Planning for Social Reform in the Modern Landscape

A Study of Two Yorkshire Garden Villages, 1902–1940

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Abstract

Although archaeologies of the modern world have increasingly acknowledged the materiality of reform (often through specialised institutions such as workhouses), the role of the everyday domestic landscape in promoting social reform has yet to be addressed. This thesis investigates the relationship between social reform and the landscape as manifested in early-twentieth-century garden villages: garden city-style planned settlements that promised healthy green surroundings and quality affordable housing as an antidote to urban social problems.

Two case studies are investigated: New Earswick, North Yorkshire (founded 1902), and Woodlands model mining village, South Yorkshire (founded 1907). An 'ethnography of place' (Mayne and Lawrence 1999) approach is adopted, combining documentary archaeology (incorporating historic social data, visual culture, site plans, and archive material) with new in-depth landscape biographies of garden village development. This reveals the myriad ways in which the planned landscape was conceived, executed, and negotiated as an agent of social change: by village founders, designers, and residents.

At the intersection of historical archaeology and planning history, the original contribution of this thesis is to challenge the notion of garden village landscapes as passive reflections of reformist ideals. Instead, it locates specific planned landscape forms, as found at New Earswick and Woodlands, within ambitious ideas for a better society: radically new spaces that actively supported cooperation, 'respectable' forms of recreation, and better health. While reform in the context of garden villages was entangled with ideas of class, the research demonstrates that the landscape facilitated the active participation of their generally working-class residents. In essence, 'the reformed' contributed to the process of reform on their own terms. As a proposed solution to the UK's current housing crisis, efforts to develop new garden villages for the twenty-first century can benefit from a deeper critical analysis of those of the past, demonstrating their enduring relevance.

Contents

Tables

Figures

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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. Additional archive sources and geospatial (map) data sources are listed separately.

1 Investigating garden villages of the early-twentieth century

The turn of the twentieth century was a period characterised by rapid urban expansion, much of which was regarded as being densely developed and poorly planned. However, in this period, a modest number of pioneering, well-planned model settlements were built across England (Fig. 1). These were the products of a growing realisation that the domestic landscape played a critical role in key social issues, not least in terms of poverty, overcrowding, and the general welfare of the working classes. More importantly, the proliferation of model settlements in industrial contexts was increasingly based on the new idea that selected aspects of the landscape could be deployed for social benefit.

In particular, the 'green', non-urban character of such settlements is captured in a variety of terms, including 'model village', 'garden suburb', and notably 'garden village'. Most were founded on a philanthropic basis and were defined by a similar visual aesthetic, incorporating low-density housing, open space, and green surroundings (Abercrombie 1911, 233; Culpin 1913, 1–2; Darley 2007, 196). These remedies were a radical departure from the inherent flaws of unrestrained urban development, which was itself sustained by industrial capitalism, and the poor material and social conditions endured by the working-class population as a result.

Model settlements of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries served a variety of purposes, but they all sought to address complex social issues arising from a still relatively new industrial workforce. Robert Owen's New Lanark (Lanarkshire, Scotland, 1800), Titus Salt's Saltaire (West Yorkshire, 1853), and the Lever Brothers' Port Sunlight (Merseyside, 1888) were for the exclusive use by employees of a single company and offered
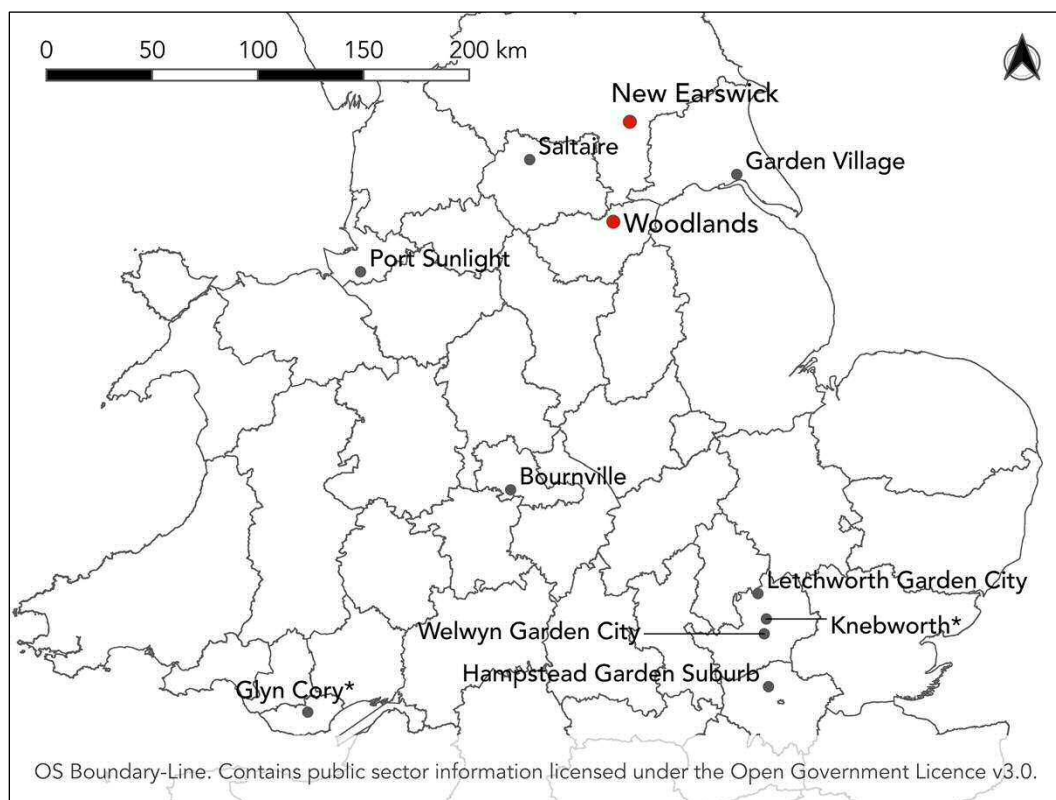
Fig. 1: **Map of England and Wales, showing historic model villages and garden villages, suburbs, and cities referred to throughout (*proposed but never fully completed).**

distinctive domestic surroundings. Later examples, such as Bournville (Birmingham, 1896) and Garden Village (Hull, East Riding, 1907), had fewer restrictions on who could live in them but primarily accommodated industrial workers. Much research has focused on the contribution of short-lived radical social experiments or utopian communities of the nineteenth century (such as the 'Owenite' communities inspired by Robert Owen, e.g. Breen 2006; see also Armytage 1961; Hardy 1979; Hurley 2019, 33–45). Yet, there is insufficient attention paid to the more moderate social reforms that typified industrial model settlements, but which accomplished significant, tangible outcomes. This was an historical context wherein uncoordinated philanthropy gradually gave way to organised welfare interventions. For example, state housing provision was inextricably linked with these reformist roots (e.g. Ravetz 2001, 41–4).

Accordingly, this project aims to understand the complex material relationship between the landscape and the social ideals that underpinned reform in model settlements of the early-twentieth century.

It addresses how the landscape was actively deployed as means of delivering social reform in the specific context of garden villages, which originated within the garden city movement in town planning. This early-twentieth-century movement, led by Ebenezer Howard, advocated reform through the creation of new cities surrounded by countryside (Howard 1902). Thus, each garden city was to be a 'city within a garden' as much as a 'city of gardens' (Hardy 1991, 20). The garden city was intended to relieve the poor, overcrowded conditions experienced in some urban areas and to redress the economic decline and depopulation of rural areas.

Only two true garden cities were built in England (Letchworth Garden City, 1904, and Welwyn Garden City, 1920, both in Hertfordshire), but the movement's followers acknowledged the profound impact of several smaller garden village schemes: Port Sunlight, Bournville, New Earswick, Woodlands, and Hull's Garden Village (Abercrombie 1910a; 1910b; Culpin 1913). While the legitimacy of these smaller schemes was questioned by garden city purists (Sutcliffe 1990, 261; Hardy 1991, 61–2), they pioneered several features that embodied garden city ideals. In economic terms, limitations on returns from house rents were intended to improve affordability for working-class people. In social terms, garden villages crucially differed from earlier model settlements in the provision of independent community facilities, rather than just residential buildings. Finally, in aesthetic terms, their housing and street plans were optimised for sunlight to foster well-being, with substantial gardens and green spaces to provide fresh air and opportunities for outdoor recreation (Hardy 1991, 61; Sinclair 2005, 4–5). Significantly, these new settlement forms were fundamental to the design of the first local authority housing estates, which transformed the British landscape during the interwar period (Boughton 2018, 24–8).

Whereas the reformist agenda for the garden city movement is well established, there have been few attempts to understand from a landscape perspective how its ideas were realised, and how they operated, in garden villages. The central argument of this thesis is that garden villages sought to drastically overhaul and improve the conditions of the working classes. They achieved this by redefining people's

relationship with the built landscape and encouraging their participation in a new kind of community. Consequently, the 'reform landscape' that defined garden villages was an active agent of real social change, rather than simply the material expression of abstract reformist ideals.

1.1   Research questions and scope

To address the project aim, evidence is drawn from two case studies (Fig. 2): the garden villages of New Earswick (North Yorkshire, 1902) and Woodlands (South Yorkshire, 1907). The thesis addresses three research questions, the first of which concerns how ideas of social reform were materially implicated in the development of garden villages; the second, how the designed and planned landscape was deployed for social gain; and the third, evaluating their social consequences and the broader experience of reform landscapes.

Although Chapter 2 focuses more closely on attempts to critique the meaning of reform, brief definitions are necessary here. Distinguishing
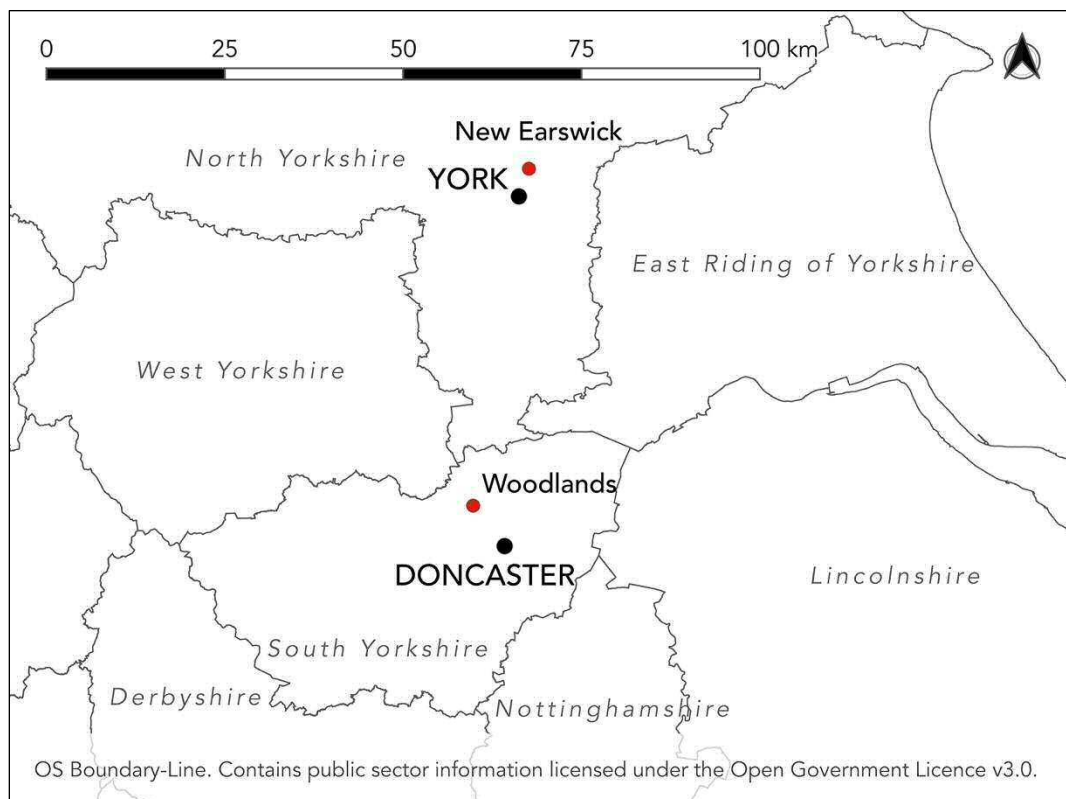
Fig. 2: **Map of Yorkshire and East Midlands, showing New Earswick and Woodlands in relation to York and Doncaster respectively.**

terms such as 'model village', 'garden village', and 'garden suburb' can be problematic, given that they are frequently used interchangeably. Of these, the 'garden village' occupied a unique position in early-twentieth-century town planning, being recognised as a formative concept in the better-known garden city movement, but also an embodiment of its principles. The earlier term 'model village' was more closely associated with planned settlements to house agricultural estate workers, though it was also applied to industrial worker settlements (cf. Havinden 1989, 27). Early examples of industrial model villages were often provided out of necessity, especially when the location for industrial works was determined by the availability of water power. Nonetheless, some were more socially experimental: for example, New Lanark (Hardy 1979, 25). The villages of Port Sunlight, affiliated with the Levers' soap factory, and Bournville, with Cadbury's cocoa works, were initially regarded as model villages. Although they predated the garden city movement by several years, they were later described as garden villages in recognition of their alignment with the garden city movement's founding principles. This was despite their divergent management philosophies, ranging from the corporate paternalism of Port Sunlight to the charitable philanthropy of Bournville (Darley 2007, 137–143).

'Garden village' (first used *c.*1900) was thus used to describe a settlement that followed the design principles of the garden city movement ('on garden city lines'). This typically denoted a low-density, independent settlement with some community facilities, incorporating substantial green space, and primarily (but not exclusively) accommodating the families of workers employed in a single nearby industry. Conversely, 'garden suburb' was used to describe suburban residential estates planned on similar lines, though with greater dependence on existing settlements nearby; Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907) in north-west London is an early example. Both terms were sometimes applied retrospectively by followers of the early town planning movements, while some speculatively built settlements were branded as garden cities (or similar) to present them as more desirable (Culpin 1913, 1). Such cases were criticised for not being in the same spirit of social reform that true garden cities, suburbs, and villages sought to advance.

Social reform is herein defined as the general goal of achieving social improvement, however broadly conceived, by gradual, interventionist means (Springate 2017, 774). Reform ideals are defined as those which motivated the creation of model settlements such as garden villages or otherwise shaped their objectives: the aspects of reform that their founders sought to promote (explicitly or tacitly) and realise through their communities. An underlying thread throughout the following chapters concerns the close relationship between social reform and other forms of 'improvement'. For this reason, this definition is extended where relevant to include aspects of sanitary or public health reform, which were understood to contribute to improvements in the welfare of the working classes.

The term 'landscape' is used in this thesis to refer to the cultural landscape: the aspects of the material environment attributed to, or the subject of, human (cultural) forces. This echoes Pauls' (2006, 66) theorisation of the landscape as the entanglement of the environment with social structures and individuals. Thus, the landscape includes cultural topography, street pattern, viewsheds, designed features, the site's relationship with the surrounding environment, the spatial arrangement of structures, the external appearance of buildings, and culturally defined places: spaces imbued with cultural significance (Branton 2009, 52). The thesis does not seek to advance a precise definition, echoing Ashmore's (2004, 256) contention that the flexibility of the term itself is a strength of landscape approaches. This is advantageous in the context of this research since it facilitates an understanding of the range of ways in which reform was expressed and experienced through the landscape.

Since reform can be regarded as a set of ideologies, the material manifestation of which is partly an expression of power, Spencer-Wood and Baugher's (2010) concept of the powered cultural landscape provides a more nuanced interpretation of the relationship between reformers and their 'subjects' in those they sought to reform. It does this by acknowledging the contribution of bi-directional power relations in the materiality of the landscape. In other words, the landscape is the product of cultural interaction between different groups; in the context of this

thesis, the landscape is not a pure expression of the ideas of a dominant group of reformers. It nevertheless seeks to expand this concept to frame the landscape not only as a product of, but also as a contributor to, social dynamics. It must also be acknowledged that the contribution to the landscape by non-dominant groups ('the reformed' in this case) is limited by their degree of influence.

Objectives

In responding to the above research questions, it is necessary to examine the relationship between planning, reform, and the garden city movement in the early-twentieth century, drawing on the historical and academic literature (Objective 1). By reviewing the literature on social reform and housing reform in particular, the significance of garden villages in the garden city movement and the wider town planning profession can be better understood. It is also necessary to investigate the local factors that contributed to the development of the landscape in each of the case study sites, by analysing their landscape and social contexts (Objective 2). This is complemented by a visual survey of the extant landscapes, thus providing the first detailed landscape biographies of garden village developments.

To understand the ideological basis of the landscape within garden villages, the thesis identifies the specific material and social objectives of their founders (Objective 3). This is applied specifically to the case study villages but draws on evidence from comparable schemes. To understand the active role of the material landscape, the case studies are used to evaluate the role of planning and landscape design in response to the reform ideals already identified (Objective 4). Combining these histories with an analysis of original site plans allows for comparison between the as-built site and the site as conceived by its designers.

Finally, the research critiques the factors that constrain or enable garden village landscapes to sustain reform ideals. This is conducted through an analysis of the case study villages in terms of their social and material consequences for residents, in contrast to the intentions of their original designers and founders (Objective 5). Documentary and photographic

evidence are invaluable for discerning the agency of residents within the cultural and physical landscape, and accounting for historic changes or modifications that might not be acknowledged by their designers or founders. This will also enable an interpretation of people's participation in, and contribution to, the production of garden village landscapes, thereby offering insight into the experience of reform (Objective 6).

1.2 Case studies

The two villages adopted herein as case studies (New Earswick, North Yorkshire and Woodlands, South Yorkshire) are broadly contemporaneous, both being built in the first decade of the twentieth century. Historically, New Earswick and Woodlands occupied a similar space within the surrounding landscape, which in both cases was predominantly agricultural (aside from the village of Adwick-le-Street to the north-east of Woodlands). They were conceived under the same design philosophy, that of the garden city movement (although Woodlands is hitherto less widely recognised as such). Contemporary accounts generally noted their visual similarities and held both villages in similarly high regard. Each had its historical antecedents: for New Earswick, Bournville, and for Woodlands, earlier model mining villages such as Creswell, Derbyshire. Yet, their radically innovative contribution stemmed from their scale, the underlying social ambition of their respective founders, and their nature as the first villages planned from the outset on garden city principles.

New Earswick

New Earswick is located approximately two miles north of York city centre, on the western bank of the River Foss (Fig. 3). The community was established as a model village in 1902 by the renowned Quaker and industrial philanthropist Joseph Rowntree, the owner of the Rowntree and Company cocoa business, based in York. The village was built on 125 acres of agricultural land purchased by Rowntree himself, though ownership and management responsibilities were transferred to the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust in 1904. The site was initially laid out by the architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, who also designed the
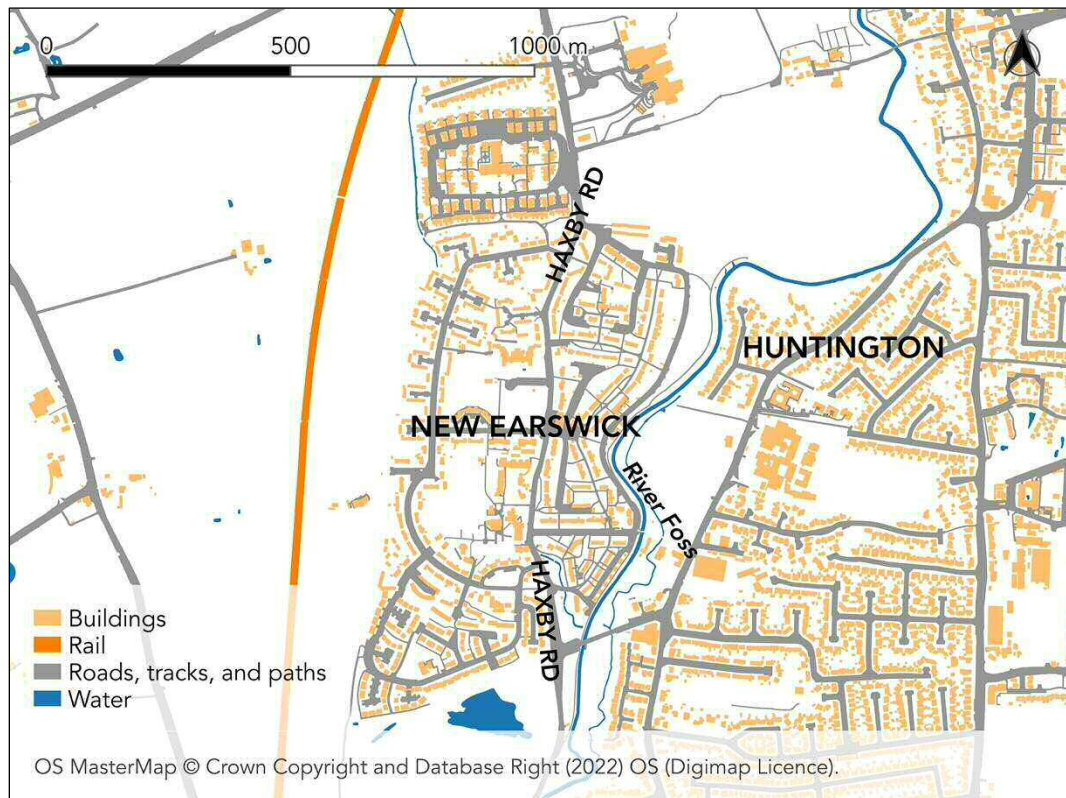
Fig. 3: **Map of New Earswick, with more recent development in the Huntington area visible to the north and the east.**

village's housing and later achieved recognition for planning Letchworth Garden City. New Earswick is conventionally regarded as an experiment in the provision of better housing and living conditions for working-class people in general. Although situated close to Rowntree's cocoa works, New Earswick was not exclusively for his employees. This replicated a model that had been put into place by George Cadbury—another Quaker chocolate manufacturer—at his model village of Bournville near Birmingham.

The legacy of New Earswick lies in its status as the first planned village founded on the principles of the burgeoning garden city movement. Through Unwin's later role as an advisor to the immediate post-First World War government, its architecture directly influenced the design of the first mass council housing provided under the 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act (Swenarton 1981, 184; Sinclair 2005). New Earswick is frequently portrayed as the village in which the architectural partners Parker and Unwin tested their early design principles, before later

applying them more widely at Letchworth Garden City from 1904 and Hampstead Garden Suburb from 1907 (Meacham 1999, 85). Consequently, the development of New Earswick during the interwar period has received limited attention. In turn, its significance as an independent community and an important contribution in its own right has been downplayed.

By 1940, the upper limit of the study period for this thesis, New Earswick comprised 520 individual houses. Today, the village's houses number more than 850. This increase is mainly due to the expansion of the original village into previously undeveloped land in the south-west, though pockets of existing development in the north-east of the village have also been redeveloped as housing. A major housing modernisation programme took place in the 1970s (Green 1970) but most of the original buildings remain today. The New Earswick estate is still owned and managed by the original founding trust, now named the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust. Most of the study area lies within a conservation area and all of the village's surviving pre-1918 housing is Grade II listed, along with the primary school and Folk Hall (Fig. 4).
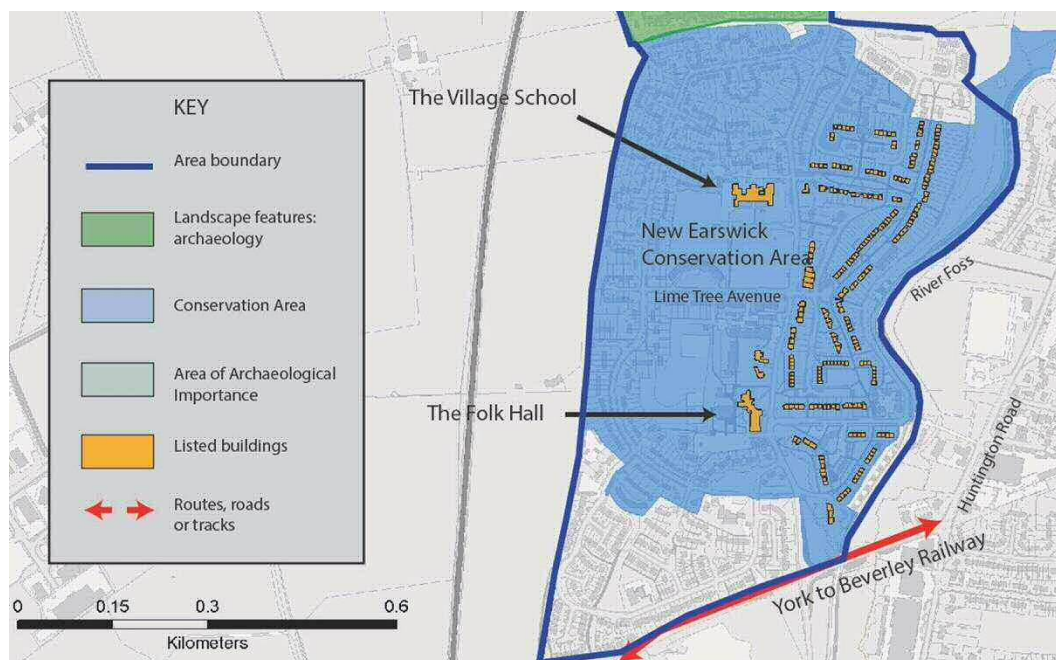
Fig. 4: **Map of the New Earswick conservation area, including listed buildings (from MacRae 2013, 11). © Crown copyright and Database Rights 2014 Ordnance Survey 100020818.**

Woodlands

Woodlands Model Village is located approximately four miles north-west of Doncaster, South Yorkshire (Fig. 5). The village was founded by the Brodsworth Main Colliery Company in 1907 to house workers at the newly opened coal mine, located west of the Great North Road and the village of Adwick-le-Street. The land on which both the colliery and the model village were situated was leased from Charles Thellusson of the Brodsworth estate. Although the company was named as the lessee, the village in practice was overseen by the company director Arthur Markham until his death in 1916. As well as having a financial interest in other collieries in England and Wales, Markham served as MP (nominally a Liberal) for Mansfield, Nottinghamshire (Hansard 1909). The village and its housing were laid out to the designs of Percy Houfton, a Derbyshire architect who had designed the model mining village of Creswell, also in Derbyshire, and who had connections with the garden city movement.
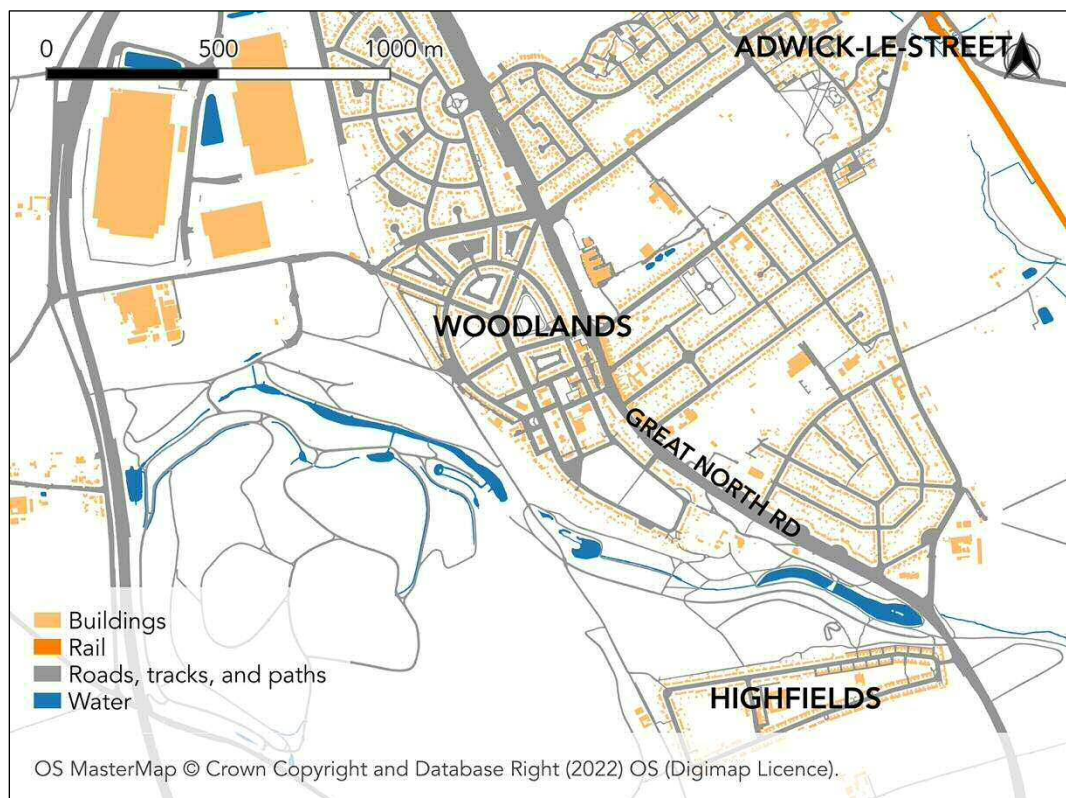
Fig. 5: **Map of Woodlands showing the model village (centre) and other developments in the Adwick-le-Street area.**

Housing in the model village was primarily reserved for employees of Brodsworth Main and their families, though it also provided residences for workers considered to be essential for the community. The founder's intentions for the village are more difficult to fathom than in the case of New Earswick. Given Markham's liberalism, it is likely that he was sympathetic to the reformist goal of improving conditions in mining communities. Indeed, the very act of providing a model village is itself a testament to this. Although its site plan prioritised economy and efficiency of construction, the village gained the support of the garden city movement, partly because of Houfton's architectural innovations. It was notably the first mining village to be recognised as part of this movement.

Responsibility for the village's housing has shifted with the changing nature of the coal industry. Initially, it was managed entirely by the company but after the nationalisation of the industry in the 1940s, responsibility was transferred to the National Coal Board. Following the colliery's closure in 1990, the village was acquired by the local authority (Sables 2017, 995). Parts of it today are managed by St Leger Homes, an 'arms-length management organisation' (ALMO) of Doncaster Council, though several homes are on the private market.

The number of individual houses standing today is 705. Of these, 670 had been completed by the end of the study period in 1940. Houses added to the village since then have mostly been built as 'in-fill' in already developed areas. The original model village thus changed little once complete, although it was later enveloped by suburban expansion (to a greater extent than at New Earswick). The model village now lies within a conservation area, with a small number of exemplar housing types being Grade II listed (Doncaster Council 2021). The neighbouring housing estates of Woodlands Central, Woodlands East, and Highfields were completed in the 1920s with support from the various interwar Housing Acts. A later development, north of the original and in a similar plan, was completed by the 1960s (Fordham 2009, 34–6). In this thesis, 'Woodlands' refers only to the original model village unless otherwise stated.

1.3   Rationale

Neither New Earswick nor Woodlands have been studied extensively as landscapes of social reform. Much of the research on New Earswick has concerned the architects' experiments with town planning principles and domestic architecture, with less attention paid to the experience of residents (e.g. Sinclair 2005; Darley 2007, 187–90). An exception to this is Buckley's (2008, 103–5) interpretation of housing and furnishing preferences, which she suggests the village's residents appropriated to 'choreograph' a working-class identity. This hinges on the problematic assumption that they were mostly working class in reality. Conversely, Woodlands has been examined as one of a wider array of mining villages in the Doncaster region but has rarely been studied in depth (Gaskell 1979; Parkhouse 1993; but see Fordham 2009).

Although the villages were part of the same reformist movement, their suitability as comparative case studies arises from their subtly contrasting origins and legacies. Each of these factors affects the identification of reform ideals as manifested in the landscape. For example, New Earswick was developed on a piecemeal basis, with a small number of new houses being built each year. Woodlands, by contrast, was completed in as little as three years, but with surrounding developments on a longer-term basis in several discrete phases. Aside from the contrast in industries served by them, the villages differ most significantly in terms of their ownership and management. New Earswick was owned outright and managed by a trust, while Woodlands was leased from the Brodsworth estate and managed by the mining company. Although the distinction between light and heavy industry was important, the legacy of each village was more greatly shaped by the relationship with its main source of employment. Woodlands was founded as a village almost exclusively for employees of the colliery company, enshrining its dependency on mining, which was all too profoundly exposed after the colliery's closure. Although New Earswick was founded with the expectation that it would house some of the workers at the nearby Rowntree cocoa works, there were initially no employment-based restrictions on who could live in the village. New Earswick continues to be closely managed by the same trust today, with its homes let primarily as

social housing. Woodlands meanwhile is effectively managed by the council, although its stock is increasingly fragmented.

The significance of both case studies arises from their active contributions to improving conditions, reaching above and beyond the Whiggish interpretation of reform as the gradual advancement of social progress. The broader subject of this thesis brings into focus aspects of today's welfare society that are often taken for granted, by challenging the idea of reform as inevitable and passive. Where contemporary housing is concerned, it is worthwhile to consider the extent to which early reform projects, and the agents involved in them, actively contributed to sustaining a culture of reform. This is particularly relevant to the political climate of the last four decades, in which welfare provision is increasingly under threat. For example, the introduction of the 'Right to Buy' scheme under the Thatcher government in the 1980s effectively transferred swathes of council housing stock from the state to the private sector, denying access to affordable housing for future generations (Harrison 2009, 246). The unique political and social circumstances that enabled the development of garden villages such as New Earswick and Woodlands demonstrate that social reform is neither inevitable nor indeed irreversible.

At the same time, there is renewed political interest in the language of the garden city movement, with the UK Government supporting several proposed garden villages and garden towns. Currently, 49 such schemes are participating in Homes England's (2020) 'Garden Communities' programme. The architectural community's initial criticism of these proposals stems partly from their bearing little resemblance to the original principles of the garden city movement (Stott 2017). There are already indications that new garden villages, lacking public transport infrastructure and local jobs, have failed in their purported objective to reduce car dependency (Transport for New Homes 2020, 24). This reflects the limitations of relying solely on design and site planning to influence behaviour without accounting for social or economic measures, which were integral to original garden villages. This also illustrates a tendency for mainstream society to pay lip service to more radical ideas from the

past while also stripping those ideas of what made them radical in the first place.

Beyond addressing the political misapplication of historical ideas, the contribution of this thesis is situated in the current political context. It concerns how the landscape was deployed to create a better society, rather than merely to relieve an immediate housing problem (along with what constituted a 'better' society in the ideologies of reformers and reform-minded planners and architects). Furthermore, the emphasis within garden villages on green surroundings resonates with the post-COVID-19 pandemic world, which has led to renewed interest in rural rather than urban living. Pandemic restrictions, including requirements to work from home, have encouraged some workers to relocate to rural areas and benefit from more abundant green spaces. However, this 'urban flight' is chiefly the preserve of the middle classes, second home owners, and others with the economic capital to relocate (Gallent 2020), raising questions of whether those less well-off (as well as key workers) will become excluded from green environments and their perceived benefits.

Historical archaeology and reform landscapes

Within historical archaeology, recent research has begun to explore the materiality of reform from the nineteenth century onwards, on both macro and micro scales (e.g. Spencer-Wood 1991; De Cunzo 1995; Crane 2000; Jeffries 2006; Kruczek-Aaron 2014; Spencer-Wood and Blackburn 2017; Springate 2017). The methodology adopted in this thesis bridges a gap between studies of the macro-landscapes of reform and the domestic settings that contributed to them. Studies of institutions have often applied a landscape approach to specialised institutional buildings. For example, the landscapes of prisons, workhouses, and asylums were conceived as spaces to reform society at large through the exclusion of 'problem' citizens (Lucas 1999; Casella 2007; Allmond 2016). By contrast, reform as a more individualist concept has been implicated in household settings: for example, technological improvements intended to relieve women of domestic labour tasks, which also contributed to a transformation of gender constructs (Spencer-Wood 1991). This kind of

reform within the home must nevertheless be contextualised within the wider landscape.

Despite this, planned model settlements intended to encourage progressive reform have received little archaeological attention. This stands in contrast to much archaeological research into more experimental, utopian settlements of the nineteenth century, including those founded by followers of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier (e.g. Spencer-Wood 2002; Breen 2006; Preucel and Pendery 2006; Tarlow 2006; Van Wormer 2006). It is commendable that the study of utopian experiments in voluntarism or communalism should be used to challenge the perceived homogeneity of late capitalist society (see Tarlow 2002, 318). However, the intellectual legacy of some utopian communities arguably lies in later reform projects, like the garden villages and other settlements of the garden city movement. The study of these more progressive reform projects provides a valuable opportunity to see where ambitious social improvements, rather than mere utopian aspirations, were first propagated in mainstream society (e.g. Tomaso et al. 2006, 33).

This research sets out to address these gaps by examining the production of a 'reform landscape' through garden villages. It also serves as a useful parallel to develop a deeper understanding of how larger welfare projects were materially produced at a local level, such as public housing provision in Britain from the mid-twentieth century onwards (Harrison 2009; Dwyer 2014). The research also touches upon the complexity of the rural/urban divide in early-twentieth-century Britain. Agricultural decline and rural depopulation around the turn of the century coincided with a period of rapid urban growth, as well as the shifting of cultural and political power from agrarian to urban society (Howkins 2003; Rowley 2006, 249). At the same time, the encroachment of suburban housing estates was regarded by the emerging preservationist movement as a threat to the traditional countryside (Matless 1998, 25–8).

This research, therefore, contributes to understanding the wider ideological role of non-urban spaces in the twentieth century. It critically examines how garden villages, as a modern phenomenon, selectively reinvented aspects of the rural idyll as antidotes to the social problems of

urban overdevelopment and rural decline. This nonetheless has the potential to question urbanisation as the predominant theme in the development of the modern landscape. Just as the study of utopian communities can challenge the narrative of 'rampant' capitalism (cf. Tarlow 2002; Breen 2006, 35), so too can alternatives to urban life be investigated as a way of countering narratives of pervasive urbanisation. The lives of people beyond the cities and towns of the twentieth century must also be acknowledged if archaeology is to provide a full account of the modern lived experience.

Material–cultural perspectives on planning history

The theoretical framework around which this thesis is based draws loosely on the tripartite model of social space developed by Henri Lefebvre, as adopted by archaeologists Mary Beaudry and Stephen Mrozowski in their survey of the nineteenth-century planned city of Lowell, Massachusetts (Mrozowski et al. 1996). Lefebvre's central argument is that social space—the space wherein social relations are reproduced—exists in three 'moments': representational space, representations of space, and spatial practice. Representational space is defined as the dominated space, 'which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate', and which in this thesis is congruent with the landscape represented by those holding power over it: the class of village founders and managers (Lefebvre 1991, 38–40). Representations of space are those conceived by planners and architects, corresponding to the formal design of garden villages and similar model settlements. Spatial practice meanwhile correlates to the routine of everyday life as practised by garden village residents: how they navigated and shaped the landscape they inhabited. Although the Lefebvrian model of space has been criticised for its impracticability (as a high-level social theory, e.g. Smith 2011, 168), it serves as a useful framework with which to tease apart the competing interests involved in the adoption of planning for social reform.

By using a contextual archaeological framework, the study adds to an established body of research into the origins and development of town planning (e.g. Ashworth 1954; Benevolo 1967; Sutcliffe 1990; Hall 1993;

Darling and Whitworth 2007). The unique perspective of archaeology lies in its capacity to acknowledge the role of local, material, and ideological factors in the development of settlements, including garden villages. Garden village schemes can thus be understood as influential in their own right, rather than merely as one-off architectural experiments or prototype garden cities. In turn, this informs an understanding of how they contributed to reforming modernity, with planning as the tool and the rustic landscape as the 'raw material'.

This study also reconciles divergent approaches to the history of planning. Architectural histories of planning have indeed tended to treat early-twentieth-century settlements chiefly as architectural experiments. These are typically interpreted according to their aesthetic form and the artistic influence of their designers (e.g. Day 1981; Miller and Gray 1992; Darley 2007; see Freestone 2017). Meanwhile, socio-cultural approaches situate the development of garden cities and town planning within a wider intellectual movement—whether utopian, radical, or progressive–reformist (Benevolo 1967; Hall 1993). These approaches sometimes regard the physical manifestation of planned settlements as necessarily compromising these idealistic influences. A further paradigm concerns the 'socio-administrative' origins of planning (see Gaskell 1981, 6), by analysing the evolution of planning legislation (Ashworth 1954) or by developing operational histories of planning campaign groups (Hardy 1991).

While attempts to synthesise these approaches have been productive, none has established how the built form of garden city-style schemes embodied the ideals of reformers or planners. Such schemes are therefore relegated to the material product of social ideals, with little understanding of how those ideals were mutually reinforced or reified at a material level. Additionally, few have attempted to acknowledge the impact of the influx of people brought by new planned settlements. These are theoretical limitations posed by the overarching aim of the subdiscipline of planning history: to explain the origins and historical development of planning. Teleological explanations—emphasising the solutions offered by planning to the problems of urban overcrowding— have been largely downplayed by planning historians. Yet, planning

history itself might be considered teleological in defining contemporary planning practice as an end goal. Its explanations are therefore focused on how that goal was reached, without considering the wider social and material consequences.

Overcoming these limitations requires a deeper understanding of the mutual constitution of the material and the social, which archaeology is poised to address. The ability to navigate between multiple frames of analysis, from local to global or past to present and vice-versa, presents a distinct advantage in understanding the emergence of modern planning. This enables planned settlements to be examined as socially constructed and locally produced, but also as structuring forces in society at large. The particular focus of historical archaeology, being the study of the development of the modern world, brings the potential to critique the wider impact of planning on the contemporary material and social landscape. Moreover, the range of material and visual culture available to archaeologists provides an additional layer of context, beyond the top-down perspective provided by accounts of planning history. If the social consequences for those living in planned settlements are to be addressed, it is perhaps achievable only in conjunction with the material evidence. Everyday actions and experiences of residents were not generally recorded; hence, they are absent from the source material of planning history. While by no means straightforward to interpret, the contextual evidence of archaeology allows those who have been denied agency by other methods to be amplified.

1.4 Methodology

The methodology combines archaeological and historical research relating to people and place within the case study communities. Data sources include historic Ordnance Survey (OS) maps, architectural plans, census returns, newspaper reports, historic photographs and drawings, contemporary architectural writing, and archive sources relating to village development and governance. This is in addition to evidence from the extant village landscapes, a visual assessment of which was conducted, accounting for housing typologies, spatial character, and street layout. This landscape assessment is combined with historic data, including

architectural plans, OS maps, and photographs, to facilitate an understanding of site development.

In order to 'people' this historic landscape, social data is incorporated using records from the census and similar historic surveys. This provides an understanding, not just of the social composition of each community, but also of the spatially and temporally varied conditions of residents. Data on people and the landscape are synthesised using a geographical information system (GIS). This is used to investigate the relationship between people and their landscape: for example, addressing questions of access to amenities within the built environment. Ideological factors surrounding the communities are also considered through a thematic analysis of the landscape as represented in documentary sources and contemporary literature on planning and reform. This contributes to an 'ethnography of place' that accounts for the material, cultural, and ideological constitution of everyday life (Mayne and Murray 2001).

Ethnography of place

The term 'ethnography of place' describes a methodological framework with which to understand the richness of past communities and the material and social discourses surrounding them. As Mayne and Lawrence (1998, 104–5) summarise in their investigation of an historic 'slum' district in Melbourne, ethnographies of place investigate 'layers of things, and layers of meanings', constituting respectively 'an archaeology of material forms, and an archaeology of knowledge and imagination'. In this respect, integrating multiple sources of material and documentary evidence provides a way of critiquing the relationship between lived experience and historic perceptions. In Mayne and Lawrence's research, this underscored contrasts between the myths and realities of urban slums, a subject of considerable commentary among social reformers. Just as the myth of the slum was socially constructed in a way that was only partially rooted in its physical reality, the rhetoric of social reform— in many ways its metaphorical antithesis—was not fully reflected in the material world.

It is important to note, however, that ethnographies of place do not seek to deny the impact that reformist rhetoric could have on everyday life. Conversely, it would be incorrect to portray reform as nothing more than an abstract ideological veneer with little material consequences. Applied to the context of the garden city movement, an ethnography of place allows for a critique of how its chief outputs—planned garden villages, suburbs, and cities—encouraged social change, and how they were represented accordingly. Moreover, it challenges the narrative that such projects expressed a singular reformist vision of social improvement by acknowledging divergent ideals and contrasting experiences.

Documentary archaeology

Documentary sources serve three key purposes in this thesis, two of which are explicitly addressed by Wilkie (2006, 18–19): firstly, to establish the social context of sites subject to archaeological investigations (e.g. Chapters 3 and 4) and secondly, to understand 'social meanings and lives of the objects they recover' (e.g. Chapters 5–7). While these approaches are useful, they alone do not best illustrate the potential for exploring the relationship between society and the landscape. An ethnography of place requires an understanding of the context in which places are culturally produced. Documentary archaeology provides such an understanding, resting on the premise that documents are cultural artefacts produced under similar circumstances to material artefacts (Wilkie 2006, 14). Additionally, documents not only offer material insights through depictions and representations, but also actively structure our understanding of the material world. The production of documents reciprocally shaped reform in communities such as New Earswick and Woodlands, and influenced perceptions of them, and is therefore integral to such an investigation.

The documents consulted include meeting notes, legal agreements, surveys, historic photographs and drawings, and architectural plans. Documents such as these are valuable sources of evidence as to the intentions of garden village founders, architects, and planners. Additionally, published sources were searched for references to the case studies and used to contextualise the primary research. These included

newspaper articles held in the British Library Newspapers online index, local and trade directories held by Findmypast (2021), and contemporary articles appearing in relevant trade journals such as *The Town Planning Review*, *Garden Cities and Town Planning* (*GCTP*), and *British Architect*.

The records of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, held by the Borthwick Institute for Archives (BIA) in York, served as the main repository of primary sources relating to New Earswick. These comprise minutes of the trust responsible for the village's development, building and site plans (over 300 in total), communications, legal documents (such as deeds of the trust), and press cuttings. Historic photographs were sourced from the Garden City Collection (GCC), which also holds additional plans. While a selection of building plans was consulted, documents relating to the planning of the whole site (or substantial parts thereof) were prioritised. Most sources for Woodlands were located within the records of the Brodsworth estate, held by Doncaster Archives (DA). These were less comprehensive than those of New Earswick, consisting only of leasehold agreements, a small number of building and site plans (15 in total), and written exchanges between the village founder and the landowner. Concerning the management of Woodlands, attempts to locate additional material in the records of the Doncaster Amalgamated Collieries company (which later absorbed the company responsible for Woodlands), held by Sheffield City Archives (SCA), did not prove fruitful.

Architectural plans, including site plans, elevation drawings, and building plans, provide a major source of data in the investigation of any planned settlement. While historical archaeologists have long been accustomed to using visual sources, including maps and artistic imagery, architectural plans raise particular interpretative and methodological implications. Several site plans distinguished buildings under construction and completed buildings from those proposed. By sequencing these plans chronologically, it is possible to gain an understanding of the development of the landscape and provide relative dates for each phase of construction. This in turn facilitates an interpretation of the landscape according to actual activity—at least from a design and construction perspective—rather than arbitrary character areas. Moreover, sequencing plans in this way allows a distinction to be made between the plan and

the realisation of the landscape design, revealing how proposals were modified before their execution.

An obvious complication of site plans as sources is that they do not necessarily account for how the land between buildings was used (Savulis 1992, 197; Van Bueren 2006). Moreover, over-relying on them risks overlooking the complex role of planners and architects as mediators between an idea and its manifestation. For this reason, plans must be contextualised within the goals of the designer's clients. Yet, the complexity of plans, both as historical sources and as visual culture, adds weight to their interpretative power and enables a deeper understanding of planned landscapes.

The plans researched in this thesis historically served different audiences. Some were largely intended to be working documents, which contractors would have referred to during construction. Others, however, were more illustrative: to inform or educate. For instance, the only known complete plan of Woodlands appears as an illustration in several contemporary trade journals and other architectural and planning publications (Abercrombie 1910b, pl.32; Scott and Culpin 1910; Culpin 1913, 46). Such plans lack some details, including the location of individual house plots. Awareness of a plan's intended purpose is necessary to interpret what it represents: whether it accurately depicts the extant or proposed site or whether it depicts an idealised version of either. Plans are especially valuable for understanding reform ideals because they can reveal the priorities of the planner, as well as those of their client. It is useful to consider whether, for example, a community founder has commissioned a design that minimises through roads for the benefit of residents or whether the planner avoided such roads to minimise construction costs.

Plans are only one route into the attitude of those responsible for the design of garden villages; other sources include manuals and design manifestos published by architects and planners, as well as trade journals from which prevailing planning principles can be inferred. These publications, along with visual culture such as photographs and drawings, provide additional insight into how the schemes were received

and presented publicly once completed. This is important for evaluating the material and social consequences of the landscape's planned form. For instance, historic photographs can be compared with visual evidence from the extant landscape. Analysing which landscape elements were represented visually, and which ones were omitted, aids in understanding which elements were deemed ideologically significant. On a more functional level, historic images can also provide evidence of subtler landscape changes than are typically recorded on OS maps. Minor modifications, such as changes to house gardens, are more likely to be the work of residents rather than site planners or landscape designers. In this vein, establishing the role of residents in altering the physical landscape, even in a limited capacity, can reinstate a sense of their agency.

Census research in the twentieth century

Census data provides an invaluable source of contextual information that can be used to understand the development of the built environment, as well as its inhabitants (e.g. Cowlard 1979). Historians and historical geographers have sometimes applied census research as a quantitative method to describe historical communities demographically, relating to population and family size, for instance (Armstrong 1966, 232). While such approaches are valid, they can be used more interpretatively. To interpret the social aspects of model settlements, an analysis of a more quantitative kind is a useful initial objective. It provides a frame of reference: a formal abstraction of the community in question to which a critique, developed from other sources, can be applied. Of relevance to social reform, census data provides an understanding of the kinds of social groups—determined through employment categories—that lived in garden villages, which can be compared with the expectations of village founders.

The census research on New Earswick and Woodlands is based primarily on the 1911 Census for England and Wales, taken on 2 April, which was the first census taken after the villages were built. It also represents one of the most recent publicly available census datasets with named individuals. However, a suitable comparative dataset is offered by the

1939 Register, for which all data relating to deceased individuals is available. The 1939 Register was a national survey taken on 29 September, days after the outbreak of the Second World War, and was used in the production of identity cards and the organisation of labour during the war (TNA n.d.).

It is important to regard census returns as a series of documentary sources that served a particular social purpose, and to be aware of their limitations. The 1911 Census and 1939 Register were each undertaken in a single day and represent a 'snapshot' of each household at the time, irrespective of any household members who were currently away from the home. The 1911 Census is the first for which the completed household return was written by a member of the household, rather than by the census enumerator (Ancestry 2011). This represents an advantage in that the entries likely represented what was significant to the author, but raises the possibility of information being misrepresented, and may also result in inconsistencies with terminology.

