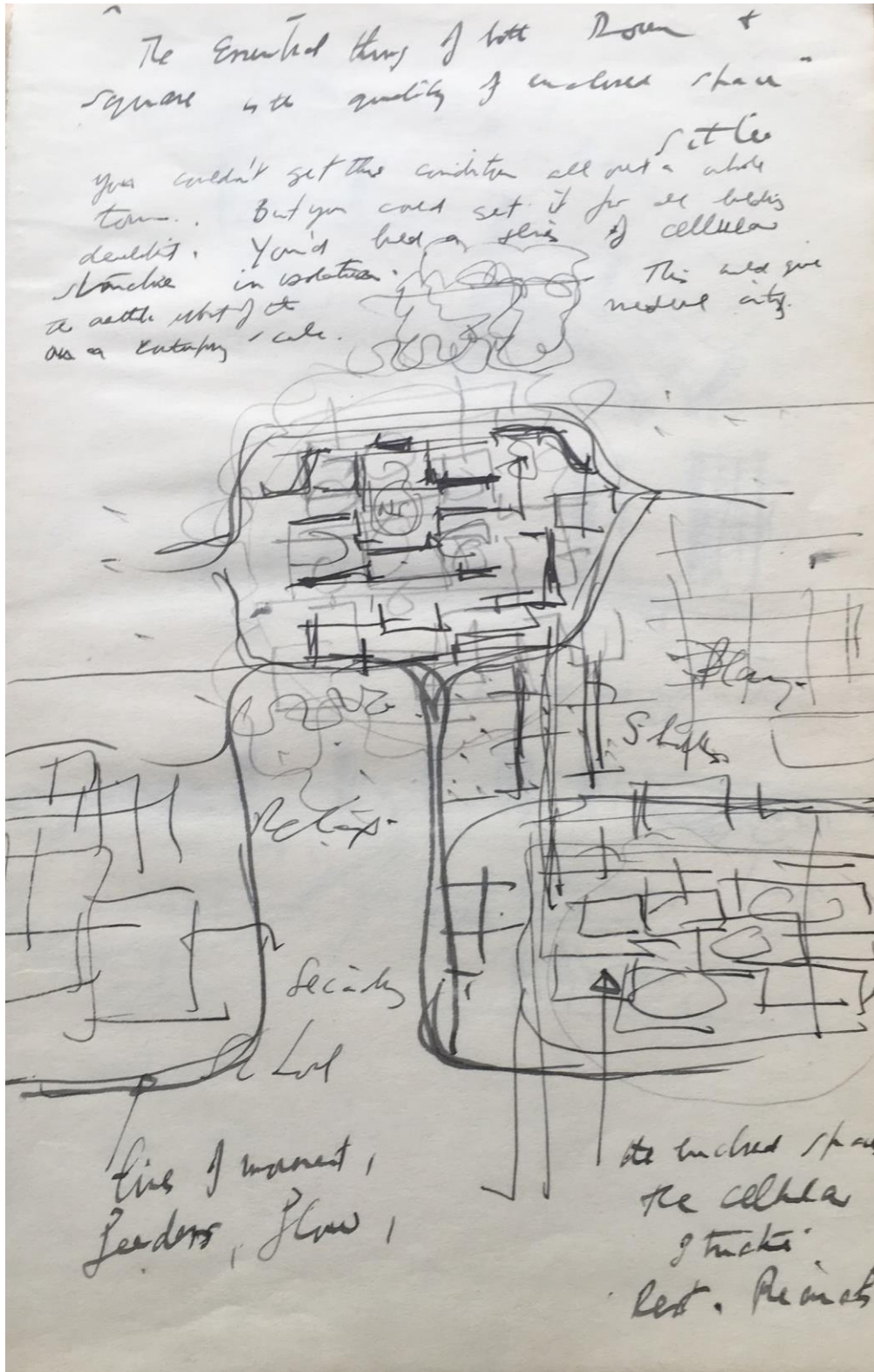


Fig.18. Sketch in Fred Gibberd's 1946 journal. No date. No page number. FG1/29. Gibberd Garden Archive.