Existing transcriptions for both the 1911 Census and 1939 Register were sourced from Findmypast (2021) where available, with additional manual checking for missing or unclear data (notably, the number of rooms contained within a household was not recorded in third-party transcriptions). The transcribed data for each case study was organised into two cross-referenced spreadsheet tables, one relating to individual data and one relating to household-level data (see A.1, Table 3, p.340). From the transcribed data, it has been possible to interpret other factors such as occupational class, which is based on the eight occupational categories originally developed by the Registrar General (1913, 73–91) using the 1911 data (see A.1, p.342 for methodology). In contrast to the census, the 1939 Register contains more limited information with only the name, address, date of birth, sex, marital status, and occupation listed for individuals. This limits temporal comparisons of some categories of data.

In most cases, aggregate analysis of individual data at the household level was sufficient. However, in analysing the census data by house address rather than by household, it was possible to import the data as a non-

spatial layer into a GIS and join each record to a corresponding spatial feature (such as a building). This was deemed preferable to joining multiple census records to a single GIS feature (since multiple households could exist at the same address and therefore geographical location), allowing for clearer spatial mapping of census data.

Land Valuation survey

The historic landscape context of garden villages and similar developments is frequently overlooked. The site of a planned settlement such as a garden village is rarely a blank canvas (though it might sometimes be represented as such). Accordingly, a brief examination of the historic landscapes, before the case study villages were built, is necessary to determine constraints on their design. Data from the 1910 Land Valuation survey provides this necessary context. The survey was mandated by the Liberal Government's 1909 Budget, which, due to a failure to receive the backing of the House of Lords and a resulting snap general election, did not receive royal assent until 1910 (Short 1997, 19–26). Controversy over the bill stemmed from its relationship with the Liberals' proposals for land reform, which included a tax on land values. Accordingly, the survey required the property of every landowner in the country to be subject to valuation, providing a detailed account of land values in Edwardian Britain.

Despite work by Short (1986; 1997) to demonstrate the research potential of the Land Valuation records, few other scholars have made use of this valuable dataset. Exceptions are two doctoral theses, one of which employed the data to investigate housing provision and ownership (Ayres 2004, 46–8); the other interpreted the desirability of suburban properties by analysing rateable land values (Grover 2008, 39–40). The survey returns are nonetheless a valuable resource for archaeologists studying the early-twentieth century. As well as land values, they recorded information on landownership and tenure arrangements, land use, and rents, and nominally included descriptions and diagrams of the land and buildings. As with census data, data from the Land Valuation survey represents a snapshot in time; values were estimated as on 30 April 1909, though the survey was not completed nationally until 1915 (Short 1997,

27). While this was some years after the villages of New Earswick and Woodlands were founded, detailed descriptions from the survey allow for some understanding of prior patterns of ownership and land use, as well as providing historical geographic context.

Landscape assessment

The landscape assessment methodology adopted attempts to account for the complexities of the landscape, as well as the planned nature of the case study villages (see A.2 for full explanation). It thus draws on visual assessment methods developed to study the built environment, both within archaeology and heritage research and in the field of environment–behaviour studies (e.g. Rapoport 1990). The use of a visual survey to study garden village landscapes is relevant given that many of the qualities deemed desirable by housing reformers in the early-twentieth century were of a visual nature. For example, access to natural light and a varied streetscape was advocated by proponents of the early garden city movement (e.g. Howard 1902, 39; Unwin 1902). References to vision are also found in accounts of poor neighbourhoods in reformist literature of the same era. For example, the photojournalism of Jacob Riis in New York and the writing of the religious minister Andrew Mearns in *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* made extensive use of visual information (Mearns 1883; Riis 1890 [2010]; cf. Cook 2000).

The method of landscape investigation draws primarily from historic area assessment (HAA), as developed by Historic England (2017). Although developed for a very specific heritage application, HAA provides a useful framework with which to analyse aspects relevant to planned model settlements. Under this framework, the overall character of places is seen as a product of five elements:

- topography
- land use and the layout of plots
- buildings
- open spaces, routes, and boundaries
- landscape design, including planting and street furniture (Historic England 2017, 11).

However, as addressed above, planned settlements are rarely a singular expression of the planner's intentions and users can variably influence them. In this regard, Rapoport's (1990) analysis of environmental meaning supports the interpretation of these subtler changes. He distinguishes three levels of 'fixity' within the landscape: fixed features (buildings and other permanent structures), semi-fixed features (non-structural features such as gardens, furnishings, and vegetation) and non-fixed features (human interactions and behaviour patterns). Whereas fixed features, Rapoport suggests, are the primary domain of designers and architects, semi-fixed features are more easily modified by users and are thus imbued with greater social meaning (Rapoport 1990, 87–90). These first two sets of features can thus inform an archaeological interpretation of social interactions. This is pertinent to the concept of reform since in many contexts reform was encouraged as a way of eliciting particular behaviours (e.g. Spencer-Wood and Blackburn 2017, 293–4).

The methodology incorporates multiple scales of analysis, defining broad areas of planned development and was accompanied by a visual survey of buildings—a major contributor to the landscape's appearance—and their associated plots. An assessment of this type, which relies on the extant landscape, cannot of course directly account for changes within it, nor for features that predated the main period of construction. In a recent Historic England investigation into suburban landscapes, Hanson and Partington (2015, 16) use the term 'inherited landscape' to describe the aspects of the historic landscape that were preserved in the fabric of suburban developments, whether by chance or by design. A similar approach has therefore been applied to determine aspects of each case study village that were partly inherited, as opposed to strictly designed.

The methodological framework underpinning this thesis also accounts for changes within the landscape identifiable from historical sources and integrates these within analyses of the extant landscape using GIS. OS maps provide the main source of data on the historical development of the landscape across the study period, with map regression used to generate a broad chronology of construction. This is particularly suited to the case of New Earswick but provides a less definitive chronology in the

case of Woodlands. This partly reflects the rapid development of the latter and the fact that the first map to depict the village was not published until 1930, around 20 years after the principal construction phases were completed. The primary maps examined include all those up to and including the earliest map published after the end of the study period, although later ones were also consulted where relevant. However, it is important to avoid treating historic map sequences 'as demarcating significant periods in the development of an area' (Historic England 2017, 28). For this reason, chronologies were further refined using datable site plans and other documentary sources.

The results of the landscape assessment were recorded in an attributes form in GIS, linked to a corresponding layer (whether buildings, property boundaries, individual dwellings, or units of land; see A.3 for full explanation, p.355). GIS serves multiple applications in this research, including establishing the pattern of development by sequencing historic OS maps chronologically and recording major changes. The character of the landscape beyond the village itself can be investigated on a similar basis. By geo-referencing original site plans against historic maps using GIS, it has been possible to determine how each plan was executed and to identify any modifications made to the original design (which might, for instance, correspond to a change in the objectives of village managers). At an analytical level, it is possible to investigate the spatial relationship between households by using GIS to geolocate households identified from the census data. This can reveal areas of overcrowding or spatial inequalities in the distribution of people of different social backgrounds, for example. Finally, GIS is used to assist in determining the 'character' of each temporal and spatial region of the landscape's development: for example, areas dominated by open space or areas of greater housing density.

Research ethics

While the research design has accounted for ethical implications, formal ethical approval was not required as no collection of data from or relating to living individuals was undertaken. All historic social data used, including the 1911 Census for England and Wales and the 1939 Register,

is publicly available. UK legislation mandates the closure of individual census records for 100 years from the year when the census was taken, after which the data may be released publicly. Individual records in the 1939 Register (not legally classed as a census) remain closed until the death of the individual has passed and the appropriate authority has been given to disclose the record. The 1910 Land Valuation survey books are governed by the Public Records Act 1958 and, as such, are considered a form of public record (Short 1986, 154).

The methodology includes observation, photography, and written recording of the extant landscape and built environment. This specifically excludes any observation or recording of living individuals. Photography was carefully conducted from public or publicly accessible land and managed in such a way as to avoid the accidental inclusion of individuals in any photograph. Any information that may practically be used to identify individuals indirectly, such as car registration numbers, has been redacted from the photographic data.

1.5   Chapter outline

Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature relating to the development of planning in the early-twentieth century and its relationship with a broad spectrum of reform movements. It also identifies the social and political influences on the development of garden villages of this era. Chapters 3 and 4 establish the landscape and social contexts in which New Earswick (Chapter 3) and Woodlands (Chapter 4) developed. In each chapter, the landscape context is given temporal depth through reference to the main phases of historical development, incorporating an assessment of the extant landscape, and supported by investigations using historic OS maps. The social context is established through an analysis of historic social data representing two demographic 'snapshots': namely the 1911 Census and the 1939 Register.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 respectively address (*a*) the reform intentions of the relevant community founders and designers, (*b*) their manifestation in the design and planning of each site, and (*c*) the contradictions and consequences posed by the production of the landscape as a result. In

effect, these chapters offer a biographical interpretation of the landscape, viewed through the lens of community founders, architects and planners, and residents. Each adopts an 'ethnography of place' approach that situates the landscapes of New Earswick and Woodlands in their surrounding complexities—whether political, aesthetic, or social. Where pertinent, the contextual analyses undertaken in Chapters 3 and 4 are critically re-examined in light of these qualitative narratives. This approach necessarily relies on extensive documentary analysis, using a range of sources including legal documents, original architectural plans, literary descriptions, and visual representations. Finally, Chapter 8 presents a discussion of the historic and contemporary legacies of garden villages (with research conclusions presented in Chapter 9). These legacies serve to build a broader understanding of garden villages as technologies of reform that revolutionised our relationship with the modern domestic landscape: transforming it into something from which society at large should benefit.

2 Critical approaches to reform and the planned landscape

Garden villages are widely acknowledged as influential components of the garden city movement, which emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century. Social historians have typically interpreted their development as a partly pragmatic, partly utopian solution to reformers' concerns—including those of the movement's founder Ebenezer Howard—about the conditions of nineteenth-century urban life. This is further demonstrated by research into the radical utopian schemes that inspired the garden city movement. Meanwhile, other scholars have explored garden villages as formative developments in modern architecture and town planning principles, chiefly through the disciplines of architectural history and planning history respectively. Literature in this vein frames garden villages as a testbed for later state-provided housing and the mass creation of new urban and suburban settlements in the UK, including interwar council housing estates and, after the Second World War, 'new towns'. There is nonetheless a paucity of contextual research that might otherwise offer insight into the reformist motivations of particular schemes.

This chapter argues that the garden city movement was a mechanism by which broader social change was encouraged in mainstream society, including through the proliferation of planned garden villages. It achieves this by situating garden village development within ideas of planning and reform at the turn of the twentieth century, using historical and academic literature. It will be demonstrated that a landscape approach—which holds the landscape as an agent of social production—can be used to understand how garden villages contributed to a broader social agenda. Because this was an agenda partly intended to deliver social justice,

particularly for working-class people, it is also important to account for the experience of reform in planned communities. This is supported by a discussion of critical approaches to modern planning in archaeology, geography, and planning history and theory.

2.1 The archaeology and history of reform

Garden villages such as New Earswick and Woodlands were situated within a broader ideology of 'reform', a term that came to prominence in the middle of the nineteenth century (Innes 2003). Reform, used in the sense of progressive or moderate reform, is generally defined as the improvement of society through gradual change. It is as such sometimes contrasted with radical reform or radicalism (Innes 2003, 92; Springate 2017, 773). Innes (2003) provides a critical account of the history of reform as a political, ideological concept. Although 'reform' was a common term before the late modern period (for instance, relating to the Reformation), its use initially declined in the late-eighteenth century. This stemmed from its association with the revolutionary rhetoric of France and America and the subsequent fear of similar insurrections in Britain (Innes 2003, 87). Nevertheless, it was increasingly used to refer to political or parliamentary reform from the early to mid-nineteenth century. The 'Great Reform' Act of 1832 was instrumental in popularising the term within the political discourse, with many already existing projects 'sloganized' using the terminology: for example, Poor Law reform (Innes 2003, 86). However, partly because of the perceived lack of progress for working-class suffrage, mid-century radicals began to question whether political reform was achievable without more direct action (Briggs 1959, 285).

Reform and its underlying motivations and connotations have differed across historical and political contexts. For example, twentieth-century reform projects, such as public housing provision, have sometimes been interpreted as attempts to prevent Bolshevist-inspired social uprisings (Swenarton 1981, 189–90). It is also important to acknowledge the relationship between religion and social reform. In the USA, moral improvement was a prerequisite for social reform, but this was linked with the nineteenth-century decline of Calvinist theological doctrine: the

idea that people's eternal fate was predestined and therefore unaffected by earthly interventions (Fitts 2001, 115–16; Spencer-Wood and Baugher 2001, 6). Conversely, Wagner (1987) regards the welfare provisions of Quaker industrialists in England (such as the Rowntrees, the Cadburys, and the Frys) as expressions of their religious persuasion. She nonetheless notes a contradiction between the emphasis on moral leadership among Quakers (including leading 'a simple life') and their accumulation of wealth through business (Wagner 1987, 3).

The relationship between respectability and social reform has been observed in a variety of contexts. Examples include Octavia Hill's approach to housing reform, literary portrayals of the poor by reformist writers, and even in the uniforms given to inmates of institutions such as workhouses (Mayne 1993, 206; Newman 2013, 366; Wohl 2017). Historical archaeologists, unsurprisingly, have framed expressions of respectability as visual or material, typically exemplified by choices in clothing or consumer goods (Fitts 1999, 49; Yamin 2001, 166; Brighton 2011, 32–3; Chicone 2011). While the ambiguity of reform may be useful in generating new perspectives on the archaeology of the late modern world, it is clear that archaeology still has much to contribute. This is especially the case when considering the role of the landscape and the relationship between the social agents that inhabit and produce it. An analysis of early-twentieth-century garden villages therefore raises broader questions about reform and the landscape more widely.

Institutions in the nineteenth century

Historical archaeologists have primarily addressed reform in the context of institutional buildings, such as prisons, asylums, workhouses, and schools (Lucas 1999; De Cunzo 2006; Casella 2007; Baugher 2010; Newman 2013; McKerr et al. 2017). This research typically draws on Goffman's (2007) concept of the 'total institution' as well as Foucault's (1991) *Discipline and Punish*. The panopticon, first devised by reformer and philosopher Jeremy Bentham in the eighteenth century, and critiqued by Foucault, is a recurrent theme in the interpretation of institutional architecture. The use of this 'architecture of isolation' in some prisons

formed the basis of social control within them, with individuals visible to the warden but hidden from their inmates (Foucault 1991, 200).

Archaeological research has shown that surveillance and classification persisted in other institutional architecture. For example, St Mary's workhouse in Southampton was designed to segregate inmates spatially based on how able-bodied they were, with the infirm confined to the part of the building furthest from the entrance (Lucas 1999, 134). More recently, questions about how the materiality of institutional reform was used to control individuals have been superseded by ideas about the shifting distribution of power. Informed partly by feminist theory, recent interpretations have regarded institutional landscapes as heterarchical, with continual shifts in the balance of power between reformers and the reformed (Casella 2007, 58; Baugher 2010; Spencer-Wood and Baugher 2010, 467; see also Miller and Tilley 1984, 5). In the case of the latter, this manifested in acts of resistance (e.g. Baugher 2010, 490–4). Their investigation satisfies a need to give voice to groups that have been historically marginalised (Orser 1996, 182).

These approaches, however, hold reform itself as a negotiable concept (Springate 2017, 778). It can be negotiated between the reformed and the reformers, or reformers themselves may negotiate between practice and the ideal. An example of the latter is provided by McKerr et al. (2017), based on a survey of nineteenth-century schools in Ulster. Despite a stated policy of educational reform that purported to be secular, most village-based schools in practice were found to have close links with churches (McKerr et al. 2017, 791–2). This further demonstrates the importance of the reality of reform projects compared with reformers' social ideals.

Conversely, negotiation and conflict among reformers have been interpreted at New York's Sailor's Snug Harbour, a nineteenth-century institution for retired sailors. Baugher (2010) applies the concept of the powered cultural landscape to this example, referring to the fluctuating power and influence of its various middle-class leaders. The designed institutional landscape was more directly a manifestation of conflict between the governor and the increasingly professionalised agents of the

institution, such as the chaplain and physician, rather than an expression of control over the reformed (Baugher 2010, 490).

As Foucault argued, the ideology of discipline through observation and isolation came to be internalised, by individuals in schools, workhouses, and asylums, but also diffused throughout society (see Leone 2005, 98–9). It is thus reasonable that some researchers have drawn parallels between 'total institutions' described above and the powered, institutional landscape of planned communities such as model or garden villages. Chance (2019) has interpreted the recreational spaces of Bournville model village, founded in 1893 by George Cadbury adjacent to the Cadbury cocoa works, as 'didactic landscapes' (after Treib 1995, 95–6). Didactic landscapes in this context, she argues, were intended to inform users about the function of the space but also to control users' behaviour (Chance and Rajguru 2019, 2). For example, gender-segregated recreational spaces persisted at Bournville until the 1920s, suggesting a significant degree of moralistic control (Chance 2019, 25–7). Another example is offered by Spencer-Wood and Blackburn's (2017, 965) work on the archaeology of American playgrounds, which they see as encouraging discipline through controlled use of space. Given that behavioural control was paramount in institutions of reform, such parallels are easy to make. Nevertheless, while it may be productive to investigate garden villages as institutional landscapes, there is arguably more value in examining the archaeology of reform beyond the institution.

An exception to the prevailing archaeological focus on institutions is the concept of materialistic domestic reform, as identified in Spencer-Wood's (1987; 1991) research into nineteenth-century gender roles. Domestic reform was concerned with improving women's lives while also professionalising domestic work. This was to be achieved through materialistic solutions: for example, cooperative housekeeping or labour-saving devices. This represented a more radical aspect of reform, since according to Spencer-Wood (1987, 11–12) it increased the visibility of women in public life—contradicting the patriarchal attitudes of the nineteenth century. In this respect, the garden city movement occasionally provided the freedom of social experimentation. Letchworth Garden City included three cooperative housekeeping communities in

which women from multiple residences shared responsibilities for domestic work (Borden 1999). However, Borden (1999, 253) argues that this merely masked the reality of social relations and instead replicated pre-existing class distinctions between residents and their domestic servants. Regardless, truly cooperative communities were exceptions rather than the norm for garden city developments.

Reform origins of the garden city movement

To understand the wider relevance of reform to garden village development in the early-twentieth century, it is necessary to consider the role of several reform movements, including urban social reform, housing reform, and land reform. These have seldom been investigated together, but are all nevertheless integral to the garden city movement's origins (Cherry 1979, 307–12; Hardy 1991, 3–6; Aalen 1992, 48–9).

Urban social reform

The most significant contribution of 'urban social reformers' was to bring the poor conditions experienced by many working-class urban residents—and their moral effects—to the attention of those with the political power to address them (Hardy 1991, 28; Hall 1993, 16; Kimball 2006, 361). The work of these reformers was often conducted on a qualitative basis, through the reportage of individuals such as Mearns (1883) in England and Riis (1890 [2010]) in the USA. These commentaries to some extent presented poverty as a tangible problem that could be tackled. Their illuminating conclusions helped to motivate the political establishment into action, resulting in some political—if not material— progress. For example, Mearns' (1883) *Bitter Cry of Outcast London* exposed the reality of slum dwellings and was later implicated in the formation of the 1884 Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes (Hall 1993, 16).

In contrast to qualitative rhetoric, Charles Booth and Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree sought not only to quantify poverty, but also to define it, through surveys of the East End of London and York respectively (Rowntree 1908; Booth 1967). Booth attempted to socially classify households based on relative levels of poverty. His emphasis on

classification paralleled the practices of institutional reform, serving to distinguish those who could be reformed from those who were regarded as beyond saving from poverty. The kinds of classifications sometimes used certainly suggest this; Booth's lowest-ranking class was described as 'vicious, semi-criminal' (e.g. Booth 1899). While his methods and motives ought to be questioned, Booth's findings have proven remarkably predictive. Research led by Dorling found that Booth's 1896 classification of neighbourhoods in the East End was a better predictor of poverty-related health outcomes among people living in the 1990s than data from the 1991 Census (Dorling et al. 2000, 1549–50). This demonstrates the limitations of the built environment in attaining improved social conditions over the *longue durée.*

Seebohm Rowntree, the son of New Earswick founder Joseph Rowntree, augmented this work by extending the scope of poverty investigations into provincial England. He also expanded his survey to record the condition of working-class homes as well as that of their occupants (Rowntree 1908). *Poverty*, the resulting publication, was thus more widely regarded, if less statistically robust, than Booth's survey (Dorling 2003, 37). London, along with the industrial 'shock cities' of northern England such as Leeds and Manchester, had already achieved some notoriety for the scale of poverty and poor housing conditions. The fact that such conditions persisted in parts of York, a city with little heavy industry, therefore magnified the study's overall impact (Hardy 1991, 27–8). Significantly for this thesis, Rowntree later assumed a prominent role in his father's charitable trust (the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust), overseeing the management of New Earswick. This connection has sometimes been misinterpreted as evidence that New Earswick actively responded to the needs of working-class residents living in poor-quality housing in York (Buckley 2008, 92).

While historic accounts and social surveys are valuable sources of evidence of historians of working-class housing (e.g. Gauldie 1974), archaeologists have sought to critique their ideological and material basis. For instance, Ross (2001) suggests that the voice of poor women was rarely reflected in quantitative studies conducted by men such as Booth and Rowntree. For the study of nineteenth-century poverty,

treating such accounts uncritically therefore risks overlooking the experiences of women. A more strongly material critique is taken by Mayne (1993), who analyses the social construction of the 'slum' itself through the rhetoric of nineteenth-century newspapers. Their rhetoric often relied on literary representations of the degenerate physical landscape, manifesting in the negative perception of poor people themselves (Mayne 1993, 172; Karskens 1999, 189). In deconstructing this rhetoric of urban social reform, archaeologists have challenged the homogenising and totalising narratives of poverty in historic accounts.

Narrative approaches within archaeology have further enabled the critique of reformist writing. A classic example is Yamin's (1998) series of hyper-interpretative vignettes of life in Five Points, New York's historic 'slum' district. These vignettes juxtapose the diverse daily experiences of residents, especially women, with the perceptions and imaginations of reformist writers. If the purpose of urban social reform was to communicate the problem of urban conditions, it follows that a similar critique can be applied to reformist projects—such as garden villages—proposed as solutions. Once again, it is important to contextualise the reality of daily life for the reformed (the residents of garden villages) with the intentions of reformers (the architects and founders of such villages). The use of 'historical imagination' also facilitates an understanding of those whose voices were typically excluded from accounts of reformers and subsequent scholarship (see Mayne and Lawrence 1999).

Housing reform

Housing reform in the most general sense refers to improving the material conditions of homes, particularly those of the working poor. Cherry (1979) regards housing reform as principally enabled by piecemeal government legislation enacted towards the end of the nineteenth century. For example, the 1890 Housing of the Working Classes Act enabled the clearance of insanitary districts and unfit homes (Cherry 1979, 309). However, it is important to note that even practical reform efforts were not always reflected in progress or realised in material change. Other research on working-class housing has emphasised the ineffectualness of housing reform from both cultural and administrative

perspectives. Gauldie (1974, 93) suggests that much mid-nineteenth-century housing was overly ventilated, at the expense of warmth, due to the cultural belief (before the development of germ theory) that disease was spread through airborne miasmas. Improvements to the design of working-class homes were thus limited by the cultural context in which they originated. By contrast, others have regarded housing reform efforts as being limited in their administration and implementation by local authorities. For example, much of the legislation required that the local authority pay compensation to landowners affected by improvement schemes, making it prohibitively expensive (Ashworth 1954, 101–2). Similarly, local authority by-laws were often not compulsory for housebuilders and hence tended to be disregarded (Burnett 1986, 158).

Daunton (1983, 288–9) more fundamentally rejects teleological or Whiggish interpretations of housing reform during the nineteenth century, going as far as to claim that the growth of government intervention in housing disrupted the profitability for landlords in the private rented sector. This in turn, he remarks, served only to exacerbate the housing problem, particularly after the introduction of housing by-laws under the 1875 Public Health Act. Daunton assumes that, if left unimpeded by onerous by-laws and increases in rates, private housebuilders would have begun building at much lower densities than have characterised the late-nineteenth century (Daunton 1983, 291). However, this is brought into question by evidence from the nineteenth century, which shows that overcrowding was recognised as a social problem long before any comprehensive government interventions were adopted (RCSLT 1844). In York, for example, the most rapid increase in population density occurred before the introduction of the 1875 Act (GBHG 2017a). Nevertheless, the need to focus on 'actuality' rather than policy, and to acknowledge that public housing was not the only mechanism proposed or adopted by housing reformers, is a sound principle on which to question teleological narratives (Daunton 1983, 1–2). Equally, it is important to critique the notion of 'failed' ideas by acknowledging attempts at their realisation. For example, Gauldie (1974, 194–5) implies that the garden city movement itself had little immediate

impact on the reform of working-class housing as 'successive garden city developments became exclusively middle-class'.

A significant contribution to housing reform came in the guise of philanthropic housing. Octavia Hill's concept of housing management in the late-nineteenth century was based on acquiring and improving homes, letting them to working-class people at an affordable rent, and conducting social work to educate tenants in household management (Wohl 2017). This related to London's 'five per cent philanthropy' movement, proponents of which committed to building working-class homes for a limited but profitable return—typically with rents capped at a five per cent return on the initial outlay. Whereas Wohl (2017) declares that the philanthropic management of existing housing was insufficient to tackle London's housing problem, philanthropic housebuilding allowed reformers elsewhere to demonstrate that quality, affordable working-class housing could be economically viable, particularly in model villages and garden villages such as Bournville (cf. Tarn 1973, 159–60).

Despite housing reform being a materially focused solution to the problems highlighted by social reformers, it is only relatively recently that archaeologists have begun to acknowledge improvements to working-class homes as part of a wider process, beyond the motivation of individual property owners (Harrison 2017; Nevell 2017; cf. Rimmer 2011). This builds on long-standing research challenging the perception of poor-quality housing, as emphasised through the excavation of Hungate, an historic 'slum' area of York, which was documented by Seebohm Rowntree (e.g. Rimmer 2011). Excavations at Hungate revealed improvements made to housing and sanitation. Yet, these improvements have been interpreted very differently. Connelly (2011, 615) interprets the introduction of tipper flushes as engaging with a wider sanitary reform movement taking place at a national scale. Meanwhile, Rimmer (2011, 625–7) implies that additions to Hungate's buildings were made at the owners' initiative according to the needs of tenants, irrespective of any housing reform or sanitary reform movement. However, a reformist attitude—a desire to improve—in its widest sense may still have explained their motives for structural modifications. It is thus important to examine reform as a process as well as a conscious movement. It is

equally important to avoid the Whiggish interpretation of any reform project as an inevitable development. Understanding the contribution of individual schemes and the local factors that enabled them is one way that this can be mitigated.

Other reform movements

The development of garden villages was more tangentially linked with other reformist influences. Historians of the garden city movement have frequently cited land reform as a particular influence on the economic model for the garden city (Armytage 1961, 371; Cherry 1979, 311–12; Hardy 1991, 24; Aalen 1992, 48–9). Land reform generally refers to any number of policies regarding the ownership and distribution of land. This includes the Chartists in the mid-nineteenth century and the New Deal land settlement programmes of 1930s USA, for example (Bronstein 1999; Dalglish 2010; Packer 2010; Kruczek-Aaron 2014). In the context of the garden city movement, land reform typically refers to the 'geoist' ideas of Henry George, whose book *Progress and Poverty* advocated the adoption of a single tax (payable by the landowner) on the value of land and the abolition of all other taxes (George 1879, 408). However, this kind of land reform was less significant for garden villages than it was for garden cities such as Letchworth, because of the latter's specific economic model.

The ambition to develop garden villages as socially mixed spaces emerged from concerns about increased class segregation. Closely related to urban social reform was the settlement movement. This was a movement whereby middle-class practical reformers sought to integrate themselves into working-class communities with the dual aims of educating the working classes, especially in household management, and understanding their conditions (Abel 1979; Ross 2001, 12; Matthews-Jones 2017). This reflected an underlying view that social problems were aggravated by class separation, which itself was engendered by urban life, rather than by the physical environment per se. Settlement workers were typically accommodated in a 'settlement house', which served as an institutional space for reform. Within it, working-class people were

encouraged to attend lectures, classes, or similar educational activities organised by the leadership (Matthews-Jones 2017, 31).

By contrast, the so-called 'rational recreation movement' was more ephemeral but remained central to the reform of working-class people. Bailey (1987, 47) has argued that rational recreation was devised in the nineteenth century as a solution to poor urban conditions among the working classes. The movement embodied supposedly middle-class values of respectability and temperance through the replacement of vices, such as drinking or gambling, with 'counter-attractions', such as parks, playgrounds, or gardening (Bailey 1987, 58–9; see also Constantine 1981, 399; Chance 2012, 1606). Against this backdrop, reformers occasionally criticised working-class people's lack of engagement with recreational facilities provided for them, increasingly by their employers. Indeed, the sometimes negative comments in Seebohm Rowntree's poverty report foreshadowed an even more condemnatory tone in discussing the leisure habits of working-class people in his later publication, *English Life and Leisure* (Rowntree and Lavers 1951).

2.2 Planned communities before 1900

Planned communities proliferated in industrial England between the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. These ranged from utopian, experimental settlements to paternalistic model villages designed to encourage worker productivity and complacency (Armytage 1961; Hardy 1979; Havinden 1989; Tarlow 2002; Darley 2007). Regardless, the binary opposition of 'mainstream' and 'utopian' has tended to downplay the gradualist but significant role of reform.

The term 'planned community' is used here to describe communities that incorporated a physical site plan alongside a 'social plan': with consideration for the kinds of people that would occupy the settlement. For example, Edward Akroyd, the founder of Akroydon model village (*c.*1859) near Halifax, believed that working-class people would be positively influenced by the mixing of middle-class people among their neighbours (Darley 2007, 135). Some planned communities, such as Bournville and Port Sunlight, both of which were originally built as

worker housing schemes, have been likened to 'proto-garden villages' because of their emphasis on low-density housing and green spaces (Marsh 2010, 221–3). The influence of such schemes on the later garden city movement, including the development of garden villages, therefore warrants further discussion. Because garden villages were characterised as serving one dominant industry (e.g. Culpin 1913, 2), it is also relevant that archaeologists investigating planned worker settlements have often interpreted worker relations as embedded in the landscape.

The mainstream: Company towns, mining settlements, and model villages

Research into planned communities of the nineteenth century tends to address one of two themes: the challenge to capitalism posed by utopian, countercultural communities or the reinforcement of capitalism through worker settlements (Armytage 1961; Hardy 1979; Beaudry 1989; Tarlow 2002; Baxter 2012). The latter category might also include rural estate villages. These were a specific kind of model village, generally created by paternalistic landlords to accommodate the labourers needed on large, landed estates (Everett 1994, 53; Tatlioglu 2010, 102), such as Harewood, West Yorkshire (*c*.1760) and Milton Abbas, Dorset (*c*.1780). However, these were of a considerably smaller scale than most industrial model villages and, as Havinden (1989, 17) observes, need not necessarily attract a new workforce to a location convenient for industry. For these reasons, estate villages are excluded from the remaining discussion.

Research on planned communities has sometimes adopted a design focus, which contributes to understanding their impact on planning at the beginning of the twentieth century (Gaskell 1979; Crawford 1995). Gaskell demonstrates that planned industrial settlements contributed to planning more broadly in a rather literal sense, using the example of the colliery villages surrounding Doncaster, Yorkshire. The 1922 Doncaster Regional Plan drew heavily on the developments that had grown around the village of Woodlands as a model for planning further colliery settlements in the district (Gaskell 1979, 456; see Abercrombie and Johnson 1922).

There is a tendency to discuss planning in terms of social control and paternalism because, as Locock (1994, 10) outlines, 'design implies control'. Even so, Crawford's (1995) study of American company towns highlights the complexity of this relationship. Company towns, while not always strictly planned, are defined as towns under the ownership of private enterprise with residents working as employees of the same organisation (Crawford 1995, 1). As Borges and Torres (2012, 3–4) summarise, there were primarily three motivations for building company towns: (*a*) to provide a stable workforce (economic), (*b*) to address the social problems of unplanned industrial communities (social), and (*c*) 'transcending labor–capital confrontation' through community formation (political). However, as Crawford (1995, 42) implies, the dual role of the company as employer and landlord frequently resulted in excessive social control. In the case of Pullman (Illinois, *c*.1880) in the USA, workers responded to their controlled living environment with mass industrial action; the well-publicised effects of this indirectly precipitated the decline of paternalistic company towns (Crawford 1995, 43–5; see also Baxter 2012).

More generally, the eventual demise of the paternalist project has been attributed to the introduction of interventionist legislation concerning the development of towns (e.g. Housing and Town Planning Act 1909; 1919). Greater control over industrial housing design was transferred from industrialists to a new class of design professionals, enabled by the state: architects, landscape architects, and town planners (Crawford 1995, 63–7). Their freedom to experiment partly facilitated the adoption of garden city ideas. Nevertheless, even in paternalistic company towns, Crawford's design-led approach leads her to remain critical of what she refers to as Marxist interpretations that present architects and planners as either passive 'agents of social control' or 'all-powerful creators' (Crawford 1995, 5). By understanding the process of design, a more nuanced interpretation can be provided—one that overcomes the problem of inferring intentionality.

The unintended consequences of company town design are exemplified by Baxter (2012, 657), who explores the role of Pullman's workers as active agents and highlights the need to understand paternalism through

the experience of workers. Worker unity could be unintentionally reinforced through the design of the settlement landscape. For example, Pullman was planned so that unskilled workers had to walk past the wealthier homes of their managers en route to the factory (Baxter 2012, 658). Rather than develop a spirit of aspiration among workers, Baxter argues that this contributed to isolation among them, which in turn helped them to unionise and unite against their employer.

Archaeologists studying modern industrial settlements have thus sought to counter the top-down model of social control through the planned landscape, by acknowledging the experience of workers and residents (e.g. Beaudry 1993). A Marxist-derived narrative of dominance and resistance is nonetheless retained (Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001; Ford 2011). Drawing on Lefebvre's (1991) concept of representational space, Beaudry and Mrozowski (2001) argue that workers in the corporation city of Lowell, Massachusetts sought to create their own informal working-class spaces through materially significant acts of resistance. For example, alcohol was discouraged by middle-class company agents, yet excavation of areas associated with workers revealed fragments of drinking vessels: evidence of 'clandestine consumption' (Beaudry 1993, 93). This illustrates a broader interpretative theme: the degree to which social relations in planned communities were spatialised. It is worth noting that lower-paid workers rarely possessed the economic means to subvert social controls by making major modifications to their surroundings, often resorting instead to their adaptation and alternative forms of social space. For example, control by the employer–landlord tends to be interpreted through the formality of the town plan, while workers' resistance can be inferred through the subtle personalisation of individual homes (Ford 2011, 725).

In mining settlements, many of which were unplanned and situated in remote areas, the 'isolated mass' of the community has been seen as forging a collective working-class identity (Burrell 2017). Conversely, planned mining villages have been positioned as tools of labour management, to avoid the social problems associated with isolation (May 1996). Nevertheless, in this context, another explanation for the origins of planned industrial settlements is apparent. Rather than simply being a

physical manifestation of social control, such settlements were an expedient force to attract workers. In remote industries, model housing was necessary to attract and accommodate workers (Dewhurst 1989, 120; Ford 2011, 731). In this respect, Gaskell (1979) critiques the notion that the colliery villages of the Doncaster district were the product of a singular, national reform ideology; they were at least partly borne of local necessity.

An overlooked interpretation of company towns concerns the public image they enabled the company to project externally. In many instances, a model village or company town could be used to articulate a favourable corporate image. Chance (2019) suggests that the landscape was routinely exploited for commercial gain through the creation of model villages, which were presented as having a philanthropic basis. The chocolate company settlements of Hershey (Pennsylvania) in the USA and Bournville in England became symbols of the respectability of each founding company (Chance 2019, 33). Framed in this way, company towns constituted a kind of soft power that may have indirectly influenced corporate success.

The alternative: Utopian communities

The association between garden villages and the garden city movement offers a chance to critique the narrative of planned communities as supporting capitalism, given the elements of utopian thinking within the movement (Armytage 1961, 383; Hardy 1991, 26; Darley 2007, 184–5). As such, addressing the literature on 'alternative', utopian communities can help to identify how utopian social ideals might be articulated alongside those of industrial capitalism through the design of garden villages. Hardy (1979, 9) considers the slow growth of alternative communities in the nineteenth century as embodying a wholesale rejection of modern capitalism. Though such communities were few, anti-capitalist sentiments were expressed for a variety of reasons. Religious anarchist communes actively sought social revolution through 'gentle cooperation' (Hardy 1979, 172). These communities were inspired by Tolstoy's rejection of the state's authority, believing that happiness would be realised only through deference to God as the highest authority (Armytage 1957, 391–2). By

contrast, Hardy (1979, 80) regards the agrarian socialism of Ruskin's 'Guild of St George' chiefly as a reaction to the aesthetic decline brought about by capitalism, rather than its direct social consequences. This admittedly harsh critique stands in contrast to Ruskin's contemporaries, such as Edward Carpenter, whose vision and influence on the garden city movement has been described as more explicitly socialist (Bowie 2017, 166).

Alternative communities dispel the notion that capitalism was universally embraced, an argument exemplified by archaeologists researching the subject (Tarlow 2002; Preucel and Pendery 2006; Van Bueren 2006). However, the capacity for the study of utopian communities to provide a critique of modern capitalism is still limited. As Van Wormer (2006, 54) acknowledges, acts of resistance within utopian communities may have been subtle and therefore difficult to identify materially. Yet, there is little reason why dissent would be less common in utopian communities than in mainstream society. Moreover, positioning utopian communities as the antithesis of capitalist society overlooks the use of 'utopian' rhetoric to obscure measures to advance, or rectify and improve, capitalism itself (Tomaso et al. 2006; Baxter 2012). For example, Tomaso et al. (2006, 33) consider the impact of the 'utopian' ideals behind the industrial village of Feltville, New Jersey—such as the desire to improve workers' housing—being subsequently incorporated into mainstream culture. Ultimately capitalist projects such as Feltville presented utopian ideas as inventions of capitalism rather than those of ideologies opposed to it. As already implied, the creation of company towns can be variably justified as being for the betterment of society or as an expedient means of attracting better workers and thereby economically benefiting the founding company.

The distinction between alternative communities and mainstream industrial settlements is not necessarily helpful. It may indeed generate questions about ideas of social cohesion in utopian communities and the expression of identities antithetical to outsider societies. However, dismissing industrial settlements as mainstream risks overlooking their sometimes subtle radical origins. For example, the textile workers' village of New Lanark (Scotland) was built in 1786 by David Dale but was later

developed as a model village under the direction of Robert Owen from 1800 (Siméon 2017, 10). Armytage (1961, 80) notes the contribution of Owen's reforms (including working-class education) at New Lanark. This stemmed from Owen's belief that individuals hold the capacity for change and that given adequate support they could improve their own lives (Kumar 1990). Despite this, Tarlow (2002, 303) presents New Lanark as an early exercise in corporate paternalism with a veneer of philanthropy that served to mask some of the less desirable aspects of capitalism. While this might be true of many later industrialists, it is contested by the context of Owen's other, admittedly unrealised, experiments in cooperative or communal settlements. Even in the case of communities with less-than-radical realities, defining them as 'mainstream' thereby dismisses their complex underlying aspirations and the process of reform through which some of these were realised.

Theory and practice of planned communities

A more holistic view is offered by both Armytage (1961) and Darley (2007), who portray utopian communities and model villages alike as attaining different outcomes by negotiating similar sets of ideals: for example, the economic, the aesthetic, and the social. Armytage's (1961, 437–8) focus on intellectual networks—indirectly linking radical, utopian 'charismatics' such as Chartist leader Fergus O'Connor with the garden city movement, for instance—draws attention to some of the more radical social (and socialist) ideals, which were co-opted by mainstream society. Meanwhile, Darley explores the competing priorities affecting each community. This is exemplified by the examples of Port Sunlight and Bournville, two English model villages that have been variably interpreted as exercises in corporate philanthropy or paternalism (e.g. Cherry 1979, 314; Tarlow 2007, 71). Darley (2007, 142) describes the heavy atmosphere of paternalism that distinguished Port Sunlight from villages such as Bournville and New Earswick. This resulted from the industrial context of Port Sunlight, which was built exclusively for the Lever Brothers' soap factory workers and their families (Ashworth 1954, 133). Work thus came to dominate domestic life in the village. For example, the founder William Lever was known to patrol the village to check the houses of reportedly sick workers; their boots visible in the

window were a sign that they were not evading work for leisurely trips to the city (Ravetz 2001, 37). Darley (2007, 139) contrasts the overbearing Lever with the concerted effort to avoid paternalism made by George Cadbury, founder of Bournville, who established an independent village trust to disconnect his business interests from those of village management.

In the above example, the social ideal of Bournville as an independent community was more highly prioritised than any expedient advantage of regulating workers' behaviour. Such contradictory ideals illustrate the tensions inherent in planned communities. The reality for workers, however independent they were, must be nonetheless acknowledged. The relationship between ideas and practice is an important theme in studies of both mainstream planned communities and utopian alternatives: for example, the failure of the Lowell corporation to live up to its claims of improving sanitary living conditions in practice (Beaudry 1993). Even so, the congruence between the theory and practice of reform ideals is at least as significant as the theory's internal consistency. The perceived lack of congruence has prompted some Marxist critique of utopian communities (see Kumar 1990, 10), but it equally applies to reform landscapes more generally.

From the archaeological literature on planned communities, it is possible to discern the active role of the landscape in affording workers and residents a greater degree of agency over their surroundings (e.g. Ford 2011; Baxter 2012). The benefit of the landscape approach offered by historical archaeology lies in the variety of material and documentary evidence available. This is particularly relevant for the study of reform in model villages and garden villages, for which site plans, maps, and architectural drawings are often available. The variety of material enables an understanding of how garden village founders and their architects translated their ideas and aspirations into reality. Moreover, such documents allow researchers to distinguish which aspects of the landscape have been shaped from the top down. This is to some extent an important step towards identifying the experience and influence of the reformed—residents and workers in the context of garden villages—from the bottom up.

2.3   The garden city movement

Emerging from the literature on planned communities discussed above, there are tensions between their social purpose and their internal dynamics, between national ideals and local necessity. Garden villages were part of the national (and later international) garden city movement of the early-twentieth century. They therefore provide an opportunity to explore how these tensions were mediated (via planning) through the landscape. To understand how garden villages enabled or embodied reform, it is necessary to examine what kinds of social, economic, or aesthetic ideals were implicated in the wider garden city movement.

The garden city movement in Britain is closely linked with the origins of modern town planning. While the specific contribution to town planning has been debated, planning historians have acknowledged the common origins and mutual reinforcement of both the garden city and town planning movements, forming in the same cultural context (Cherry 1979, 315). For example, the failure of nineteenth-century laissez-faire politics to address poor living conditions can be linked with the growth of interventionist solutions in response. However, each movement manifested differently, with the garden city movement seeking to intervene in a spirit of voluntarism. By contrast, town planning was more strongly linked with increasing intervention by the state. Such a distinction points to differences in the translation of ideas into practice.

The premise

The concept of the garden city originated with the 1898 publication of *To-morrow: A Path to Real Reform* by Ebenezer Howard (republished as *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, Howard 1902). Garden cities were proposed as a new type of settlement that could rectify what Howard saw as social problems affecting both towns and the countryside. For example, rural workers were disaffected by limited social opportunity and insufficient jobs outside of agriculture; cities were characterised as overcrowded and unhealthy (Howard 1902, 10–11). These criticisms resonated with contemporary efforts to solve labour problems by bringing artisan workers, labourers, and managers together in model factory settings with more pleasant surroundings (Meakin 1905, 19; Sennett 1905, 8–11).
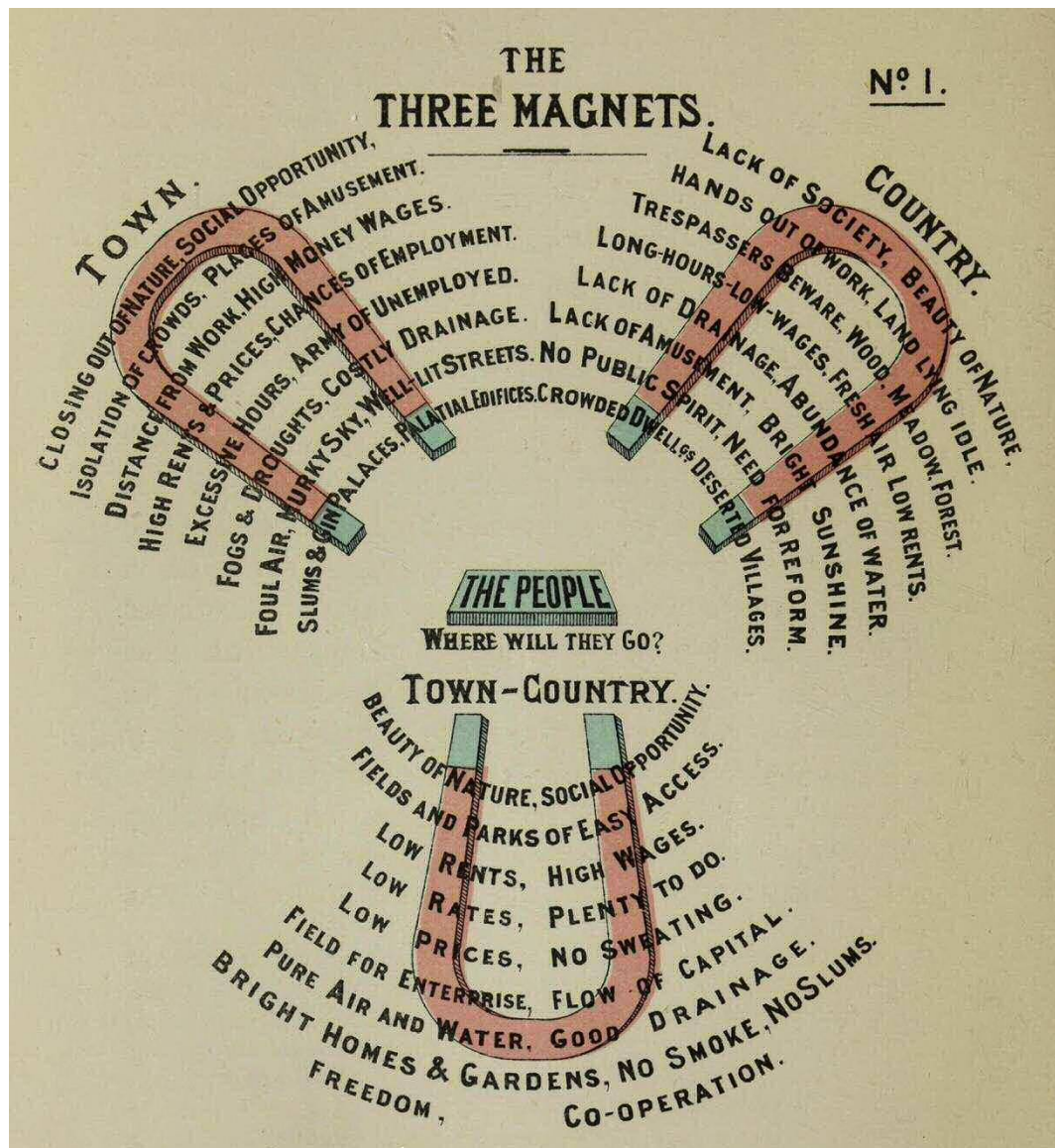
Fig. 6: **Howard's 'three magnets', showing his perception of the advantages and disadvantages of town and country (from Howard 1898).**

Nevertheless, Howard recognised many desirable traits of both town ('places of amusement', 'chances of employment') and country ('beauty of nature', 'bright sunshine'), which he referred to as 'attractions' (Fig. 6). The proposed 'town–country' hybrid (a garden city) was intended to preserve only these advantages with none of the disadvantages.

Scholars of planning history have tended to downplay the social significance of the countryside in the garden city movement. For example, the proceedings of a 1989 planning history conference on the subject are dominated by themes of town planning and urban development; only one

paper examined the rural context for the movement's origins (Ward 1990, 251). The rhetorical power of the countryside was appreciable during the rural decline, in terms of both population and economic depression, that affected agricultural workers at the start of the twentieth century (Howkins 2003, 8). Despite this oversight, Howard's aims were part of a broader effort to restore rural society, partly by encouraging agriculture and smallholding on the land surrounding his proposed form of settlement (Hall 1993, 90; Marsh 2010, 220). The related 'back to the land' movement (Marsh 2010) regarded rural work and life as morally restorative, in contrast to the corrupting influence of existing towns. Yet, Howard's compromise in the town–country was not embraced by all. Followers of the preservationist movement, for instance, regarded the concepts of town and country as immutable, contradictory categories (Matless 1998, 33).

Despite Howard's principal concern with urban problems, the city was not seen as wholly undesirable (cf. Rowley 2006, 171). To support this argument, scholars have referred to the urban nature of the imagined utopian schemes that inspired Howard, including Benjamin Ward Richardson's Hygeia ('a city for health') and James Silk Buckingham's Victoria (Rockey 1983; Hardy 1991, 24; Darley 2007, 185; see Buckingham 1849; Richardson 1876; Howard 1902, 101–2). Rockey (1983, 83–4) argues that the city aspect of garden cities was indeed a necessary means of enabling social change. Garden cities, with their proposed 'social opportunity', were in this respect vehicles for reform. Change nevertheless required a *tabula rasa* approach. Howard and his followers deemed it insufficient to renew or reform existing towns, as opposed to building entirely new ones (Rockey 1983, 84). This suggests an acknowledgement that existing urban environments could inhibit positive change and reproduce recurrent patterns of inequality and poor conditions: a theme that persists in recent analyses of urban space (e.g. Dorling 2003; Bartling 2007; O'Donovan 2014). It is nonetheless an oversimplification to suggest that the urban was the conceptual antithesis of Howard's ideals. Rather, Howard's proposal sought to revolutionise the urban growth that industrial capitalism brought, replacing its existing form with a modern, socially motivated alternative.

Howard's model: 'Garden city'

Howard conceptualised the physical form of his garden city as an urban centre of 1,000 acres, encircled by an agricultural belt of a further 5,000 acres. Together, this would support a maximum population of 30,000 (Howard 1902, 22–3). By surrounding the city with an agricultural belt, Howard was determined to avoid the problems of urban sprawl encroaching into the surrounding countryside (Fig. 7). Once the settlement had reached its maximum capacity, additional garden cities could be built at an appropriate distance. This would allow a network of 'social cities', linked primarily by railways (Howard 1902, 128–30).

In the urban core of Howard's model, a circular form was adopted to ensure that no resident was further than 600 yards—deemed to be a reasonable walking distance for the able-bodied—from a central public garden (Howard 1902, 23). Emanating from the centre, radial boulevards were to be intersected by concentric avenues (Howard 1902, 23–4). The
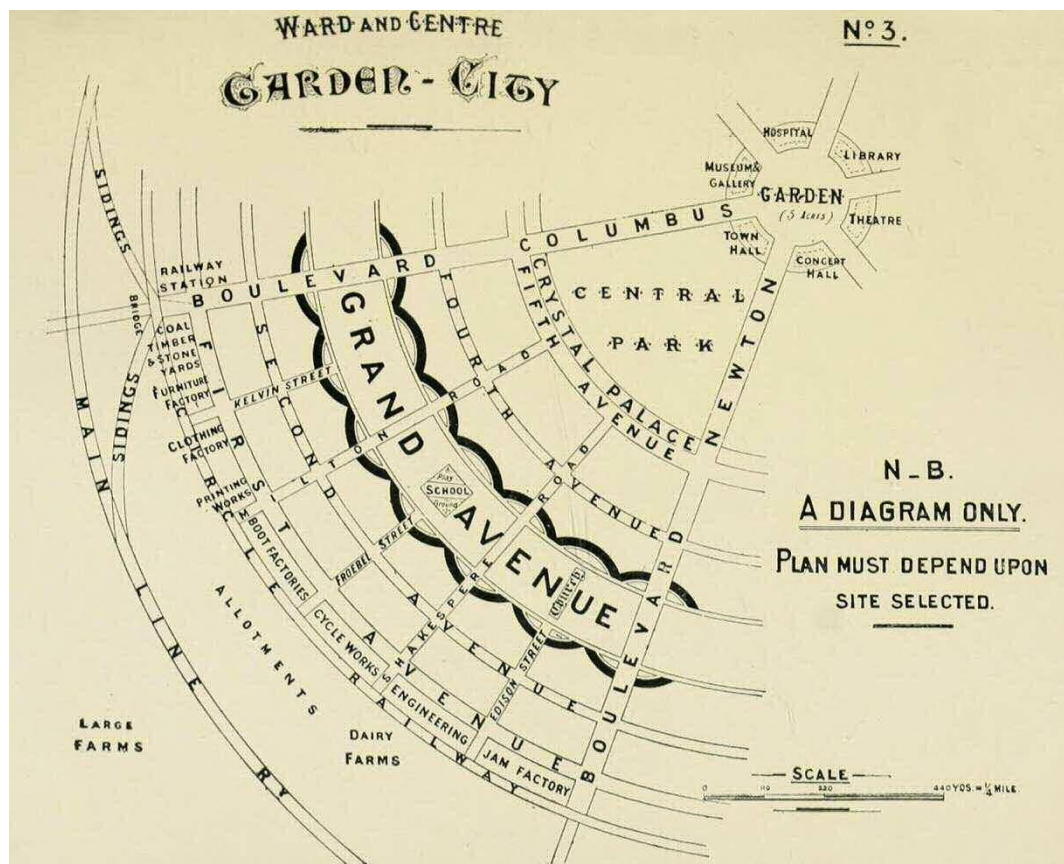
Fig. 7: **Illustration by Howard, demonstrating a single sector of his proposed garden city (from Howard 1902, 22).**

form of this design was partly a rejection of more regular grid plans, with hierarchical connotations. The circular plan instead encouraged freedom of movement through the city space, thereby facilitating the formation of a quasi-egalitarian society (Rockey 1983, 91–3). Howard's garden city had this in common with utopian schemes such as the unrealised plan for Pemberton's 'Happy Colony' in New Zealand, which had also influenced him (Skinner 2017, 388; see also Van Bueren 2006, 144–5).

Howard's admittedly precise diagrams were intended as illustrations rather than plans to be followed rigidly (Aalen 1992, 30). Despite this, Allmond (2017) attempts to trace the influence of Howard's model on the design of Kingseat asylum (near Aberdeen, Scotland) by analysing similarities in their design. She relates the planned form of the institutional landscape (including its green spaces) to the asylum superintendent's belief in the reformative benefits of a healthy environment on well-being (Allmond 2017, 108–9). This was a belief shared by Howard; asylums and other institutions certainly featured in his garden city schematics. Yet, the similarities in the planned form are somewhat superficial and do not necessarily suggest a direct influence. Rather more likely, the model for the garden city and the design principles behind Kingseat asylum emerged from an already established link between specific landscape forms, health, and social character (e.g. Rockey 1983, 91). For example, the radial plan, common to both designs, had much in common with the panoptical design of institutions, particularly prisons (see Foucault 1991, 199–201; Casella 2007, 31–2; cf. Lucas 1999; Newman 2017).

Howard's model also incorporated elements of zoning. Community buildings, including schools and churches, were to be built around a 'grand avenue', with industrial works located towards the city's perimeter, away from residential areas (Howard 1902, 24–5). The separation of housing from industry indicates Howard's belief in the corrupting social influences and pollution associated with the latter. This also relates to debates about the separation of work from domestic life, which had come to characterise the middle classes (Burnett 1986, 191). As such, Howard's scheme attempted to extend some of the privileges enjoyed by the middle classes to the working population, although at

Letchworth this was only realised once working-class jobs could be provided within the city boundary (Hall 1993, 96–7).

Hall (1993, 87) notes that many of Howard's more radical proposals were omitted in the second edition of his book, possibly to achieve wider political support for his central idea (see also Rockey 1983, 100; Hardy 2000, 62). Much of the publication was devoted to describing the economic and governmental system of the garden city. The economic model was based on municipal ownership, with the city deriving its income solely from ground rent (Howard 1902, 28). This would ensure that the citizenry would collectively hold control over the city's development and that the 'unearned increment'—the increasing value of land brought about by its development—was retained by the community rather than private landlords (Howard 1902, 29). This aspect of Howard's model drew heavily on the 'geoist' principle of land reform as expressed by Henry George (Armytage 1961, 371; Hardy 1979, 82; Marsh 2010, 5; see George 1879). Though its influence was limited, Howard used this principle to justify restricting the profitability of land while retaining municipal ownership. This mechanism underpinned Letchworth and Welwyn garden cities, but a more diluted form was practised in garden villages such as New Earswick and Woodlands: the limited dividend approach, with returns on rents limited to a small percentage of the total build cost (e.g. Abercrombie 1910a; Culpin 1913, vi).

Transmission of ideas: Garden city design principles

Literature on the garden city movement has largely focused not on Howard's ideas in isolation but on how they were disseminated, interpreted, and applied in practice. Research questions have tended to address either the adoption of garden city principles within the architectural and planning professions (e.g. Darley 2007, 179–96; Miller 2010) or the political influence of garden city campaigners on the wider town planning movement (e.g. Hardy 1991).

Sutcliffe (1981a) has characterised the first of these research paradigms as 'design-led', rooted in architectural history, and often biographical: prioritising the ideas of a few influential individuals. Meanwhile, the

'socio-administrative approach' describes the second mode of research (Sutcliffe 1981a, 6). The latter of these approaches adds much-needed complexity by analysing the role of legislation, permitting a critique of the straightforward narrative that sometimes characterises reform movements. For instance, Ashworth's (1954) administrative history accounts for the failures as well as successes of planning legislation to improve towns and cities (see also Cherry 1979). This approach remains useful for archaeologists. Goddard (2007), for example, has examined the impact of local government reforms on the suburbanisation of Croydon in the late-nineteenth century. Likewise, Jeffries (2006, 272) links changing sanitation practices in the landscape of Lambeth to sanitary legislation adopted on a municipal level. This mode of investigation portrays reform as a set of social and legal processes with material consequences, without necessarily acknowledging the role of agency. However, the design-led approach, with its focus on the materiality of garden city schemes, is especially valuable for an archaeological understanding of the active deployment of the landscape as a medium for reform. This also has the potential to illuminate some of the more radical motivations of planners and architects, which have since become obscured through their co-option into mainstream policy.

Many design-led approaches have focused on work by the architectural partnership of Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin (Creese 1963; Day 1981; Meacham 1999, 68–83; Miller 2010). Collectively, the architects were responsible for designing Letchworth Garden City (England's first true garden city) in 1904, shortly after their initial work at New Earswick (1902) and before Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907). Partly, the emphasis on Parker and Unwin stems from their prolific output as both architects and planners. More significantly, it was the dissemination of their design principles that contributed to their pre-eminence (e.g. Parker and Unwin 1901; Unwin 1902; 1908a; 1911; 1912; Parker 1937).

Town Planning in Practice (Unwin 1911) described the core aspects of Parker and Unwin's shared planning principles, many of which resonated with Howard's original vision. Unwin explicitly referenced low-density building as a principle of garden city design. Regarding Letchworth, he reported that a single house occupied no more than one-sixth of its plot

area (Unwin 1911, 320). Throughout, the book remained critical of local authority by-laws, which often mandated arbitrary minimum street widths, as one example, and resulted in 'rows of brick boxes, looking out upon dreary streets and squalid backyards … not really homes for people' (Unwin 1911, 4). This articulated a genuine social concern, not only with 'unplanned' towns, but poorly planned ones as well. The question of what constitutes a well- or poorly planned town remains a political one today, but success could conceivably still be measured by some in terms of economy or profitability rather than positive social outcomes. Indeed, calls for a renewed interest in the use of planning for social justice have been expressed throughout the late-twentieth century (Cherry 1970, 1–2; Bowie 2017, 208). Moreover, the question of *who* gets to define what constitutes a desired social outcome remains problematic now, just as it was in the emergence of the profession.

Although Unwin did not explicitly refer to the benefits of garden city design principles for health or social well-being, these were frequently alluded to. For example, towns were to have a physical limit defined by naturalistic features such as woodlands, parks, and boulevards, which would serve as 'breathing spaces' (Unwin 1911, 163); new site developments were to avoid the 'separation of different classes of people' (Unwin 1911, 294); and streets were to be planned to maximise natural light indoors (Unwin 1911, 310). Parker and Unwin's principles of housing design further reflected these concerns, with rooms to be arranged for both comfort and convenience. As Unwin (1902, 12) wrote, it was desirable to have a 'corner between fire and window, where a quiet hour with book or pen can be spent'. In applying their design principles to the smaller cottages of the working-class population, Parker and Unwin were selective in bringing middle-class living standards—and perhaps moral standards—to a working-class population.

Reformers' concerns over the material and social consequences of poor housing thus continued to be replicated in the response of early-twentieth-century designers, as it has in subsequent scholarship. The garden city movement has sometimes been interpreted as one that prioritised an aesthetic, healthy environment (Creese 1966, 2). Creese (1966, 61) contrasts the poor environment of unhealthy industrial cities,

devoting an entire chapter to 'the bad example of Leeds', with the cheerful aesthetic of New Earswick and other garden city schemes. Yet, this perspective provides only a partial explanation as to how garden city principles specifically emerged from their deep historical roots to become a viable solution for town and village development.

Adaptation of ideas: Suburbs and villages

Research that focuses on the adaptation, rather than transmission, of garden city principles yields some insight into their wider applicability. Crucially, Parker and Unwin were not the only garden city propagandists. Ewart Culpin, secretary to the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (GCTPA), and planners such as Patrick Abercrombie had also publicised the movement's progress (Abercrombie 1910a; 1910b; 1911; Culpin 1913). Abercrombie's (1910a; 1910b) review of garden city developments introduced the campaigning work of organisations including the GCTPA (which was founded by Howard), National Housing and Town Planning Council, and Co-partnership Tenants Housing Council, as well as presenting an inventory of various garden city, suburb, and village schemes. These included Bournville, New Earswick, Woodlands, Letchworth Garden City, and Hampstead Garden Suburb, which were also described in Culpin's (1913) more extensive overview.

Both proponents of the movement attempted to define the smaller (though more numerous) schemes designed on garden city lines. Garden villages such as Port Sunlight, Woodlands, and New Earswick were described as 'self-contained and almost isolated villages', usually serving only one industry (Abercrombie 1910a, 29). These stood in contrast to Hampstead and other garden suburbs, whose residents were dependent on nearby cities for work. Abercrombie (1910a, 20) also defined garden villages as providing homes for working-class people near to their place of work, while garden suburbs were to provide 'for the immediate relief of existing towns'. Culpin (1913, 2) echoed these distinctions but indicated that garden villages may lack the 'protective' agricultural belt of garden cities and may also rely on existing urban infrastructure, such as water and drainage. However, he also saw settlement economics as a unifying feature across the whole movement, mapping 55 garden cities,

suburbs, and villages in Britain that practised a 'limitation of dividend': the rents capped to yield a maximum economic return, typically four per cent (Culpin 1913, vi). Thus, land reformers' broader concerns about the profitability of land, which had influenced Howard, remained relevant to the movement.

Even as the garden city movement grew, so too did ideas of social mixing that had surfaced in earlier reform efforts (including model villages and the settlement movement). Henrietta Barnett, a pioneer of the settlement movement, founded Hampstead Garden Suburb on the basis that it would be a socially mixed community. In reality, it quickly transpired to be prohibitively expensive for working-class residents (Hall 1993, 103). Yet, the granularity of social mixing within garden city schemes was open to interpretation. Sometimes it described fine-grained integrated communities in which working-class residents lived among middle-class residents. More commonly, it merely referred to the inclusion of both classes in the same community, even if they remained somewhat segregated—as was the case in Howard's original garden city proposal (Sarkissian 1976, 235).

After the passing of the first Housing and Town Planning Act (1909), the GCTPA began actively supporting the creation of garden suburb and village schemes (Hardy 1991, 45). These smaller schemes were previously regarded as a distraction from their wider aim of encouraging holistic town planning through garden city delivery; after 1909, this was no longer perceived to be the case. Arguably, the GCTPA's tolerance of smaller garden city schemes broadly supported its interest in the planning of existing towns, which was encouraged by the 1909 Act, rather than in the creation of entirely new ones. Even so, this decision has been interpreted by some scholars of the movement as diluting its founder's principles (Ward 1990, 250; Andrews 1995, 21). Indeed, a contemporary critic singled out the garden suburb as a failed hybrid with 'neither the crowded interest of the town nor the quiet charm of the country' (Edwards 1913, 155).

This perception among contemporaries was no doubt exacerbated by dubious schemes purporting to be garden suburbs for marketing

purposes (Hardy 1991, 173). Meanwhile, the bona fide garden city increasingly became an end in itself, rather than a path to social reform more widely (Ward 1990, 251). However, administrative accounts reveal some of the tensions and ideological shifts within the movement itself (e.g. Sutcliffe 1990; Hardy 1991). The move away from campaigning for true garden cities may be perceived as glossing over the more radical elements of Howard's plan. Yet, it bolstered the movement's practical viability in the face of the early-twentieth century's conservative climate (Meacham 1999, 2–3)—notwithstanding the Liberal landslide at the 1906 General Election. This echoes the role of compromise and negotiation in advancing wider social reforms, which was dominant in many of the reformist projects already discussed.

2.4   Critiquing the history of modern planning

It has been argued that garden villages, as part of the garden city movement, responded to the concerns of reformers of the late-nineteenth century, building on a tradition of planned communities. They have also been implicated in the development of modern town planning, through the propagandising efforts of early planners (see Hardy 1991). It may be conceded that their influence on planning was limited to exemplifying the aesthetic outcome of successful planning (Sutcliffe 1990, 268). As Cherry (1979, 315) emphasises, planning 'did not emerge out of the garden city movement but was reinforced by it'. This is a reasonable conclusion given the development of planning legislation and the recognised failure of laissez-faire politics to improve urban housing and sanitary conditions in the late-nineteenth century (Ashworth 1954; Benevolo 1967; Hardy 1991, 27–8). In some regards, the movement's followers competed for influence with the emerging leaders in town planning, with the respective membership organisations (the GCTPA and the Town Planning Institute) both taking credit for the passing of the first Housing and Town Planning Act in 1909 (Sutcliffe 1990, 258).

'Socio-administrative' accounts of planning history have tended to adopt a teleological 'problem–solution' mode of explanation, albeit one that is described as gradual or evolutionary (Cherry 1979, 316–17; Sutcliffe 1981a, 3). The 'problem' is invariably described in terms of inadequate

housing, particularly for the working classes, an insanitary environment, and poverty exacerbated by unrestrained urban development. Planning has therefore been presented as an uncomplicated solution. This is problematic since it presents a veneer of social progress against a reality in which some planning policies have had more negative consequences. Contemporary examples are to be found in gentrification, which contributes in turn to the displacement of poorer families and minority groups (e.g. Mullins 2006; Watson 2009; O'Donovan 2014).

An alternative view is suggested by Angelo and Vormann (2018), who emphasise the cyclical nature of reform in the context of planning. Using 'long waves' theory, they explain the origins of the current emphasis on green infrastructure in urban development in terms of the periodical rise and fall of two key tropes: 'discourses of beauty', which emphasise the natural, the organic, and the aesthetic, and 'discourses of efficiency', which emphasise technological advancement (Angelo and Vormann 2018, 793). To 'reform' towns in this sense, therefore, is to replace one discourse with another. Hence, green infrastructure (sometimes employed today to mitigate climate change and enhance well-being) represents a discourse of beauty intended to correct the rapid industrialisation (and associated environmental impact) enabled by technological advancement. An important caveat is that the landscape itself can constrain the capacity of future planning interventions to effect change (Bartling 2007). In addition, the ambiguous definition of each set of discourses brings into question their predictive power. The authors themselves caution against technological determinism (Angelo and Vormann 2018, 787). Nevertheless, such tropes remain applicable to earlier reform movements. As already implied, this perspective—the beautification of towns 'corrupted' by industrial growth—parallels the origins of the garden city movement.

Surprisingly little research on planning history has addressed the material and social consequences of planning from the perspective of inhabitants. This stands in contrast to research by academics and practitioners actively working in the disciplines of planning and landscape architecture, who have made a concerted effort to investigate the experiences of modern planning. These include the loss of regional

identity (Hough 1990), the perceived lack of progress in tackling social inequalities through planning (Watson 2009, 172–3; Cordes 2019), and poor usability (Bentley et al. 1985).

Landscapes of modernity

While planning history has contributed valuable insights into the development of modern planning on national and international scales, it is generally less concerned with the impact of the planned landscape itself than with the relations that produced it (but see Bartling 2007). This reflects a conscious effort to overcome what Sutcliffe (1981b, 66), a pioneer of planning history, referred to as an obsession with 'physical creations': the products of planning.

Landscape historians and historical geographers have, by contrast, acknowledged the consequences of twentieth-century housing and planning for the modern landscape. The landscape historian W. G. Hoskins (1977, 298) took a decidedly negative view of many of the landscape developments that took place after the First World War, writing that in this period 'every single change in the English landscape has either uglified or destroyed its meaning'. Hoskins particularly objected to the intrusion of modern planning onto former estate lands but, surprisingly, he was less critical of towns. Unlike some preservationists in the early part of the twentieth century, he did not regard towns as detrimental to the landscape in principle. Nevertheless, the role of planning in his assessment of the English landscape was downplayed, by reference to what he saw as far fewer planned towns in England than in America (Hoskins 1977, 272).

More recently, scholars have acknowledged the specific impact of planning on the suburban landscape (Andrews 1995; Rowley 2006). Such questions have helped to conceptualise the suburb itself as culturally distinct from cities and rural areas. The suburb is conventionally described as a product of suburbanisation: urban expansion beyond the limits of the town (Thompson 1982; Rowley 2006, 106). Suburbs and garden suburbs are thus distinct from garden cities and garden villages, which are nominally self-contained settlements. Despite this difference,

the influence of garden city principles on suburban development, in terms of both planning and housing design, remains prominent within the literature (Gaskell 1981; Barrett and Phillips 1987; Andrews 1995).

Suburban living has in some respects come to characterise the twentieth century (Gilbert and Preston 2003, 187). However, the suburban landscape has been framed in a negative light, historically and in more recent research. Followers of the preservationist movement of the mid-twentieth century, led partly by the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, increasingly saw suburban development enabled by planning legislation as a threat to the countryside (Jeans 1990; Matless 1998). 'Ribbon development' (housing built alongside major roads from town centres) was seen as particularly problematic for its intrusion into the countryside (Rowley 2006, 200–1). There is an irony that, although the garden city movement had contributed to the creation of planning legislation, its material effects were heavily criticised by planners and followers of the movement (e.g. Parker 1937, 87–91). This illustrates the unintended consequences of reformers' campaigning efforts on a grand scale. Matless (1998, 16) nonetheless remains critical of arguments that rely on the binary pairing of rural/ancient and urban/modern. Indeed, it is important to emphasise that the view of preservationists only represented one of many culturally constructed ideas of landscape (Matless 1998, 12). The investigation of settlements that do not strictly conform to this rural/urban divide, such as garden villages and suburbs, can potentially overcome these subjective distinctions.

Conversely, research questions about alternatives to urban living risk reifying perceived class divisions, with the result that the experiences of working-class populations are overlooked. Barrett and Phillips' (1987) design-led history of suburban aesthetics from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries does little to acknowledge the working-class experience of suburbia, implying that it was principally driven by the middle classes: those with more readily available means to consume domestic goods and furnishings. For example, middle-class suburban homeowners in the mid-twentieth century sought to differentiate themselves—through the personalisation of their homes and gardens—as socially distinct from working-class residents of local authority

housing (Barrett and Phillips 1987, 125). This was particularly significant from the 1920s onwards, due to the increase in basic standards (for example, minimum space requirements and internally accessed WCs) for local authority homes. These standards were enabled by the second Housing and Town Planning Act (1919) and subsequent government housing manuals.

There is a further irony that garden suburbs, such as Hampstead, frequently adopted the arts and crafts (or English vernacular) style cottage, along with its terminology. This was traditionally associated with working-class people. The term 'cottage' itself was sometimes used to distinguish houses without quarters for servants (Parker and Unwin 1901, 128). Yet, as a style, it was increasingly applied to the homes of predominantly middle-class garden suburb residents. The implication is that the development of the suburban aesthetic was driven by middle-class interests and later supported a new kind of middle-class identity (Creese 1966, 201; Barrett and Phillips 1987, 10–12; Andrews 1995, 17). This partly compensated for the fact that after the First World War the number of domestic servants dwindled, making their absence a less reliable indicator of lacking middle-class status (Burnett 1986, 264–5). Similarly, middle-class anxieties about the loss of countryside were symptomatic of the gentry's waning influence, as 'the big country landlords were no longer its guardians' (Rowley 2006, 212). Such interpretations invite further research into the working-class experience of these new forms of settlement. This is particularly significant in the case of garden villages. In contrast to garden cities like Letchworth and garden suburbs like Hampstead, they attracted and retained a more significant working-class population but were of course still conceived by the same predominantly middle-class architects and social reformers.

Housing, the state, and society

Government intervention in town planning, part of the legacy of the garden city movement's campaign efforts, can be viewed as part of a series of welfare reforms. As Stuart Hall argued, these reforms were entwined with twentieth-century notions of statehood on two levels (Hall 1984). Firstly, state intervention in welfare mutually reinforced the

growth of mass democracy, since the latter required the participation of increasing swathes of the populations, including its poorer sections. Secondly, reform at the hands of the state was entwined with British imperialism, on the justification that its 'fruits … would finance the needed social reforms at home' (Hall 1984, 32–3). To take a longer-term view, planning and the rationalisation of architectural space have sometimes been linked with social control and the exercise of state power across the late modern period (e.g. Foucault 1991; Leone and Hurry 1998; Leone 2005, 95–8; Alston 2012).

For some scholars, the development of planning as a tool of the state is bound with the origins of town planning itself (Cosgrove 1998; Gillette 2010, 6; cf. Hall 1993, 3). The political drive to improve the condition of the urban poor from the nineteenth century onwards has been linked with attempts to pacify a dissatisfied population (e.g. Kaufman 1907, 3; Ashworth 1954, 48). Peter Hall (1993, 7), himself a town planner, maintained that the rationale for planning, as with state housing provision, had as much to do with genuine concern as avoiding social unrest.

Of immediate relevance to the early-twentieth century, the lack of healthy recruits during the Second Boer War (1899–1902) raised concerns over the health of the British population (Cherry 1979, 313). This concern had been connected to issues of national identity and 'racial improvement' (Hardy 1991, 39). The improvement of conditions through better-planned living environments could thus ensure a healthy population and, by extension, the security of the nation and its empire. The avoidance of domestic threats in Britain was not therefore the only factor. Yet, any inference about the political motivations for the planning movement overlooks the initial reluctance with which the British government accepted planning as a solution. This reluctance was driven by concerns about state intervention in private property, as evident in the socio-administrative investigations already discussed (Ashworth 1954; Cherry 1979; Hardy 1991; cf. Booth and Huxley 2012, 273).

Modern planning is, to a great extent, inseparable from housing, given the housing reform origins of the garden city movement and town planning

more widely. The relationship between the two was enshrined in the first Housing and Town Planning Act (1909), though this has been regarded as less effective in the context of housing than the second Act (known as the 'Addison Act') of 1919 (Burnett 1986, 138). As such, studies of public housing in the UK have explored the links between ideas of housing and the state (Swenarton 1981; Ravetz 2001). Swenarton (1981) explores the relationship between the development of public housing and political ideology through the Lloyd George government's short-lived 'Homes Fit for Heroes' campaign (1919–21). The campaign, partly intended to compensate for the housing shortage exacerbated by the First World War, marked the beginning of one of the most intensive periods of public housebuilding in the UK. Crucially, as Swenarton (1981, 88) argues, the campaign addressed not just the quantity but also the quality of housing. This attested to the emphasis on improved housing standards among architects of the garden city movement.

The materiality of housing in the twentieth century is another often-overlooked aspect but has been studied archaeologically (Miller 1988; Buchli and Lucas 2001; Harrison 2009; Dwyer 2014). Council housing is a particular focus, though there is scope to consider the role played by other housing developments. These include philanthropic schemes founded in the early part of the century, before the post-First World War era of state intervention, that nonetheless benefited from government subsidies after the 1919 Act. Archaeological approaches are notable for engaging with questions about the entanglement of class and housing. Miller (1988) positions council house tenants as active consumers who sometimes acquired the resources to personalise the environment built for them by the state: for example, by making alterations to kitchen layouts. Similarly, Dwyer's (2014) doctoral thesis explored the development of estates built by housing associations, finding that residents acknowledged and accepted design flaws in the environment, while holding a generally positive attitude towards the community they had built around them.

Such approaches challenge the narrative of an environment perfected by its designers. They also account for the agency of residents, particularly among working-class groups for whom agency is often read by

archaeologists as reactive resistance rather than proactive initiative. This addresses a key criticism of planning history more broadly. As Bowie (2017, 200–7) argues, the focus for research is typically directed towards middle-class leaders such as Joseph Rowntree, Robert Owen, George Cadbury, and Octavia Hill, rather than figures belonging to working-class movements such as the Chartists or the Land and Labour League. It is thus necessary to embed the agency and experiences of those with less power into the history of planning as well as that of individual settlements. Nevertheless, interpreting residents' material responses to the planned landscape is a difficult undertaking. For example, few would have been able to alter their environment substantially. More generally, the degree of design controls in garden villages may limit this capacity, even among well-off residents. It is therefore essential to consider how the landscape, particularly in the context of planning, may constrain as well as enable individual action.

Conclusions

The study of garden villages makes a valuable contribution to a broader material understanding of domestic landscapes. Although built in response to ideological concerns about urban housing conditions and the working poor in the nineteenth century, garden villages laid the foundations for planning and housing design for much of the twentieth century. Both of these were to become key components in late modern society and the nascent welfare state. The apparent success of garden villages also reflected the enduring appeal of the rural idyll in an increasingly urbanised nation, as well as illustrating the reluctant acceptance of using the countryside for housing purposes (Rogers 1989, 98). Many of these interpretations are nonetheless underpinned by the idea that planning can and should contribute positively to social conditions, which remains integral to current garden city principles (e.g. Ellis and Henderson 2013, 7). This is despite difficulties in their delivery, with greenery, infrastructure, and amenities lacking in new garden villages—with implications for health, well-being, and community independence as a result (Transport for New Homes 2020).

Acknowledging this legacy represents an important first step in the translation of an 'archaeology of reform' into 'archaeology as reform', in which archaeology is used constructively to offer solutions to contemporary problems (Springate 2017, 781). To critique and support, even to identify, new solutions, it is vital to tease apart the complex threads of social change in the past and to evaluate their relative significance. The archaeological investigation of 'progressive' reform, in essence, holds the potential to understand how radical social change has been diffused among mainstream society, arguably in a way that episodic archaeologies of resistance alone cannot.

While garden villages can be examined as institutional landscapes, other aspects of reform have been less extensively explored by archaeologists. This is particularly true of reform's relationship with the landscape, as opposed to other scales of materiality. Conversely, planning histories have situated the development of planned model settlements, including garden cities, suburbs, and villages, within a broad ideology of reform. However, they have not necessarily explored the material basis of this relationship, nor evaluated the range of concerns that were prioritised by different community founders. Design-led approaches, relating to the development of planning styles or housing design principles, have been somewhat disconnected from the social context of planning as examined by socio-administrative approaches (cf. Sutcliffe 1981a). Furthermore, beyond the pragmatic ability to replace poor housing, the active use of the landscape to engender more substantial positive social change has not been comprehensively theorised.

More relevantly for archaeologists of the late modern period, the social consequences of the material landscapes of planned communities have been downplayed (as opposed to those of their management policies, e.g. Baxter 2012). Narrative approaches (e.g. Yamin 1998) hold some potential to resolve this interpretative problem, by incorporating narratives of residents' experiences. An important caveat is that these approaches risk overemphasising working-class resourcefulness, in turn presenting social conditions such as inequality and poverty as easily negotiable (Symonds 2011, 564). Even so, contextual studies of reform landscapes can contribute a deeper understanding of how people not only responded to,

but also ultimately contributed to, a national reform agenda. This aids with evaluating how the garden village form embodied different ideas of social reform as envisioned by village founders, designers, and residents. Before attempting this, it is first necessary to characterise the landscape development of garden villages along with their social composition, beginning with the example of New Earswick in the next chapter.

3 New Earswick: Social experiment and the 'solution of the housing problem'

The village of New Earswick was presented as a pioneering experiment in social reform that attempted to build a new community in a radically different landscape setting. It was not merely the voluntary movement of working people into 'better' housing but the specific attraction of a 'green' village environment, complete with carefully landscaped open spaces and well-planned amenities, that encouraged a socially mixed group. It was as such an 'elective' community (in the sense that its members had voluntarily elected to reside in it). In practice, this community included a substantial number of 'middle-class' families as well as the traditional working classes, only a few of whom would have been directly familiar with poor urban conditions. At the same time, its core purpose was to contribute towards solving the problem of working-class housing, and in this respect, was regarded by some contemporaries as having a more pragmatic basis. However, the latter view ignores the reformist origins of the garden city movement from which it emerged (discussed in the previous chapter). More importantly, it overlooks the fact that New Earswick was the first settlement for which the architects had the freedom to develop and test the core design principles of the garden city movement, uninhibited by the constraints of planning by-laws (as was the case in Bournville; see Abercrombie 1910, 38).

Although the choice of site was determined chiefly by its proximity to the cocoa works (owned by the Rowntree and Co. chocolate company), the development of the New Earswick landscape must be discussed alongside its demographic characteristics. The first half of this chapter describes the landscape biography of the village, beginning with the acquisition of the land by the village founder Joseph Rowntree and its subsequent development by the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust (JRVT, established in

1904). This biographical approach draws upon a range of sources, including OS maps, historic photographs, records of the JRVT, and analysis of the extant landscape, aided by GIS. Thereafter, data from the 1911 Census and 1939 Register serves as a foundation on which to build a more nuanced picture of New Earswick's social composition, which did not necessarily reflect the expectations or intentions of the founder. The emerging narrative extends the interpretation of the community beyond a purely quantitative understanding, by developing an 'ethnography of place' that accounts for variation between households (Mayne and Lawrence 1999, 343; Mayne and Murray 2001; cf. Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2011, 57).

3.1 A landscape biography of the West Huntington estate

As a late-industrial philanthropist and Quaker, Joseph Rowntree was particularly concerned with the conditions of York's working poor. In 1901, his son Benjamin Seebohm Rowntree completed his pioneering investigation of poverty in York. The resulting publication, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, demonstrated that over a quarter of the city's population lived below the poverty line, a metric that Rowntree himself developed (Rowntree 1908, 297–8). Joseph Rowntree intended to contribute to solving the poor housing conditions identified in his son's investigation of poverty in their city by establishing a model village. This was based on the idea of providing affordable, quality housing for working-class people (Waddilove 1954, 5–7).

Accordingly, he purchased the land known as the West Huntington estate, amounting to 125 acres, on 4 April 1902 for £9,000 (BIA JRF/4/1/9/1/1; Fig. 8). The site was chosen by Rowntree himself, ostensibly against the advice of George Cadbury's architect at Bournville model village who considered the site too flat to permit drainage (Day 1981, 169). Rowntree's decision was probably influenced by the site's convenient location, approximately one mile north of the new Rowntree cocoa works on Haxby Road. The factory was then recently built, the company having moved their business in 1890 from its former location at Tanners Moat
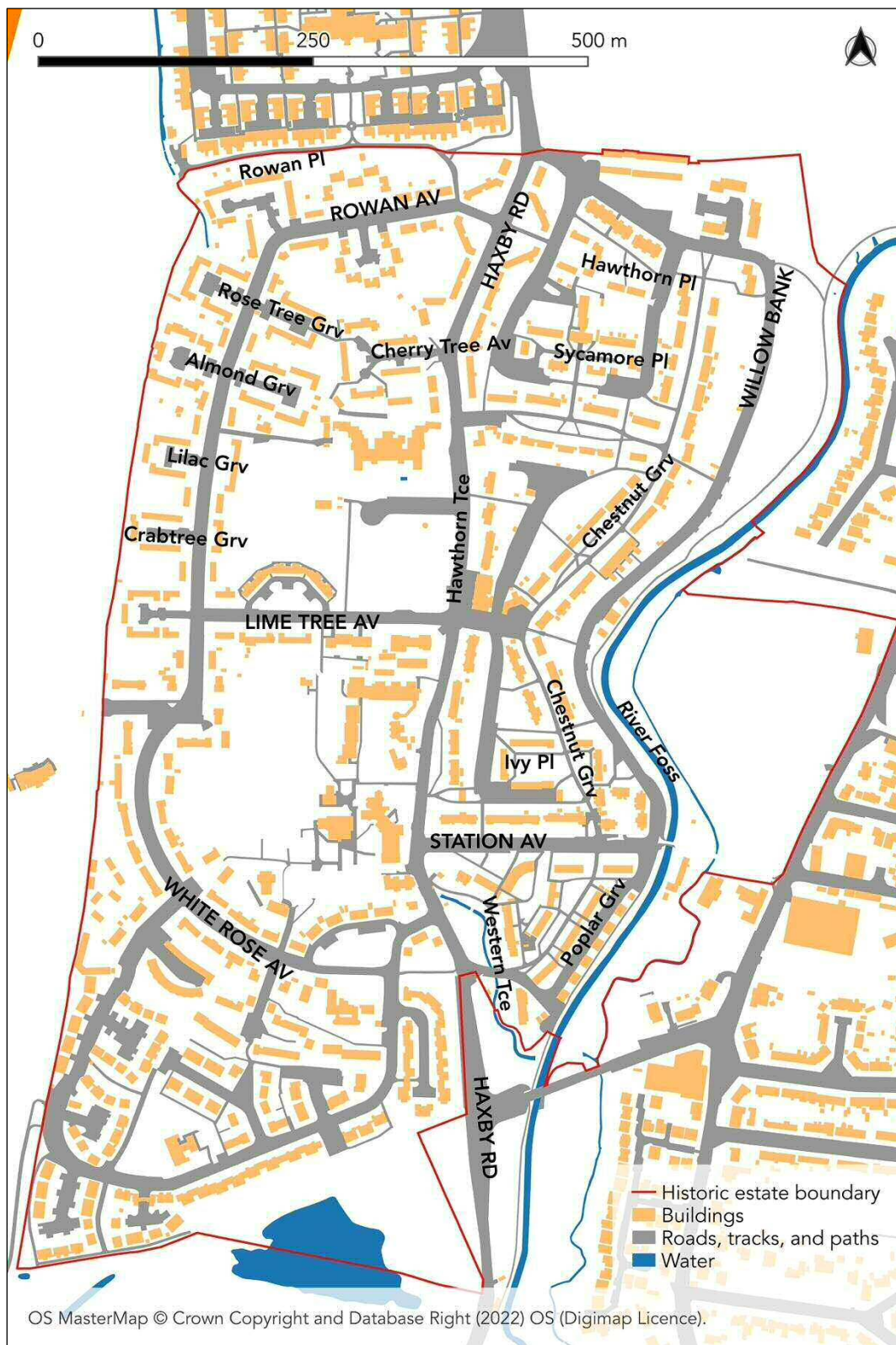
Fig. 8: **Map showing layout and extent of the New Earswick estate as acquired by Rowntree, the boundary being the limit of the study area.**
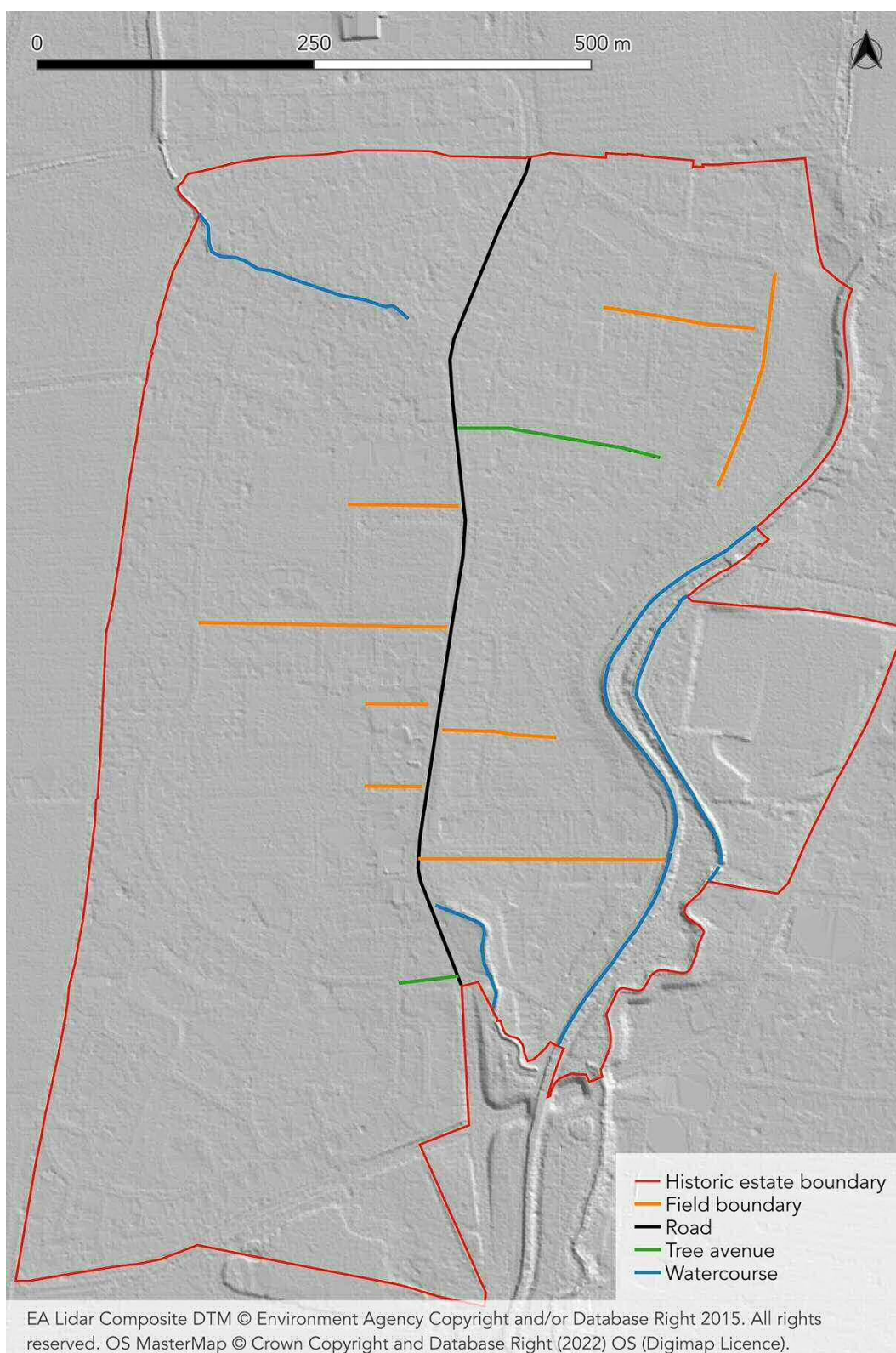
Fig. 9: **Hill-shaded digital terrain model of New Earswick, annotated with pre-twentieth-century features 'preserved' in the site plan.**

in the centre of York (Titley 2013, 35–6). In this respect, the circumstances of New Earswick paralleled those of Bournville several years earlier; Cadbury founded his village there shortly after relocating his company's cocoa works from the centre of Birmingham.

The West Huntington area is flat, albeit with a barely perceptible rise from west to east (Fig. 9). This later created difficulties with drainage across the site, as Cadbury's architect had predicted. It was also prone to flooding from the River Foss, on the eastern perimeter, and the Westfield Beck, which ran through the centre. However, contrary to claims that the site provided 'a flat board on which the architect could design as he wished' (Waddilove 1954, 15), New Earswick exhibits several 'inherited' aspects (see Hanson and Partington 2015, 11). Before its acquisition by Rowntree, the land was primarily agricultural and included a stud farm. Rowntree subsequently converted this into the White Rose Dairy Farm and appointed Carl Sorensen as the tenant farmer, with the land used as pasture until needed for further housing. The farm operated on model principles, using new technology including refrigeration to produce hygienically purified milk (Harris 1985, 177–83; Carr 2010, 4). The only standing buildings at the time of purchase were a collection of farm buildings and an associated cottage on Haxby Road, all of which have since been demolished. Haxby Road itself already existed as a route to and from the centre of York. Conversely, several historic field boundaries in the eastern half of the village are preserved in the layout of roads and plot lines. The layout of Station Avenue and Sycamore Avenue, both running east to west, follow some of these boundaries (Fig. 9). Others were approximated by the limit of property boundaries at Ivy Place and Sycamore Place.

The pattern of development before 1940

The first houses and streets were laid out in the south-eastern corner of the estate in 1902 under the direction of the architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin (Fig. 10). The earliest houses were of an arts and crafts style, with variations such as large front-facing or projecting gables and dormer windows, and finished in whitewashed brick; symmetry was not strictly adhered to (Fig. 11). Houses were grouped in blocks of between
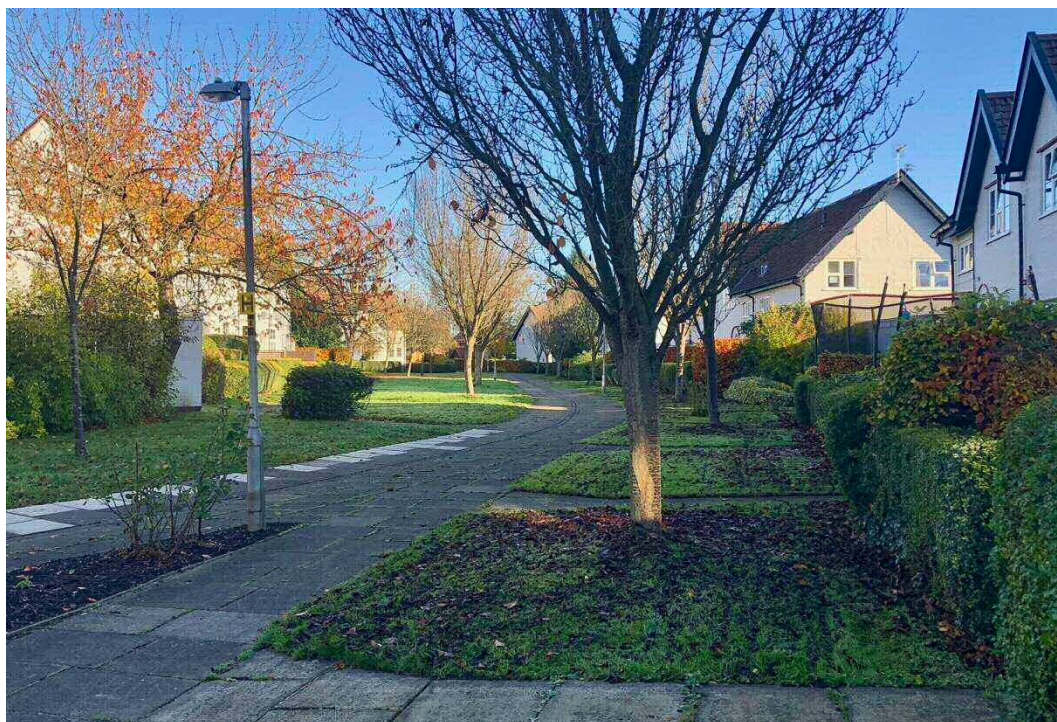
Fig. 10: **Poplar Grove, one of New Earswick's earliest streets. Wide grass verges, hedges, and trees typified the early landscape. © Author.**

Fig. 11: **Houses on Western Terrace in Parker and Unwin's typical arts and crafts style, with wide asymmetrical gables and whitewashed brick. © Author.**

Fig. 12: **The quadrangle of Ivy Place, unenclosed as it appears today. Note the connecting archway to create visual unity between the separate housing blocks. © Author.**

two and seven, often oriented around existing landscape features including the River Foss and Westfield Beck. The landscaping of this early portion of the site would later come to define the village's character more broadly: tree-lined avenues, grass strips between the footpaths and the roads, and long garden plots for each house, often accessible by arched passageways through to the rear of each block. The maximum density permitted by the architects was ten houses to the net acre (the acreage of the site excluding roads; BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/86). This standard was generally followed throughout New Earswick's development, though some areas (especially those with multiple cul-de-sacs) marginally exceeded this limit.

Building mostly continued in a northerly direction until the outbreak of the First World War. In contrast to the earliest houses south of Station Avenue, almost all subsequent houses were finished in plain, unpainted brick. The bricks were manufactured at a brick- and tile-works south of the village, which was opened by the JRVT specifically to support their

housebuilding programme (TNA IR58/95003). Houses and roads continued to follow the natural topography of the site, with houses on Chestnut Grove following the course of the River Foss. However, a few blocks were built in smaller clusters in a 'quadrangle' arrangement, oriented towards other houses rather than existing landscape features. Examples of these quadrangles exist at Sycamore Place and Ivy Place (Fig. 12). Although the remaining blocks of houses generally ran parallel to the street, some were set back from the roadway relative to others, adding variation to what Parker and Unwin referred to as the 'street picture' (the vista down the course of the street). In other cases, this variation was created by adding projecting features such as gables or porches on some blocks of houses. Indeed, this was strongly emphasised in the architects' design philosophy, along with a dislike of outbuildings that could not be contained under a single roof (Unwin 1902, 6). Aside from modern garages, today there are notably few outbuildings that are detached from the village's houses.
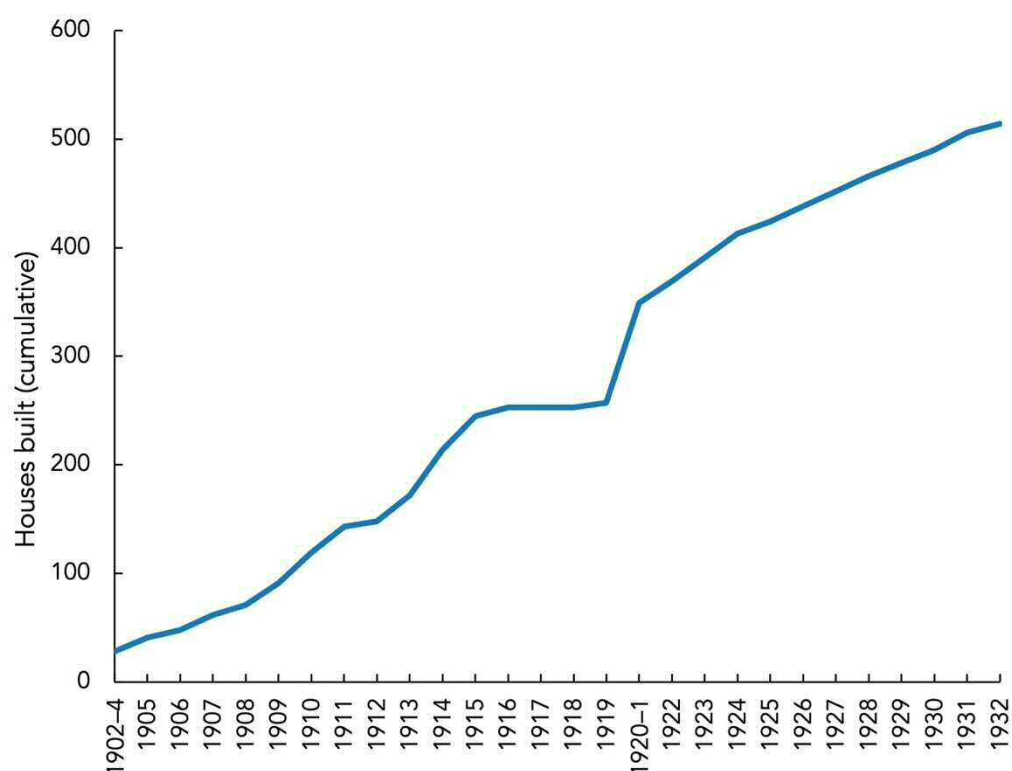
Fig. 13: **Cumulative graph of housebuilding figures for New Earswick, 1902–1932 (1902–1921 from estate accounts, BIA JRF/4/1/9/3/1/2; 1922 onwards derived from a dated site plan, BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/5).**

Between 1902 and 1915, the JRVT built an average of 17.5 houses per year (Fig. 13). It is unclear why construction was initially able to continue for two years into the First World War. The housebuilding figure for 1915 possibly reflects houses already committed to on the schedule of works. It is likely that the 1915 Rents and Mortgages Restrictions Act later limited the economic viability of housebuilding, to the extent that only eight houses were built in the last three years of the war.

Besides housing, the major components of the pre-war village plan were the Folk Hall, a venue opened in 1907 for community gatherings, educational and recreational activities, and religious worship; the village green, completed in 1912 by the Quaker plant nursery firm Backhouse and Son; and the 'open-air' primary school, also in 1912. Conceptually, the Folk Hall derived from continental European workers' halls ('Volkshäuser' in German), which emphasised cooperative values (Kafkoula 2013, 188; Hoffsten 2013, 474). In architectural terms, the New Earswick Folk Hall exhibited similar 'medievalist' influences apparent on the Mrs Howard Memorial Hall at Letchworth (also by Parker and Unwin), with a steep, oversized roof and timbering (Makino 1979, 39). The 'open-air' design of the school referred to the fact that its south-facing windows were fully openable across the width of the classroom, thus ensuring the ventilation necessary for a healthy learning environment. This preventive approach to school design is not to be confused with the broader open-air schools movement, which promoted outdoor classes as a curative measure for children with tuberculosis (Fesler 2000, 21).