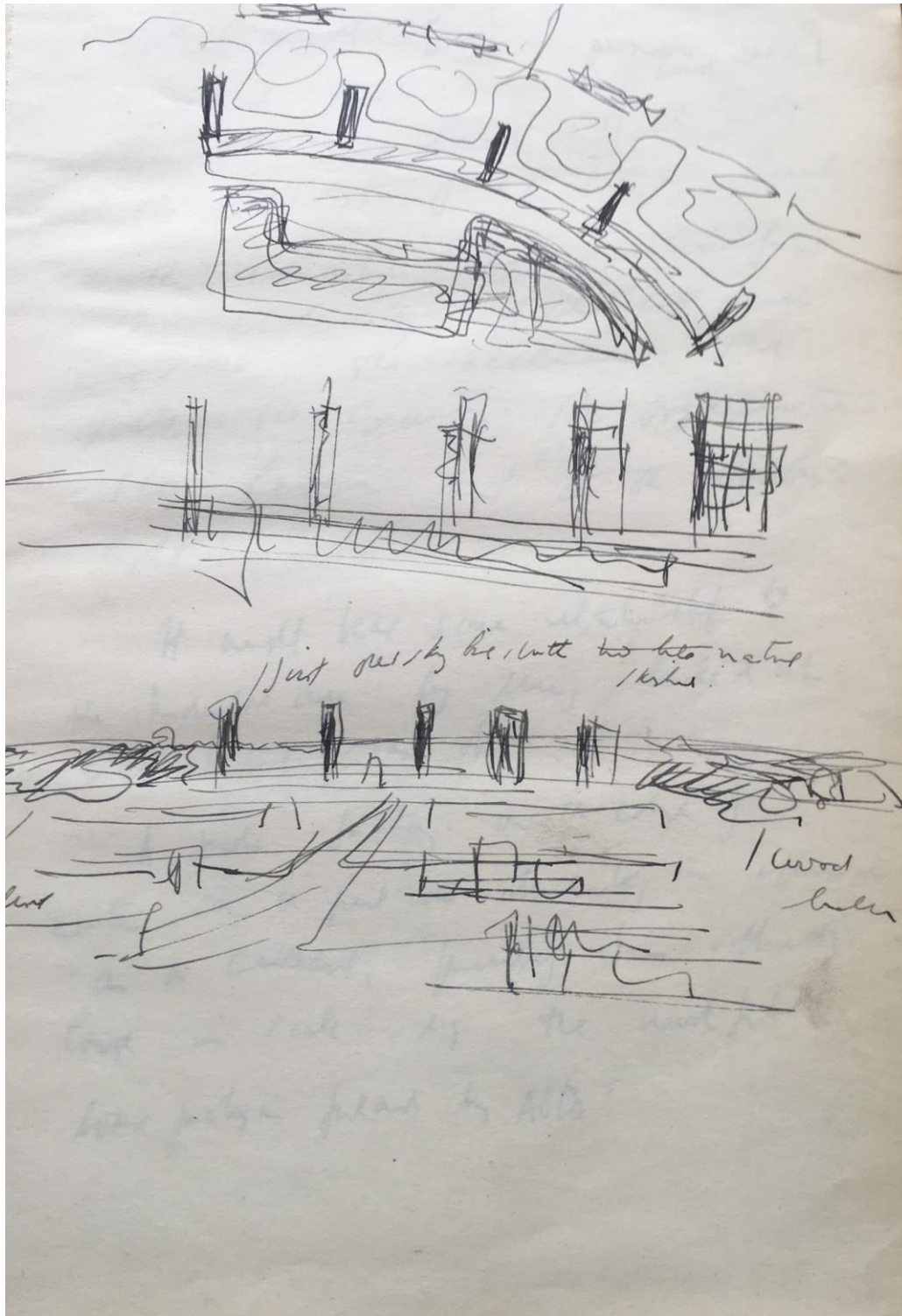


Fig.19. Sketch from Fred Gibberd's 1946 Journal. No date, no page number. FG1/29. Gibberd Garden Archive.