These community buildings and spaces occupied a central location beside the main route through the village, Hawthorn Terrace (the portion of Haxby Road that lies within it). More ephemeral aspects of the pre-war village landscape are harder to discern, but photographic and artistic depictions show that New Earswick was characterised principally by soft landscaping, with hedges serving as the predominant form of plot boundary: between gardens and the roadside, between adjacent gardens, and indeed around the green (Figs. 14–15). Thus, even 'open' spaces were to some extent visually enclosed by greenery. In addition to the tree avenues alongside many of the roads, and the vernacular-style cottages,

Fig. 14: **Post-1912 photograph taken from a Hawthorn Terrace doorway, including hedge borders and a typical front garden, with the then-enclosed village green and primary school visible in the background (GCC LBM4001.46.2). © Garden City Collection.**

Fig. 15: **Colour drawing of houses on Station Avenue, depicting the village's lush greenery and distinctive rooflines (GCC LBM3203.1). © Garden City Collection.**

this constituted a visual language based on idealised images of traditional villages and their characteristic rurality.

The village in 1909

The Land Valuation survey provides a snapshot of New Earswick's landscape development (TNA IR58/95003–5). Though the actual survey was conducted from 1910 to 1915, the nominal date for valuations was taken as 30 April 1909. At this time, most of the estate by acreage was agricultural, as was most of the surrounding landscape. Agricultural land comprised a single hereditament of 96 acres, occupied by the White Rose farm. The farm operator Sorensen appears to have been granted rights to any land within the estate that was not currently developed, by written agreement with the JRVT. Some adjacent parcels of land were owned by Rowntree and Co., for which Sorensen was also a tenant.

Combined, the survey documentation indicates that a total of 106 houses stood in 1909. Distinct valuations were recorded for 82 of the houses, each appearing as a separate hereditament and generally including a named occupier. Two further hereditaments, corresponding to building plots at Ivy Place and Hawthorn Terrace, show that another 24 houses were under construction or were not yet occupied. Based on cross-referencing the estimated number of dwellings with the JRVT's annual records, the survey for New Earswick was probably conducted before the end of 1910 (BIA JRF/4/1/9/3/1/2). Housing, including mixed-use shops and dwellings, occupied approximately 11 acres. This yields an average density of less than ten houses to the acre. Despite this relatively low density being in line with the principles of the garden city and town planning movements (e.g. Abercrombie 1911), there does not appear to have been any land retained exclusively as communal open space. Two parcels of grassland, 11 acres in total, were included within the estate but these were located east of the River Foss. Meanwhile, the only property used communally appears to have been the New Earswick Folk Hall and its grounds. The remaining parcels of land were used for allotments, local services, and industry, the latter of which included the village timber yard and brick-works.

Most of the land (74 of 84 hereditaments for which descriptions were given) was described as being in 'good' condition. It is unclear which criteria were used to determine the condition of the land. Despite the estate's location on low-lying land next to the River Foss, and other land described as 'liable to floods' on a 1909 OS map, there was no reference to flooding. Some housing conditions were more extensively described. A detailed example is offered in the case of Pyrmont, a large house on Western Terrace, near the southernmost edge of the village:

> Mrs Rowntree's 'Rest House', now occupied by Mrs Haddow and Miss Nelson. Area: 35 perches, 5 yards. [Accommodation]: Dining room, drawing room, kitchen, pantry, lavatory and entrance down, five bedroom and bathroom up. In good repair, water laid on. Recently built. Garden fair, 15 [growing] trees. Hedges moderate (TNA IR58/27290).

The exact role of Mrs Rowntree in the village is unclear (for example, whether she was involved in settlement work or social work), as is the significance of the 'rest house'. This may refer to either a convalescent home or a guest house. The JRVT minutes certainly indicate that some houses were marked for use as temporary accommodation for housing reformers visiting the village (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2).

Although larger houses were described extensively, most conformed to three basic descriptions, which in turn broadly reflected the rents recorded in the survey (Table 1). For comparison, Seebohm Rowntree reported that the most well-off members of York's working classes (Class D) spent an average of £13 7*s.* 4*d.* per annum on rent. This compares with £11 5*s.* 4*d.* for the second most well-off (Rowntree 1908, 60–5). The New Earswick cottages would therefore have been beyond the means of much of the traditional working classes (those supported by 'skilled' or 'unskilled' labour). The range of rents implies the presence of a socially mixed population, though somewhat skewed in the direction of the better-off working classes or lower-middle classes. Yet, it is not clear why such a large variation in rents is observable from just three classes of accommodation. It should be noted that the information in the field books was typically cross-referenced rather than duplicated in full for each entry; many of the descriptions include only the words 'same as [assessment number] 301' or similar (TNA IR58/95003–5). It is thus

Table 1: **Accommodation and rents for housing types recorded in the New Earswick Land Valuation survey. Despite the discrepancy in rents between (*a*) and (*c*), the difference in accommodation is unclear.**

Accommodation*	Annual rent		Number of houses
	Range	Mean	
(*a*) *Ground floor kitchen, [scullery] and pantry and 3 bedrooms upstairs. Good garden back and front*	£11 14*s.* to £18 10*s.*	£13 12*s.*	48
(*b*) *Ground floor kitchen, [scullery] and pantry and 3 bedrooms upstairs. Good garden back and front … 2 sitting rooms*	£15 12*s.* to £18	£16 3*s.* 7*d.*	10
(*c*) *Ground floor kitchen, scullery and pantry and upstairs 3 bedrooms. Good gardens behind and in front*	£12 6*s.* 12*d.* to £13 13*s.*	£12 15*s.*	13

*Source: Land Valuation field books (TNA IR58/95003–5).

possible that subtle differences between houses of the same type were overlooked by the survey. Alternatively, since the descriptions of houses often did not include comments on their external appearance, some tenants may have paid more for a house with a larger garden or in a more desirable situation.

In terms of the distribution of rents, tenants of properties on Hawthorn Terrace paid the highest; this street included most of New Earswick's largest (often unique) houses, such as that of the village doctor. However, even among the standard house types, rents varied by location, with houses on Station Avenue and Western Terrace being on average £2 7*s.* more expensive than those on Poplar Grove and Ivy Place. Variation also existed within the terms of tenancy, with tenants on monthly or longer terms paying a larger rent annually than those on weekly terms.

The interwar years

Following the end of the First World War, construction resumed in earnest in 1920. Development commenced in an anticlockwise direction from the north-east corner of the village, beginning west along Rowan Avenue and then turning south (Fig. 16). Houses for much of the interwar period were stylistically different from those of the pre-war period, showing greater Georgian influences. Such houses featured plainer rooflines, almost exclusively using hipped rather than gabled roofs, showed more emphasis on symmetrical elevation designs, and included uniform-sized windowpanes in casements (Fig. 17). Where asymmetrical elevations were used, these tended to form part of a symmetrical pair of housing blocks, such as those facing across one of the many cul-de-sacs. Some aspects of the earlier styles of houses were nonetheless retained, such as the projecting end bays or the arched passageways to the rear of longer terraces. In terms of the spatial organisation of housing blocks, almost all formed part of a rectilinear cul-de-sac arrangement, similar in form to the two examples of earlier quadrangles but lacking any central green space. The quadrangle was also approximated in the layout of the 'Octagon' at the north end of the village. This comprised a group of four housing blocks with the outer bays turned inwards at forty-five degrees, yielding substantial front gardens. As the Octagon was bisected by crossroads, it had no communal open space at the centre.

Between 1919 and 1932, after which housebuilding operations largely ceased, 261 houses were built, averaging at 20 houses per year (Fig. 13, above). The enhanced pace of building immediately after the First World War is evident in the relationship between the historic landscape and the extant built environment. While the eastern part of New Earswick exhibits continuity with historic field boundaries or tree plantations, housing plots in the north-west cut through several field boundaries. This indicates that land belonging to the White Rose farm was taken for housing in increasingly larger parcels, in contrast to the piecemeal acquisition of previous years. By 1940, the remaining farmland was around two-fifths of its 1909 extent. Developing larger parcels of land appears to have enabled a more rational, economic approach to planning, which no longer needed to respect the land's historic features to the
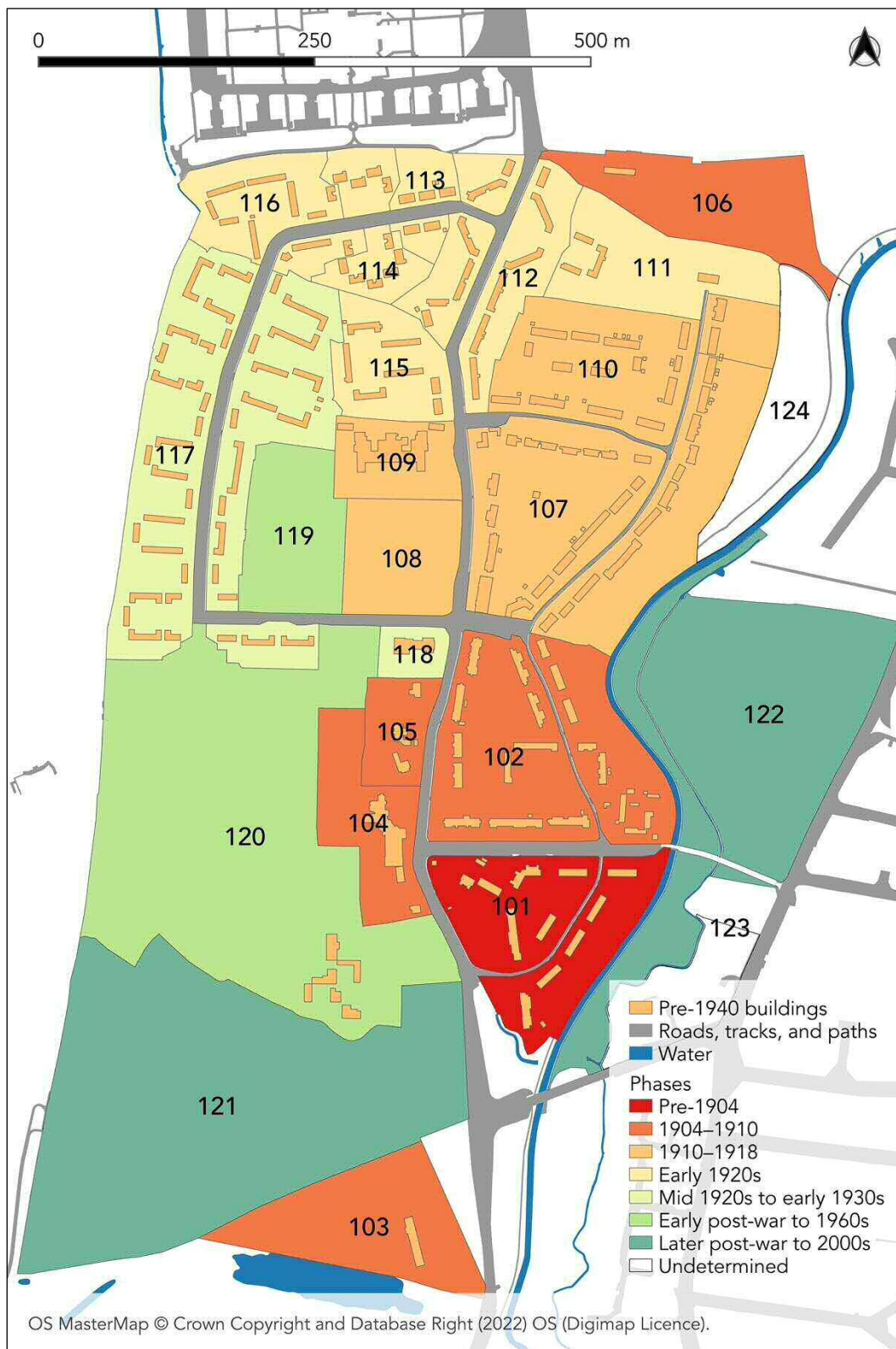
Fig. 16: **Map of interpretative units devised for New Earswick, showing main phases and overall pattern of development. The 'Octagon' houses are located at 112, with Rowan Avenue extending west and then south from 113.**

Fig. 17: **'Neo-Georgian' housing typical of interwar New Earswick. © Author.**

Fig. 18: **One of ten cul-de-sacs built as part of the village's interwar development. © Author.**

same degree. The regular and repetitive geometry of the cul-de-sacs to the west (Fig. 18) contrasts with the informal meandering of Chestnut Grove and Poplar Grove to the east. Yet, in both cases, the absence of planning by-laws enabled the use of narrower roads, which in turn allowed more space for gardens.

Plots laid out during the interwar period were not noticeably reduced in size (Fig. 19). Because of the clustered geometrical arrangement of houses, these were sometimes irregularly shaped when compared with the long, rectilinear gardens of the pre-war years. Nevertheless, the landscape design of New Earswick's interwar streets continued to prioritise greenery in the form of hedge borders and grass verges, interspersed with flowering trees for which the streets were named: Lime Tree Avenue, Rose Tree Grove, and Rowan Place. Allotment gardens were situated away from the centre of the village, adjacent to the sewage works and on land owned by the JRVT on the far side of the river. Although communal open spaces were increasingly evident, they were not always deliberately planned as such during this period of development. A substantial undeveloped area, now used as a school playing field, was retained next to the original village green. However, the JRVT's records described this as 'waste land' left over after planning, rather than being intentionally conceived as open space (BIA JRF/2/1/1/4).

The development of agricultural land beyond New Earswick happened at a more modest pace, with housing schemes built at Park Avenue to the north, Huntington to the north-east, and Mill Hill and the Burn Estate to the east. Except for Huntington, none of these constituted a fully formed village in the manner of New Earswick. By 1930, a small number of industrial businesses were established south-east of the village, including Clarence Leather Works, Ebor Press (a print works), and Eborcraft (a furniture manufacturer). This implies a modest network of business owners who were perhaps attracted by the cheap cost of agricultural land for building workshops and factories, as well as the environment that New Earswick offered for their employees.
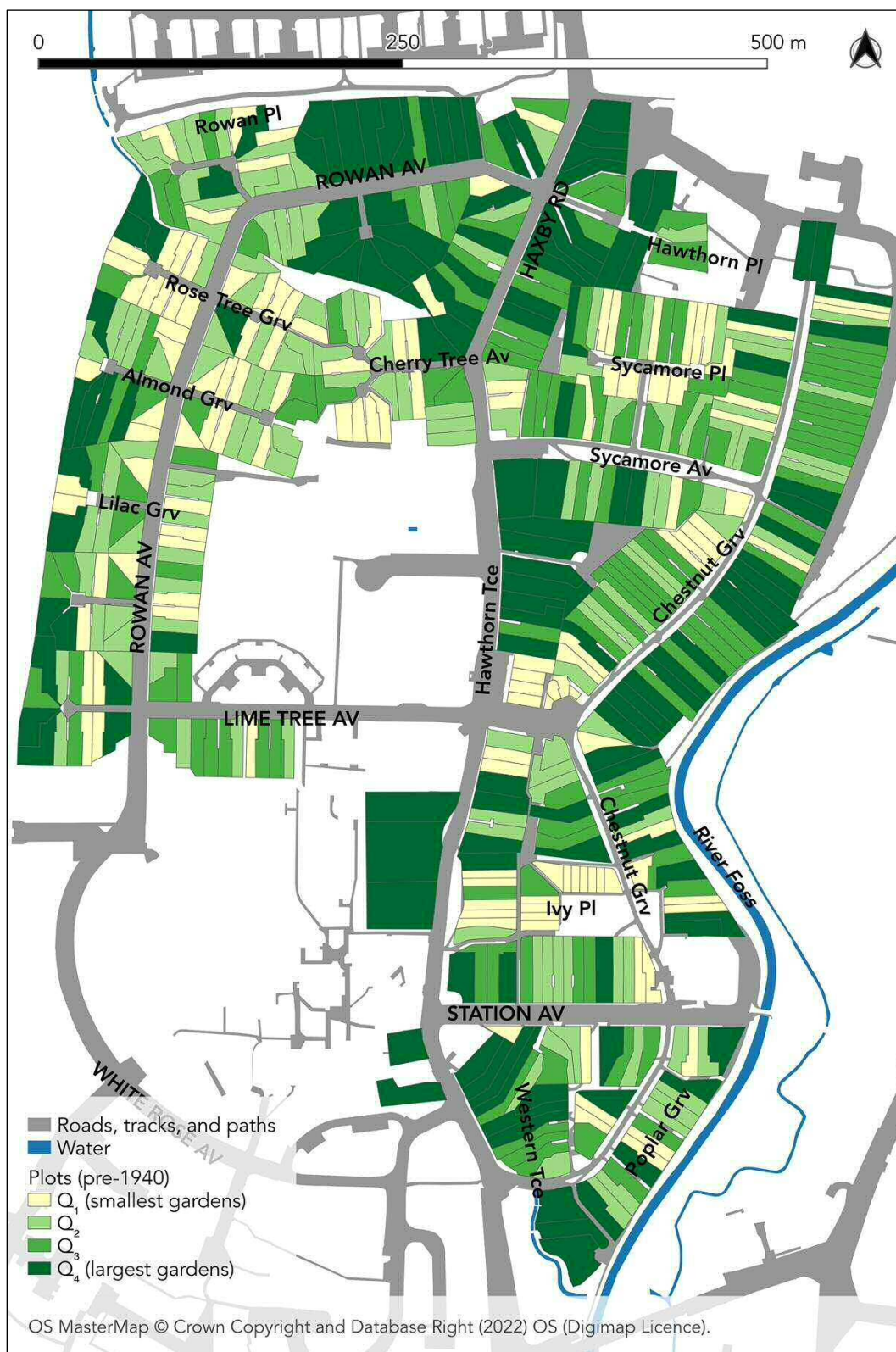
Fig. 19: **Map of New Earswick plot boundaries and relative garden sizes (by quartile, Q) as they would have appeared *c.*1940.**

The post-war landscape

Construction was relatively slow to resume after the end of the Second World War. When it did, it continued in a southerly direction, with the curving White Rose Avenue extending from the southern end of Rowan Avenue. Initially, the houses bore some resemblance to those of the interwar village, with symmetrical window arrangements and hipped roofs interrupted by occasional forward-projecting bays. Further south, however, houses more closely resembled the pre-war designs of Parker and Unwin, with asymmetric rooflines broken by gable fronts and dormer windows. The bricks of the latter houses show greater colour variation, likely a result of the JRVT sourcing bricks from elsewhere after the closure of their brick- and tile-works to the south (by 1950).

The central planning feature of the post-war village was an irregular-shaped recreation ground of around five acres, which was enclosed by the sweeping curve of White Rose Avenue. Houses continued to be arranged in blocks of between two and four, and mostly faced onto the main road, rather than facing directly onto other houses as in the interwar cul-de-sacs. The expansion of the village during this period signalled the closure of the White Rose farm. Indeed, whereas the village's early development had respected the field boundaries associated with the farm, with the street pattern effectively preserving it, White Rose Avenue leaves little trace of the former landscape. One exception is a row of historic trees that once lined the road to the farm; a short section is preserved beside a footpath connecting White Rose Avenue and Hawthorn Terrace. Relatively few community buildings were completed in this area, though the former farmhouse, the Garth, was retained and extended in 1960 to form a home for elderly people (Makino 1979, 57).

The whole village underwent a modernisation scheme in the 1970s, which included alterations to existing houses and the building of new access roads (Green 1970, 354). While pedestrianisation of some streets, such as Poplar Grove and Sycamore Avenue, was made possible—providing more room for smaller communal lawns—the introduction of new traffic roads often involved the partial loss of private garden space (Makino 1979, 59–60). Nevertheless, elements of the earlier landscape design persisted in

post-war sections of the village. These include the continued use of long narrow gardens, hedge borders, and grass verges separating the pavement from the road. More recently, some of these have been removed to create parking bays and dropped kerbs, giving the roadside verges a fragmented appearance (Fig. 20).

Since the 1990s, the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust (the present name for the JRVT) has built further homes on a triangular section of land in the far south-west of the village, at a higher density of around 13 houses to the acre. These are a mixture of bungalows, flats, and two-storey houses, some of which imitate earlier architectural styles. At the turn of the millennium, a retirement village was built on land beyond the northern boundary of New Earswick, almost exclusively consisting of bungalows. Among the more recent developments within the village itself, sheltered accommodation was built in 2017 on the former recreation ground enclosed by the loop of White Rose Avenue.

Fig. 20: **Modern dropped kerb and parking bays interrupting roadside verges in the later western half of the village. © Author.**

Contemporary landscape character

To inform analysis in later chapters, the land forming the original estate has been divided into 24 units (Fig. 16, above). The limits of each are defined interpretatively according to land use, housing styles, the chronology of construction (deduced by consulting historic maps or site plans), and historic boundaries or other site topography. Thus, for example, Unit 101 in the south-east corresponds to the earliest planned area of the village (built before 1905), while Units 120–1 cover the entire south-western portion, representing the extent of land remaining as part of the White Rose farm before the Second World War.

The overall landscape character today appears relatively consistent with its original development. This reflects the ongoing stewardship of the trust and its restrictions on tenants modifying their properties. Where alterations are visible, such as the addition of enclosed porches or blocked doorways, these are generally applied across a whole block of houses and were likely instigated by the trust. Gardens have been reduced in area over the years, with some partially converted to driveways. Sections of formerly enclosed gardens have been reclaimed as open communal lawns, which are visible on Western Terrace (Fig. 21) and at Ivy Place (Fig. 12, above). Many of these spaces were created during the 1970s modernisation programme (Green 1970, 354). There nevertheless remains a high standard of maintenance for the village's gardens. The low building density has generally been retained, while the regular use of tree planting and garden hedges has minimised the appearance of houses being visually isolated from each other.

The continuity in the landscape's character implies that its design has remained integral to the village's core purpose of providing improved conditions for its residents. However, subtle differences emerge between different areas. Chief amongst them, the informally planned eastern half, which offers more visible green spaces, is a stronger approximation of a 'traditional' village than the formally planned western half, which has a marked suburban appearance. Relatively recent changes have occasionally curtailed areas of open space or recreation grounds: the construction of service roads, car parks, or new accommodation, for

Fig. 21: **Communal lawn on Western Terrace, which replaced long sections of private gardens that originally extended over the beck into the foreground. © Author.**

example. Of the gross study area's 141 acres, 31% (44 acres) now remains as 'natural' surfaces (based on OS Topography data).

Because of the systematic pattern of development, the spatial layout of the village can be chronologically sequenced, allowing an opportunity to consider the relationship between successive phases of planning and their historical context. It is therefore possible to evaluate how the plan mutually constituted changing reform ideals in response to external circumstances. For instance, houses built with government subsidies under the 1919 and later Housing Acts were almost entirely confined to the west. This has implications for the changing social composition of the village's tenants.

3.2   Historical demography

New Earswick was historically part of Huntington, an otherwise primarily agricultural parish in the rural district of Flaxton. As data from the 1911 Census shows, New Earswick's residents were mostly of upper-

working- or lower-middle-class status and drawn from a relatively wide range of geographical origins, though generally from northern England. The social landscape of the village was entwined with its physical development. This was reflected in a relatively high standard of living, but it was not necessarily available to the poorer sections of York's working classes, for whom rents in New Earswick were unaffordable. Their absence from the community, which was founded in the context of a crisis in working-class housing and living conditions, warrants further critique.

Data relating to New Earswick was collected from every 1911 Census schedule in the parish of Huntington that listed the corresponding address as either 'New Earswick' or another named location (such as a building or street) that could be identified within the boundaries of the estate. This left a total of 119 households comprising 473 individuals. This small population reflects the slow pace of development in the village, with relatively few houses being completed in the first nine years
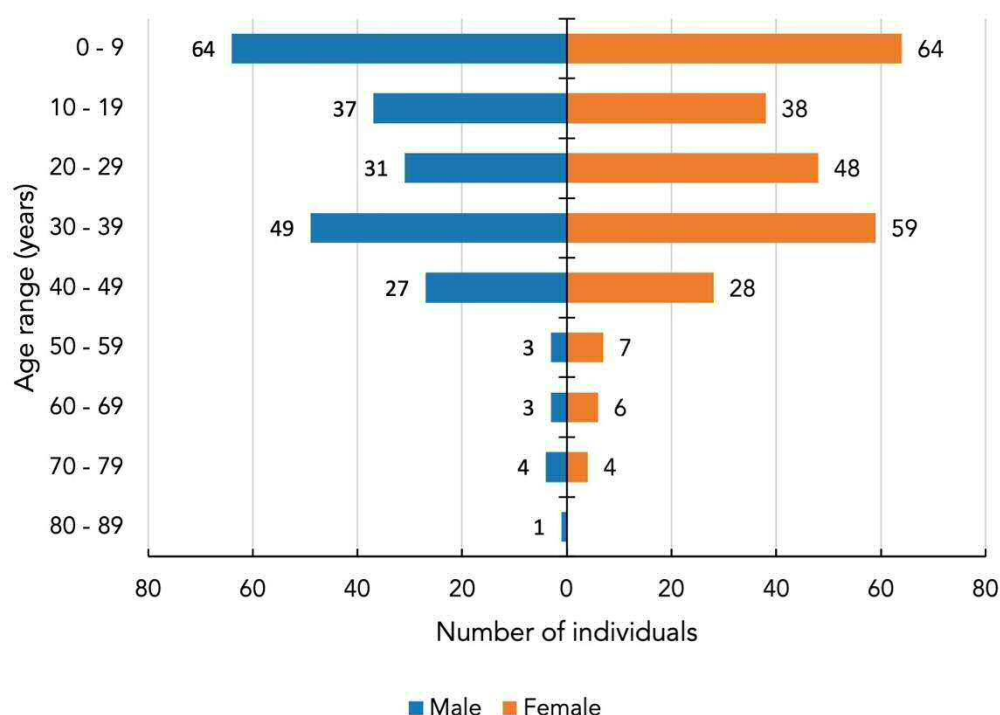
Fig. 22: **Chart summarising age and sex distribution in the 1911 Census for New Earswick (TNA RG14/28382).**

of its development: averaging at 17 per year (BIA JRF/4/1/9/3/1/2). It is likely that almost all houses then built had been occupied by the time of the census, with the JRVT recording a total of 119 houses built at the end of 1910. This is contrary to the JRVT's later suggestion that the trustees struggled with an initial lack of demand for housing (cf. Waddilove 1954, 14).

In terms of the community's demography, a slight majority of the population were women (54%, 254, Fig. 22). This is marginally higher than the national figure, with women comprising 52% of the population of England and Wales (Registrar General 1913, 4). Around 37% (174) of New Earswick's population were under the age of 16, with the majority of those being under ten. This suggests that New Earswick was initially occupied by relatively new families. The overall age distribution of adults also suggests this, with approximately half of residents (242) being aged between 20 and 49 years old.

Comparison with the 1939 Register shows that, by the outbreak of the Second World War, the village had expanded significantly to include 1,896 people occupying 510 households (Fig. 23). A further six houses were unoccupied. Demographically, the most significant shift was in the age of residents, with only 13% (181 of 1,415 open records for which age data was available) being under the age of 16. As the Register continued to be updated until 1991, only records relating to individuals who were deceased at this time were released publicly, with the remaining records officially closed for 100 years (TNA n.d.). Records for individuals who died after 1991 were released on a less systematic basis. Even so, this demographic shift may suggest an ageing population of long-term residents who had moved to New Earswick as younger adults in the early 1900s. The proportion of 1911 residents who were also identifiable in the 1939 Register for New Earswick (17%) adds some weight to this possibility (see p.111). This appears to have precipitated a long-term trend. In the 1960s, the JRVT reported that only five of its 650 tenants were under the age of 30. This was exacerbated by long waiting lists for housing, with prospective tenants sometimes having to wait for more than a decade for a house in the village; a few did not acquire one until the age of 40 (BIA JRF/4/1/9/7/2/1).
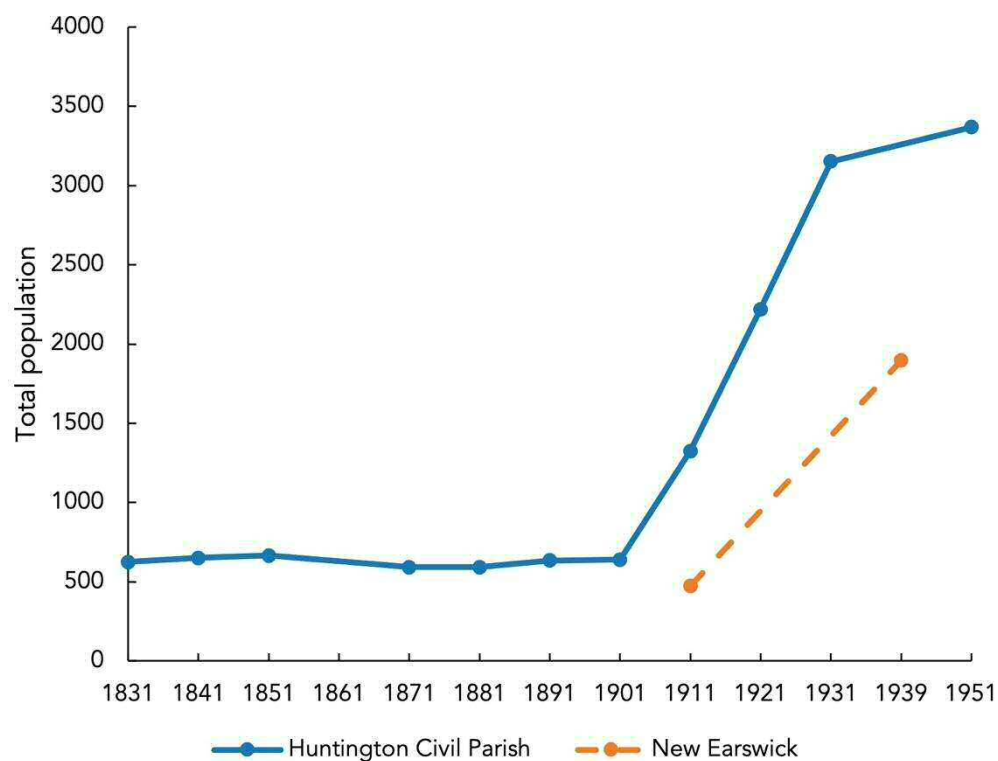
Fig. 23: **Graph of population change in New Earswick (TNA RG14/28382; RG101/3274–5) and Huntington (GBHG 2021a), of which the former was a part, 1831–1951.**

Household and family

In contrast to many working-class communities, New Earswick was characterised by relatively small families with fewer children. Households recorded in the 1911 Census were marginally smaller than those in the centre of York, with a mean of 3.97 people per household, compared with 4.04 for York's 'wage-earning classes' (cf. Rowntree 1908, 81). As many as two-fifths (47) of New Earswick's 119 households were not occupied by any children (Fig. 24). However, the presence of households with few but relatively young children suggests that New Earswick was occupied by comparatively newly established families, some of whom may have actively sought such an environment as a suitable place to begin raising children. This is also implied by the age data (Fig. 22, above). Non-familial household members were uncommon, with only seven New Earswick households keeping boarders or lodgers and nine with live-in domestic servants. Regarding the latter, even this small proportion reveals the presence of a socially mixed population, since the keeping of servants
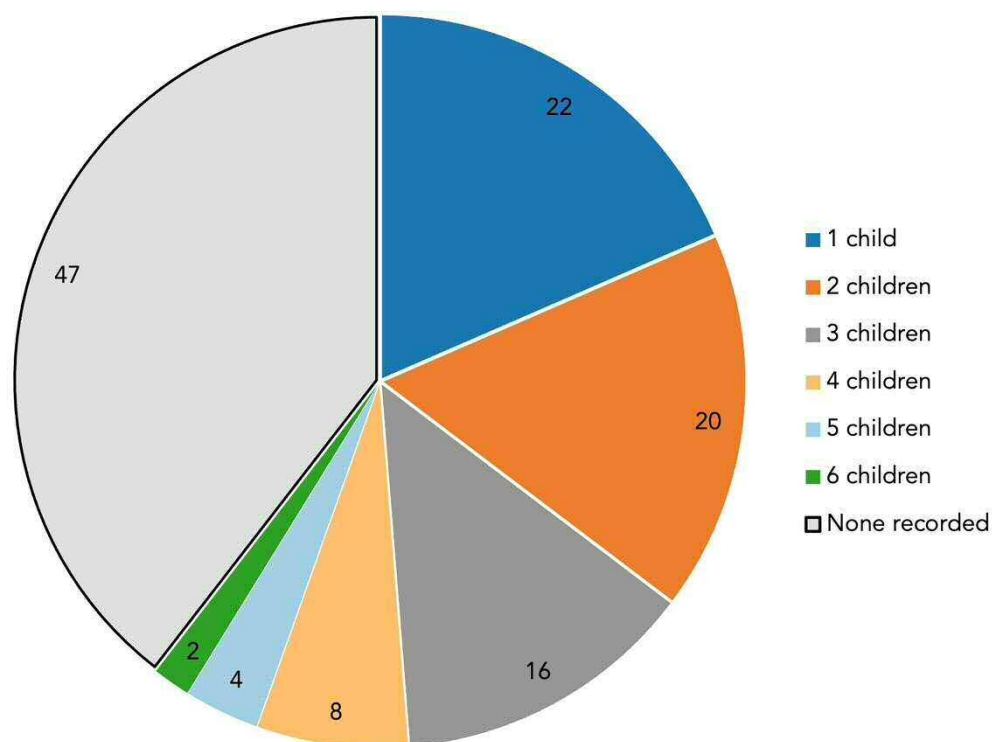
Fig. 24: **Pie chart showing proportion of households with differing numbers of children (under 16) recorded in New Earswick in 1911 (TNA RG14/28382).**

was recognised as an indicator of middle-class status (e.g. Rowntree 1908, 14).

Because the 1911 Census was the first to record information relating to 'fertility in marriage', it is possible to obtain some insight into resident health. Of 83 families with children, 63 reported having zero child mortalities, while 10 families reported the death of two or three of their children. This still relatively low number indicates a generally healthy population, possibly with some access to healthcare. Comparable figures for fertility and child mortality were extrapolated from the numbers of children born, survived, and died, as recorded in the New Earswick census. The data shows that both fertility and child mortality rates were lower than the national averages (Fig. 25).

Movement of people

Seebohm Rowntree's involvement in both the development of New Earswick and research into poverty in the city of York has led to implicit
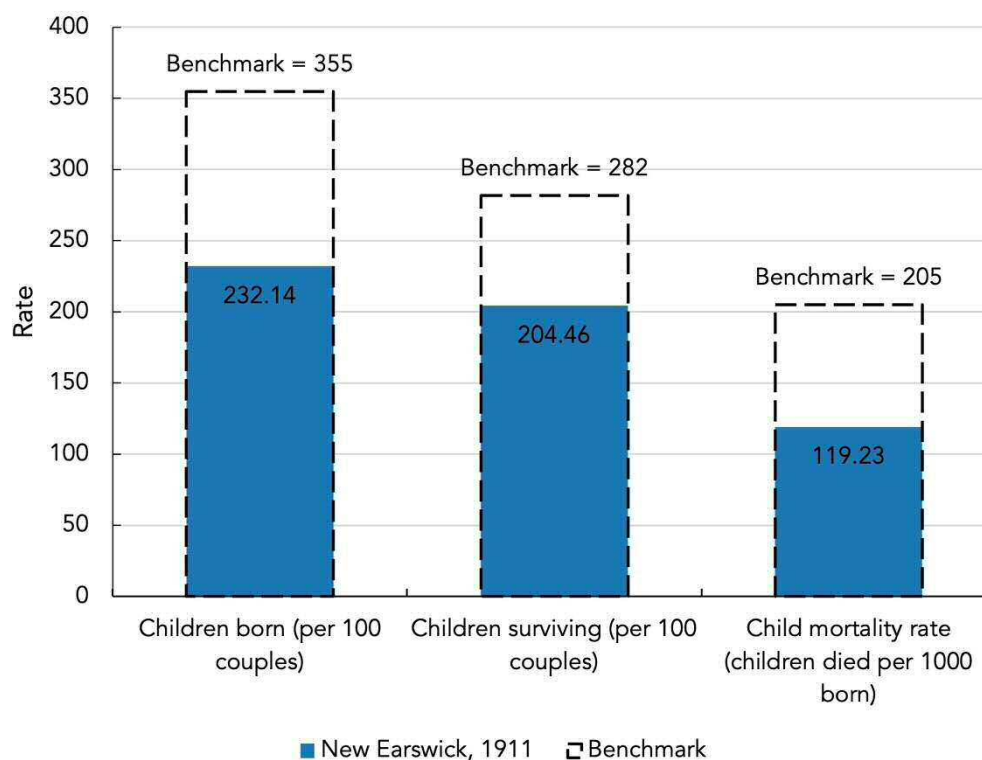
Fig. 25: **Chart comparing New Earswick fertility and child mortality in marriage figures (TNA RG14/28382) with 1911 figures for England and Wales as a benchmark (Registrar General 1917, 341). Note that survival rate is not proportionate to mortality rate, as a single child death will negatively affect overall child survival rates more severely for couples with fewer children.**

suggestions that the village was expected to house some of the city's poorest working-class residents (Buckley 2008, 92; Giles and Jones 2011, 550). However, any such indication is refuted in the first instance by the geographic origins of New Earswick's residents, as well as their occupational backgrounds ('Industry and occupation', p.112; see also 5.1 on the JRVT's stated aims, pp.162–3). The vast majority of the community's residents were born in Yorkshire, but only 40% (188 of 463 individuals with identifiable birthplaces) were born in or around York (including Acomb, Clifton, and Huntington). Half of those (96) were under the age of ten, including those listed as born in New Earswick (and others who were likely born there).

A more representative breakdown of family origins is obtained by including only individuals aged ten or above (thus excluding children born in New Earswick). Of those, 36% (122) were born in the North Riding
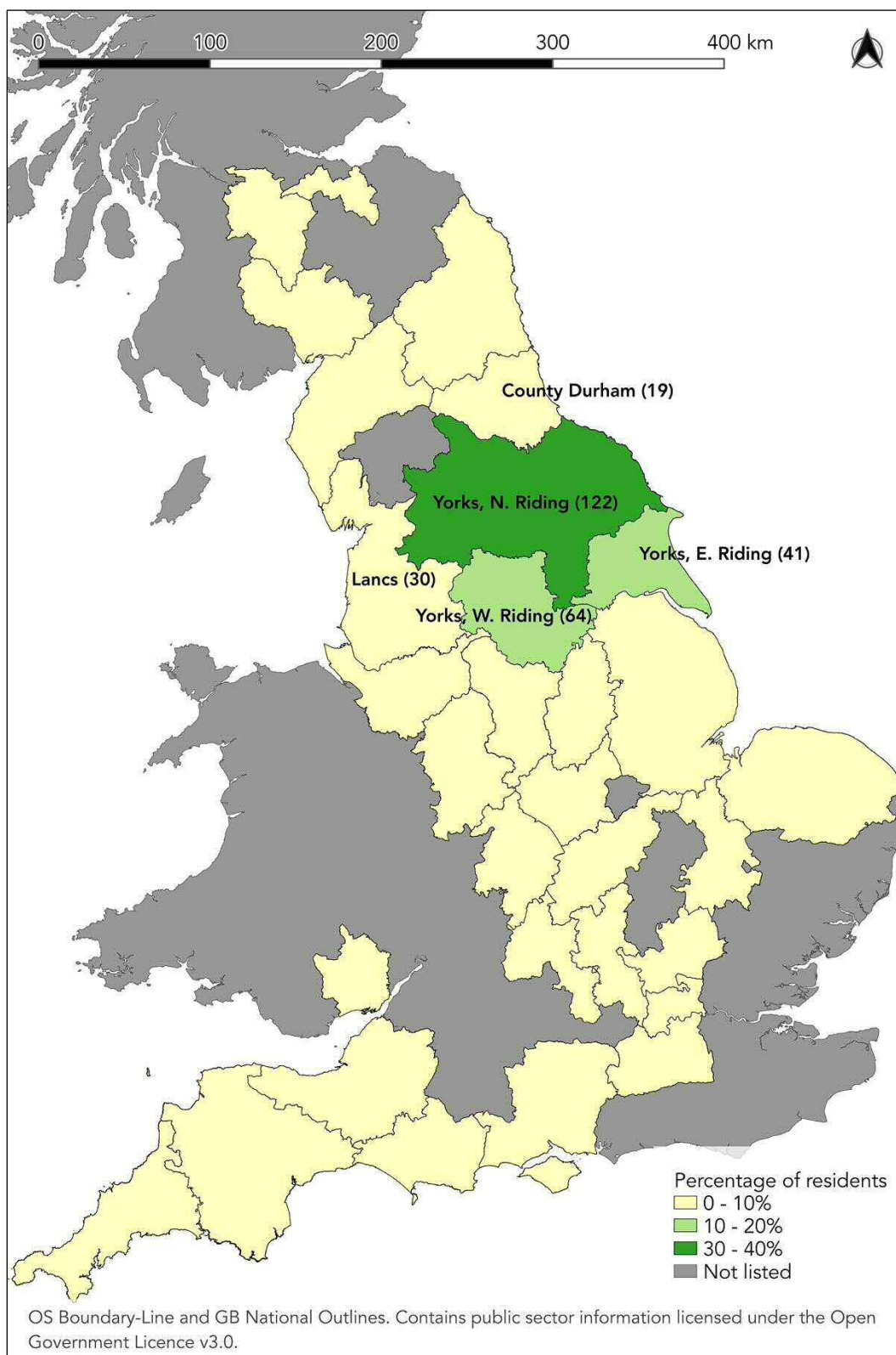
Fig. 26: **Map showing proportion of birthplaces (by historic county) of New Earswick residents (excluding children under ten) listed in the 1911 Census (TNA RG14/28382).**

of Yorkshire (Fig. 26), York accounting for 22%. The second most frequent county of origin was West Riding, at around 19% (64). While those born outside of York may have resided in the city before moving to New Earswick, 43% of the 72 families with children had no prior connection to York (determined from the birthplaces of children aged 15 or under at the time of the census). At the very least, it indicates that the majority had not been life-long residents in the city, though some may well have moved into the city later in life. This challenges the assumption that New Earswick was proposed as a direct solution to poverty among York's working-class residents, especially in districts such as Hungate. In turn, it suggests that the JRVT's reported lack of demand for housing was limited to York's residents specifically (cf. Waddilove 1954, 14).

Comparison with the 1939 Register allows for an understanding of the movement of residents within the community. Where individuals were identifiable in both the 1911 Census and the 1939 Register (based on name, other household members, and birth year, allowing for a reasonable margin of error of one year), it was possible to determine changes of address. Around 17% of people living in New Earswick in 1911 also appeared in the 1939 Register for the village (TNA RG101/3274–5). This is a relatively high proportion given the extent of New Earswick's development that took place in the intervening 28 years.

Some groups of houses retained a higher proportion of their occupants; nearly a quarter of those living in Ivy Place in 1911 were still residents in 1939 (not necessarily at the same address). This might otherwise imply that these areas were held in higher regard by some residents. However, most of those residents had moved to different streets by 1939. This instead implies a general level of satisfaction with village life and a desire to stay in the village under more suitable conditions. For example, a growing family may have benefited from moving to a larger house. Indeed, increasing the space inside homes at New Earswick was the only change mandated by the 1919 government housing recommendations; in other respects, New Earswick's housing already satisfied them (Sinclair 1983, 53). Conversely, it would have been possible for New Earswick's wealthier residents to move out of the village entirely, whereas for those

less well-off it was more feasible to move only within it—especially considering that Ivy Place homes were among the cheapest in the village.

Industry and occupation

One interpretation of New Earswick is that it was a continuation of the model industrial village tradition, which included settlements such as New Lanark, Saltaire, and Port Sunlight (Ashworth 1951; Darley 2007). In these earlier model villages, employment was almost always limited to a single industry, with residency usually restricted to employees of a particular company (usually also acting as the landlord). In the case of New Earswick, however, two distinct industries can be inferred from the employment data. Despite its close association and physical proximity to the Rowntree and Co. cocoa works, only a third of working individuals (32%, 57 of 180) were employed in chocolate production. These were almost certainly all under Rowntree's employment (Fig. 27). This is further implied by Joseph Rowntree's role as the village founder.
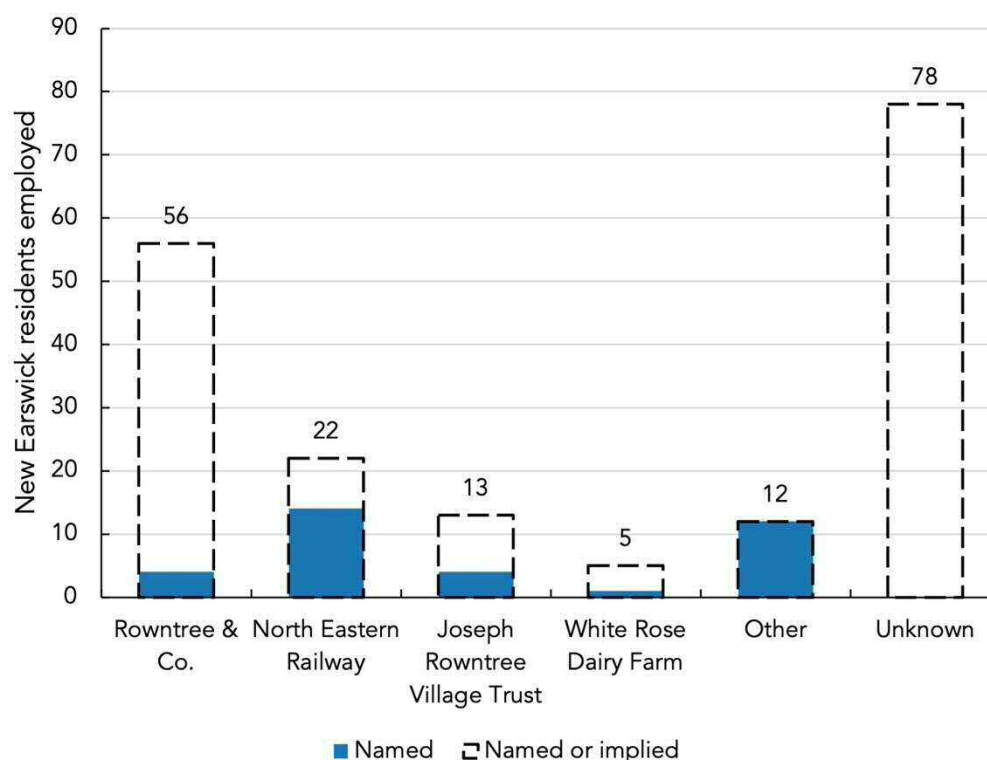
Fig. 27: **Chart showing employers named or otherwise implied in the 1911 Census for New Earswick and the number of residents employed by them (TNA RG14/28382).**

Nevertheless, the JRVT's accounts record a total of just 45 residents employed by either Rowntree and Co. or the JRVT in 1911 (BIA JRF/ 4/1/ 9/3/1/2). This discrepancy might be explained by some chocolate workers being employed elsewhere: for example, at Terry's, the other major employer in York's confectionery industry. Much more likely, given the distance from any other chocolate factory, the larger number recorded in the census may have reflected individuals employed temporarily who were omitted from the JRVT's annual statistics. Either way, the low overall proportion of chocolate workers demonstrates that early houses were not specially reserved for Rowntree's employees.

With cocoa production being one of York's main industries represented in the New Earswick census data, another, the railway industry, was reflected by the 12% (22) of working residents employed by the North Eastern Railway company (NER). With access to an existing railway station immediately to the south of New Earswick ('Earswick station' was closer to the new village than the smaller, older settlement of Earswick for
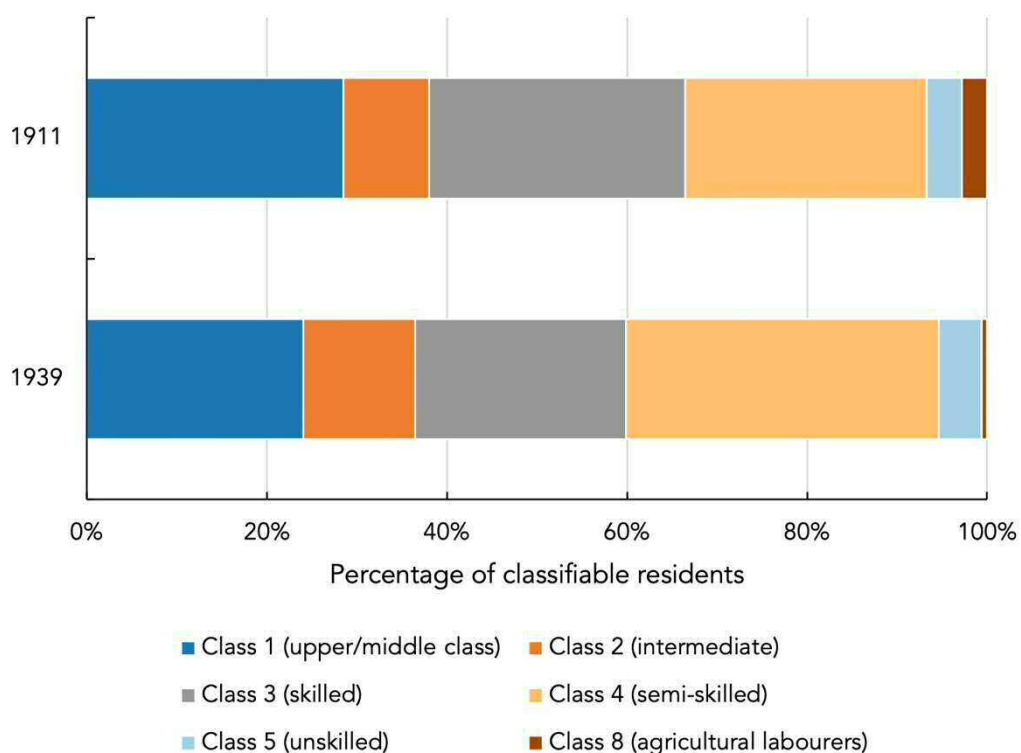
Fig. 28: **Chart showing occupational classes of employed New Earswick residents in 1911 (TNA RG14/28382) and 1939 (TNA RG101/3274–5), based on Registrar General (1913) classification.**
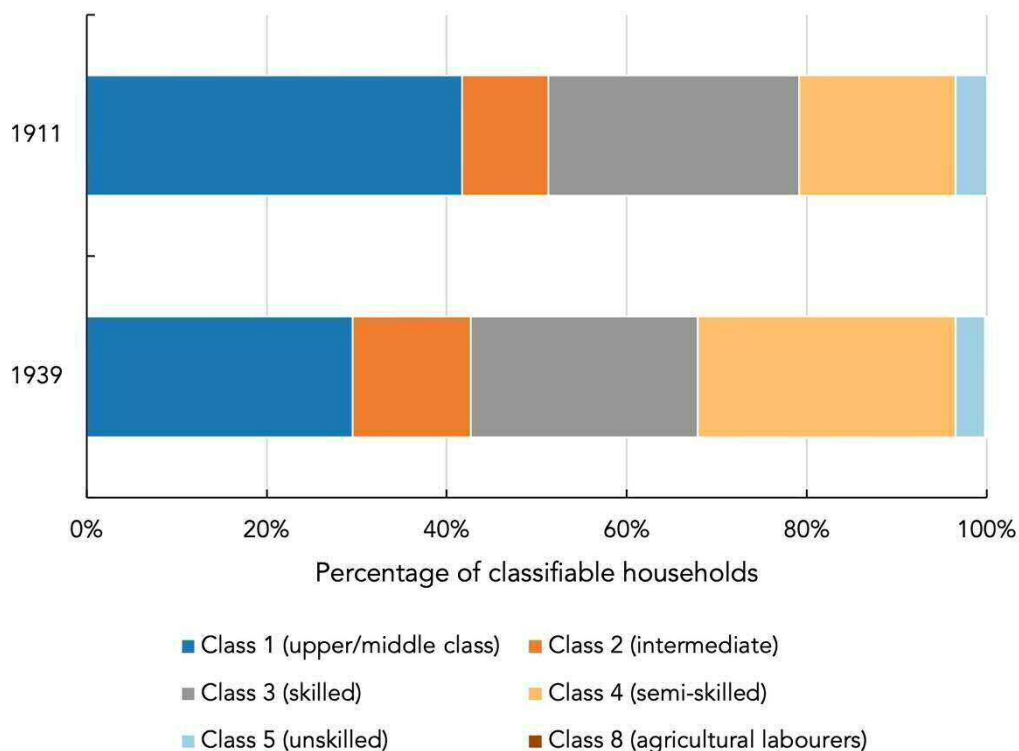
Fig. 29: **As above (Fig. 28) but for households (classified according to the highest-ranked occupational class in each household, excluding unclassifiable records).**

which it was named), half of the residents employed by the company were clerks. The abundance of NER clerical workers is representative of the New Earswick census data more widely. Of the 179 classifiable occupations listed in total, 38% (68) corresponded to the two highest occupational classes used in the Registrar General (1913) classification (Fig. 28). These were broadly categorised as middle-class positions and, crucially, included clerks. A further 28% (51) were classified as skilled or artisanal 'working-class' jobs (Class 3), with the remaining minority as semi-skilled or unskilled labourers.

If the data is analysed at the household level, however, a clearer pattern emerges. When households are grouped according to the highest-ranked occupational class among its members, a slight majority corresponded to 'middle-class' households (51%, 59 of 115 classifiable households, Fig. 29). This demonstrates that, while a degree of social mixing was apparent in the village, the village by no means served exclusively the poorer segments of the population, even by the standards of the time.

Taken at face value, this would have clearly undermined the stated aim of the village founders: the 'improvement of the condition of the working classes' (JRVT 1913, 3–4).

It is important to acknowledge that different classification systems produce different results. The relative increase in 'routine' clerical roles and decline of manual occupations in the first half of the twentieth century meant that, by the time of the 1951 Census, clerks were reclassified and effectively demoted to Class 3 (skilled workers). These were previously described as Class 1 (professionals, upper or middle classes) under the 1911 system (cf. Registrar General 1913, xli; GRO 1956). Even using the 1951 system, a significant proportion of New Earswick's households (20%) would have been defined as middle class: significant enough, at least, for a village supposedly intended as a working-class community.

With no national statistics on occupational class in the Registrar General's report, it is difficult to determine whether the proportion of working-class people at New Earswick was representative of the national distribution. It is therefore necessary to consider how the village founders themselves defined class. The influence of Seebohm Rowntree's *Poverty* publication on the JRVT's aims, through his role as a trustee, is evident in his definition of the working classes. This definition included all those who did not employ domestic servants, in contrast to the 'servant-keeping' middle classes (Rowntree 1908, 14). Households employing servants comprised 29% of York's population in 1901 (Rowntree 1908, 31). This can be contrasted with only a small number of New Earswick households (8%, 9) with servants. By this low standard, New Earswick would appear favourable towards York's working-class population. The JRVT itself adopted a similarly broad definition of the working classes, including all those who earned a living with 'their hands and their minds' (JRVT 1913, 3–4; see p.165). Such a definition undoubtedly included both clerks and unskilled labourers (more on the trustees' rationale for this is discussed in Chapter 5).

Perhaps surprisingly, the class composition of New Earswick did not substantially change between 1911 and 1939. The overall proportion of

middle-class households reduced only slightly (43%, 198 of 464 classifiable households (down from 51% in 1911), Fig. 29). This was despite the introduction of new industries setting up near the village, as well as wider demographic trends. One of the complications of using the same classification system for comparative analysis over a rapidly changing period is that it cannot easily account for such changes.

Household conditions

Data from the 1911 Census is not limited to the social or socio-economic domains. Crucial to this thesis, it also provides insight into the living conditions of households. For example, it is possible to describe the relative density of occupation in houses at New Earswick. Sixty-two per cent of residences (74 of 119) housed between two and four people (Fig. 30). Some spatial variations were apparent, with the highest average occupancy (people per residence) found in households on Western Terrace (5.38), and the lowest on Hawthorn Terrace (3.19). However, to gain a better understanding of living conditions, it is important to
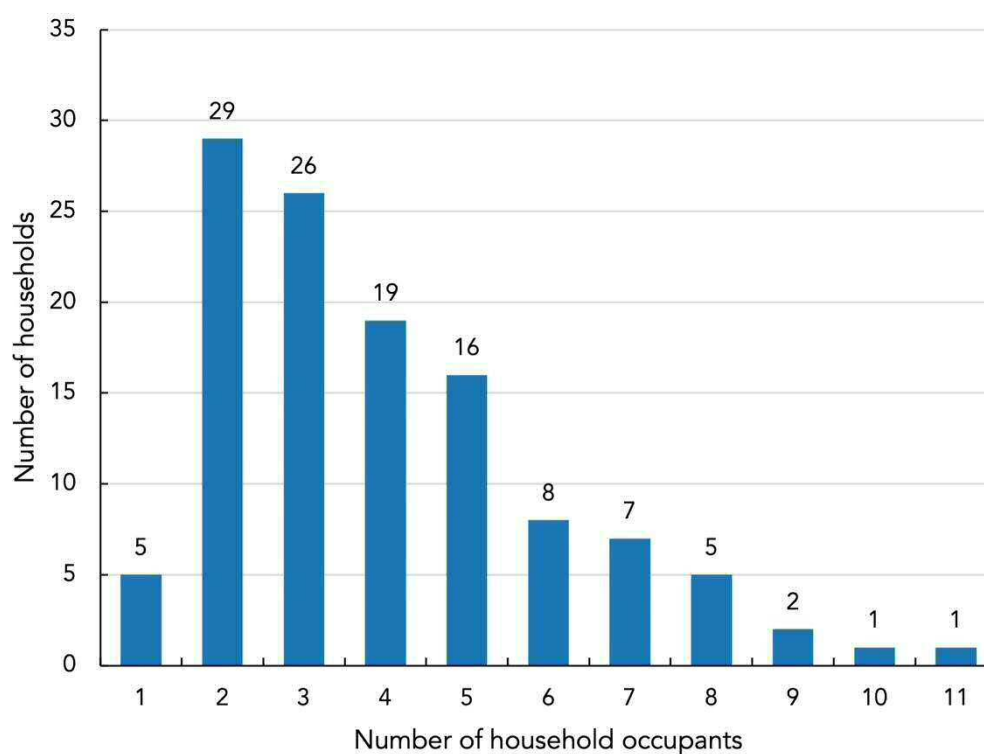
Fig. 30: **Chart showing number of people occupying New Earswick households in 1911 (TNA RG14/28382).**

account for the characteristics of these houses. This can be achieved with additional data on the number of rooms recorded in the 1911 Census for each house. In turn, this can be used to measure relative crowding rates, broadly defined as the number of people per room.

The following section uses a weighted measure for crowding, which was historically defined under the 1935 Housing Act, and which was based on the assumption that children occupied less space than adults (Rowntree 1941, 265). Accordingly, the nominal total number of people excludes children aged under one, with children aged one to ten counting as 0.5. This system has proven valuable in quantifying absolute overcrowding, definitions for which were based on the weighted rate.

The average weighted crowding rate across New Earswick was 0.71 (less than one adult person per room). Households on Western Terrace, by contrast, yielded a crowding rate of 1.09 and occupied an average of approximately four rooms (Fig. 31). Together, these figures indicate that some of the smallest houses were occupied by the largest families, complicating our understanding of how New Earswick's housing designs represented an 'improved' domestic environment. However, the number of rooms as an indicator of the relative level of comfort experienced by a family must be interpreted cautiously. Variation in room numbers was usually due to the presence or absence of a parlour, but it is questionable whether the addition of a parlour would have been recognised as a substantial benefit—compared with the substitution of a scullery with a full 'working' kitchen or having an additional bedroom, for example.

Moreover, what constituted an improved home was largely subjective. Notwithstanding the different perspectives of the trustees and their tenants, opinions may have varied even with the family. Household women may have valued having a kitchen, as a rationalised space for all cooking work (e.g. Ravetz 2011, 155), over having an additional bedroom, while the converse might be true of children in the household.

The 1939 Register indicates a very slight decrease in the mean number of household occupants at New Earswick, dropping from 3.97 to 3.67 people per house (TNA RG101/3274–5). The number of occupants was
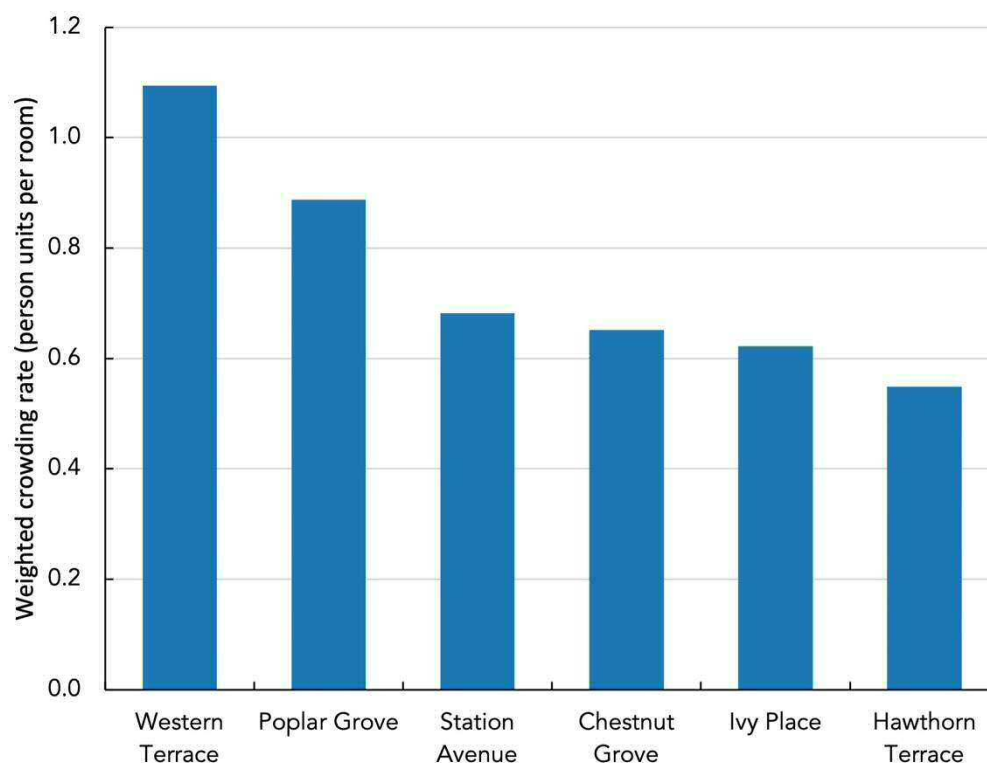
Fig. 31: **Chart showing weighted crowding rates (number of people divided by number of rooms, children under ten counting as 0.5, under one counting as 0) for New Earswick streets in 1911 (TNA RG14/28382).**

nonetheless slightly inflated by the presence of evacuees in the village at the outbreak of the Second World War. Houses on streets completed by 1911 were on average the least densely occupied. This is partly explained by the movement of families; by 1939, some then-adult children of the first residents had relocated to new homes elsewhere in the village. Members of 39 households identifiable in both the 1911 Census and the 1939 Register, represented by 55 household schedules in 1939, indicate that this was sometimes the case.

Yet, despite the overall reduction in occupancy levels, houses that were home to four or more people in 1939 represented a higher proportion (56%, 286) of the 510 occupied households compared with those enumerated in 1911 (50%, 59 of 119 households). This difference may relate to the type of tenants sought for the newer classes of housing, particularly those built with post-First World War government subsidies. Notably, archive records indicate that priority was increasingly given to families. In 1921, the JRVT requested that unmarried women be given

lower priority for housing because it was deemed more 'serious' for families to be without homes; this also coincided with a reduction in the number of three-bedroom bungalows proposed, which might have otherwise been suitable for older residents (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2). Implicit in this was an undercurrent of familial domesticity, driven by the middle-class reformist values of the trustees.

By contrast, the range of room types that featured in Parker and Unwin's house plans challenges the assumption that garden villages were necessarily designed to impose middle-class values on working-class residents. Most households enumerated in the census occupied four rooms (55%, 66), with a further 29% (35) occupying five (Fig. 32). Architectural plans and JRVT records indicate that a typical house included three bedrooms, a living room, WC, coal store, and scullery—the latter three of which would not be counted in the census (JRVT 1913; BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/1/4;). Based on this minimum standard of four rooms (three bedrooms plus a kitchen/living room) for New Earswick homes, it is evident that the majority were without parlours. Less commonly, houses
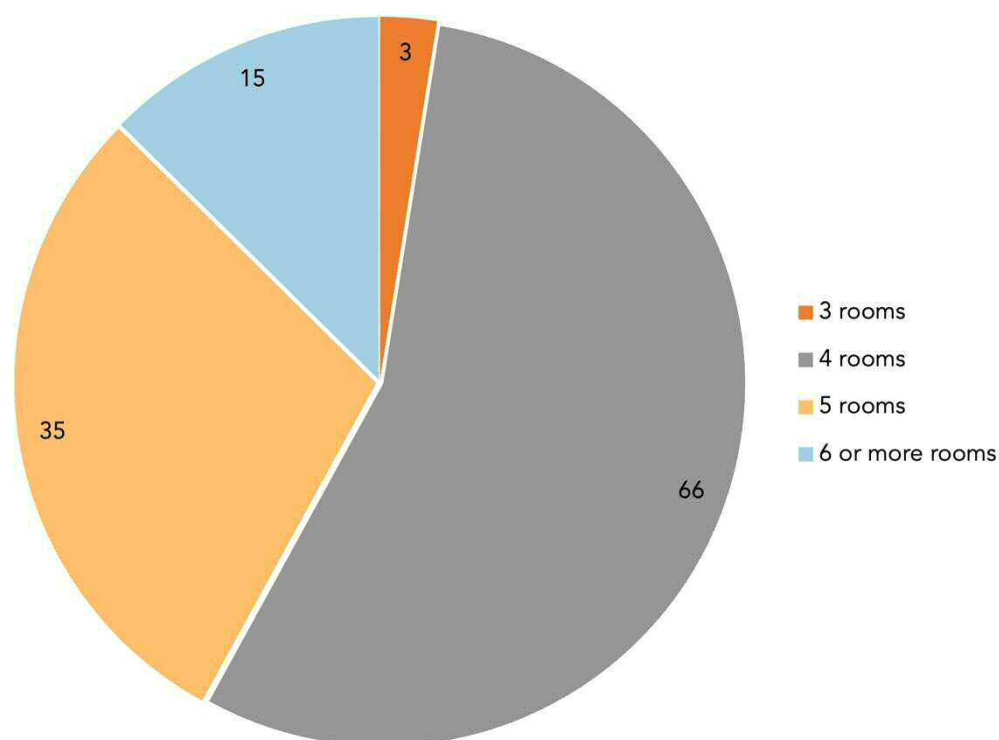
Fig. 32: **Pie chart showing proportion of households with differing numbers of rooms recorded in New Earswick in the 1911 Census (TNA RG14/28382).**

sometimes included separate kitchens, with or without a parlour. It was not until the interwar period that 'working kitchens' and separate living rooms became standard in new housing plans for the village (BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/2).

Conclusions

If New Earswick was indeed presented as 'the solution of the housing problem as it affects the working classes' (Appleton 1905, 554), then the demographic data alone suggests that it failed to achieve this, by the relative lack of traditional working-class residents in its early years. Although it was an industrial village, the nature of nearby employment differed from other northern cities dominated by heavy industry (Rowley 2006, 125–6). Even railway employees in New Earswick were predominantly clerks rather than labourers. This warrants further discussion of the social mix in the following chapters. It suffices here to remark that both the village's landscape form and its management constrained the kinds of people that were eligible and able to move there. Even so, the variety in housing types, plot sizes, and rents reflects a mix of residents, in terms of both geographic origins and employment. This contributed to its status as an 'elective' community, in which its residents had greater agency in choosing to reside there. Yet, it required the village to prioritise only those social groups considered amenable to reform, on a more selective basis.

The social context of the village symbolically resonated with the refined domestic setting offered by the landscape's planning and design. The decision to build at the West Huntington estate was no doubt influenced by its proximity to the Rowntree cocoa works, although the village also accommodated non-employees. Nevertheless, its 'green', rustic setting— antithetical to industrial cities—was enhanced by its recreation grounds, adequate gardens, cottage-style buildings, and informal street plan. This was further preserved by the presence of the White Rose farm. Moreover, a relatively low housing density was accompanied by a low population density, which again might be regarded as more typical of rural villages. Even though the majority of New Earswick's residents were unlikely to have ever experienced the levels of squalor reported in York's 'slum'

districts, the village represented an attempt to encourage participation in a more respectable and healthier community. The ongoing management of the community and the physical environment of New Earswick stands in contrast to Woodlands, the subject of the following chapter. The wider role of respectability in the reform agenda for both villages and its relationship with the landscape is addressed later in Chapter 5.

4 Woodlands: 'The most healthy and beautiful colliery village'

In contrast to the socially mixed community of New Earswick, Woodlands was intended for the families of a specific category of workers: those in coal mining. The broad distribution of social classes identified in the former was thus much less pronounced in the latter. Because of the heavy nature of extractive industries such as coal mining, Woodlands might be assumed to contrast fundamentally with New Earswick in terms of its landscape and its demography. But although the demography and landholding pattern of the two villages were different, their planned form and landscape setting remained somewhat comparable: both having emerged from the garden city movement. Nevertheless, Woodlands represented a specific contribution towards the housing of mining families (a group for which pleasant and healthy surroundings may not have been as readily accessible), rather than a general contribution to the problem of working-class housing. Following the same structure as the previous chapter, this chapter illustrates some of the material and social implications of Woodlands' rapid development, its specialised working population, and subsequent changes in ownership and management. It concludes with a brief comparison of the two case studies.

4.1 A landscape biography of the Woodlands estate

The model village of Woodlands was founded on part of the Brodsworth estate at Adwick-le-Street, four miles north of Doncaster, South Yorkshire (originally West Riding). The Thellusson family had acquired the estate at the end of the eighteenth century (Lee 1898, 109). A century later, its total extent amounted to 7,900 acres, making it the third-largest estate in
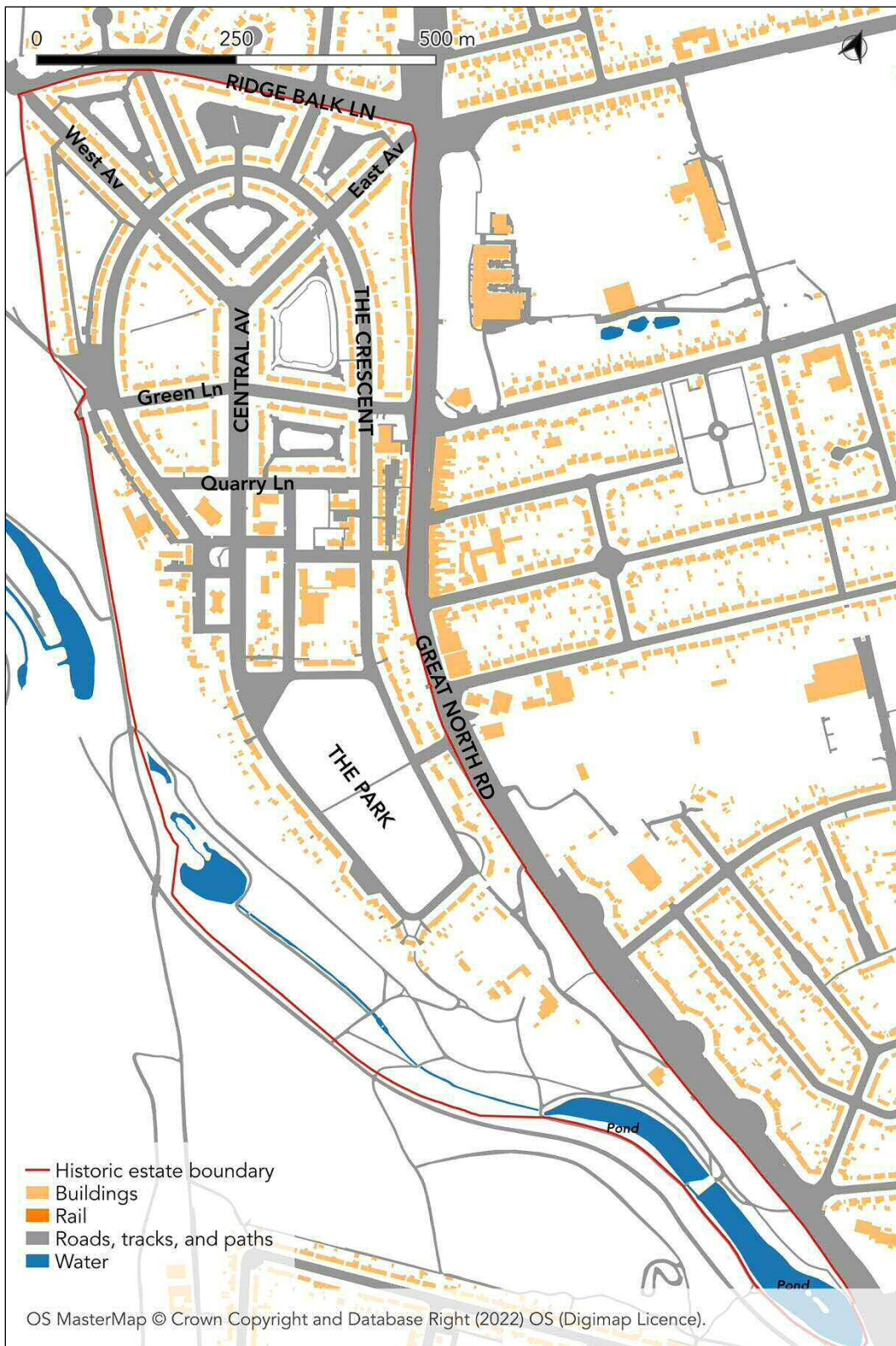
Fig. 33: **Map showing layout and extent of the Woodlands estate as leased to the colliery company, the boundary being the limit of the study area.**

Fig. 34: **Woodlands Mansion (as it was originally known, later becoming the Brodsworth Club or Institute, surviving now as Woodlands Park Club) with surrounding parkland south-east of the main village, both retained in the scheme.** © **Author.**

the Doncaster area (Bateman 1883, 438). In 1905, Charles Thellusson (of Brodsworth Hall) agreed to lease part of his land to the newly formed Brodsworth Main Colliery Company, chaired by Arthur Markham, for coal mining purposes (SCA COAL/DAC/1/1/2). Thellusson's agreement was made in the context of long-term agricultural decline, beginning in the late-nineteenth century. This prompted major English landowners to seek alternative means of generating income, including mineral extraction (Hall 1984, 30; see also Howkins 2003, 58). In 1907, as extraction was about to begin, Thellusson leased additional land for the creation of a colliery village, under a separate agreement with the company (DA DD/BROD/4/40; DD/BROD/4/42; Fig. 33). This village, originally known as New Brodsworth, was later named Woodlands after a small, pre-existing mansion that occupied the site (Fordham 2009, 20; Fig. 34).

The village is situated on the edge of a limestone plateau, which rises gently from east to west but with a sharp drop to a ridge along the south-
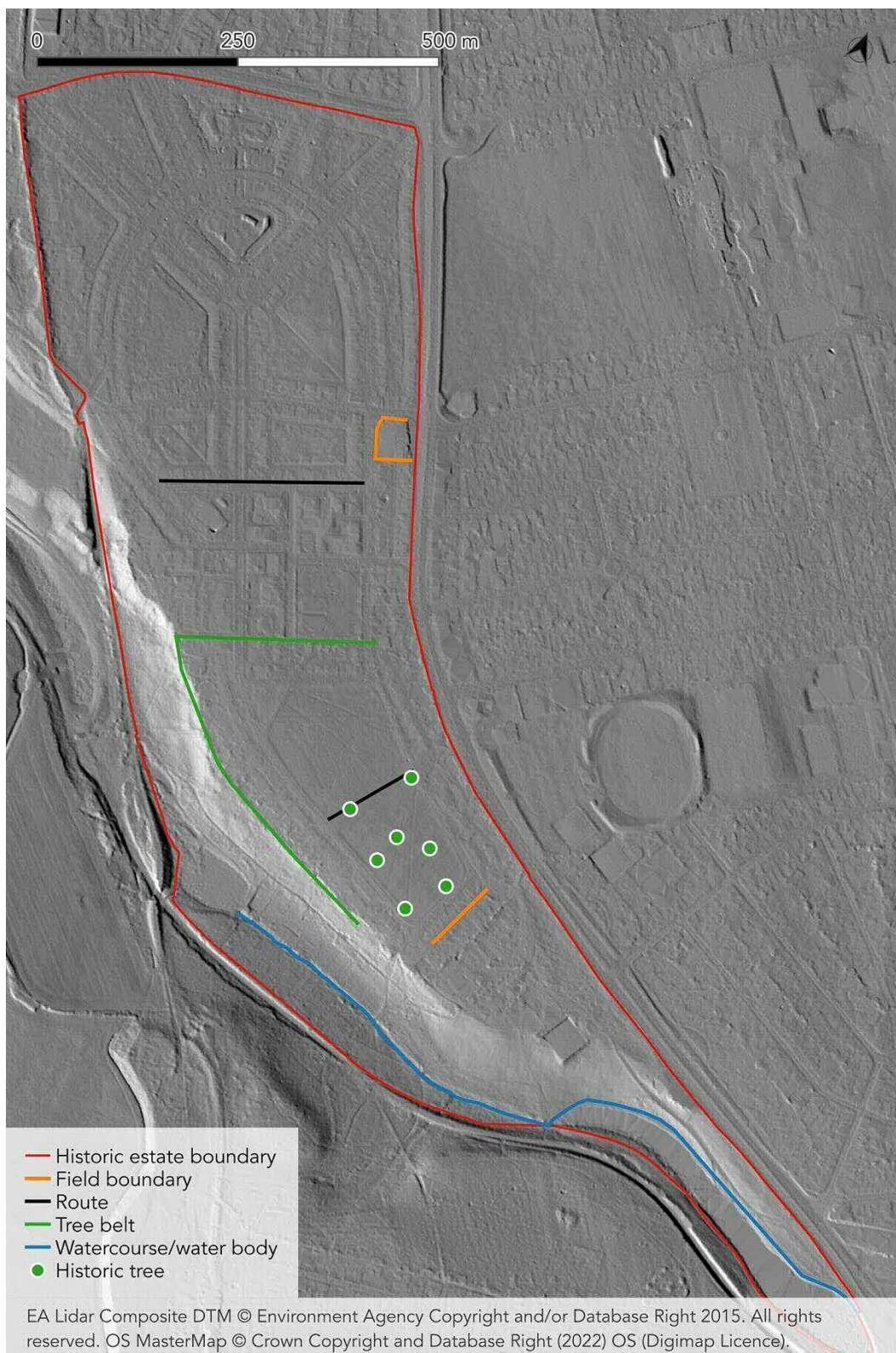
Fig. 35: **Hill-shaded digital terrain model of Woodlands, annotated with pre-twentieth-century features 'preserved' in the site plan.**

western boundary (Fig. 35). At the time of its creation, the land was predominantly agricultural but included a parkland that served as the grounds of Woodlands Mansion. The mansion itself is likely of eighteenth-century origins (Miller 1804). Its grounds included a fishpond and were surrounded by a belt of trees, as well as more substantial plantations. The village was bounded by a Roman road ('the Ridge' or 'Roman Ridge') to the west, Ridge Balk Lane to the north, and the Great North Road to the east, which connected with Doncaster. The site was bisected east to west by a minor road, Green Lane, and included a small disused quarry. In addition to the eighteenth-century mansion and its various outbuildings, a pair of nineteenth-century houses known as the Woodlands Cottages stood on the eastern boundary. In contrast to New Earswick, little evidence of early field boundaries within the village has been preserved in the extant built environment.

In terms of the wider landscape, the village is approximately 1.5 miles east of Brodsworth Hall, Thellusson's nineteenth-century country house. Thellusson was the majority landowner in his parish of Brodsworth and in the parish of Adwick-le-Street, in which Woodlands was located. The once-small village of Adwick-le-Street lies less than one mile north-east of the model village. The presence of coal in the vicinity was initially identified through a borehole at nearby Hampole but this location was found unsuitable for extraction due to a geological fault (Fordham 2009, 3). The location of Woodlands was therefore primarily determined by the underlying geology, with the colliery situated immediately west of the village, beyond a tree plantation known as Terry Holt.

The pattern of development before 1940

The Barnsley coal seam was reached at Brodsworth Main Colliery in 1907, at an unexpectedly shallow depth of around 595 yards (*GCTP* 1908, 125–6). Until this time, the workforce consisted primarily of pit sinkers, a highly specialised mining occupation, who were accommodated in temporary wooden huts near to the pit (Dunne 1913, 184). Work on the village had already begun in the same year but, after having reached the coal seam early, it progressed at an accelerated pace. The plan was laid

out to designs by Percy Houfton, who had previously designed a model colliery village at Creswell in Derbyshire (Gaskell 1979, 446).

In the first phase of construction (1907–1908), around 120 houses were built in the area known as the Park. This area had previously served as the western grounds of Woodlands Mansion (Fig. 36). The eastern grounds and the mansion itself were repurposed as a club and institute for workers at the colliery. The central area of the Park, west of the mansion, was retained as a ten-acre green, with houses built around it. The inclusion of the green meant that a very low density of five houses per acre was maintained. The houses were in a modest arts and crafts style, with around twenty different external configurations. Most of these shared an identical architectural 'grammar', with fewer unique types than at New Earswick. Their key design characteristics included front gables, dormer windows, a mixture of both hipped and gabled roofs, and a roughcast finish (Fig. 37). Generally built in blocks of between two and five, the plans sometimes included bays set forward or back from the rest of the group for more visual variety. Occasionally, entire blocks of houses

Fig. 36: **The Park, Woodlands as it appears today. The name applies to both the large green and the surrounding street. © Author.**

Fig. 37: **Typical example of a Woodlands house, designed by Percy Houfton. © Author.**

were also set back from the street. This feature provided a small grassy 'bay' between clusters of houses. The communal bay lawn later became common in mining villages built by the Industrial Housing Association (IHA) during the 1920s (Hay and Fordham 2017, 34).

Variation in the displacement of the houses from the Park's roadside also allowed for the preservation of historic trees (Fig. 38). These were in addition to a few incidental trees in the central green and a woodland belt surrounding the area. The latter delineated the parkland on the west side of the former mansion. Although greenery was significant in public spaces, there was provision for small amounts of greenery in private spaces. Boundaries between garden plots in the Park relied on soft landscaping with hedges and shrubs, with a grass verge between the footpath and the roadway around the green's perimeter. However, historic maps indicate that only a minority of homes had back gardens. A 1930s OS map shows these to have been detached from the property. Boundaries were not depicted for some, which makes determining the precise number difficult. Nonetheless, an estimated 30 to 50 properties in

Fig. 38: **A 'bay' lawn in the Park, created by setting a block of houses back from the roadside, in this case likely implemented to retain the large tree in the middle, which appears to have stood before development began. © Author.**

the Park had access to a private rear garden. For most residents, the front garden was therefore the only private green space available.

The second phase (*c.*1908–1910) of the village's development took place in the northern half of the site, in an area known as 'the Field' (Fig. 39). This progressed at a faster pace still, with the next 514 houses built within 15 months and at a higher density of 11 to the net acre. As a result, most of the village was completed before the end of 1910. The street pattern in the Field is more strongly geometric, in contrast to the irregular quadrilateral of the Park. Its defining feature was a sweeping horseshoe-shaped street, the Crescent, with Central Avenue at its centre and linked by other radiating avenues in a pattern reminiscent of Ebenezer Howard's early diagrams for his garden city. The street intersections form ten distinct blocks of land, known as 'the squares'.

Housing in the northern part of Woodlands followed the same typology as that of the Park, albeit with slightly reduced variety. Hipped roofs were

Fig. 39: **Housing in the Field area in the north of Woodlands. Left, front view of East Avenue from the street. Right, green open space forming a 'square' behind the houses. © Author.**

used almost exclusively on blocks of houses with a northern aspect, likely because they reduced the shade cast by the house onto the front (and only) garden. Some limited variation in the streetscape was provided by housing types with forward-projecting bays. However, each block was oriented parallel to the street, with none set forward or back as in the Park. An exception to this was a small number of detached houses, marked as 'lodges' and angled away from the street, which were located around the village boundary. Such houses stand at four of the seven road junctions into the village, including a pair near the edge of the Park (Fig. 40).

Only the street frontage of the squares was used for housebuilding, with the remaining 'backland' left as open greens (Fig. 39). Unlike the Park, it was the rear rather than the front of the Field's houses that looked onto each green. In addition, while a few of the Park's properties included detached rear gardens, none in the Field did so. Once again, greenery was more greatly emphasised in public rather than private spaces. The visual impact of the wide streets is today softened by tree planting along the roadside verges. Central Avenue, as the widest street, was designed with a double row of trees on each side, although historic evidence exists only for a single row (Fig. 41).

The village's public buildings and community facilities occupied the space between the two main housing areas. This consisted of a more regular, rectilinear grid, with each block of land reserved for a specific

Fig. 40: **Early-twentieth-century photograph by E. L. Scrivens, showing the former gated entrance into the Park from Great North Road, with one of a pair of 'lodge' houses to the right. Courtesy of WCHA.**
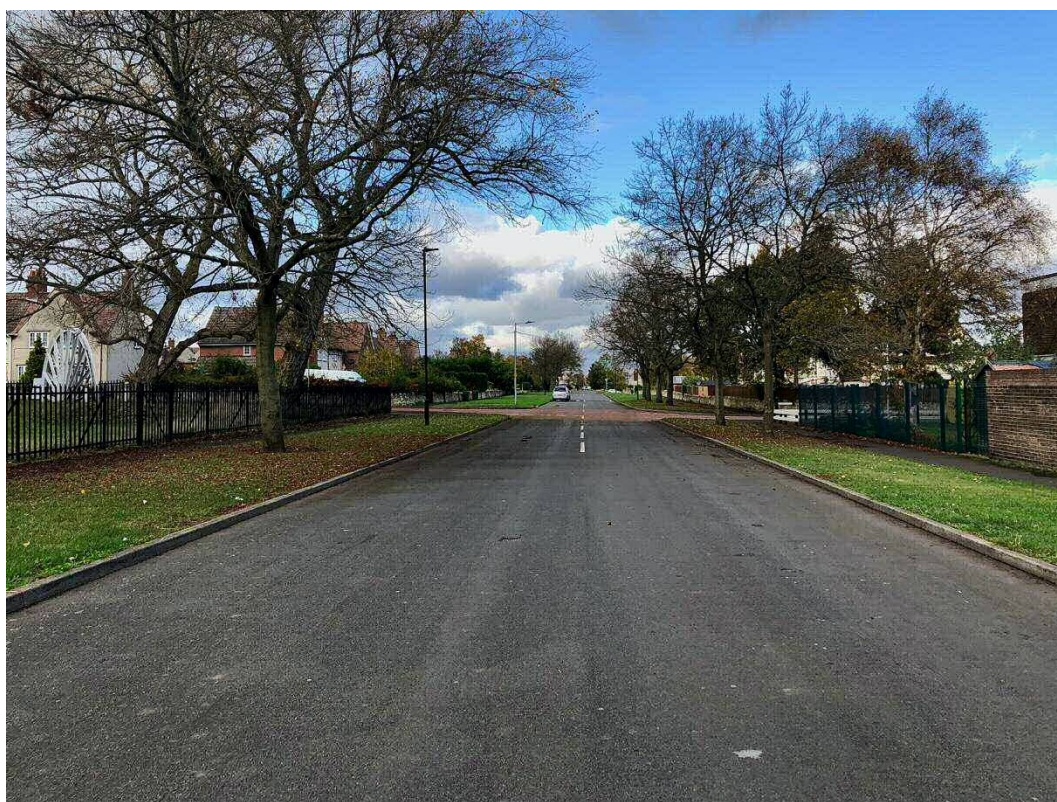
Fig. 41: **View north along Central Avenue in the Field area. Note the vanishing point and lack of 'visual closure' that Parker and Unwin sought at New Earswick. © Author.**

building or associated group of buildings. These included two Methodist chapels (Primitive and Wesleyan, *c.*1909), the Anglican Church of All Saints (1913), the village schools (*c.*1913), and a timber mission hut (1908, since demolished; DA DD/BROD/20/65). A large department-style cooperative store also served the village, accompanied by a pair of houses reserved for its storekeepers. Some parcels of land remained free of buildings for several decades, including the former site of the quarry and two squares designated as public formal gardens. Within the first five years of its development, Woodlands had nonetheless acquired the accoutrements of a complete village community.

The village in 1909

In contrast to New Earswick, Woodlands is less extensively documented in the Land Valuation survey field books. Most housing entries included only the name of the head of the household, the rent, and the annual values, the latter of which were probably copied from the local rate assessment books. Descriptions of the properties, assessed values for individual houses, figures for area, and sketches are all virtually absent. This might have been due to the necessity of speeding up the survey process nationally once it had fallen behind schedule, around 1912 (Short 1997, 68). However, in the case of Woodlands, this might have also been due to the more complex tenure. Because the land was leased by the Brodsworth estate to the colliery company, the limited details provided for each of the Woodlands houses may have been enough to satisfy the needs of the valuation officers.

The complex pattern of land tenure at Woodlands was reflected by the structure of the field books. A single hereditament accounted for the majority of the village by area, documented as 126 acres, of which 88 were used for housing. This corresponded to the area occupied by the colliery company, the lease for which was recorded as commencing on 31 July 1909 (TNA IR58/27288–98). Valuation assessments for most of the village's houses were subsumed under this single entry. However, the survey shows that not all land within the village perimeter was leased to the company. For example, the site of a proposed school appears to have

been owned outright by West Riding County Council. Thus, including these additional parcels, the entire village occupied a total of 141 acres.

The Land Valuation data confirms that historic housing density was lowest in the Park, at approximately five to the acre. The Field area, referred to as 'the Flat' in the valuation survey books, was at a slightly higher density of eight houses to the acre. It should be noted, however, that the field books did not distinguish the open greens to the rear of houses in the Field, nor the central green of the Park, from actual housing land. If these areas were excluded, the figures for housing density would certainly be higher. Beyond housing, the Woodlands estate included 28 acres described as recreational or open spaces; these represent the mansion parklands to the east. This was alongside additional land beyond the estate boundary, which the colliery company either leased separately or owned outright—including 8 acres of allotments and 45 acres of open space between Woodlands and Highfields farm to the south. This latter portion became the site of Highfields colliery village. An approximate date for the construction of this additional village is thus provided: after the date of the Land Valuation assessment (nominally 1909) but before the 1911 Census, which recorded several households living at Highfields (TNA RG14/28221–2).

The lack of building descriptions in the valuation data for Woodlands makes it difficult to ascertain the condition of houses and their grounds. Cottage rents were limited to a four per cent return on the rent paid to Thellusson, after building and maintenance costs were accounted for (Abercrombie 1910b, 111). Analysis of rents recorded in the survey shows that houses fell into three rental categories: let at £13, £14 9*s*., and £16 5*s*. per annum. These rents exactly correspond to those listed in Abercrombie's (1910b, 112) contemporary report on the village: non-parlour cottages, parlour cottages, and cottages with a parlour and bathroom. This indicates that there was otherwise little variation in accommodation beyond the basic cottage types. By contrast, a similar range of accommodation at New Earswick was subject to a wider range of rents. At Woodlands, there also appears to have been less spatial variation in rents. This might reflect the fact that Woodlands was built over approximately three years, whereas New Earswick developed more

gradually. As such, house rents for the latter were somewhat dependent on fluctuations in building costs.

Despite the scant survey information for much of the miners' housing, details of some of the larger properties in the village were provided. The eighteenth-century Woodlands Mansion was described as a 'stone built mansion in what was, before the colliery came, a beautiful situation' (TNA IR58/27288), indicating that the colliery was deemed by the valuation officer to be a negative influence on the existing landscape. This directly contradicted the supposedly 'healthy and beautiful' environment that the new village promised for its residents, as contemporaries indicated (*GCTP* 1908). Details of prospective building sites were also provided: the village church, the Wesleyan chapel, the schools, and the colliery agent's house. The latter was situated away from the main village, close to the colliery entrance (lying within Brodsworth parish rather than Adwick-le-Street). The valuation officer explained that 'Mr Thellusson strongly objected … but the [company] wanted a house near at hand for managers', although the basis of this objection is unclear (TNA IR58/27288).

Subsequent development of Adwick-le-Street

Within the model village, there is little evidence of major changes during the interwar years. The Land Valuation survey for Woodlands was conducted before the completion of a row of houses between the Crescent and the Great North Road, apparently intended for colliery deputies and other workers with a more senior role in the mine (Fordham 2009, 27). By 1921, 28 such houses had been built at a much higher density, exceeding 16 to the acre (Fig. 42). These were of a single type, combining elements of arts and crafts and neo-Georgian styles, such as timbered gable fronts with a shallower angle than the high-pitched rooflines that characterised the earlier style. The repetitive use of this type in rows of up to 12 (in blocks of four) is visually distinct from the variety in the rest of the village. The front gardens of these houses, along with all others in the Field area, were furnished with enclosing stone walls. These surrounded each block, sometimes replacing earlier border fencing. The reason for this additional landscaping is unclear. It is possible that it provided greater visual unity and prevented houses from

Fig. 42: **Later houses at Woodlands, completed 1911–1921, with a mixture of arts and crafts and neo-Georgian influences. Note the low stone walls, which enclose almost every block of houses in the Field area. © Author.**

becoming visually 'lost' in the landscape, an impression that Houfton (1910, 296) blamed on the wide streets.

Beyond the model village, the surrounding area became increasingly suburbanised. This was chiefly driven by two housing schemes (Fig. 43). The first of these, known as Woodlands Central, was situated on the opposite side of the Great North Road and was built by the local authority (*c.*1920). The second, Woodlands East (*c.*1923), was built as a mining village by the newly formed IHA, an association of colliery directors that received government subsidies to build mining villages across the country (Tudor Walters 1927). A third, smaller scheme, Highfields, was completed by the IHA in the 1920s, having been initiated by the Brodsworth company but interrupted by the First World War. These housing schemes were accompanied by the introduction of small businesses and shops along the Great North Road, including a public house and cinema directly opposite the model village. These may have competed with the additional facilities provided in Woodlands itself, which by then included a village
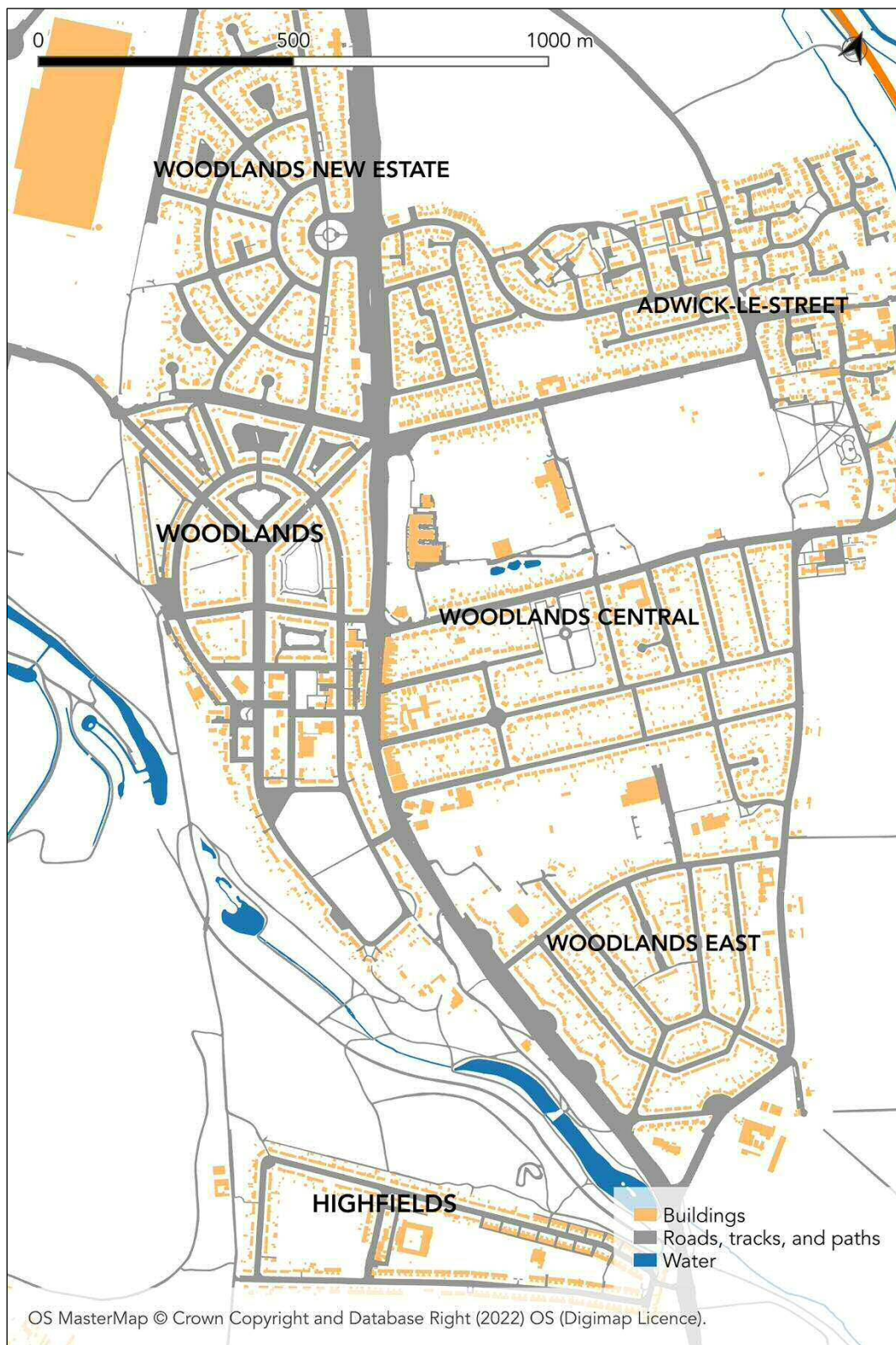
Fig. 43: **Map of later suburban developments surrounding Woodlands Model Village.**

hall funded by Markham's sister Violet Carruthers (herself lauded as a Liberal reformer), a dedicated marketplace, and a Salvation Army hall (*Hull Daily Mail* 1919).

Post-war development

The Adwick-le-Street district continued to expand after the Second World War. The most substantial change in the landscape was the creation of an additional housing estate north of the model village, known as the Woodlands New Estate (Fig. 43). Like the Field area of the model village, the central feature of the street plan was a series of radial avenues, this time crossing two semi-circular roads. Changes within the boundaries of the model village itself, however, were relatively minor and mostly affected the central civic area. Before the 1980s, a series of flats was built at the site of the former marketplace. More recently, several bungalows and two-storey houses were built south of the church; this scheme also included shops to replace the demolished cooperative store. These buildings are in a range of designs, though being mostly finished in unrendered brick they bear little resemblance to the village's original cottages, which were roughcast.

Following the nationalisation of the coal industry in 1946, ownership of the village was transferred to the National Coal Board (NCB), along with numerous other colliery villages across the country. The NCB reluctantly continued to manage such villages until its privatisation in the 1980s, after which much of the housing stock was transferred to local authorities, as was the case at Woodlands (Hay and Fordham 2017, 52). As Sables (2017, 996–7) observes, residents of Woodlands effectively remained as tenants of a reluctant landlord, due to the village's acquisition by a 'financially stretched' council.

Despite initially surviving the colliery closures of the mid-1980s, Brodsworth Main closed in 1990 (*Financial Times* 1990). The site has since been converted into a communal park, Brodsworth Community Woodlands, but the closure's impact on the social and economic landscape of Woodlands was profound—not least in terms of unemployment and underinvestment (Sables 2017, 996–7). The

devastating effects are materially visible today: for example, in the poorly maintained condition of some of the houses, including a few that have been boarded up, and others showing visible signs of wear in the form of crumbling render. Recent regeneration projects led by St Leger Homes, an arms-length body of Doncaster Council, have sought to address some of these issues. A 2008 scheme introduced the first private back gardens to most of the squares in the north of the village, which was accompanied by landscaping of the greens to the rear (Fordham 2009, 28). As with New Earswick, some of the greenery has been lost to recent development, including the creation of access roads. However, the characteristic low density remains, as does much of the green space, with 'natural' land accounting for almost half (47%, 67 of 142 acres) of the gross acreage of the Woodlands estate.

Contemporary landscape character

As with New Earswick in the previous chapter, Woodlands Model Village has been divided into several units of land, numbering 29 within the model village boundary (Fig. 44). Owing to the short chronology of construction, and the need to keep areas to a manageable size, it was necessary to place more emphasis on site topography and historically defined areas of development. For example, the Field's original houses were all built in less than two years. As a result, this section was divided into separate units based on their delineation in the original architectural plan—each having been assigned a separate block number by the architect (DA DD/BROD/20/59).