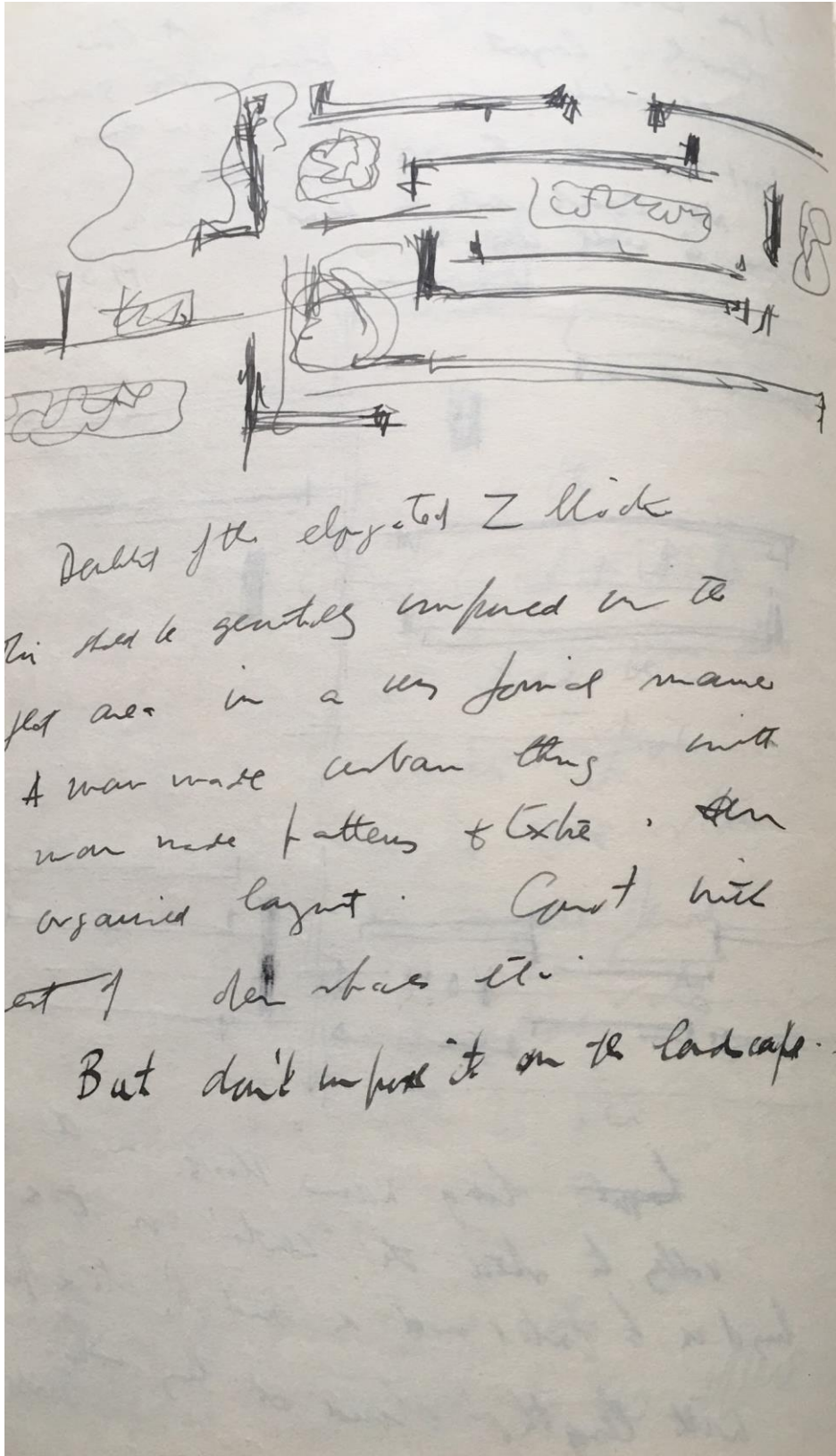


Fig.20. Sketch of "Z block" from Fred Gibberd's 1946 journal. No date. No page number. FG1/29. Gibberd Garden Archive.