Almost all houses today exhibit some form of modification. Modifications range from paint colour variations, or render finished to resemble stonework, to more substantial porches, conservatories, and other extensions. Some front doors have been blocked up, suggesting an occasional preference for using the rear door accessed from the respective square's central green rather than the street (Fig. 45). Blocking up one of the doorways might have also provided additional usable space inside. Despite the variety among the original housing designs, the various types were distributed evenly throughout the village. This creates an impression of uniformity across different streets. On walking through
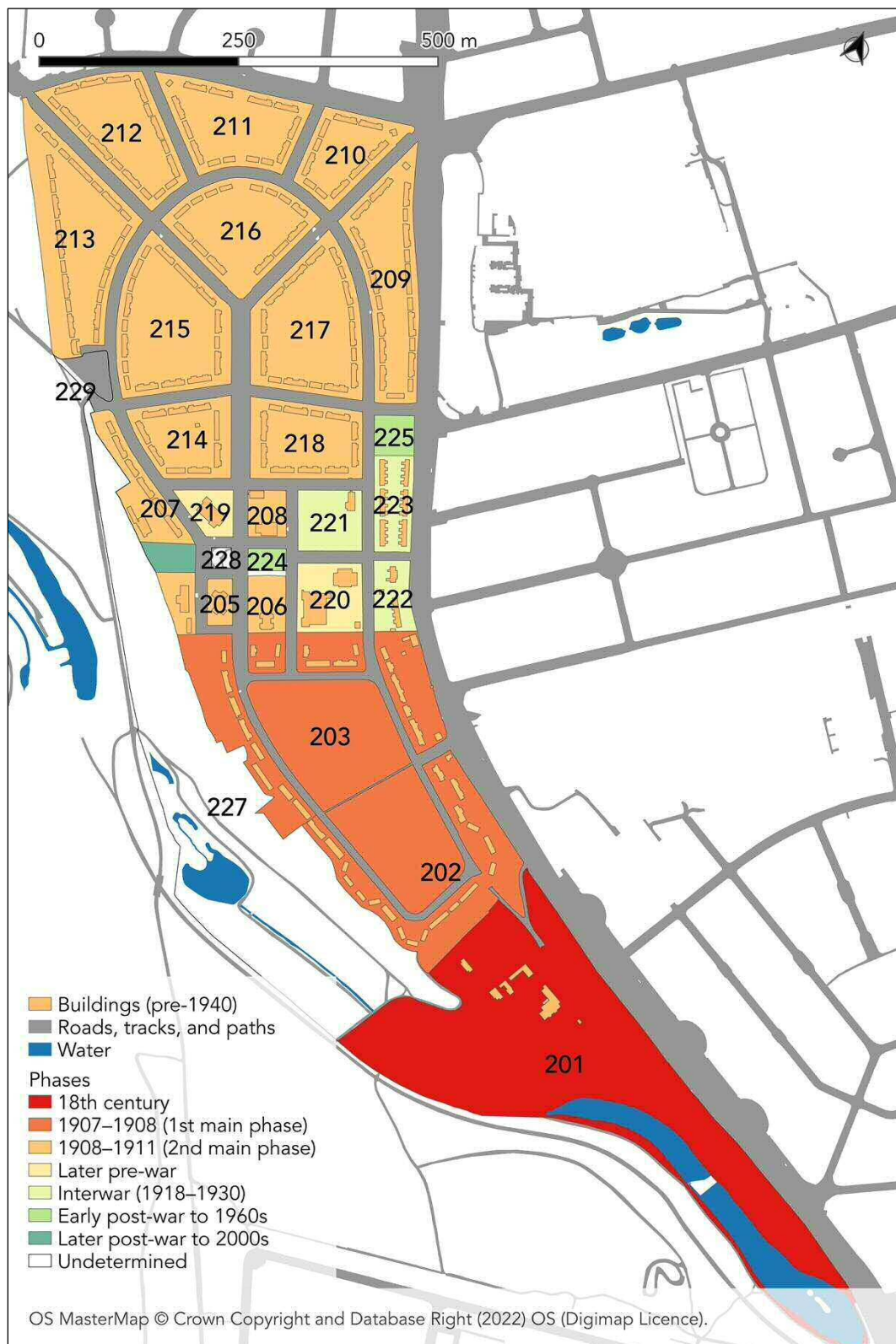
Fig. 44: **Map of interpretative units devised for Woodlands, showing main phases and overall pattern of development.**

Fig. 45: **Houses on West Avenue, featuring a blocked-up front door and implying a main access route from the open square to the rear. A patio door may have provided additional access and permitted more light into the main living spaces. © Author.**

the north end of the village, one is also struck by the impact of the plan's geometric form. With few natural landmarks or distinctive buildings, the sweeping curve of the Crescent—the dominant road in this area— similarly imparts little landscape legibility. The Crescent has the additional effect of requiring pedestrians to circumnavigate a large area before reaching the next street.

For this reason, the village is more easily navigable on foot by using the squares to the rear of the houses, many of which now include paved footpaths across the greens. The extent to which this use of the landscape was encouraged by the original architect cannot be ascertained. Even without the existence of the modern paths, it is reasonable to suggest that early residents would have sometimes navigated the village using these 'back regions'—at least in the summer months when the grass would have stayed mostly dry. Nevertheless, the communal greens have an ambiguous, partly public, partly private quality, as if they are recognised as an extension of residents' private gardens.

Fig. 46: **High fences to the front of several houses compensate for the lack of privacy offered by the low stone walls.** © Author.

The Field area notably lacks what Unwin (1911, 235) referred to as visual closure, a fault that Woodlands' architect himself later admitted (Houfton 1910, 296). This is particularly evident in the straight roads, such as Central, East, and West avenues, which provide little variation in terms of sight-lines. Looking north down Central Avenue, the view extends between a pair of houses to each side of a path, rather than terminating with a single central block of houses (Fig. 41, above). This deviates from the Park, where the interior corners of the site were furnished with clusters of cottages angled to provide a visual focal point. A further contrast between the two main housing areas is in the dominant form of landscaping. Hedges are more prominent in the front gardens of the Park, while those of the Field include a larger number of fences; these are often situated behind the enclosing stone walls around each block and suggest a concern with privacy (Fig. 46).

4.2 Historical demography

The 1911 Census data relating to Woodlands was gathered from two enumeration districts, the first comprising only the Field area to the north, and the second including the Park and parts of the Highfields development to the south. Only properties within the leasehold boundary of the model village were included in the analysis. The colliery village of Highfields, which was contemporary with the model village, was therefore excluded, while the surrounding developments of Woodlands Central and Woodlands East had not been built at this time.

The entire leasehold area of Woodlands amounted to 136 acres (DA DD/ BROD/20/58), marginally larger than New Earswick's 126 acres. However, there was a marked difference in population size and in the number of houses, both of which were significantly greater at Woodlands. In 1911, Woodlands comprised 700 households, 126 of which were in the Park to the south-east. In total, the census accounted for a population of 3,878. This substantial population reflects the rapid speed of development, noted by contemporaries of the garden city movement (e.g. Abercrombie 1910b, 112; Culpin 1913, 46–7). With no evidence of vacant houses, the village was already at maximum capacity by the time the census was taken, three to four years after the development commenced.

Demographically, around 54% (2,094) of people were identified as male (Fig. 47). This is potentially a reflection of the village's male-dominated coal mining industry. Certainly, no women in the village were recorded as engaged in mining work. Carr (2001) notes that a significant number of women in northern England's coalfield communities often worked in above-ground roles. However, Markham's correspondence and Commons addresses reveal his efforts to prevent the employment of women in mining work, making it unlikely that women worked for his company at Brodsworth (Hansard 1911; *The Times* 1911, 12).

Somewhat surprisingly, as much as 45% (1,753) of the population were under the age of 16. Given that Woodlands was not the only place of residence for colliery workers (with others living in Highfields, less than half a mile to the south), it raises the question of tenant selection:
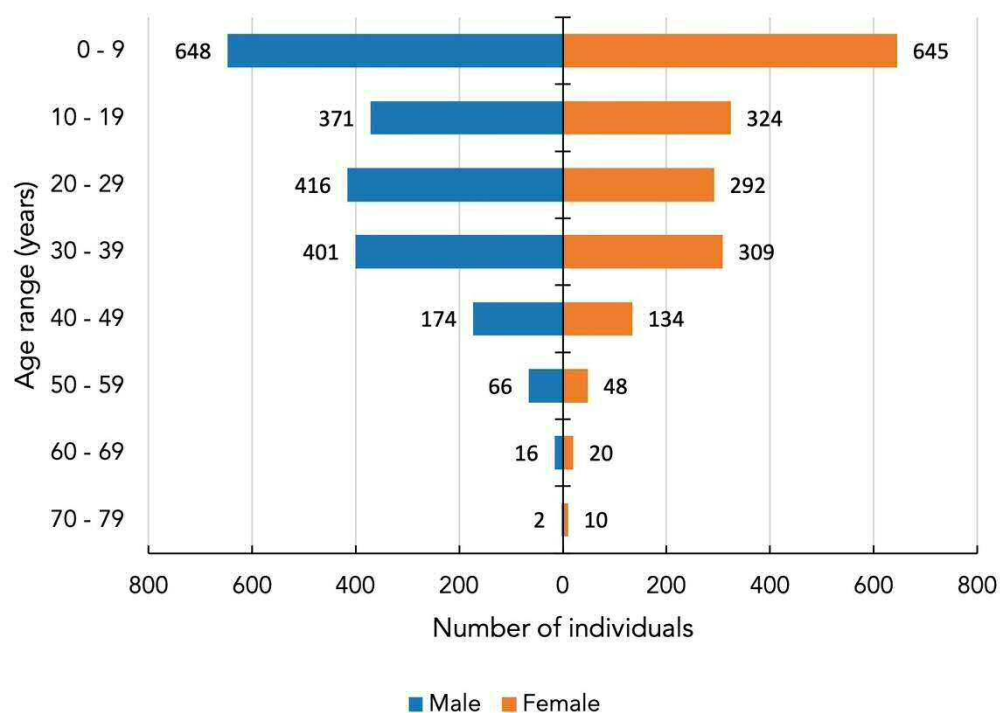
Fig. 47: **Chart summarising age and sex distribution in the 1911 Census for Woodlands (TNA RG14/28221–2).**

whether families with children were prioritised for housing at Woodlands, or indeed whether environmental factors influenced the choices of such families.

The 1939 Register shows comparatively little change in the number of Woodlands houses, showing the presence of 32 additional households and bringing the total to 732 (plus one vacant house). However, the population decreased to 2,658 people (Fig. 48). This perhaps suggests that crowding peaked during the formative years of the village, as workers migrated from Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in the search for jobs. Some of those who left Woodlands between 1911 and 1939 were likely accommodated at nearby developments, including Woodlands East from around 1923, the continued expansion of Highfields, and other developments elsewhere in the Adwick-le-Street district. Hence, the increasingly urbanised landscape surrounding the original village had social consequences for household life therein.
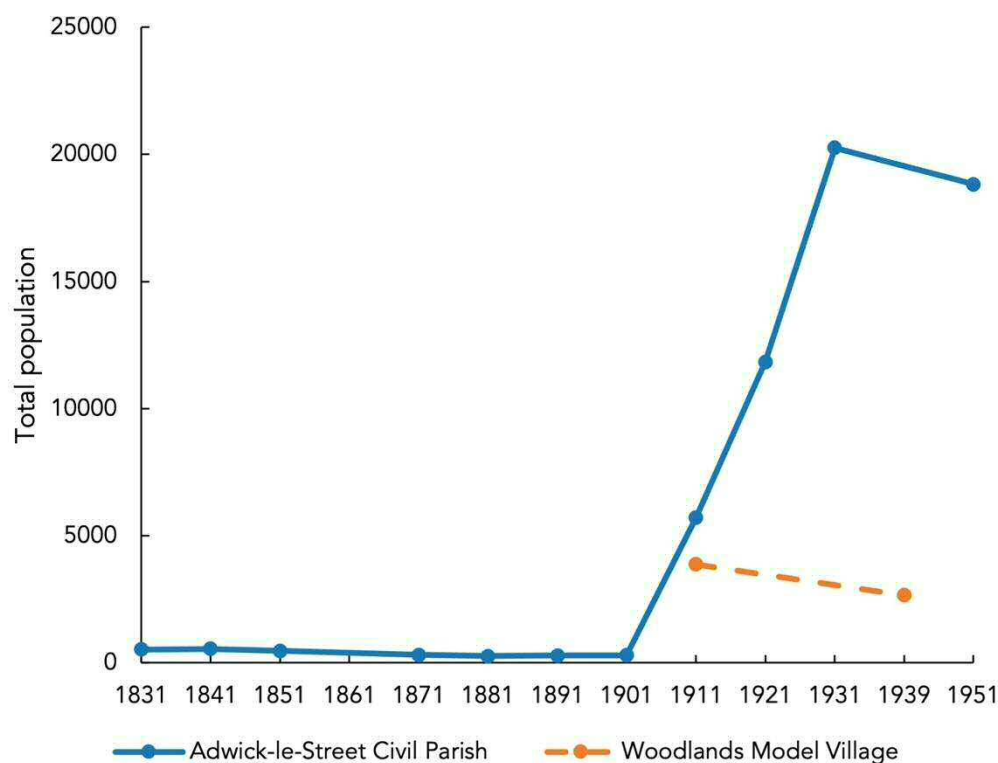
Fig. 48: **Graph of population change in Woodlands (TNA RG14/28221–2; RG101/3596) and Adwick-le-Street (GBHG 2021b), of which the former was a part, 1831–1951.**

Household and family

The Woodlands census data suggests that the village was occupied by larger-than-average households, with a mean of 5.54 occupants. For comparison, the mean for England and Wales for 1911 was 4.50 (Registrar General 1911, 1). A large majority of Woodlands households included at least one child; only 15% (105) of households returned no children under the age of 16 (Fig. 49). This represents a higher proportion of younger families with children than those at New Earswick, implying that the village was somehow favourable to families with children or that it posed barriers to those without. The fertility rates at Woodlands were also greater than the national average, a trait typical of mining communities (Garrett et al. 2001, 299; Davies 2003, 121; Fig. 50). For Woodlands residents, 373 children were born per 100 couples, compared with a figure of 355 nationally.

The child mortality data also exemplified a broader pattern concerning the health of mining communities. Of 648 families with children at
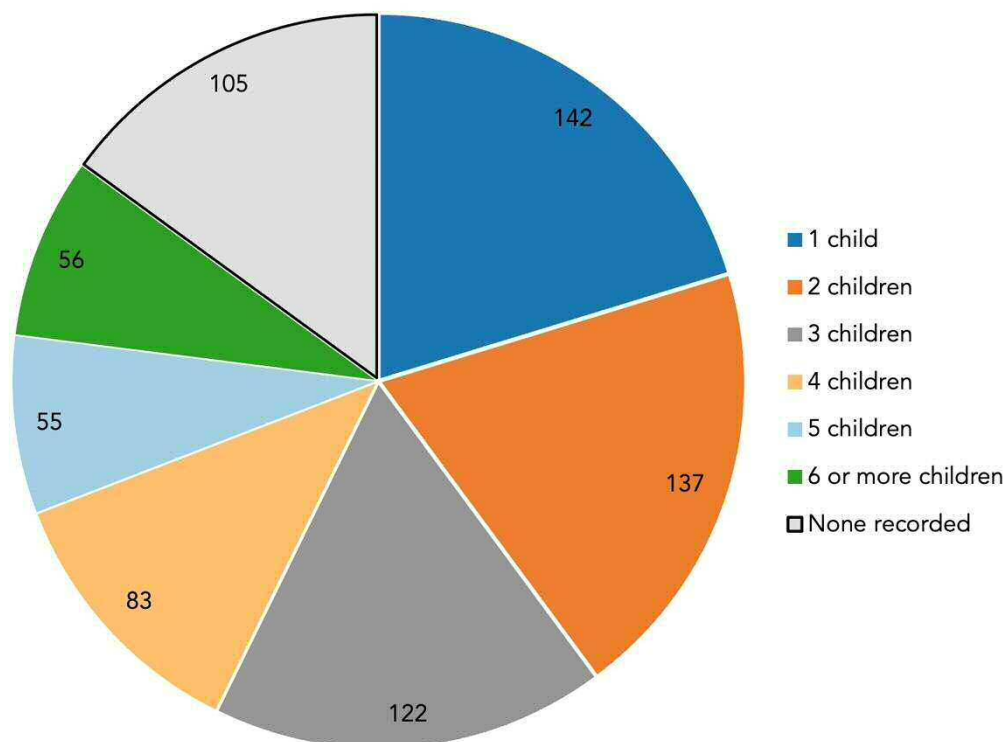
Fig. 49: **Pie chart showing proportion of households with differing numbers of children (under 16) recorded in Woodlands in 1911 (TNA RG14/28221–2).**

Woodlands, nearly half (48%, 310) recorded the death of at least one child. Approximately 225 children per 1,000 born to Woodlands families had died by the time the census was taken, compared with 205 nationally. The indication of a higher child mortality rate may reflect the poorer general health associated with the colliery environment, with mining communities frequently experiencing higher-than-average child mortalities (Friedlander 1973, 40). Nevertheless, this cannot necessarily be interpreted as evidence of life in the village affecting the health of the population, since environmental influences on health during pregnancy can contribute to health effects enduring over as many as two generations (Gillman 2005).

Beyond the family, many of the Woodlands households included boarders or lodgers. A distinction between the two is sometimes made, based on whether only a room is rented or whether both room and board are paid for. In this analysis, they have been treated as one category due to the small number (28) listed as 'lodgers' (compared with 267 boarders). Over
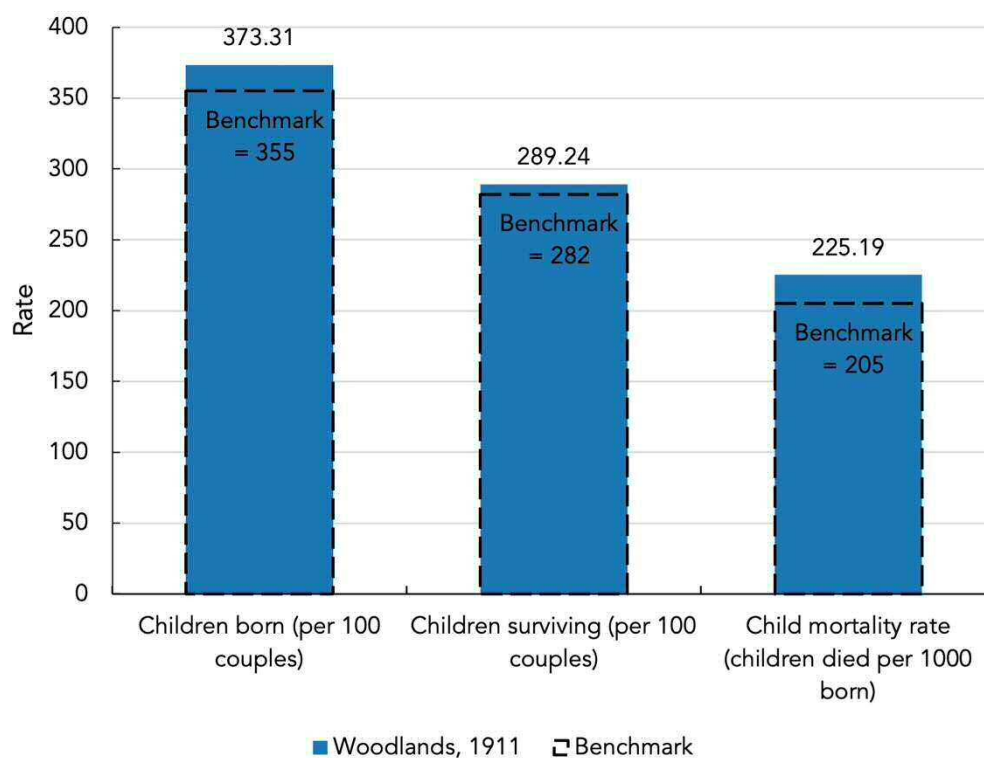
Fig. 50: **Chart comparing Woodlands fertility and child mortality in marriage figures (TNA RG14/28221–2) with 1911 figures for England and Wales as a benchmark (Registrar General 1917, 341).**

a quarter (27%, 187) of households hosted at least one boarder or lodger (Fig. 51). While boarders or lodgers may have only occupied a single room, there is indirect evidence of sub-letting or informal arrangements involving the subdivision of houses (for example, in houses shared by multiple families). It is difficult to determine whether the practice of housing additional occupants was openly permitted by the company. Markham was certainly aware of the difficulty finding homes faced by his employees who were unable—more for lack of availability than economic means—to rent a house in the village (DA DD/BROD/4/17).

The prevalence of boarders at Woodlands raises one or two possibilities. Primarily, it implies that the supply of housing was insufficient for demand, making it necessary for workers to take up residency as boarders. This would have likely been preferable to living further away in Doncaster. An alternative explanation is that tenants actively sought boarders and lodgers as a way of supplementing their household income. Yet, on account of the high crowding rate (see 'Household conditions',
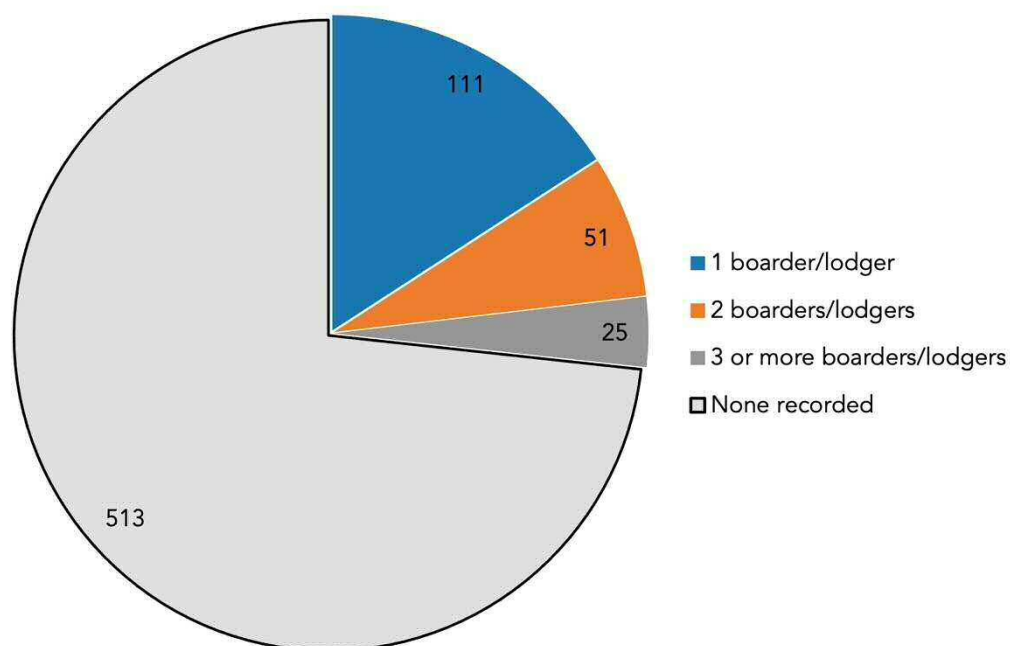
Fig. 51: **Pie chart showing proportion of households with boarders or lodgers recorded in the 1911 Census for Woodlands (TNA RG14/28221–2).**

p.153–4), this may have been less likely. The additional income would at least have needed to be sufficient to offset the extra strain on the household's physical resources, including internal space.

Aside from the increased crowding to which it contributed, it is unclear whether keeping boarders exacerbated social problems in the community. Elsewhere, a concentration of male boarders, particularly transient, temporary workers such as pit-sinkers, was blamed for a pattern of disorderly behaviour and riots at Frickley colliery in West Yorkshire during the early-twentieth century (Davies 2003, 122). At Woodlands, the vast majority of boarders (266 of 295) were men, but only four could be reasonably identified as temporary workers (pit-sinkers and day labourers).

Movement of people

With as large a population in a newly established village as Woodlands was in 1911, it might be expected that most residents would have been
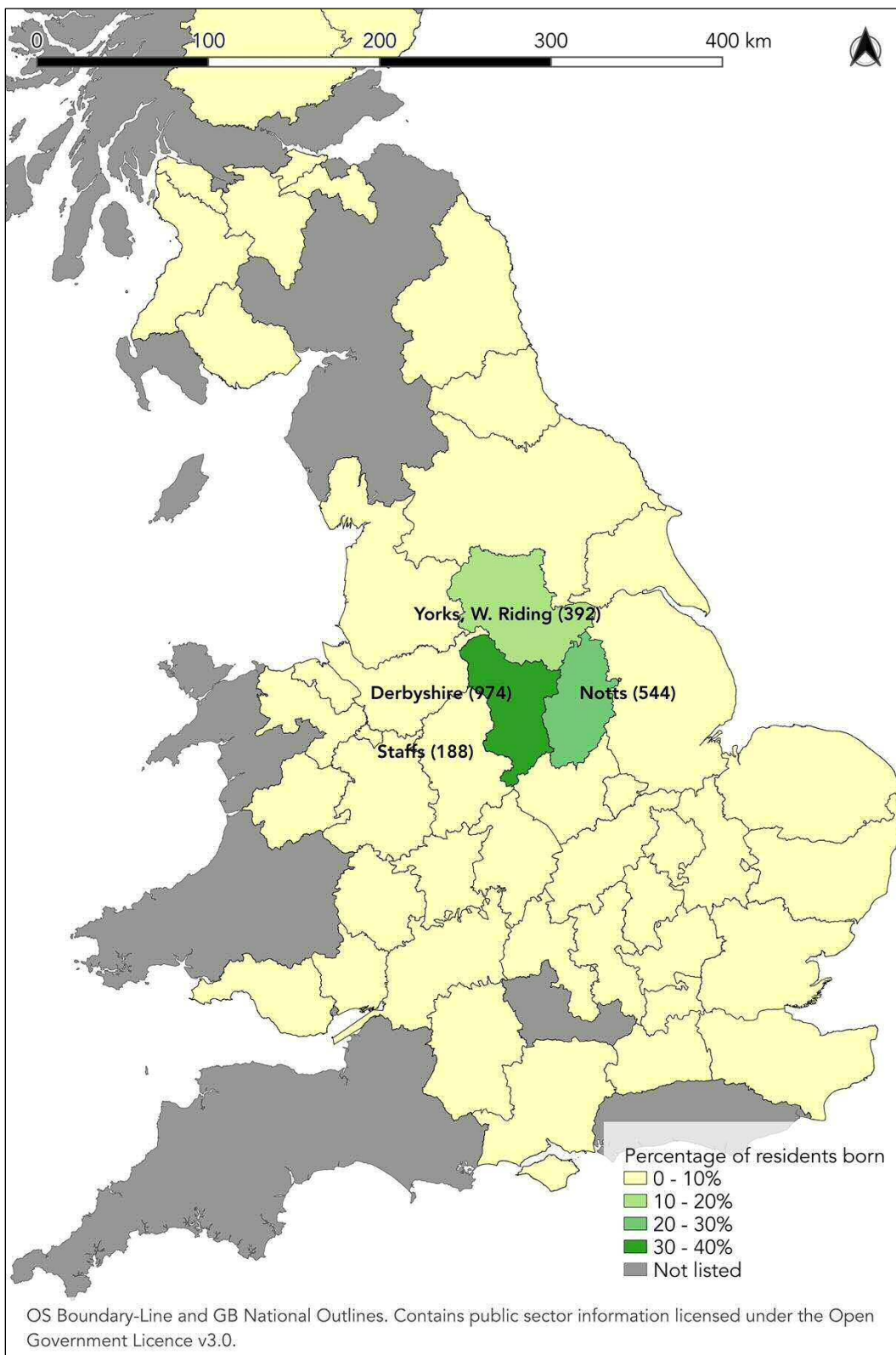
Fig. 52: **Map showing proportion of birthplaces (by historic county) of Woodlands residents (excluding children under ten) listed in the 1911 Census (TNA RG14/28221–2).**

from nearby urban areas. This is especially so given the rapid growth in Doncaster's population between 1901 and 1921 (Gaskell 1979, 444–5). However, this was not the case. Although 22% (824) of residents of identifiable origin were born in the West Riding, over half of those (432) were under the age of ten. In fact, excluding Yorkshire, most of Woodlands' residents over this age in 1911 were born in the neighbouring counties of Derbyshire (38%, 974) or Nottinghamshire (21%, 544, Fig. 52). Large concentrations were identified in the coal districts of those counties, including Staveley (home of Brodsworth Main's parent company, the Staveley Coal and Iron Company), Eckington, and Chesterfield in Derbyshire, and Hucknall in Nottinghamshire (Fig. 53). During this period, the social landscape of Woodlands reflected a wider trend affecting landed estates such as Brodsworth: the influx of outsider populations onto estate land and the diversified nature of their new communities (e.g. Finch 2007, 47). Migration en masse remains an important factor in the creation of a sense of place in newly planned settlements (Pauls 2006, 78). Indeed, a new community may be strengthened through the incorporation of a pre-existing community, but conversely, it may introduce an element of social conflict between those of different prior affiliations.

Moreover, given the rural nature of the extractive industries (Newman 2001, 74), it is unsurprising that most Woodlands residents were from predominantly rural areas (Fig. 53). Over 85% (2,111) of residents aged ten or above were born outside of a large urban centre. This has implications for the village itself being an attractive proposition to prospective workers. Company towns in the USA were often proposed partly as a way of attracting workers to otherwise remote industrial landscapes (Crawford 1995, 29; Mrozowski et al. 1996, 39; Ford 2011, 730). While the coalfields of northern England were by no means as remote as some of those found in America, it is reasonable to assume that a similar solution to the limited infrastructure and workforce was offered by colliery villages such as Woodlands.

The movement of the village's earliest residents, shown through the 1939 Register, suggests that fewer stayed in the community on a
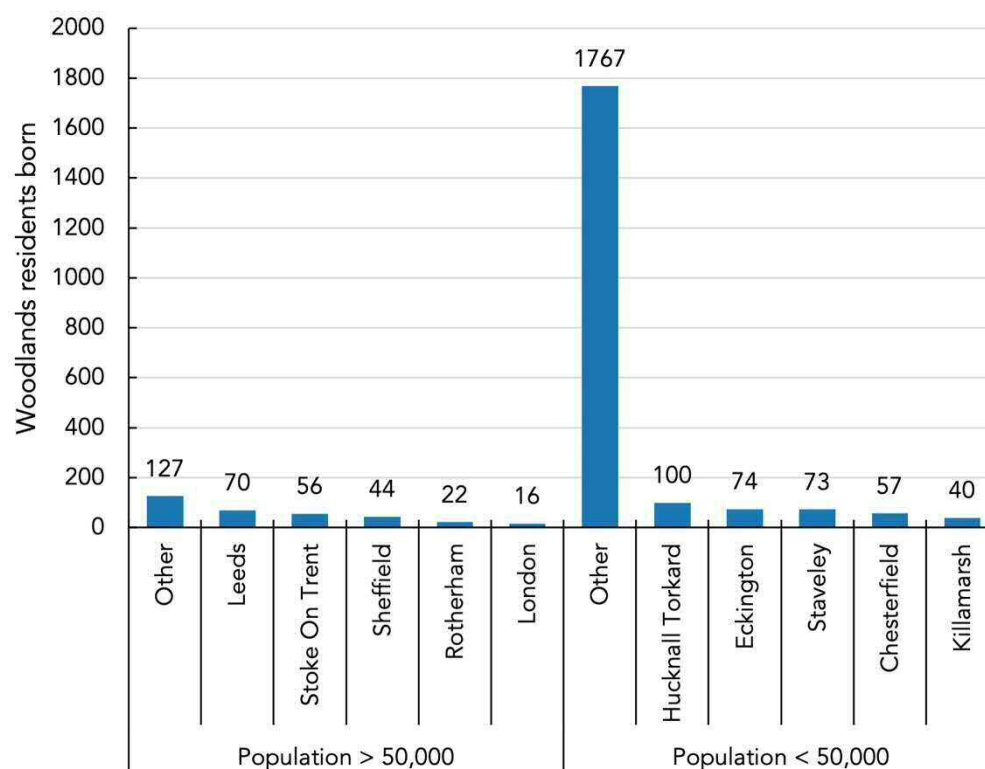
Fig. 53: **Chart of most common birthplaces of Woodlands residents (excluding children under ten) listed in the 1911 Census (TNA RG14/28221–2), grouped by their 1911 population (GBHG 2017b).**

long-term basis than at New Earswick. Around 11% (427) of those listed in the 1911 Census for Woodlands also appeared in the 1939 Register for the same (TNA RG101/3596). Despite a slightly higher than average proportion of the Park's residents remaining in the village, the low retention rate overall might be interpreted as another consequence of newer developments being built nearby, to which many residents may have relocated.

Industry and occupation

Unsurprisingly for a colliery village, an overwhelming majority of Woodlands' workers were employed in mining. Based on industry and occupation data from the census, 1,210 individuals could be associated with employment by the colliery company (Fig. 54). In terms of occupational classes, approximately 97% (1,297) of classifiable workers were working-class labourers according to the Registrar General (1913) classification system (Fig. 55).
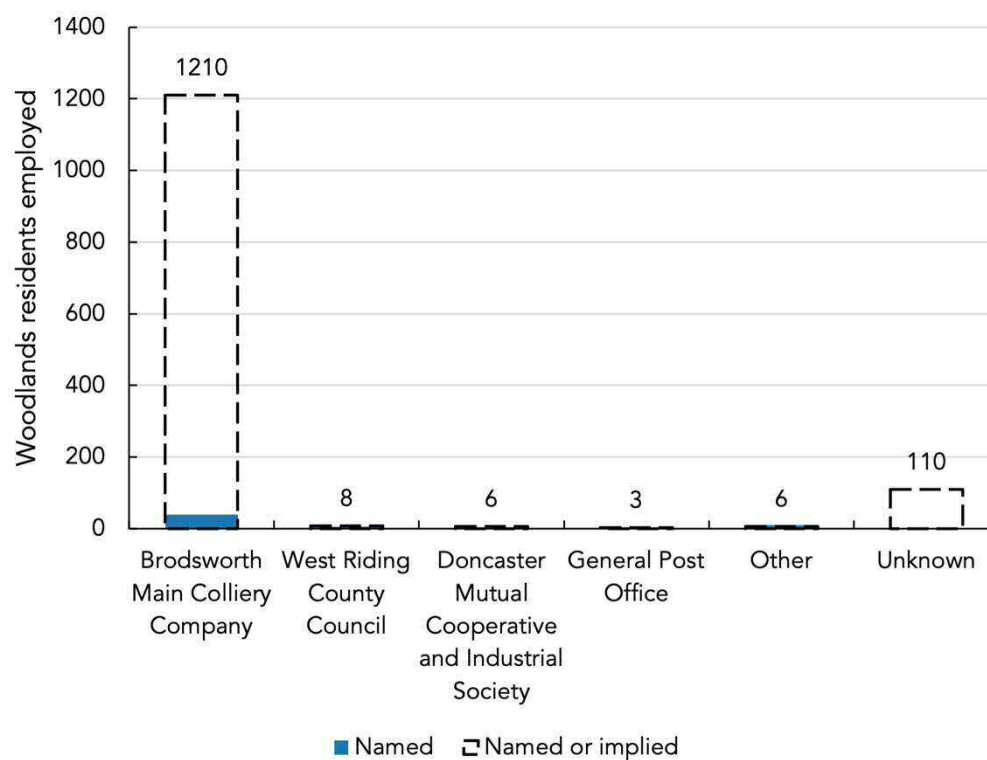
Fig. 54: **Chart showing employers named or otherwise implied in the 1911 Census for Woodlands and the number of residents employed by them (TNA RG14/28221–2).**

Non-mining occupations included professionals, such as teachers, medical practitioners, colliery agents and engineers, and shopkeepers at the village cooperative store. Such occupations constituted the remaining 3% (47) of workers at Woodlands. A significant number (16) of these were described as either boarders or visitors. This perhaps demonstrates that while occupations deemed essential to the community were represented at Woodlands, not all were considered priorities for permanent housing. For example, of the 11 teachers enumerated in the census, only one—the headteacher of the elementary school—is recorded as a primary occupant (non-boarder). Although plans exist for the houses of the colliery manager, cooperative shopkeepers, and the village postmaster (DA DD/BROD/20/64; DD/BROD/20/69; DD/BROD/20/105), there was no other accommodation designated for key workers in the village during its initial development.

With miners treated as a special occupational class in the 1911 Census (Registrar General 1913, xli), it is difficult to discern further social
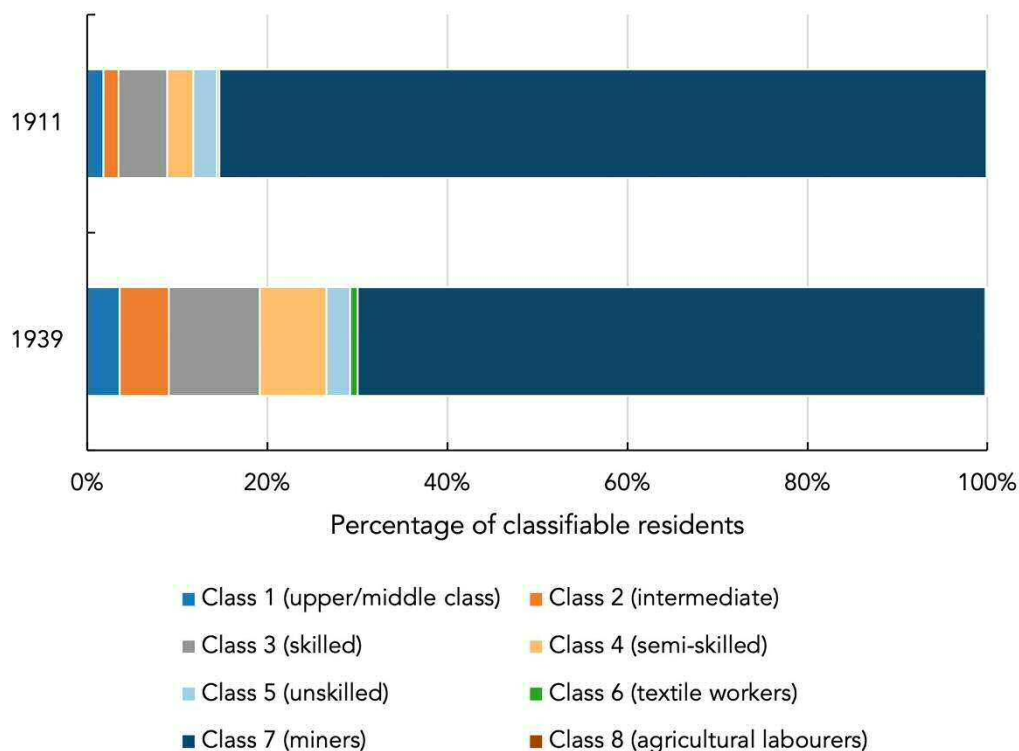
Fig. 55: **Chart showing occupational classes of employed Woodlands residents in 1911 (TNA RG14/28221–2) and 1939 (TNA RG101/3596), based on Registrar General (1913) classification.**

differences. This is chiefly because special categories were exempt from the skilled/semi-skilled/unskilled scale (corresponding to Classes 3, 4, and 5 respectively) applied to most working-class occupations. Perceived social relations among miners varied between collieries. For example, a coalface worker at one mine might have recognised an underground deputy as belonging to the management class (Burrell 2017, 465); in other mines, such workers may have perceived themselves as social equals. Although coal mine owners, agents, and managers were classified as professional occupations, other coal mining occupations were all assigned to the same class (7). Nevertheless, a notional distinction between workers at the coalface, other underground workers, and workers at the pit-top was maintained in the 1911 and later classification systems (GRO 1915, 63–7; 1956).

In terms of the distribution of household classes, the ratio of middle-class to working-class households reflects the distribution of individual occupations. 'Working-class' occupations accounted for the highest
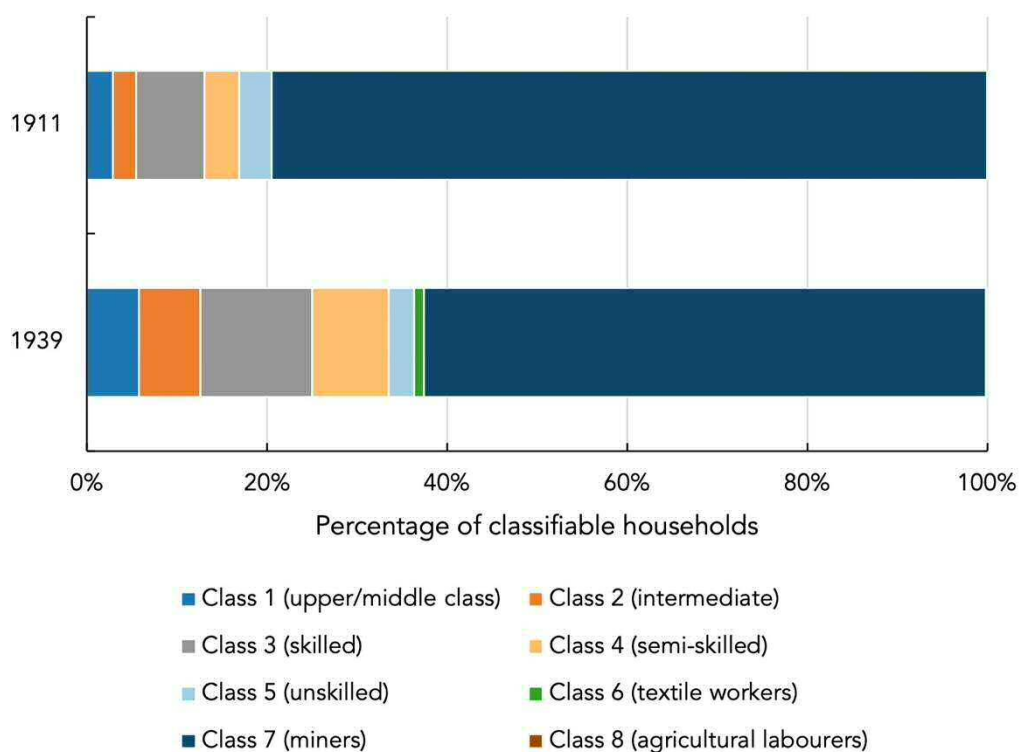
Fig. 56: **As above (Fig. 55) but for households (see Fig. 29 for explanation, p.114).**

occupational class in 95% of households (660 of 697 classifiable households); the highest classes in the remaining 5% were 'middle-class' occupations (Fig. 56). Because of the difficulties in determining subtle social distinctions from a population with an overwhelming majority in a single occupational class, it would be inappropriate to infer patterns in the spatial distribution of occupational classes based on a two-tier (middle-/working-class) classification. However, temporal changes are discernible. By 1939, the proportion of workers employed at the colliery decreased (81%, 855, down from 90%), as did the proportion of working-class households (88%, 577 of 659 classifiable households, down from 95%). This signified a drop in demand for housing among miners, opening residency in the village to local shop-workers and others not involved in mining.

Household conditions

The conditions endured by families in early Woodlands were a direct consequence of the circumstances surrounding the planning and development of the village and its relationship with the colliery. The coal

seam was reached earlier than had been anticipated, necessitating an influx of miners to commence work (Abercrombie 1910b, 112; Houfton 1910, 296). But despite the rapid housebuilding programme, the census data indicates that this put pressure on housing in the district, with high occupancy levels: most households (62%, 432) comprised five people or more (Fig. 57). As discussed (p.144), Woodlands was characterised by high fertility rates and large numbers of children, as were other mining communities. It was thus already susceptible to higher levels of relative crowding. However, crowding was compounded further by the practice of keeping boarders, who were presumably unable to find accommodation elsewhere in the district.

In terms of crowding, the weighted crowding rate across the whole village was 0.95 adults per room (higher than the rate of 0.71 for New Earswick). The greatest crowding was experienced in houses along the Crescent, which yielded an aggregate rate of 1.00 (Fig. 58). This was a street occupied by some of the largest families, averaging 5.80 people per household (compared with 5.54 for the whole village). However, there was
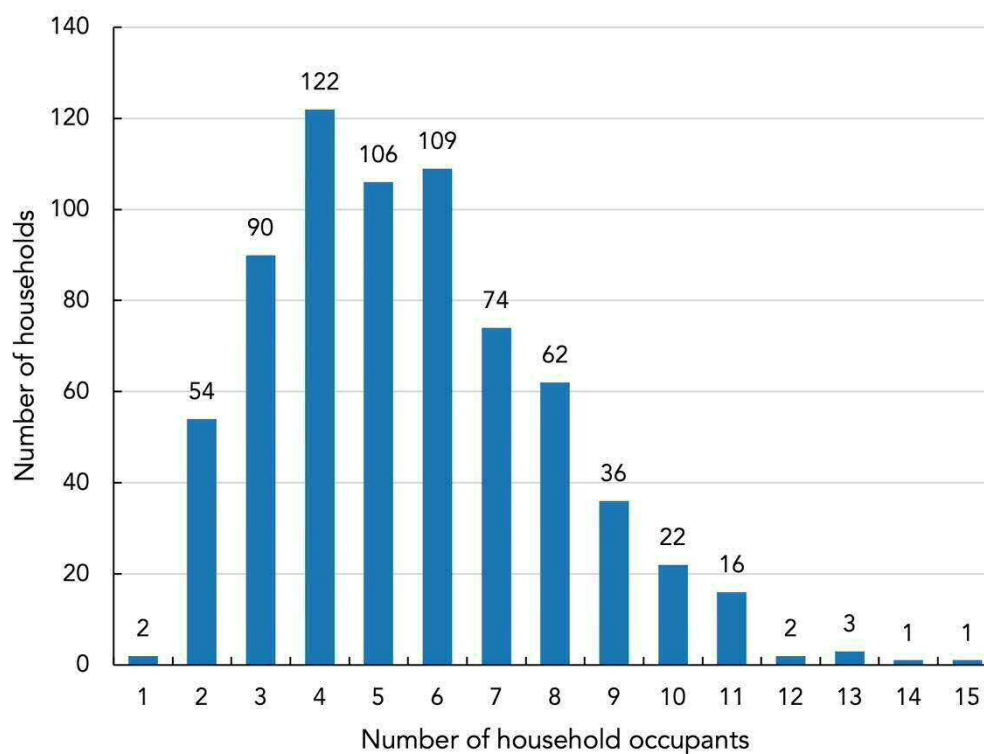
Fig. 57: **Chart showing number of people occupying Woodlands households in 1911 (TNA RG14/28221–2).**
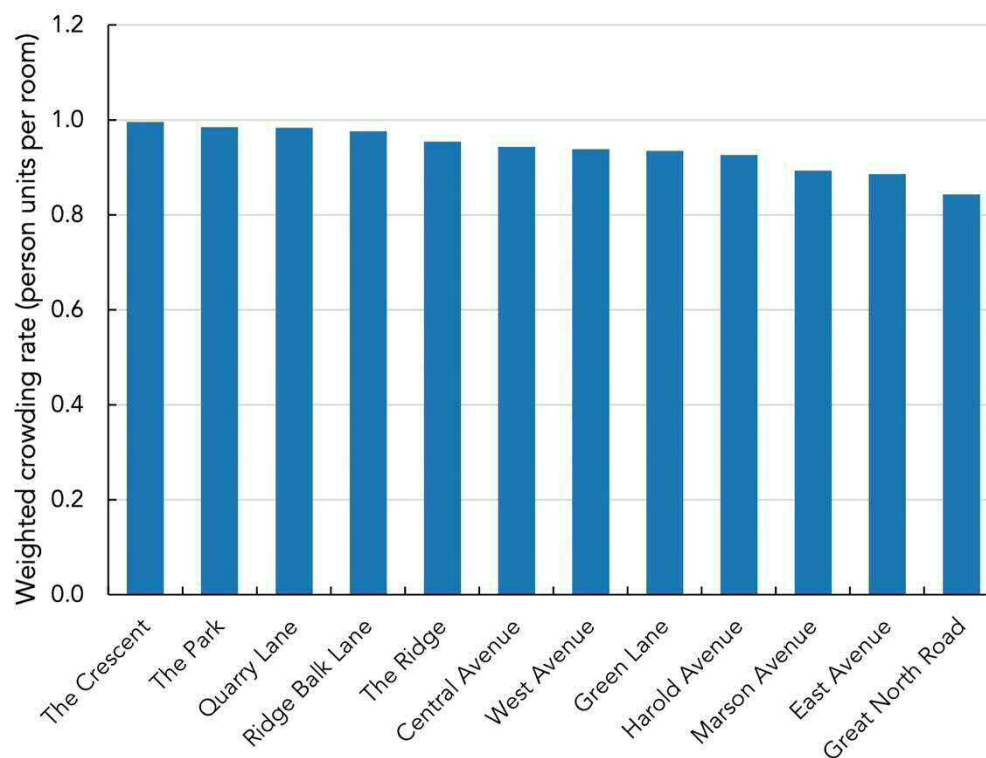
Fig. 58: **Chart showing weighted crowding rates (see Fig. 31 for explanation, p.118) for Woodlands streets in 1911 (TNA RG14/28221–2).**

much less variation in crowding between streets than at New Earswick. This is consistent with the rapid building programme, followed by immediate occupation, necessitated by the colliery's development.

More significantly, high demand led to some houses meeting the criteria for overcrowding (an absolute measure). Early definitions of overcrowding typically included multiple households living in the same dwelling unit, as well as houses having more than two people per room (Myers et al. 1996, 68). Multi-occupancy houses were determined from duplicate street addresses appearing on census returns where the combined number of rooms matched the numbers identified in the housing typology (Houfton 1910, 293). Most households (68%, 478 of 698 with room figures available) occupied five rooms, with a further 23% (158) occupying four or fewer (Fig. 59). However, in some instances, households occupied only two or three rooms, indicating a multi-occupancy house (generally inhabited by multiple distinct families). For instance, two households recorded at the same address, one listing two
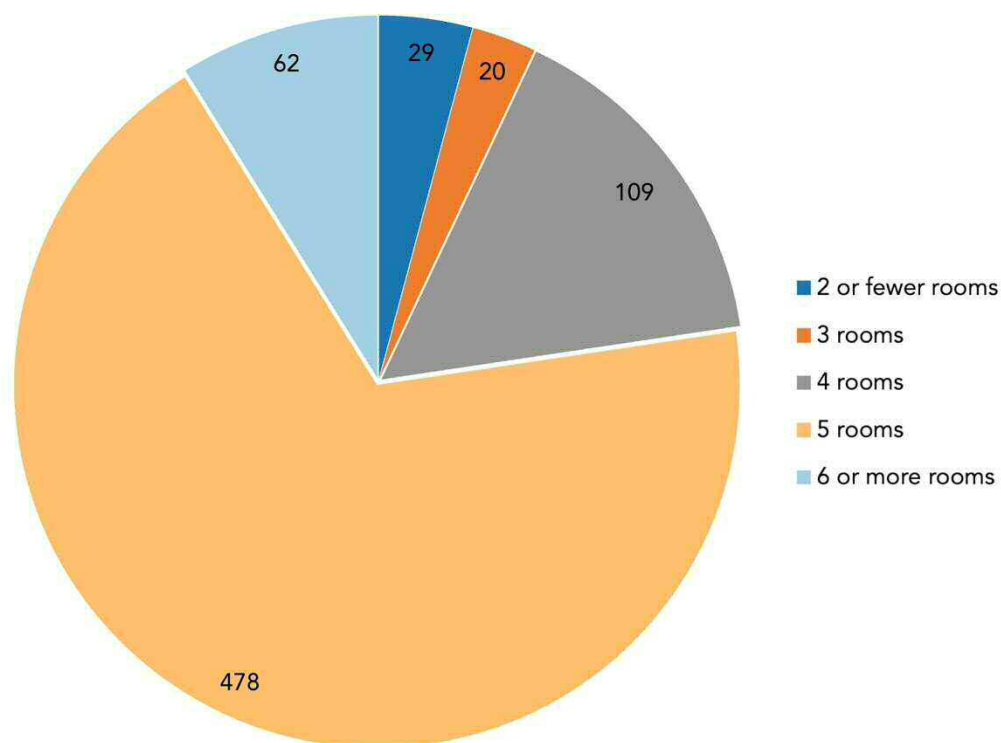
Fig. 59: **Pie chart showing proportion of households with differing numbers of rooms recorded in Woodlands in the 1911 Census (TNA RG14/28221–2).**

rooms and the other three, would suggest that the dwelling was built as a single, five-room house (since there are no known Woodlands house plans with fewer than four rooms).

In total, 54 multi-occupancy houses (representing 16% (109) of households in the census) were identified using this method. A small number of these were occupied by extended family, indicated by a surname common to the (non-head) members of both households. Non-familial boarders or co-tenants may have been enumerated separately, perhaps as a matter of pride or more likely at the discretion of the census enumerator. The practice of enumerating a sub-divided dwelling as two separate households presents a methodological limitation, complicating the interpretation of overcrowding (Gauldie 1974, 82). Even so, accounting for the incidence of multi-occupancy homes and the overcrowding standards set by Seebohm Rowntree, as many as a quarter of Woodlands' households were overcrowded to some degree in 1911 (Rowntree 1941, 265–9; see A.1 for definitions, p.347).

Based on comparison with the 1939 Register, the high occupancy rates, and indeed overcrowding, experienced by Woodlands' early residents had subsided by this time. Households in 1939 were occupied by an average of 3.63 people (down from 5.54; TNA RG101/3596). This reduction may be due to migration to the newer housing schemes neighbouring Woodlands, whether those developed by the colliery or by the local authority. It must also be considered that any reduction in the colliery's workforce (attributed to mechanisation or coal seam closures, for example) may have led to out-migration.

Social conditions in early Woodlands were thus defined by the introduction of new industry into an essentially rural area, with few existing houses. This new population consisted of relatively large, working-class families, drawn predominantly from mining communities elsewhere. Crucially, this transformation was entwined with the development of the landscape itself. It is simplistic to suggest that the high crowding and relatively high child mortality rates were a purely social consequence of this new community. Consequently, the designed landscape's potential to influence these must be considered.

Conclusions: The case studies compared

New Earswick and Woodlands were, like other garden villages, built on new sites with few existing buildings. These existing buildings are nonetheless visually distinct from the housing planned as part of the development, with the new houses built predominantly in arts and crafts or neo-Georgian styles. It was not simply a matter of convenience that made the arts and crafts style particularly suitable for garden villages, with its dual emphasis on beauty and functionalism, and its rootedness in a medieval ideal (cf. Meacham 1999, 80–3). Rather, the material form of housing at New Earswick and Woodlands overtly presented the garden village as a distinct type of development. It is arguably for this reason that, contrary to the emphasis within the Arts and Crafts Movement on vernacular forms and materials, there is little evidence of the imitation of local, historic housing styles. Abercrombie (1910b, 126), for example, wrote of the common use of pantiles in garden city schemes, even where slate roofs would have been more traditional. This was despite

contemporary criticism regarding the lack of individuality in suburban developments (Unwin 1908b, 475; 1911, 146).

The low-density housing favoured by the garden city movement persists today at both New Earswick and Woodlands. For housing areas developed before 1940, density is calculated to be around nine houses per acre in both villages. Within the landscape today, areas where green space is more abundant further contribute to the impression of lower density. The more recent landscaping of Woodlands in the last decade has nonetheless reduced the total coverage of public green space: for instance, the introduction of back gardens or the construction of asphalt driveways and service roads.

Aside from the more substantial green spaces such as New Earswick's Ivy Place or the Woodlands squares, both villages are also characterised by the liberal use of greenery at a smaller scale. This includes grass verges or 'nature strips' next to most roads. Although they contributed to the visual unity of the garden village aesthetic, being initially associated with the garden city movement, the growth of car usage in the twentieth century has rendered them a functional buffer against traffic (Couchman 2005, 129–31). In particular, New Earswick's verges have become increasingly fragmented following the introduction of driveways and parking bays. Such landscape changes suggest that, although the garden village aesthetic may not have been abandoned, it was continually redefined. Changing design priorities are exemplified more generally in the evolving plans for New Earswick and Woodlands, and in how they were presented publicly.

Despite aesthetic similarities, some key differences in the narratives of each community emerge from the census data. Of course, there exist many similarities between New Earswick and Woodlands. Both villages had some degree of community infrastructure, indicated by the presence of professionals such as teachers and medical practitioners in the census. This implies that, in both cases, the community founders attempted to create an independent community, rather than rely on others nearby for essential services.

However, significant differences in the data are apparent. Some of these are directly explainable by the industries associated with each village. Early New Earswick appears to have been occupied by a larger proportion of people with 'middle-class' occupations. Woodlands, by its very nature as a mining community, is characterised by working-class labourers. Despite this, further differences may only be indirectly related to the industrial context of each village. While both communities accommodated relatively new families with young children, family sizes were larger in Woodlands than in New Earswick, with an average of one additional surviving child per couple. Perhaps the most significant contrast is demonstrated by comparing the mean number of household occupants and the overall crowding rate (persons per room). Houses in New Earswick were occupied by an average of just under 4 people, with a crowding rate of 0.71 people per room; Woodlands meanwhile yielded figures of 5.54 people per household and 0.95 people per room. This was despite the lower overall building density (houses per acre) at Woodlands, and the fact that most homes had five rooms, compared with the more common four-room houses at New Earswick.

Variation between the two planned villages cannot solely be attributed to the specific social characteristics of mining communities, such as the high fertility rates, infant mortality rates, and prevalence of boarders (cf. Davies 2003). Indeed, it is useful to consider the relationship between social characteristics and the landscape. For example, undesirable social consequences might have resulted from an inadequately planned environment. Conversely, social factors may have constrained the physical development of the village. Understanding this relationship necessarily requires knowledge of the aims and actions of community founders, as well as insight into the landscape's development. Nevertheless, it is vital to avoid dismissing the historical experience of Woodlands as a passive response to or a chance product of extreme circumstances. It is equally important to avoid elevating early New Earswick to a 'standard' village, against which other model or garden villages should be measured.

The narratives generated in the preceding chapters thereby challenge the idea that garden villages produced a homogenous past experience, as

implied by the shared utopian aspirations of many of the garden city movement's propagandists (e.g. Culpin 1913). Accordingly, the variable objectives of the founders of New Earswick and Woodlands must be considered in detail to determine their influence. This is explored in the following chapter. Only by investigating their reformist motivations will it then be possible to understand how designers and residents also shaped the development of garden villages as a reform project: a project that was rooted both in the landscape at a local level and in a broader social movement.

5 Envisioning the village: The founders, their agents, and the reform agenda

The simplistic comparison of social intentions and material reality is insufficient to fully understand the role of reform in garden village design. As historical archaeologists studying nineteenth-century urban communities have noted, it is important to critique the underlying motives behind 'official accounts' of reformers (e.g. Karskens 1999, 189–92; Fitts 2001; Mayne and Murray 2001). This is particularly significant when reformist narratives (including those of Seebohm Rowntree) have historically been used to justify the displacement of large numbers of the urban poor through slum clearance programmes (Walker et al. 2011, 631). Accordingly, archaeological research has contrasted the urban problems as perceived by reformers with the realities of daily life experienced by residents. The frequent stereotyping by reformers has often masked the diversity of these experiences. While reformers sought to present the inhabitants of poor urban districts and their material conditions as a social problem, documents relating to the founding of New Earswick and Woodlands provide an opportunity to interpret how practical reform efforts were presented as social solutions.

Through analysis of these documents, it is possible to construct an understanding of how reform ideals materialised in the village landscape, as well as identifying those which were challenged, whether through the villages' design and planning or by residents. At New Earswick, the published form of the founding documents presented the village trust's intentions as definitive and internally consistent, belying their shifting priorities over time. Accounts of the village have generally acknowledged that compromises to the founder's vision were sometimes made during its early development (e.g. Waddilove 1954). For instance, the trust's use of government housebuilding subsidies under the interwar Housing Acts

(beginning with the Housing and Town Planning Act 1919) arguably demonstrated a deviation from the ideal of New Earswick as a fully independent, commercially viable community (Waddilove 1954, 12). Nevertheless, the interpretation of the trust's stated aims and the consequences of changing priorities on the landscape have not yet been explored. Moreover, the material basis on which reform objectives were articulated has been overlooked. As this chapter highlights, the landscape was integral to the reformist visions of garden village founders to a degree comparable with the social aspects of their agenda. Yet, despite acknowledging the landscape influence on the formation of character, individuals and their immediate families persisted as the primary 'subjects' of reform—rather than the wider community.

5.1   Social objectives

The social reform objectives that underpinned New Earswick and Woodlands can be inferred in several ways. Although the New Earswick estate was purchased in 1902, with building commencing in the same year, it was not until two years later that its founder Joseph Rowntree made his objectives for the community public. These were outlined in a 1904 'Deed of Foundation', which also established the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust as a charitable entity (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2). The deed was accompanied by the 'Founding Memoranda' (BIA JRF/1/1/2). This related the aims of the village trust to Rowntree's broader ideology, offering a justification for a further two trusts: the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, formed to support Quaker religious causes, and the Joseph Rowntree Social Services Trust, a non-charitable organisation established to promote Liberal political ideas, partly through supporting Liberal newspapers. The existence of a dedicated village trust with a defined purpose means that the trustees' intentions for the village (including those of Rowntree) are relatively straightforward to discern. Rowntree declared that the village trust's primary purpose was the 'improvement of the condition of the working classes' and it is through this lens that New Earswick is viewed in this chapter (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2). How to achieve this was determined by the secondary principle of civic responsibility. As Rowntree wrote, the aim was not to 'establish communities bearing the

stamp of charity but of rightly-ordered and self-governing communities'
(BIA JRF/1/1/2).

Comparable sources for Woodlands were unavailable. Hence, the
intentions for the village must be interpreted in light of Arthur
Markham's position as both chairman of the Brodsworth Main Colliery
Company and de facto founder of the village, while also taking into
account his political beliefs. These beliefs were chiefly expressed through
his parliamentary career, serving as MP for Mansfield, Nottinghamshire
(another mining district) from 1900 until his death in 1916 (*The Times*
1916). Although a proponent of Liberal causes, he denied that he ever
took the party whip and cemented a quasi-independent political position
(Hansard 1908a). Markham's popularity as an advocate for miners'
working conditions—approving of minimum wages, trade unionism, and
limited working hours—helped him secure a 7,000-vote majority
(Hansard 1905; 1910; 1912a; *The Times* 1916). Surprisingly for a colliery
owner, during periodic strikes, he was more sympathetic towards the
miners than to unenlightened colliery owners, whom he suggested had
contributed to labour problems in Britain's coalfields (Markham 1912).

Neither Markham nor any other major colliery owner have typically been
characterised as reformers—in contrast to other industrial housing
providers, such as Robert Owen and Titus Salt in the textile industry or
George Cadbury and Joseph Rowntree in the food industry. Woodlands
therefore provides an opportunity to evaluate the relevance of reform in
this context. The limited range of historical material available for
Woodlands nevertheless means that its specific social objectives are less
well documented than those that shaped New Earswick. This may be
partly due to the internal opposition Markham received from his co-
directors over the scheme (Houfton 1912, 37). Faced with such conflict, it
may have been unwise to present the proposition as a radical solution to
miners' living conditions, rather than as a project rooted in commercial
'common-sense'.

Official documentation for Woodlands mostly relates to the leasing of
land, with separate leases for mining and housing purposes, as well as a
draft pre-lease agreement concerning the construction of the village (DA

DD/BROD/4/40; DD/BROD/4/42; SCA COAL/DAC/1/1/2). A series of exchanges conducted through letters to the *Sheffield Telegraph* and distributed as a pamphlet ('Mr Markham's Attack on the Brodsworth estate') exemplifies the multiple disagreements between Markham and the landowner Charles Thellusson (DA DD/BROD/4/17). Further tensions between Markham and West Riding County Council are demonstrated in a 1915 inquiry report concerning the formation of Adwick-le-Street as an urban district, of which Woodlands was to become a part (TNA HLG 1/68). Each of these disagreements was implicated in the physical landscape and the experiences of residents.

Because of the nature of the communities, Woodlands having a more pragmatic basis than New Earswick's experimental nature, key differences emerged in the founders' immediate intentions and their overall philosophy. New Earswick's trustees were much less tolerant of paternalistic interventions, for example. The two villages were nevertheless founded on a similar set of underlying principles, centring on ideas of 'working-class' respectability, the home, and the unity afforded by an improved environment. The principles that determined how their social objectives were realised through the landscape represented a further area of congruence.

Social mix and freedom of association

Within the early town planning movement, the concept of the social mix was a recurring theme (e.g. Unwin 1911, 294). The founders of earlier model villages such as Saltaire occasionally encouraged the reintegration of the social classes (Sarkissian 1976, 234–5). However, because Woodlands was founded as a mining village, it depended solely on an industry dominated by working-class labourers. Notwithstanding the subtle variations in social status within this category of workers, social mixing was not a priority for Woodlands; nor would it have been possible without opening the village up to the general population. This is reflected in the census data discussed in the previous chapter. In striking contrast to Woodlands, New Earswick's early population represented a distinctly mixed community of both middle- and working-class households. This runs counter to the common assumption that New Earswick was largely

founded for the benefit of York's working-class residents (e.g. Buckley 2008, 99). Significantly, the social mix at New Earswick reflected the loose definition of the 'working classes' that Rowntree applied to his stated aim of improving their conditions. This was broader still than the definition that Seebohm Rowntree adopted in his poverty study: households not employing domestic servants (Rowntree 1908, 14). The village trust instead defined the working classes to include:

> Artisans and mechanics but also shop assistants and clerks and all persons who earn their living, wholly or partially, or earn a small income, by the work of their hands or their minds, and further … persons having small incomes derived from invested capital, pensions, or other sources (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2).

Newspaper reports on the trust's formation acknowledged the 'elastic' nature of this definition, which implies that it did not necessarily conform to contemporary expectations (*Manchester Courier* 1905; *The Times* 1905). One possibility is that the new trustees, foreseeing that the village houses would not attract interest from 'traditional' working-class groups, pre-empted potential criticism of the project's success. The trust could therefore not be accused of failing to deliver what it never set out to achieve. For Rowntree, social mixing was integral to New Earswick's long-term impact and replicability. Although his housebuilding efforts were initially limited to New Earswick, he hoped his experiment could be replicated elsewhere in a variety of contexts. Accommodating a socially mixed population was one way of demonstrating this. While it was not explicitly stated, Rowntree likely sought to avoid reliance on a single industry (such as his own chocolate business) for the same reason. The need to demonstrate replicability (in particular, economic sustainability) was also a factor in his wish for the village to generate a return on the capital invested (Waddilove 1954, 4).

More importantly, the social mix of New Earswick resonated with the ideas of the town planning and garden city movements, whereby the integration of middle- and working-class people was encouraged as a way of attaining better conditions for the latter. This was not purely to support the emulation of respectable middle-class behaviours. It was instead a broader question of producing a healthier and less monotonous

domestic environment, as well as the fairer distribution of tax burdens (Unwin 1911, 294; cf. Sarkissian 1976, 231). However, even among the working-class segment of New Earswick's population, the kinds of occupations present corresponded more closely to the upper tiers of Seebohm Rowntree's poverty study: for example, the machinists, fitters, and other artisans of his Classes C and D (the least impoverished of York's labouring population), rather than the heavy labourers and hawkers of Classes A and B (the most impoverished; see Rowntree 1908, 32–70). Although New Earswick's population was neither exclusively working class nor exclusively middle class, it did not encompass the full social spectrum.

A significant thread in Rowntree's vision concerned the freedom of association granted to residents. This idea echoed some of the anarchist philosophical tendencies that inspired Ebenezer Howard to develop his garden city proposal (Aalen 1992, 40). The JRVT's deed reiterated Rowntree's wish, expressed in the founding memoranda, that 'nothing may be done … which may prevent the growth of civic interest' (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2). Rowntree himself had already declared his desire to avoid communities 'bearing the stamp of charity', and instead intended for New Earswick to be a 'self-governing' community.

The capacity of villagers to associate freely had an indirect material basis in the recreational landscape, including football and cricket grounds, tennis courts, and bowling greens, which were managed by the New Earswick Village Council—a body of representatives elected by residents. Rowntree provided the Folk Hall, which opened in 1907, as a gift to the village to be used as a multi-purpose venue. The origins of the building's name are unclear, though it alludes to Rowntree's interest in promoting a life lived in common, declaring at the building's opening: 'if a village is to have a united life and a common interest in things affecting its welfare, it is almost necessary that it should have a place of meeting' (BIA JRF/4/1/9/8/2). Rowntree also alluded to its continental European influences, citing the 'tea gardens and public resorts of Germany' where men and women were encouraged to take part in recreation together. Trade directories and the trust's records refer to a range of uses, including education (as an adult school), religious worship, artistic or musical

performances, and debating, literary, or other society meetings (Watson 1929, 63–5; BIA JRF/4/1/9/8/2). Each of these was considered morally enriching, thus sustaining a culture of self-improvement within the village; these activities were all ultimately sanctioned by the village council. However, other community ventures appear not to have materialised. While the cooperative movement developed a presence through the village shop, and despite the trustees' willingness to grant funding to cooperative housing schemes elsewhere, the trust did little to encourage cooperative housing in New Earswick itself.

Respectability and temperance

The desire to encourage working-class respectability was integral to the development of both garden villages. This was most vocally articulated in terms of temperance and the avoidance of vices such as gambling. Rowntree's support of temperance was in part driven by his Quaker beliefs; accordingly, New Earswick was maintained as a 'dry village'. Yet, temperance was also connected with the Liberal politics of the Rowntree family, along with that of Markham in his capacity as a Liberal MP. Indeed, temperance was a dominant subject of Markham's speeches in the House of Commons. In one such speech, he referred to drinking establishments as 'the curse of whole districts, of the working-man and of the community' (Hansard 1908b).

The belief that alcohol consumption contributed to the ruination of working-class people was implicated to Woodlands itself, in the first of many disagreements between Markham and Thellusson. Markham particularly objected to the latter's support for an application for a brewery licence in the village. Appealing to Thellusson's self-interest (Thellusson being a recipient of coal royalties), Markham emphasised the consequences of intemperance on miners' work in a private letter:

> Colliers spend a large proportion of their money in drink, and I am most anxious that at Brodsworth we should try and get rid of this nuisance of having public houses and drunken men … The more drink we have on the place the less coal we shall get, which would be to your disadvantage because men who get a lot of beer remain drinking Mondays Tuesdays and Saturdays till their wages are spent (DA DD/BROD/4/13).

Not only did Markham object to profitable alcohol sales, which a licence would have permitted, but he also objected to the perceived intrusion of a landlord into his lessee's land: Thellusson's attempt to sponsor a public house. In a later exchange, Markham retorted: 'you have got 6,000 acres of land, and we are not going to have you in the centre of our village' (DA DD/BROD/4/17). Another exchange, this time with the Home Office, revealed Markham's concern with vices including street gambling and public drinking, having requested additional policing support for the village (TNA HO 45/10591/185368). The perception of the corrupting influence of pedlars and itinerant bookmakers from nearby Adwick-le-Street was reflected in his efforts to protect the village from outsiders, which manifested in the large gate across the entrance to the Park from the Great North Road.

Yet, Markham privately conceded in his exchanges with Thellusson that workers could be kept satisfied with the moderate provision of alcohol, provided it was sold on a controlled, non-profit basis. For this reason, the former Woodlands Mansion was repurposed as the Brodsworth Club, in which alcohol sales were permitted. Markham negotiated with the mansion's existing resident—another lessee of the Brodsworth estate—to secure the property as a community venture on change of tenancy (DA DD/BROD/4/17). As such, Markham's reformist ideal of absolute temperance was articulated very differently in theory from how it manifested in practice. In his view, a non-profit club was preferable because alcohol consumption could be more easily controlled.

While Markham had linked intemperance with lack of productivity among the working classes, he did not necessarily blame them for engagement in such vices or the resulting impact on the district. Woodlands helped to challenge the narrative that poor conditions were the fault of the working classes. Indeed, this was a subject of internal opposition among Markham's co-directors, as reported by his architect Percy Houfton:

> There is still a very active school of popular thought which asserts that the slum-dwellers make the slums—that the poorer section of the working class desire neither amenity nor proper sanitary conditions; that if enforced the

sanitary conditions would be disregarded and the amenity rapidly destroyed (Houfton 1912, 37).

Houfton (1912, 37) reported further criticisms about it, such as concerns that 'miners would put salmon tins down the W.C's and use the ash tins for "dolly tubs"'. The allusion to poor standards of domestic cleanliness reflected a persistent trope that served to marginalise mining families and portray them as impoverished (e.g. Orwell 1937 [1986], 3). As the *Hull Daily Mail* (1920) published in a later report on Woodlands, residents were 'naturally inclined to be resentful when asked if they are permitting the place to degenerate into a slum'. It was negative perceptions such as these that Markham sought to avoid taking root, through his control of the social and moral direction of the village. Unlike his co-directors, Markham believed in an innate sense of working-class respectability: that, in the right kind of environment, working-class groups such as miners would prosper regardless of their social surroundings and without the influence of model middle-class citizens. Markham's persistence nonetheless attests to his reputation as a further factor in his interest in village building. His critics reportedly described it as 'too pretty', a 'waste of time', and 'an attempt to curry political favour for its chief promoter' (Houfton 1912, 37).

In contrast to Markham's reluctant acceptance of moderate drinking, the Rowntrees at New Earswick subscribed to the more alarmist view that intemperance was a major cause of poverty, partly implicating the poorer sections of the working classes in the development of slum conditions. While there was no explicit reference to this in official documentation, such a link was implied in two contemporary publications: Seebohm Rowntree's *Poverty* (Rowntree 1908) and Joseph Rowntree's polemic *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform* (Rowntree and Sherwell 1900). A duality in attitudes towards drinking and poverty was nevertheless maintained. Seebohm Rowntree's emphasis on secondary poverty, caused partly by inappropriate spending of otherwise sufficient income on vices such as drinking, appeared to confirm the prevailing belief of the previous century: that poverty was the fault of the individual. However, an overlooked aspect of his definition of secondary poverty is that it included both 'useful' and 'wasteful' spending (see

Rowntree 1908, x; Veit-Wilson 1986, 82–3). Moreover, the diminishing influence of individualism was countered by an increasing awareness of environmental factors in sustaining poverty. Joseph Rowntree, for example, acknowledged the monotonous, 'depressing' nature of much factory work and its role in encouraging intemperance (Rowntree and Sherwell 1900, 377–9). More generally though, the Rowntrees' emphasis was on the contribution of the domestic environment, illustrated by reference to housing, population density, overcrowding, and the distribution of public houses in the residential districts of York (Rowntree and Sherwell 1900, 370–7; Rowntree 1908, 307–8). This essentially portrayed poverty as a partial product of the landscape and thus acknowledged collective social responsibility.

Joseph Rowntree's vision for New Earswick reinforced these beliefs. The sale, manufacture, or distribution of alcohol was therefore prohibited in the village. The trust's deed mandated that this could be overturned only with the approval of all (or all but one) of the trustees. New Earswick was thus also conceived as a landscape of moral as well as social reform. Moreover, it was not merely that the trustees sought to eliminate these activities, but also to replace them with respectable, alternative forms of recreation.

The role of religion

Though important, religious persuasion was not necessarily the primary motivation for improving the lives of workers. Admittedly, Rowntree's incentive to build New Earswick was partly an extension of his Quaker beliefs, much like George Cadbury at Bournville. However, when viewed in conjunction with Woodlands, the founder of which did not appear to have been a nonconformist, New Earswick was more immediately a product of the founder's Liberal politics: a trait that the two villages shared. As already discussed, both Markham and the Rowntrees were vocal temperance advocates and Arnold Rowntree, one of the founding trustees of New Earswick and a nephew of Joseph Rowntree, was later to join Markham in Parliament as the Liberal MP for York. So, while Quakerism was certainly an influence, it was not the only factor that inspired the reform agenda for New Earswick. Furthermore, to frame the creation of

New Earswick as a pure manifestation of Quaker beliefs is to undermine the additional role of its architects and their socialist influences.

Despite this, religious practice was still recognised as an important route to respectability. This is borne out by the fact that New Earswick was founded as a multi-denominational village, while at Woodlands multiple places of worship occupied a central position in the village plan. Religion was especially significant in mining communities, which owing to financial precarity were negatively characterised by a 'frivolous' day-to-day existence, unconcerned with spiritual needs, and 'giving no thought for the morrow' (Dennis et al. 1956, 130). The encouragement of religious practice as a replacement for 'immoral' pursuits, such as gambling and alcohol consumption, was believed to benefit miners particularly (Hughes 2005, 157; Bruce 2011, 355).

The patronage of religious buildings in Woodlands nonetheless echoed a broader tension between Thellusson, the powerful landowner who sustained enormous wealth through the value of his estate's coal deposits, and Markham, the Liberal industry owner, reformer, and lessee of Thellusson. The Thellussons, who were of Swiss origin, were relative newcomers to the English landed gentry. Charles Thellusson sought public recognition as an established member, preferring to be known as 'Squire' Thellusson (Klemperer 2010, 100). He also appears to have been a familiar figure to residents, appearing at village festivals and other events (Oakley 2005, 344–5). By contrast, Markham as an MP would have spent much time travelling between the House of Commons in London and his Nottinghamshire constituency. While residents of Woodlands (especially those originally from Markham's constituency) may have recognised his parliamentary support for miners, he would have been a less visible presence in their daily lives.

In contrast to the Established Church of the gentry, coal mining communities in Yorkshire and northern England have been more closely linked with nonconformism (Dennis et al. 1956, 169; Carr 2001, 118–19; Bruce 2011, 337; Hall 2013, 30). Given mining communities' propensity for nonconformism, the dynamic at Woodlands paralleled the situation in Wales, where paternalistic and predominantly Anglican landowners

competed for social influence within a new Liberal and nonconformist social order (Cragoe 1996, 3–4). Reflecting this tendency, two Methodist chapels (Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist) were built at Woodlands within the first two years of the village's development. Anglican worshippers were initially provided with a timber mission hall, but Thellusson subsequently seized the opportunity to sponsor a permanent Anglican church on a site reserved for this purpose (Fig. 60).

The land on which All Saints Church and its associated building were built remained under the ownership of the Brodsworth estate, rather than being leased to the company. Correspondence regarding the church's construction indicates that Thellusson initially sought funding from the diocese of York in 1908 (DA DD/BROD/4/16). The church was ultimately financed by him alone but, with the foundation stone having been laid in 1911, it was not fully completed until 1913 (*British Architect* 1911; DA DD/BROD/4/16; Fig. 61). It has been suggested that Thellusson's decision to fund the entire cost of £8,500 was an attempt to make amends with
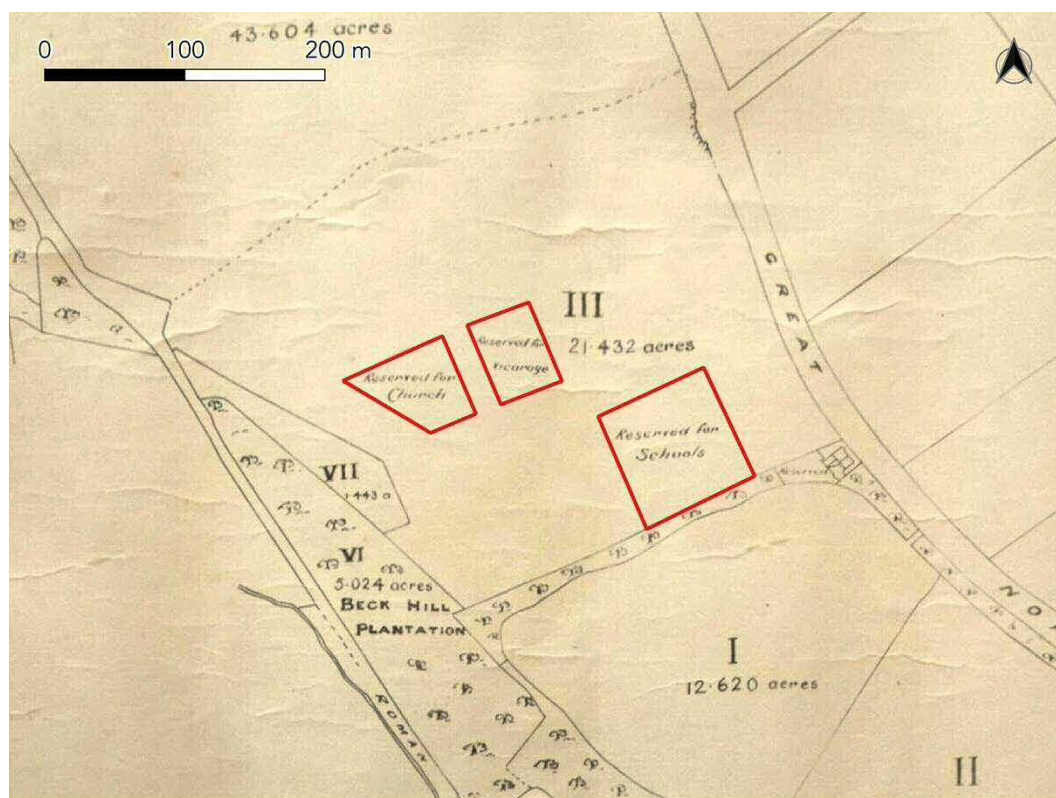
Fig. 60: **Detail of plan accompanying the lease agreement for Woodlands, highlighting blocks within Area III reserved for the church, vicarage, and schools (DA DD/BROD/ 20/58). Courtesy of Doncaster Archives.**

Fig. 61: **Historic photograph of All Saints Church taken from Central Avenue, Woodlands. The mission hall is visible on the far right. Courtesy of WCHA.**

Markham after their previous dispute (Parkhouse 1993, 24). Yet, by financing the entire cost of the church, Thellusson effectively retained influence over its dedication, its incumbent, its visibility in the landscape, and arguably its role in village life. He was especially anxious to avoid the vicar's appointment being decided by the colliery company.

All Saints Church remains a visually dominant element of the landscape. Its tall spire is visible from Brodsworth Hall, which is situated on higher ground, approximately 1.5 miles to the west of Woodlands. The church was built using bricks produced at the colliery brickyard and stone quarried from elsewhere on the Brodsworth estate (DA DD/BROD/4/16). The visibility of the church was an expression of Thellusson's engagement with the moral obligations expected of the gentry (e.g. Everett 1994, 4), as much a reflection of his role in village life—including contributions towards leisure, such as the May festival and the village brass band (Fordham 2009, 30). It must be acknowledged that the provision of places of worship did not necessarily mean that they were well attended by residents; indeed, at least one further chapel was proposed but never built, possibly suggesting a lack of demand, while the two Methodist congregations were later merged (Catharine 1992, 58). As

such, the provision of religious worship was not purely a tool of reform so much as a factor in the negotiation of the village's leadership. The multi-denominational nature of both New Earswick and Woodlands, in theory as in practice, affirmed their community independence, which was itself a feature of the reformist expectations for garden villages.

5.2 Housing and the home

For both New Earswick and Woodlands, the family was implicated as the intended subject of reform. Even at Woodlands, which was dependent on a specialised, male-dominated workforce, houses were primarily occupied by nuclear families. This arrangement characterised 83% of households in the 1911 Census (compared with 61% at New Earswick). Unlike some planned industrial villages, there was no boarding-house at Woodlands to accommodate workers without a family. The home as such served as a space in which reform could be socially practised, by offering improved domestic conditions and the material trappings of working-class respectability.

The control of housing by village managers and their agents contributed much to the social landscape, as well as the physical landscape that characterised their reformist efforts. This manifested itself differently in New Earswick compared to Woodlands. At the former, housing access was controlled through the practice of housing management, primarily at the point of tenant selection. The housing allocation process was certainly selective, accounting for need as well as perceived respectability (see Waddilove 1954, 67–8). By implication, ongoing social control within the village was less crucial. This facilitated another of Rowntree's objectives: to engender community independence. Although there is little comparable evidence of housing management at Woodlands, the company's dual role as employer and landlord implies that housing became an extension of its labour management strategy (e.g. Stokes 2010, 141–2). This was consistent with Markham's self-confessed autocratic role in the village (TNA HLG 1/68), despite the criticisms levelled at Thellusson for his paternalistic intrusions into the community.

Housing management

The formal practice of housing management by social reformers drew heavily from the work of Octavia Hill in the poorer districts of London's East End towards the end of the nineteenth century (Livesey 2007, 88; Wohl 2017). Hill's school of housing management advocated the collection of rents in person by a housing manager, typically a woman. Hill and her followers believed that this brought a personal element to the relationship between tenants and their landlord. This was frequently accompanied by elements of social work. Housing managers were ideally equipped to identify problems faced by tenant families, and also to educate women in managing the home and household finances (Massey 2017, 136). As a result, housing managers contributed much to the sense of place around the communities they served, which Livesey (2007, 91–2) argues has been overshadowed by environmental or spatial responses to poverty such as slum clearance (often led by male reformers).

In the case of Woodlands, the census indicates that a social worker (as opposed to a housing manager) resided in the village who was responsible for nursing provision, children's clubs, and running an adult school (DA SY/508/G/9/1; TNA RG14/28221-2). Such activities were enthusiastically supported by Markham's sister Violet, who had links with the settlement movement and social work elsewhere (founding the Chesterfield Settlement in 1903; Lewis 1991, 274). Little else is known about the early social programme for Woodlands but its existence confirms the underlying social ambition of the village's leadership, beyond the emphasis on an improved physical environment. At New Earswick, however, the village housing manager also contributed indirectly to the development of the landscape, combining social and material objectives. Housing management was indeed a key aspect of the trustees' reform vision. The housing manager, also referred to as the 'estate agent', was responsible for allocating housing, collecting rents, and directing repairs and improvement works. This was in addition to being an important mediator between representatives of residents and the trustees (Waddilove 1954, 63–4; BIA JRF/4/1/9/7/2/1).

New Earswick's first housing manager, Gulielma Harlock, had worked as secretary to Seebohm Rowntree at the time of the latter's poverty study and was likely familiar with the poor conditions encountered by urban working-class households. Harlock possibly shared a religious affiliation with the Rowntrees, having worked for a Quaker school and sharing her unusual first name with the wife of the prominent early Quaker, William Penn. More significantly, she had reportedly worked in the settlement movement in London and was a certified sanitary inspector (Briggs 1961, 29). But despite the experience that housing managers brought to the village, New Earswick does not appear to have been intended as a home for severely deprived families: those who might have benefited the most from the presence of a housing manager and indeed from life in the village. The trust's secretary in the 1950s acknowledged that its initial tenant selection policy excluded 'families apparently incapable of maintaining a satisfactory home' (Waddilove 1954, 67–8). The aim of advancing respectability was thus entwined with the materiality of the home, but at New Earswick a basic level of domestic pride was a prerequisite to taking up residence.

During the interwar period, decisions about housing were ideally made based on the housing manager visiting a prospective tenant's existing home (BIA JRF/4/1/9/7/2/1). Despite the practice of housing management, this policy somewhat undermines the idea that New Earswick was intended as an inclusive vehicle for social reform—to improve the living conditions of all working-class people, whether through education, social mixing, or other mechanisms. In addition to this, other factors—including New Earswick's relatively high rents and physical distance from the poorer urban districts of York—may have posed barriers to those perceived as having the greatest need for 'reform' (Waddilove 1954, 67). However, it has already been noted that the relationship between intentions, enshrined in the trust's policies, and the reality of village life is far from straightforward.

In any case, there is little available evidence of the criteria used to assess housing priority. Housing lists were mostly left to the discretion of the housing manager, with two key exceptions. The first of these was housing for employees of the Rowntree and Co. cocoa works. While New Earswick

was not proposed as a village exclusively reserved for employees and their families, neither was it formally designated by the trust deed as being entirely open to non-employees. During the 1920s, a period characterised by housing shortages, the trustees reported that Rowntree and Co. had struggled to retain factory workers because of a lack of housing. For example, in 1923, the trustees opted to reserve 71 houses (out of the 74 then-planned for completion at New Earswick) exclusively for their workers, with a further 50 workers placed on a waiting list (BIA JRF/2/1/1/3). An alternative approach was taken at the end of the 1920s whereby the company directly funded the construction of houses exclusively for its workers. These were located directly north of the village perimeter (Fig. 62), but their completion was overseen by the trust's building team. The justification of these deviations in the trust's housing policy was that its income depended on that of the company. This example illustrates the ease with which otherwise meaningful reformist intentions could be overcome by commercial expediency.
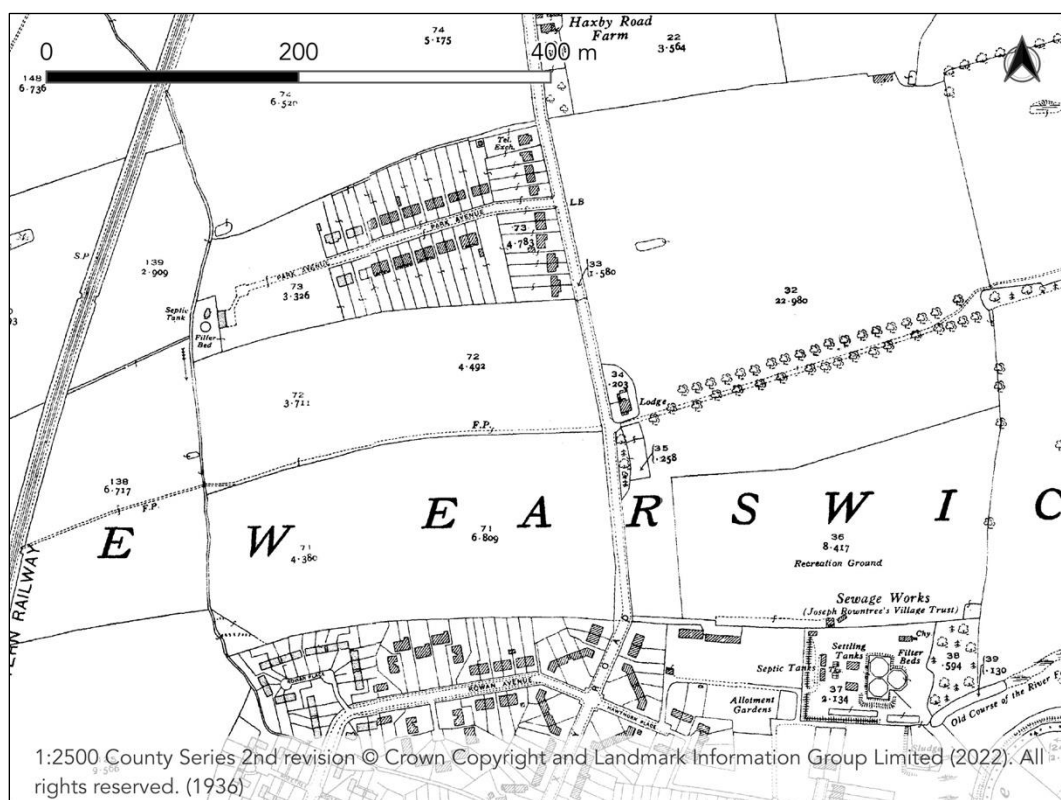
Fig. 62: **OS map (1936) showing housing funded by Rowntree and Co. for its own workers, north of New Earswick.**

The second exception was to prioritise families on the list. Also in the 1920s, Miss Paterson, then housing manager for the trust, noted a large proportion of unmarried women on the housing list. On the advice of the trustees, it was decided to give preference to families with children, deeming them to be in greater need of housing (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2). This decision was embedded in a prevailing ideology of domesticity that saw the family as the central unit of society, which, as Spencer-Wood (2006, 163) has suggested, was often rejected in communities of a more utopian nature.

Housing allocation principles such as these inevitably affected the social landscape of New Earswick, somewhat reducing the sense of the village as an independent community. For example, the proportion of working residents employed in the food industry, the most reliable proxy for employment by Rowntree and Co., increased marginally between 1911 and 1939 (cf. TNA RG14/28221–2; RG101/3274–5). This is likely to be an underestimate of the proportion working in the company in 1939, due to its increasing employment of specialised workers not directly involved in chocolate production (known examples include marketing assistants, experimental technicians, and social workers). Consequently, such workers may not have been explicitly identified in the 1939 Register as employed in the food industry.

The desire to avoid dependence on a single industry or organisation was as much an aim of the trustees (see p.166) as one of Howard and the wider garden city movement: the ability to associate freely. Moreover, the trustees' approach to housing allocation perhaps further suggests a reform ideology that was more heavily invested in the nuclear family, rather than the wider collective. In early New Earswick, this ideology manifested in a lack of housing suitable for single individuals, couples without children, or elderly residents. Houses built in the first two decades generally included a minimum of three bedrooms, which would have made rents prohibitively expensive for residents who needed only one. Indeed, three bedrooms became the default accommodation in the influential post-1918 Tudor Walters standards for council housing, three being the minimum necessary to ensure a separate bedroom each for parents, male children, and female children (Ravetz 2011, 163)—thus

fulfilling another criterion of respectability. It was not until the 1930s that New Earswick's trustees began to consider explicitly the needs of other tenants; these included older residents for whom a series of bungalows was proposed for them specifically. Regardless, for most prospective tenants, having a family with children was an essential condition of residence. This further established the family as a target for reform, with the home as a mechanism to achieve it.

Housing philanthropy

A key component of housing reform, along with the housing management approach, was the need to limit the density of housebuilding. This was typically done to avoid the spread of unsanitary conditions associated with urban districts. The decision to limit housing densities at New Earswick and Woodlands, as well as other garden villages, thus reflected the idea that living conditions in homes were a product of the environment as much as their occupants. Yet, in the case of Woodlands, there were other, more mundane reasons for the low-density housing built. These included attracting the necessary workforce, presenting the company as a pioneer of industrial housing reform, and the variable ground rents for building land.

The leasehold documentation records little about the role of housing reform in the development of Woodlands, but what is not said may offer some insight. Despite Thellusson's stipulation that the Brodsworth estate approve any housing or site plans, the lease agreements specified little about the planning of the village. For example, no reference was made to the density of housing, nor did there appear to be any restrictions on the number of homes permissible. But despite being built at a time when the colliery company was incentivised to generate a quick return—pit sinking representing a substantial outlay cost—the village's housing remained at a very low density.

The motivation for restricting density must of course be framed in the context of what was ultimately a new approach to planning, alongside the context of Markham's reformist politics. The design principles of the garden city movement particularly emphasised low-density building but it

was justified on aesthetic, social, and economic grounds. Counter-intuitively, Barry Parker demonstrated that it could be more economical to build at a lower density for any given plot of land, as it minimised the cost of laying access roads and sewers (Parker 1937, 79–80). However, a 'common-sense' understanding may have still equated low-density housing with economic extravagance. Its use at Woodlands would have therefore been recognised as a sign of Markham's progressive belief that miners ought to be provided with better surroundings. The Park—the earliest part of the model village—was built to the exceptionally low density of five houses to the acre, compared with the standard of ten maintained at New Earswick (Abercrombie 1910b, 111; BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/86). The later section, the Field area, was built to a density of 7.6 houses per gross acre (Houfton 1912). The landscape of Woodlands, with its low housing density and large open spaces, could thus be seen as a conspicuous statement of support for housing reform. This nevertheless concealed the difficulties posed by the artificially low rents charged to tenants.

In 1915, for example, it was noted that the company was making an annual loss of £3,000 on housing in the village (TNA HLG 1/68). This was partly due to the high interest on capital borrowed to finance the village and complicates the narrative that industrial villages developed only when the respective company had generated enough surplus capital to commence building (Houfton 1912, 38; cf. Hughes 2011, 202–3). Markham attempted to justify this lack of profit by suggesting that the village was run on a half-philanthropic, half-commercial basis (Fordham 2009, 33). The temporary acceptance of a financial loss on housing at Woodlands indicated a deviation from the 'five per cent philanthropy' principle of housing reform as practised at New Earswick, for which a modest net return was made (though less than five per cent). However, the initial lack of return at Woodlands may have contributed to Markham adopting a more paternalistic role. With a net loss on housing, there was greater pressure to ensure the economic and rhetorical value of the village (as a reformist project) was not destroyed.

This echoes the contrast between Bournville and Port Sunlight in the preceding two decades. Bournville was planned as a self-sustaining,

return-generating scheme, whereas Port Sunlight's housing did not generate a return (Abercrombie 1910a, 35–6). This necessitated Lever, the founder of Port Sunlight, exerting closer monitoring of workers' productivity to ensure that the provision of housing remained economically justifiable (Ashworth 1954, 132–3; Darley 2007, 138–47). In Markham's case, however, the concern was with both outsider influences and residents (in their capacity as tenants, rather than as employees, as in the case of Lever). Markham sought to challenge the democratic governance of the village by the local council, as well as to impede the free movement of itinerant sellers, street gamblers, and vagrants in and out of the village (TNA HLG 1/68; HO 45/10591/185368). He further openly admitted his 'autocratic' tendencies, insisting that a singular vision was necessary to manage an exemplary model village such as Woodlands (TNA HLG 1/68).

From Markham's perspective, commercial concern was still a factor in the company's approach to housing. Before the colliery's arrival, the surrounding landscape of Adwick-le-Street was predominantly agricultural, with a small existing population. Rural industries such as mining were often subject to a lack of both existing infrastructure and workforce, though the effect was arguably less pronounced in the UK than in the USA (e.g. Crawford 1995, 19; Ford 2011, 735). These two requirements make it likely that the low-density housing at Woodlands was partly a means of attracting workers from elsewhere. The ideas of social reform and the garden city movement had already equated low-density planned settlements with a picturesque and healthy environment. Woodlands was indeed largely successful in terms of attracting workers from the coalfields of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, based on the high proportion of residents born in those counties (59%; see pp.147–9). Notably, many residents were from districts with existing model villages, such as Creswell. Consequently, it was necessary to ensure that Woodlands remained a prospect more attractive than those villages, rather than merely being an improvement over unplanned colliery districts. There was thus a partly commercial incentive, rather than a purely benevolent, philanthropic one, to limit its overall density and capacity.

Moreover, the long-term impact of the company's financial situation during the early years was probably minimal. The Brodsworth company was by no means a small operation and was backed by substantial capital from its parent, the Staveley Coal and Iron Company (*Manchester Courier* 1907, 4). This likely absorbed some, though not all, of the financial risk in building the village. Although extraction at the colliery had only started in 1907, when the construction of the village began, Brodsworth Main was already on course to become the largest colliery in Britain (Stratton and Trinder 2000, 26). As such, the extremely low housing density overtly enhanced the perceived costs borne by the company, thereby promoting its direct contribution to solving the industrial housing problem. This was masked by Markham's more progressive view (at least for a director of a private company) that the profitability of housing was not essential for an industrial village to function, much less for demonstrating its originality as a radically new kind of mining settlement.

5.3   The managed landscape

While the home was broadly intended as a way of reproducing reform ideals, it was not itself subject to detailed specification by the founders of New Earswick and Woodlands. By contrast, the layout of the land was discussed at length, suggesting that the landscape was envisioned as an integral part of the founders' objectives. Where Woodlands is concerned, this was admittedly a reflection of the evidence available—for example, in the form of lease agreements, which would not necessarily describe building standards. However, even at New Earswick, for which the founding documents *could* have provided detailed housing specifications, documentation tended to emphasise the land rather than the buildings that occupied it. This indicates that the planning of the land was of primary concern to reformers rather than the actual material form of the home—despite the implied emphasis on the home as an important social institution.

Allocating land

The planning of New Earswick and Woodlands was based on exacting standards for the allocation of land. Superficially, this would suggest

that, in both cases, the land was recognised by the village founders as a medium for delivering their agenda for social reform. The origin of these standards nonetheless differed. At New Earswick, they were formalised in the trust's deed of foundation, authored by the founder, but this was after work on the village had already commenced. Conversely, the allocation of land at Woodlands was partly a product of negotiations between the landowner and the colliery company. In neither case was the land necessarily proposed by the founders as a straightforward pathway to social change. Rather, the land (particularly open spaces and recreation grounds) was increasingly conceptualised as a mechanism for reform as the development of each village progressed.

Construction work at Woodlands began under a pre-lease agreement, which required that all houses be declared finished and fit for occupation by the Brodsworth estate's surveyor before the company was permitted to let them. The actual lease for the village was signed in July 1909, nearly two years after the draft agreement was produced (DA DD/BROD/4/42). Coupled with the likelihood that the company was still paying 'dead rents'—rents payable before coal extraction was profitable (Parkhouse 1993, 4)—this further reduced the initial net return from housing rents. In turn, this may have added to the financial strain on the company. It was thus incentivised to complete building rapidly. The coal seam was reached earlier than anticipated, which further prompted an accelerated building programme (Houfton 1912). This would also have long-term consequences for the landscape, in terms of both site planning and the quality of homes once completed (see p.218).