Fig.21. Fred Gibberd at the Harlow Tower flats. Photograph was taken by the Town and Country Planning Association. FJO's handwriting indicates Gibberd on left, Bakker Schmidt on right. Harlow Exhibition for the Festival of Britain. 17 July 1951. DE/FJO/P10. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies.

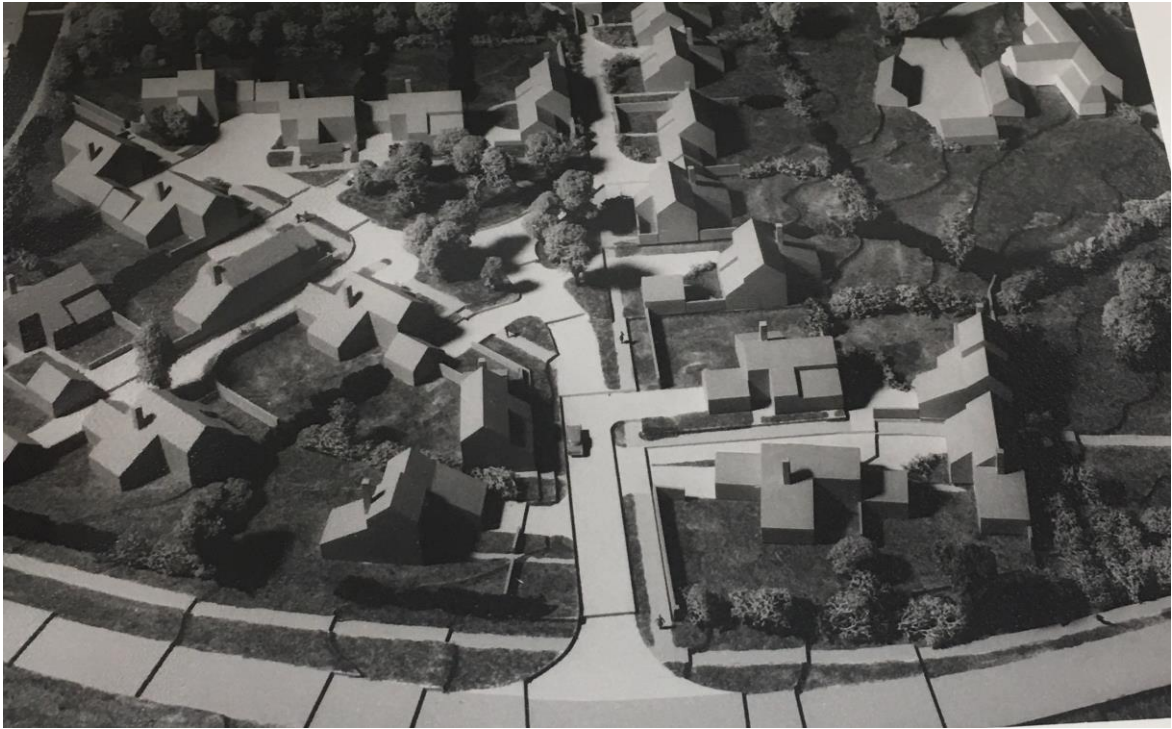


Fig.22. Aerial view of Kindleton street models in Great Linford, Milton Keynes. Taken 3 August 1976 by John Donat for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies

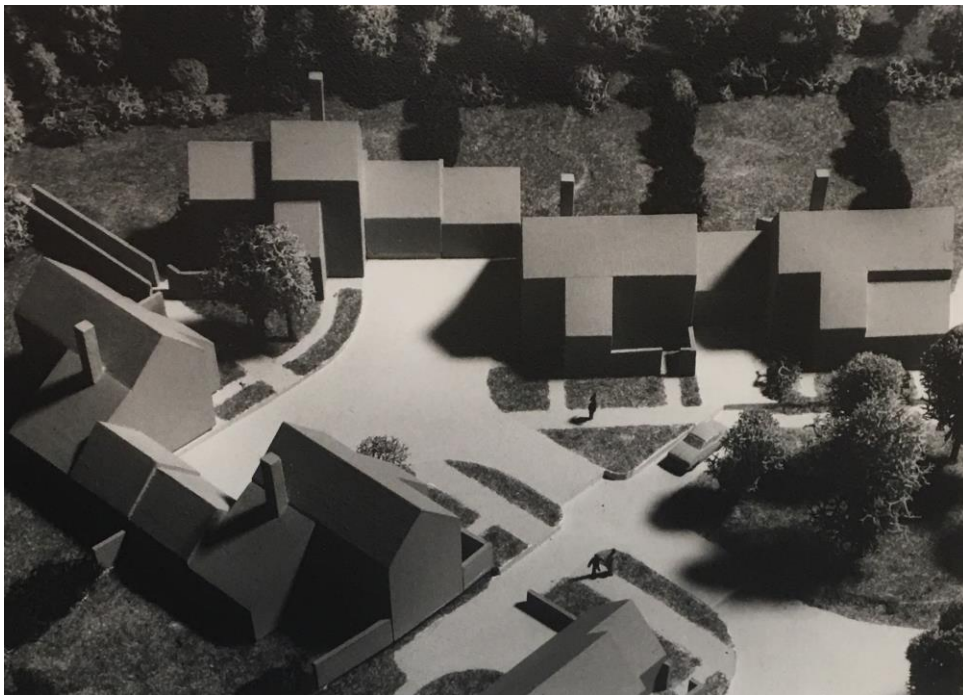


Fig.23. Closer aerial view of the models of Kindleton in Milton Keynes' Great Linford district. Taken 3 August 1976 by John Donat for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.24. House on Kindleton in Great Linford. 1978. Photographer: Bilton Studios for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.25. House on Kindleton in Great Linford. 1978. Photographer: Bilton Studios for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.36. Stonehayes houses in Great Linford. 31 September 1979 by John Walker for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.27. Stonehayes of Great Linford. September 1982 by R Werrington for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.28. Stonehayes house in Great Linford. Frontal view. Photographer unknown. Taken 1982 for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.29. Detached house The Pavilions Great Linford. Taken by Peter Bridge for the Information Technology Showcase, October 1982 - March 1983. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.30. Detached House on Alverton in Great Linford. Taken by Bilton Studios for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. No date. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.31. Houses in Lodge Gates, Great Linford. Taken 1 October 1978 by C. Wooding for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.32. House in Lodge Gates, Great Linford. Taken by 2 September 1979 by John Walker for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.33. Rental houses in Hazelwood, Great Linford. Taken 2 September 1979 by John Walker. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.34. View of rental houses of France Furlough in Great Linford. Taken on 10 January 1980 by Ivor Leonard. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.35. View from the courtyard of the rental houses of France Furlough in Great Linford. Taken 10 January 1980 by Ivor Leonard for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.36. View of rental houses from adjacent parking. France Furlough in Great Linford. Taken 10 January 1980 by Ivor Leonard for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.37. Rental houses on Marsh Drive in Great Linford (rear view). Taken 15 May 1979 by Bilton Studios for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.38. Great Linford's "Campion" rental houses. Taken by Bilton Studios for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. No date. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.39. Great Linford Campion rental houses showing concrete wall. Taken by Bilton Studios for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. No date. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.40. Great Linford's "Campion" rental houses showing fence made of sticks. Taken by Bilton Studios for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. No date. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.41. Rental houses in Nicholas Mead, Great Linford. Taken February 1980 by Ivor Leonard for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.42. Rental houses in Nicholas Mead, Great Linford. Taken February 1980 by Ivor Leonard for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.



Fig.43. Rental houses in Nicholas Mead, Great Linford. Taken September 1980 by Jo Reid and John Peck for the Milton Keynes Development Corporation. D-MKDC/16/1/9. Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.

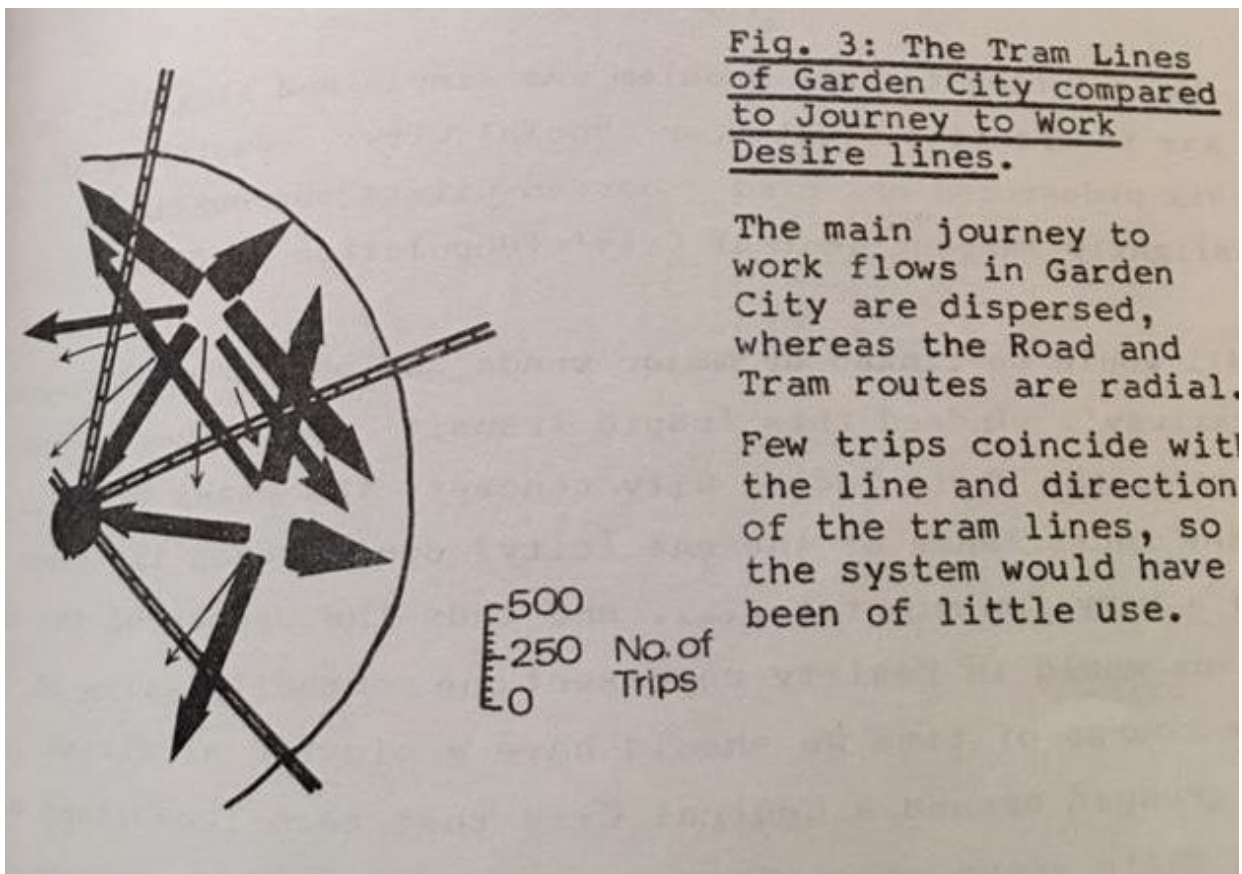


Fig.44. Potter, Stephen. Garden City tram lines compared to desire lines. *Transport Planning in the Garden Cities*. (New Towns Study Unit: Open University), 1981.

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