As the lessor, and one of the largest mineral owners in the country, Thellusson held a significant degree of power in negotiating the lease agreements for Woodlands. It is therefore useful to consider why certain conditions were stipulated and what this might suggest about Thellusson's ideological stance. Most significantly for a garden village scheme, the agreement required the provision of 'open spaces for the benefit of the occupiers' (DA DD/BROD/4/40). Part B of the lease comprised land kept exclusively for open spaces and recreation grounds, though any land under Part A (houses, gardens, and roads) that was not
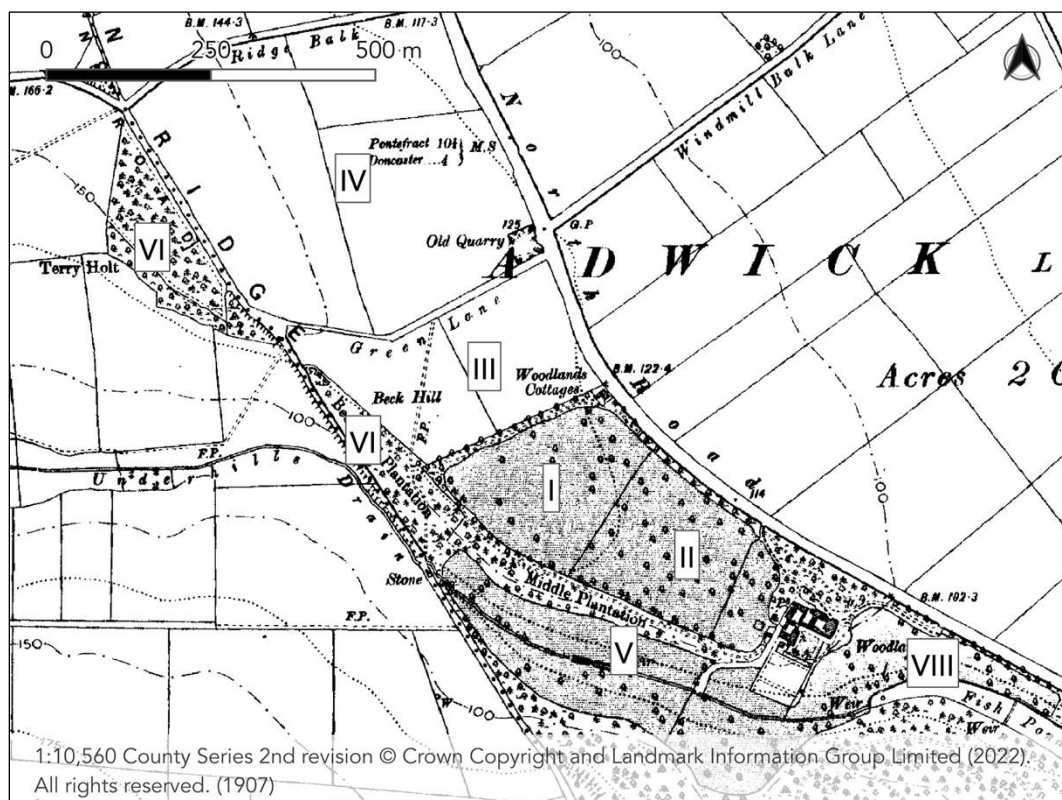
Fig. 63: **OS map (1907) annotated to show lease areas defined in the lease agreement for Woodlands (based on DA DD/BROD/20/98). Areas I–IV were reserved for housing and buildings, with remaining areas as open space.**

built upon could be preserved as open space, for which a reduced ground rent was paid (Fig. 63).

The parklands around Woodlands Mansion, for which the village was named, were reserved for non-specific recreational purposes (DA DD/BROD/4/40). This land included the fishpond and tree plantations (both extant) that marked the southern boundary of the village. This might imply that Thellusson wanted to guarantee for miners in the village opportunities for outdoor recreation—much as the Rowntrees prioritised social and community facilities in their objectives for New Earswick. The provision of recreational facilities later became a further source of conflict between Markham and Thellusson. After refusing to comply with Thellusson's request for a seven-foot-high fence around one recreation ground, Markham was presented with the accusation that he 'apparently does not consider it a necessary adjunct in a model village to have any recreation for his miners' (DA DD/BROD/4/17).

The kinds of housing to be provided at Woodlands were not specified to any degree in the lease documents. At New Earswick, the trust made relatively few references to the physical form that its housing scheme was to take. In stating its chief objective, the deed referenced the 'evils which arise from the insanitary and insufficient housing accommodation available for large numbers of the working classes' (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2). These words were taken almost verbatim from the Bournville Village Trust's 1900 deed of foundation (cf. Barlow 1912, 3). Concern with the material aspects of poor conditions for much of the working classes, as Seebohm Rowntree's poverty study demonstrated, thus suggested the proposed solution:

> The object of the said Trust shall be the improvement of the condition of the working classes … *by the provision of improved dwellings with open spaces and, where possible, gardens* (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2, emphasis added).

There is little reference to proscribed accommodation standards, such as the presence of a working kitchen or parlour, or a minimum number of bedrooms. This somewhat undermines the interpretation of New Earswick principally as an exercise in raising housing standards, even if it did ultimately achieve this (cf. Burnett 1986, 183). Housing standards were mostly left to the architects of such schemes (though residents of New Earswick also had input via the village council). In doing so, the village founders arguably ensured a degree of flexibility in housing design, with the architects generally free to design according to their understanding of the changing needs of residents.

The deed of foundation went to much greater lengths to quantify how building land would be apportioned at New Earswick, specifying that a minimum of one-tenth of the area, excluding roads, should be used as recreational or open spaces. The emphasis on recreation in the planning of the village (addressed in the following chapter) reinforced the trustees' need to replace undesirable recreational habits, such as drinking, with respectable alternatives. The deed also stipulated the desirability of having houses occupying a maximum of a quarter of their plot, with the remaining land to be used for gardens or open space. Furthermore, no less than three-quarters of the estate was to be free of buildings, while

industrial and commercial properties were to occupy a maximum of one-fifteenth of the total available land. Again, each of these standards was drawn directly from the Bournville Village Trust deed, Joseph Rowntree having consulted Cadbury over the development of his own trust (Barlow 1912, 6–9).

Regardless of their origin, the fact that the deeds of both trusts included such details demonstrates a concern with how land in the village ought to be *used*. This was expressed in terms of open spaces and gardens, low-density housing, and restriction on polluting industries. By implication, the use of land was linked with the improvement of working-class conditions. The trust's deed had justified the provision of gardens, as well as community facilities, improved housing, and open spaces, as being for 'the enjoyment of full and healthy lives'. For example, in 1906, the trustees, in consultation with the trust's clerk of works G. B. Brown, refined their standards for the distribution of land, increasing the standard garden size to 400 square yards each. This quantity was an estimate of the amount of garden space that residents would be able to cultivate in their free time (Appleton 1905; BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/1/3). Thus, the physical landscape, as envisioned by the founders, was not merely a convenient backdrop to their reformist ambitions for the village; rather it actively encouraged social improvement, achieved through the participation of the residents in it.

Gardens as such remained powerful signifiers of their occupiers' respectability. Domestic gardening, being associated with a particularly English kind of individualism (Taigel and Williamson 1993, 196; Bhatti et al. 2014), was regarded as a morally enriching recreational activity (Constantine 1981, 391). The provision of gardens at New Earswick, therefore, indicates a belief that they could be used to enhance the respectability of its residents. This is particularly significant given that some had relocated from urban environments, who therefore might not have been accustomed to keeping a garden. The very act of gardening, of actively maintaining and improving rather than merely possessing gardens, was given elevated significance through garden prizes awarded to tenants in the early years of the village (BIA JRF/4/1/9/5/1/3/2). Interestingly, results of the prizes were recorded in the minutes of the

village trustees, despite being the responsibility of the village council, which oversaw recreation in the village. This attests to the importance of gardens, as perceived by the trustees, to life in the village and its aesthetic appearance (see also p.241–2).

A case for land reform

The landscape was implicated in the wider social reforms sought by the garden city movement in another respect. Land reform (discussed on p.54), particularly capturing land values for public benefit, was a core element of Howard's garden city principles and was indeed important at Letchworth. For garden villages, it was generally less significant. An early draft of Rowntree's founding memoranda linked his ideas of social reform with 'the land question':

> Such aspects of it as the nationalisation of land, or the taxation of land values, or the appropriation of the unearned increment—all need a treatment far more thorough than they have yet received (BIA JRF/1/1/2).

Yet, this reference to land reform was omitted from the final published version; nor was it included in the deed of foundation or other documents concerning the founding of New Earswick. This might suggest that Rowntree believed it to be too radical an idea to discuss publicly. In any case, there is little in the trust's archives that implies any overt attempt to use the village to promote land reform.

Markham appears to have been more publicly vocal about the need for land reform in the context of Woodlands. Land reform was certainly among the many Liberal ideas that Markham actively campaigned for (Oakley 2005). Consequently, Woodlands and the Brodsworth colliery were implicated in a national political debate about land reform. This preceded the proposal for a land value tax made in Lloyd George's 'People's Budget' of 1909. Markham enthusiastically supported the bill, which also introduced the Land Valuation survey of 1910–15 (*The Times* 1916). However, in contrast to contemporary Liberals such as Josiah Wedgwood, he rejected Henry George's principle of a single land tax (Hansard 1912b).

Even so, Markham's preoccupation with the taxation of land values was largely borne of self-interest, in so far as it extended to the taxation of mining royalties. Much of his disagreement with Thellusson had indeed centred on royalties, which colliery companies were obliged to pay to the owner of the land from which the coal was mined, at a rate per ton extracted. At Woodlands, an additional rate was also payable to Thellusson for bricks, which were made at the colliery brickyard, used in the building of the village (DA DD/BROD/4/17). Markham felt that these royalties unfairly benefited coal owners like Thellusson, who in his view contributed little to the local parish rates, in contrast to the vast income that royalties could generate (*The Times* 1906). Thellusson was also accused of profiteering, perhaps more egregiously, by charging significantly greater than the agricultural value of land for housing (DA DD/BROD/4/17). Echoes of the dispute are implied in the Land Valuation field books for Woodlands, which recorded that 'the Colliery Co. have proved that the whole of the value beyond £50 per acre was created by them' (TNA IR58/27288–98). This was despite the land having an agricultural value of 15*s*. 6*d*. per acre, for which Thellusson charged as much as £150 per acre (cf. Oakley 2005, 333). The high cost of land was justified in terms of the increase in land values (the 'unearned increment') brought about by adjacent development. Yet, this was at the expense of the colliery company that had been partially responsible for generating the additional value.

The purpose for which land could be used was also a factor in the rents charged by the Brodsworth estate. For example, the draft agreement stipulated a rent of £4 per acre for land kept as open space, but £10 per acre for building land, private gardens included (DA DD/BROD/4/40). At Woodlands, this had the effect of discouraging the creation of private back gardens, which were a rarity for much of the village's history. It is also likely that this discouraged the colliery company from building housing in greater numbers. Thus, tension over the value of land was implicated not only in the design of the village, but also in the crowded conditions experienced by its residents. In microcosm, this reflected a national concern with landowners reluctant to release land for

housebuilding, which might have otherwise alleviated the burden on overcrowded urban districts.

Local politics and control

Before 1915, Adwick-le-Street was designated as a rural district, with limited planning powers. This was despite the massive increase in population brought by the mining industry, including Bullcroft colliery as well as Brodsworth. It was estimated that approximately 90% of the district's population were mining families (TNA HLG 1/68). In 1914, West Riding County Council ordered Adwick-le-Street to be incorporated into an urban district council, which was to include Woodlands and the other model villages of Highfields and Bullcroft. The order was actively opposed by Doncaster Rural District Council (RDC), which petitioned the Local Government Board to intervene. This prompted a local inquiry in 1915 (TNA HLG 1/68). Crucially, Markham appeared as a key witness in opposition to the order. In the conclusion of the inquiry's report, he was also recognised as the catalyst that ignited the relatively minor objections of the local parish into outright opposition.

Much of the inquiry centred on the poor sanitary conditions of the district. The report nonetheless commended the state of its model villages (Woodlands included), largely due to the services provided by the relevant colliery companies. The relationship between the village of Adwick-le-Street and Woodlands can perhaps be seen in terms of an extension of the open–closed village thesis into the twentieth century (see Jackson 2012, 132). Woodlands, under the management of a single entity (albeit a leaseholder) and the ownership of a single landowner, was thus able to control development over housing conditions in a way that Adwick-le-Street village could not. In the latter, Thellusson was still a majority, but not exclusive, landowner and as such it was not as tightly controlled as Woodlands.

The RDC stood accused of failing to maintain standards in Adwick-le-Street village. Homes there were described as 'typical collier's houses in close set "rookeries" with back streets' (TNA HLG 1/68). A doctor, giving evidence in support of the order, commented that the 'general state of

affairs is bad for the health of the district and there is much sore throat, diphtheria and diarrhoea in winter due to bad sanitary conditions' (TNA HLG 1/68). Objections were raised over inadequate refuse collection, speculatively built houses with little sanitary infrastructure, and leaking privy middens. Recognition of the poor state of conditions in much of Adwick-le-Street therefore may have positively enhanced the perception of Woodlands and the other model villages in the district, as well as potentially driving mining families away from Adwick-le-Street village. This might explain the high incidence of lodgers and boarders at Woodlands (see pp.145–7), though this was not directly cited as evidence in support of the order. Interestingly, a meeting of ratepayers from Woodlands and Highfields, which would together comprise the Woodlands ward of the proposed urban district, unanimously supported the order. While reasons for their support were not explicit, a factor may have been underlying sympathy with fellow miners living in poorer conditions elsewhere in the district (see also pp.301–2).

Markham's objections to the order were twofold. Firstly, he believed that being incorporated into an urban district would increase the local rates; tenants in Woodlands would now be required to pay rates towards the new council for services that were already undertaken by the colliery company. This echoes a similar discussion over New Earswick. There, the trustees considered that becoming an urban district actually presented an advantage over a rural district in that 'special expenses' (sanitary improvements) under the 1890 Public Health Act could be levied across the whole district rather than the parish (BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/1/4). New Earswick's relationship with neighbouring parishes and villages was no less complicated than that of Woodlands. While New Earswick's trustees actively avoided any accusation of interference in the civic life of the community, they too struggled to secure for the village the same powers held by the local authority. New Earswick belonged to the rural district of Flaxton, but the trustees continually campaigned for New Earswick to become a separate parish. Partly, this was a question of economic fairness. Residents were required to pay rates to the district for sanitation and other services delivered not by them but by the trust (to which their rents already contributed). It nonetheless suggested that

autonomy over the management of the land and the planning of the village was necessary to enact their reform vision.

Similarly, services at Woodlands could be carried out much more cheaply by the colliery company than by the RDC. This included the collection of refuse, which could be transported away via the colliery railway sidings that led into the western boundary of the village. However, Markham's greater objection was what he perceived as the threat of losing control over the development of Woodlands. The head of the inquiry summarised that 'if the villages were thrown in with the neighbouring insanitary area he [Markham] thought it would kill model villages' (TNA HLG 1/68). A clerk of the Local Government Board conceded that Markham might 'see some features of his model village somewhat spoiled by an Urban Council of miners' (TNA HLG 1/68). Nevertheless, the order was passed in March 1915.

Because of Markham's political leanings, it appears that his objections were due to a genuine concern that democratic representation within the village would undermine its idyllic conditions, rather than a desire to stem the involvement of his miners in politics. There is admittedly an argument to be made that the amenities provided in the village were intended to discourage and distract from union activity. But this is invalidated by Markham's apparent preference for employing exclusively unionised workers, finding it easier to deal with groups than individuals (Hansard 1910). Markham, like Thellusson, perhaps also wished to maintain his position as a 'benevolent' paternalist. Yet, the inquiry illustrates the extent to which the development of Woodlands was appropriated ideologically—ironically by Markham's opponents who supported the urban district order—to justify the improvement of the wider landscape, and in particular, the drive towards sanitary reform and public housing provision in the district.

The completion of council housing near Woodlands after the First World War is one such example, which was made more practicable with the additional powers conferred by Adwick-le-Street becoming an urban district (Abercrombie and Johnson 1922, 71). Moreover, the evidence from Woodlands illustrates how negotiation over the land might limit its

development, and thereby constrain the capacity of planning for the advancement of social reform. The inquiry evidence refutes the interpretation that colliery owners were wholly uninterested in the welfare or housing conditions of their workers (cf. Metcalfe 2006, 15).

5.4 Architectural appointments

While the motivations of the architects are considered in greater detail in the following chapter, the choice of which architect to engage was not arbitrary. The reform objectives of garden village founders can therefore be inferred from their architectural appointments, as well as their own ideological leanings. In both cases, architects with connections to the garden city movement were selected, which implies that the founders stood to benefit from the prestige associated with participation in the movement. As such, they were able to cement their reputations as modernising employers and philanthropists, while making a practical contribution that aligned with their reformist motivations. Unsurprisingly for a rapidly built community such as Woodlands, with an urgent need to accommodate workers, more practical concerns appear to have taken precedence. New Earswick, on the other hand, enabled a more idealistic agenda on the part of the architects. Yet, in both cases, the architects' prior engagement with the design philosophy of the garden city movement, and its ideological baggage, was fundamental to their appointment.

Parker and Unwin at New Earswick

The connection between the architectural partnership of Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin and the garden city movement is well established in the housing and planning literature (e.g. Creese 1966; Hall 1993; Meacham 1999; Darley 2007; Miller 2010). It suffices to note that they brought to the movement a moderate socialist attitude towards the housing of the working classes. This was in subtle contrast to Ebenezer Howard's anarcho-communist influences, which, in turn, were inspired by the Russian philosopher Peter Kropotkin (Aalen 1992, 40; Alston 2012, 266; Bowie 2017, 166). Parker and Unwin's partnership nonetheless contributed to the translation of the garden city as a model for social

reform into a built reality. Between them, they were responsible for the design of some of the English garden city movement's most recognisable schemes: Letchworth Garden City (1904), Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907), Wavertree Garden Suburb in Liverpool (1910), and the Wythenshawe housing estate in Manchester (1931), as well as New Earswick (Miller 2010, 109–15). New Earswick's historical significance is thus sometimes framed only as a testing ground for planning and housing design principles later applied elsewhere, most notably at Letchworth (e.g. Miller 1981, 78; Hall 1993, 83). Indeed, the 'experimental' nature of early New Earswick was acknowledged by contemporary newspaper reports (*Manchester Courier* 1905; *Hull Daily Mail* 1907; *The Times* 1910; BIA JRF/4/1/9/22/3).

Joseph Rowntree had delegated most of the responsibility for the day-to-day management of the trust's activities to his son Seebohm, who attended the first conference of the GCTPA (then known as the Garden City Association) held at Bournville in 1901 (Makino 1979, 9). It was thereafter that Parker and Unwin, who also attended, were appointed as the architects for New Earswick (Waddilove 1954, 3). As architectural partners, they had delivered only a handful of housing projects at this point, but they had lectured and published extensively on the design of 'artisan', working-class homes (e.g. Parker and Unwin 1901; Unwin 1902). Unwin brought with him a concern for practical and technical matters, having previously worked as an architect for the Staveley Coal and Iron Company (which later founded the Brodsworth Main Colliery Company), while Parker was recognised for his artistic creativity (Miller 1981, 74–5).

Coupled with their following of socialist thinkers, including Edward Carpenter, William Morris, and John Ruskin (Bowie 2017, 166), Parker and Unwin were sympathetic to the needs of working-class people and believed they could be reformed on a material basis: both ascribed to a belief in 'physical determinism' (Day 1981, 158). This was as much about liberation from poor conditions as it was about liberation from the unnecessary material accoutrements of middle-class society, as they argued in *The Art of Building a Home*:

Socially morally and artistically one of the most necessary reforms to-day is that we should simplify our lives; we should shake ourselves free from all this hampering web of artificialities in which we have become so degradingly entangled: and in our homes we must make this possible for ourselves by first sweeping away all these fussy substitutes for ornament, all these supposed indications and requirements of refinement (Parker and Unwin 1901, 72).

A moralistic tone is denoted by the phrase 'degradingly entangled'. The critique of 'requirements of refinement' was best exemplified through the architects' dislike of parlours. The parlour was seen as an unnecessary extravagance in working-class homes (Parker and Unwin 1901, 104), driven by 'desire to imitate the middle-class house' (Unwin 1902, 13). This was despite its social function for working-class people, with formal visitors received in the parlour at the front of the house rather than the more commonly used back door (Buckley 2010, 37). The configuration of the home in this respect structured social relations and facilitated the performance of respectability: in this case, deference to guests.

The parlour was to Parker and Unwin a symbol of a petit bourgeois lifestyle and, by extension, class consciousness, which they regarded as a distraction from wider social reform (Meacham 1999, 77). However, Parker and Unwin's general principle that linked reform with material surroundings resonated with the principles of Rowntree and the trust, which sought the improvement of people through the improvement of their physical environment. Nevertheless, such a belief was not universal among those concerned with working-class conditions or otherwise sympathetic to social reform. Despite publishing Unwin's (1902) pamphlet on the design of cottages, the socialist Fabian Society retained little interest in material aspects of working-class housing, regarding it as a purely economic problem that could be better solved by securing a minimum wage for workers (Bowie 2017, 170).

A more radical undercurrent to Parker and Unwin's design philosophy existed in ideas of cooperation, beginning with a 'common room' to be shared by multiple households, as a substitute for the individual parlour:

To this Common Room could be added a laundry and drying-room fitted with a few modern appliances which would ... reduce by half the labour and time occupied in the weekly wash ...

What they need is some arrangement by which they could retain the privacy and individuality of a separate house, while gaining the advantage, which they have in a boarding house, of properly organized service and skilled cooking (Parker and Unwin 1901, 104–5).

Architects of the garden city movement sometimes actively experimented with designs to encourage cooperation—Homesgarth at Letchworth being
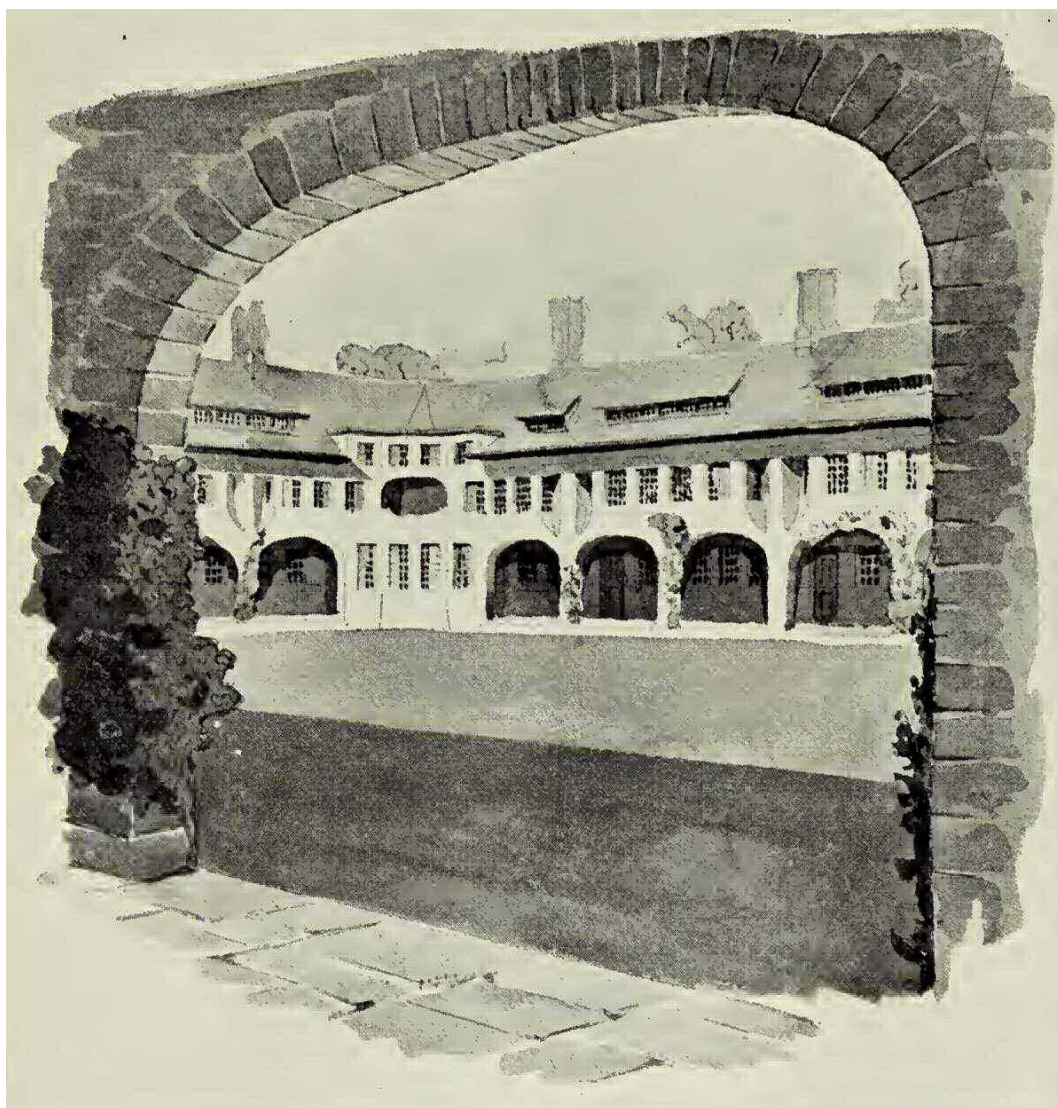
Fig. 64: **Parker and Unwin's illustrative design for cooperative housing, arranged in a quadrangle (from Parker and Unwin 1901, pl.34). Although architecturally more ornate, it bears some resemblance in arrangement to the quadrangle of Ivy Place at New Earswick (Fig. 12, p.89).**

one example (Borden 1999). Although Parker and Unwin did not admit to applying these ideas to New Earswick, they warrant consideration in the context of materialistic domestic reform (see Spencer-Wood 1991). For instance, Unwin (1902, 14) had proposed arranging housing blocks in college-style quadrangles, usually with a communal lawn at the centre, to encourage cooperation between households (Fig. 64). This was a departure from conventional ideas of private domesticity. His pamphlet, *Cottage Plans and Common Sense*, also recommended the benefits of building children's play spaces adjoining laundries. In his view, the need for childcare often prevented women from using communal facilities (Unwin 1902, 5–14). The explicit suggestion of cooperative housekeeping, including collectivised child rearing, was thus one of the architects' more radical proposals for reform in the domestic sphere. It implicitly advanced the idea of cooperation as a feature of working-class life, which could not otherwise be provided in typical middle-class housing. This further alluded to the tension between individual and collective factors, inherent in the Rowntrees' view of the causes of poor conditions.

Although Rowntree made little reference to cooperative practices in his trust's deed, he stressed the importance of the independent, self-organised community engendered by a rural village setting. The appointment of Parker and Unwin was justified on these terms. At the time, the pair were prolific propagandists for the arts and crafts design philosophy as applied to working-class homes, but, with few corresponding projects, their introduction to the Rowntrees at the first garden city conference was a catalyst for their future working arrangement (Sinclair 2005, 3). The alignment in beliefs, between the principles of the Rowntrees on the one hand, and those of Parker and Unwin on the other, mutually bolstered their respective reputations as philanthropists and designers. Interestingly, despite the success of Bournville, its architect William Alexander Harvey did not enjoy the same level of recognition within the garden city movement as Parker or Unwin. The congruence in the reformist thinking of the village trustees and that of their architects did not, however, preclude the latter from incorporating their own social (or indeed socialist) agenda within their designs.

Percy Houfton at Woodlands

The infrequent references to Woodlands within the scholarly literature on the garden city movement imply a general lack of acknowledgement that the village was a part of it (but see Tarn 1973, 172–3). This is partly because of a much longer tradition of planned colliery villages in northern England, such as Creswell, Derbyshire; Woodlands, in this respect, was scarcely new. Houfton, the architect of Woodlands, was trained as a mining engineer before commencing his architecture practice at Chesterfield, Derbyshire (Pike 1901). Perhaps because of the technical nature of much of his work (often for private companies), he did not receive the same public acclaim as Parker and Unwin would later earn (a reflection of both their early design manifestos and their garden city housing schemes from New Earswick onwards). As a result, Houfton's work was less strongly associated with the garden city movement. Even so, while the early town planning movement had generally adopted Woodlands as a successful example of modern town planning (e.g. Abercrombie 1910b, 111–12; Scott and Culpin 1910, 125), it is important to consider the extent to which the garden city movement had a role in his appointment to design Woodlands.

Early propagandists for Letchworth Garden City acknowledged Woodlands as one of a select few garden villages, along with New Earswick, Hull Garden Village, Port Sunlight, Bournville, and Knebworth (GCC LBM3056.33.38). Woodlands was also acknowledged by the planner Patrick Abercrombie as embodying the spirit of Howard's original garden city (Abercrombie 1910b; 1911). Contemporary newspaper accounts of Woodlands more generally described it using the term 'model village' (e.g. *Tamworth Herald* 1908; *Hull Daily Mail* 1912; *The Times* 1912; *Manchester Courier* 1913). A key question is whether the design of the village was a result of a desire to engender social reform among mining families or merely an attempt at creating a 'fashionable' style of settlement to bolster the reputation of those involved in its creation. In abstract terms, this distinction is one of an active, transformative landscape versus a more passive, representational landscape: one that was merely symbolic of attempts to reform.

Houfton was appointed as the architect following a competitive process launched by the Brodsworth Main Colliery Company in August 1906. The guidance stipulated that the village was to include '500 cottages, clubhouse and shops' and should emphasise 'economy, efficiency and thorough sanitary arrangements', with a prize of £100 offered to the winning designer (*British Architect* 1906a, 76). The prize for the best design was awarded to architects A. and J. Soutar based on Houfton's advice, indicating that Houfton already had an association with Markham (*British Architect* 1906b, 326; 1907, 110). However, the winning plan was never realised, owing to the need to expand the scope and speed of the development (DA DD/BROD/4/13). The colliery directors instead appointed Houfton to design the entire scheme according to his own plans.

Houfton's experience in planning industrial villages and cottage-style homes was an advantage in his eventual appointment. He had previously worked as an assistant to his cousin J. B. Houfton, general manager of the colliery at Creswell, Derbyshire (Pike 1901). While there, Percy Houfton
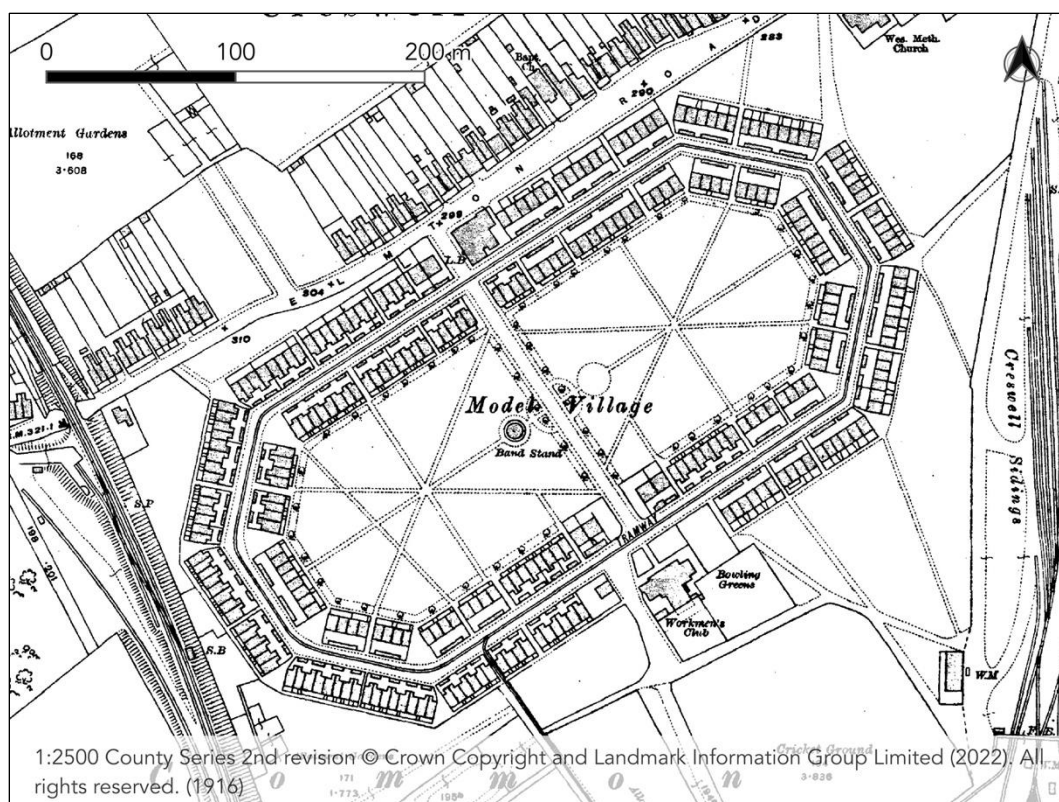
Fig. 65: **OS map (1916) of Creswell Model Village, Derbyshire, depicting the seven-acre green to the rear of the inner ring of houses.**

was responsible for the design of the Creswell model mining village, built in the 1890s (Hudson 1984, 117–18). The plan for Creswell included houses backing onto a single communal green space (Fig. 65), an arrangement that he later repeated in multiple locations across Woodlands (forming its open 'squares' between the streets).

In 1902, Houfton won an architectural competition to design municipal housing, primarily for steelworkers, at Wincobank near Sheffield (Hebblethwaite 1987, 150); one of his designs for this scheme was awarded first prize in the Letchworth Garden City Exhibition for the best 'cheap cottage' (*British Architect* 1905, 200). As discussed above, speed and economy of construction were important factors in the development of Woodlands, as in other industrial housing schemes. Yet, Houfton demonstrated a commitment to higher architectural standards that might not necessarily have been expected by clients with a concern for practical industrial housebuilding. The winning Letchworth exhibition design was later incorporated into Houfton's housing designs for Woodlands, many of which integrated parlour cottages within the same block as non-parlour cottages (Abercrombie 1910b, 127–8). Woodlands thus exemplified elements lifted directly from his previous involvement in the garden city movement.

Given these connections—and despite Houfton being rarely acknowledged today as a proponent of the garden city movement—it is reasonable to acknowledge the movement's influence on his designs for Woodlands. With few architectural publications to his name, Houfton's ideological position is less well understood. He appeared to be suspicious of speculative builders, writing in one of his few publications that the mining industry was particularly susceptible to the kind of housing built with 'the usual disregard for air-space, gardens, good planning and amenity' (Houfton 1912, 38). This alludes to the health and well-being implications of mining communities. Even so, and unsurprisingly for an architect who worked in commercial industrial settings, he viewed progress in the planning of mining villages in rational, business-like terms: 'in the direct line of scientific industrial development' (Houfton 1912, 39).

Houfton nonetheless agreed with Markham in his rejection of the idea that 'the slum-dwellers make the slums', holding working-class miners in comparatively high regard, as opposed to some of the colliery company's other directors (Houfton 1912, 37). The provision of an improved environment for miners, therefore, expressed confidence in the idea that respectable surroundings enabled them to be liberated from poor conditions and immoral behaviour. Accounting for Markham's political influences, the village can be regarded as a reformist project in terms of both design and ideological motivations. This involved a focused effort to improve the domestic lives of miners and their families: a social group all too familiar with unsatisfactory conditions, as well as being subject to negative popular opinion.

Houfton's appointment certainly contributed to the initial recognition of Woodlands as a garden village, and his work helped to impart a more respectable image of its residents (likewise its principal employer). Yet, the dissemination of the project was mostly conducted by Houfton himself, frequently via the Garden City Association's journal (*GCTP* 1908; Houfton 1910; 1912). This undermines the notion that Markham himself publicly sought to enhance his personal and political reputation through his involvement. In turn, this raises the possibility that both practical, economic housebuilding and the improvement of social conditions along garden city lines were simultaneously implicated in the plan for Woodlands. Whichever took precedence, its creation was not merely a symbolic gesture.

A further direct connection with the garden city movement was in the appointment of F. J. Cole, Letchworth Garden City's resident gardener and forester, responsible for planting in the village of Woodlands. Cole appears to have been credited with much of its earlier soft landscaping, including climbing plants on the gables of houses and rose hedges or hardy perennials dividing the properties (*GCTP* 1908, 126). Despite the 'advantages of outdoor village life' (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2) not being explicitly stated as an objective for Woodlands, as was the case in New Earswick, Woodlands thereby presented a rustic environment with green surroundings. Because of the contemporary equivalence between non-urban spaces and a higher quality of life, as understood by the garden

city movement's followers, Woodlands still represented a meaningful attempt at reform—even if its direct social objectives are ambiguous today.

Conclusions

This chapter has articulated some of the key objectives behind the creation of New Earswick and Woodlands. The reform objectives held by the founder and trustees of New Earswick were relatively clear and internally uncontroversial, in that there was little dissent among the trustees and their agents. This was not the case at Woodlands, where the complex system of land tenure and interpersonal conflict over material, social, and economic objectives would later have significant consequences for the landscape and its residents. These included the persistence of overcrowding and the creation of spatial inequalities between the better-planned southern part of the village and the rapidly constructed northern part. Yet, though garden city principles were sometimes challenged, they prevailed in both villages.

Ideas of reform are closely bound with notions of respectability. This may be imagined more accurately, as per Thompson (1988), as embodying self-respect (see also Thompson 1981, 195–6). In this vein, respectability can be seen as entwined with garden villages: material landscapes of both reform and respectability. New Earswick's founder Joseph Rowntree and his trustees actively sought the improvement of the working classes, however loosely defined. This encompassed both their moral rectitude and their material conditions engendered by well-designed, properly maintained, sanitary homes. Rowntree also specified expectations for the design and planning of the village, thus placing material concerns at the centre of the trust's objectives. Even in the case of Woodlands, where explicit reference to the founder's intentions was lacking, analysis of the circumstances under which the village was established frames respectability as an emerging theme. To be a respectable member of the working classes meant not relying on charity (thus, residents in both villages paid rent for their accommodation) and adhering to a certain standard of behaviour (notably temperance).

At New Earswick, notions of working-class respectability were shaped by the mix of middle- and working-class residents. But this in turn was a product of the trusts' housing management policies, including its loose definition of the working classes. This was alongside its requirement that residents keep homes and gardens to a satisfactory standard. Because social mixing as a mechanism for maintaining respectability was unattainable in the case of Woodlands, being an almost entirely working-class community, its design and planning arguably adopted a more exclusive role. The village depended on attracting a specialised workforce, which did not necessarily exist in a large enough pool to select only the most respectable workers as tenants. This contributed to Markham's attempts at moderate social control through the policing of the village, limiting the sale of alcohol, and generally maintaining his authority over the land. As the director of the colliery company that financed Woodlands, Markham was the de facto founder of the model village. However, perhaps because of his political responsibilities, the landowner Thellusson retained significant influence over the village. This occasionally confronted Markham's own politics as a result.

The specific relevance of the garden village approach to planning was more clearly articulated in the case of New Earswick. Its foundation required a set of planning standards to be adhered to throughout its development. By contrasting these standards against the 'evils' of 'insanitary and insufficient housing', Rowntree guaranteed that New Earswick's design would be recognised as a contribution towards solving the housing problem. The quantitative approach to the allocation of land perhaps echoed Seebohm Rowntree's quantitative, empirical emphasis in his poverty study (Vaughan 2018, 99). Admittedly, because the trust was formed two years after work on the village had begun, it is likely that the trust deed merely formalised some of the principles of site planning already practised at New Earswick. This illustrates the need to examine the relationship between the aims of garden village founders and the interpretation thereof by garden village architects and planners. But regardless of who had devised the principles of land use articulated in the deed text, their very inclusion implies that the landscape had begun

to be recognised as a mechanism for social improvement at
New Earswick.

In contrast to Rowntree, Markham's concern with addressing poor
environmental conditions surfaced only in his evidence given to the
urban district inquiry. Even so, Markham and his appointed architect
shared a belief that a better environment would engender better social
conditions and a more respectable workforce. Meanwhile, negative
perceptions of miners were a source of much of the conflict that
Markham had faced internally. As such, his major challenge was to justify
the existence of a scheme to foster respectability among a social group
who were often marginalised. Crucially, the appointed architects brought
with them planning solutions that reflected their own social agenda, of
which aspects have been considered in this chapter. The next chapter
continues this theme by examining how planning and design features
were used to encourage active engagement with the landscape among
garden village residents, constituting a material landscape of reform.

6 The landscape realised: The social use of planning

Although it was certainly advantageous for village founders to be visibly recognised as engaging with a reform movement, the design and planning of garden villages was more than an aesthetic backdrop to reform. The appointed architects naturally brought their own reformist ideals, some of which have been discussed in the previous chapter, and which were in some respects more radical than those of their clients: for example, ideas of cooperation and domestic reform. Radical motivations were not always overtly addressed, with designs sometimes justified on a more pragmatic basis. In other respects, the planning of New Earswick and Woodlands did accord with the founders' underlying principles, specifically around the active use of the landscape as a way of engendering working-class respectability and well-being.

The premise of this chapter is that rarely did a given aspect of the landscape's design and planning serve a purely economic, purely aesthetic, or purely social purpose. It is therefore necessary to consider the complex implications of design decisions for reform, beyond the stated justifications offered by architects and planners. Having already established the extant landscape character of New Earswick and Woodlands in Chapters 3 and 4, this chapter evaluates the contribution of specific forms of architecture, planning, and landscape design in realising reformist ideals (including those identified in the preceding chapter). Accordingly, it addresses the deployment of new types of housing to promote health and 'moral' well-being in individuals, with recreational and communal spaces serving as locales for residents to participate actively in village life. In doing so, it illustrates how particular ideals, such as social mixing, rational recreation, and communality, were articulated through the material design of garden villages. Most significantly, the

architects of New Earswick and Woodlands executed their respective projects by developing a new kind of non-urban (but not necessarily rural) village setting. This setting was uniquely defined by open spaces, greenery, and cottage-style houses with abundant light in and around them. However, it is first necessary to situate the genesis of the site plans for New Earswick and Woodlands within their respective authors' design discourses.

6.1   Design discourses

Perhaps because of the abundance of garden village and suburb schemes compared with actual garden cities, scholars such as Girouard (1985, 355) have assumed that the movement was fundamentally anti-urban. Certainly, the design principles of the garden city movement broadly prioritised the rural over the urban. However, the movement was instrumental in advancing new settlement forms by deploying aspects of the rural landscape—especially greenery—in urban or suburban settings. The landscape aesthetic of garden villages might therefore be more accurately described as rustic rather than rural, as the former term implies a culturally constructed approximation of the rural rather than straightforward imitation.

The rustic aspects of the designs for New Earswick and Woodlands were expressed on several levels: through housing, planning, and landscape design. If landscape can be considered an 'expression of a place's regional context' (Hough 1990, 15), then aspects of its design and planning can inculcate a particular identity among its inhabitants. The early garden city movement's choice of architectural styles, as seen in the case study villages, demonstrated a concern with the anonymity of large towns and the perceived absence of social cohesion as a result. Indeed, Ebenezer Howard's publication referred to the 'isolation of crowds' as one of the faults of cities (Howard 1902, 16). The beautified surroundings of garden cities or garden villages provided a means for people to articulate their identity in relation to the rural landscape in a way that was not possible through the home only (Meacham 1999, 182).

Like the 'city beautiful' movement in the USA, the garden city movement shared as a priority the beautification of villages, towns, and cities through 'green' aesthetics (Gillette 2010, 14–16). Urban reform movements such as these were based on a 'discourse of beauty', which may be contrasted with a 'discourse of efficiency', a function of planning that prioritised technological advancement or economic rationality (Angelo and Vormann 2018). The original emphasis on beauty in the design of New Earswick and Woodlands was radical in its perceived extravagance and to some degree paralleled the radicalness of each founder's social vision. Nevertheless, the justification for later modifications expressed a greater emphasis on expediency over utopian aspiration—'efficiency' rather than 'beauty'. As a result, the shifting design discourses obscured earlier, more ambitious elements of the overall plans, which this chapter uncovers.

New Earswick: An experiment in planning?

The first full plan of the New Earswick site was drawn in 1904 (Fig. 66). Although the street pattern of the extant landscape is recognisable from this plan, there are substantial differences in the layout of housing and the range of amenities available. Many of the plan's features were speculative proposals, with references, for example, to space reserved for a central building ('either church, chapel or institute') and the suggestion that 'other larger houses could be built … if found desirable' (BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/86).

The 1904 plan indicates that New Earswick's architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin were initially working with a standard density of ten houses to the acre. The houses depicted include those already built at the time (43) and what appear to have been tentative proposals for the arrangement of some future buildings, most of which were not followed in execution. The plan demonstrates attempts to vary the 'street picture' through turned-end houses or the closing of vanishing points at road junctions (Figs. 67–8), while also minimising the number of houses oriented to the north and away from the sunlight. These were design principles that were justified jointly on aesthetic and practical grounds in publications such as *Town Planning in Practice* (Unwin 1911) and *Nothing*

Gained by Overcrowding! (Unwin 1912). As already discussed, Parker (1937, 79–80) argued that low-density building was often more cost-effective since it required less expenditure on the construction and maintenance of access roads and sewers. Turned-end houses, in which the outermost houses in a block projected at right angles towards the road, similarly reduced the width (and therefore cost) of street frontage required while leaving the same amount of internal space (Waddilove 1954, 18). This arrangement permitted lower construction costs, allowing houses to be let at a more affordable rate.
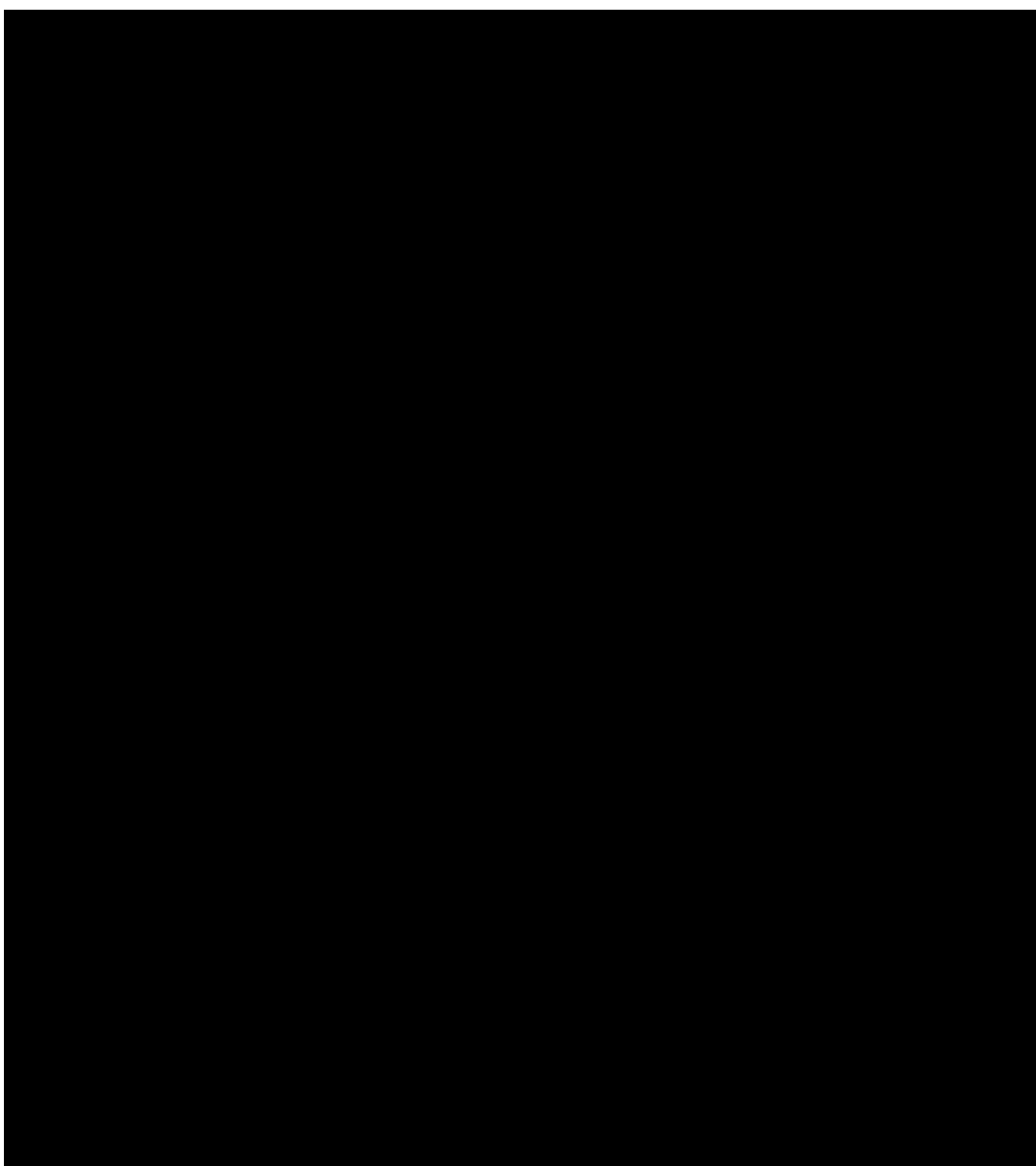
Fig. 66: **New Earswick 1904 site plan by Fairbank and Sons (BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/86). © Borthwick Institute for Archives.**
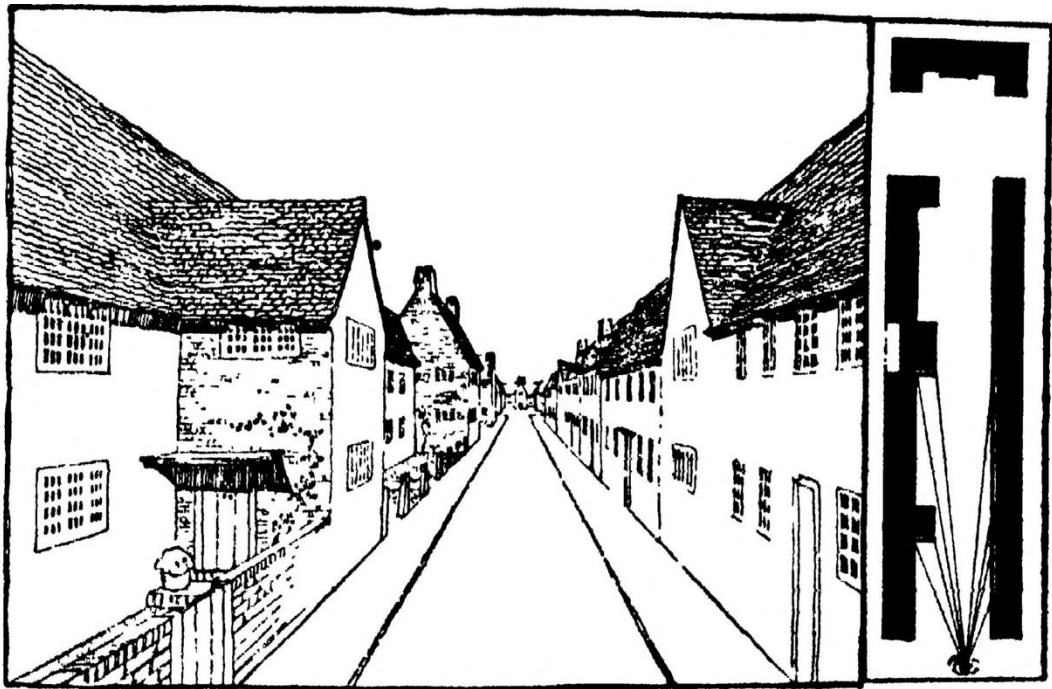
Fig. 67: **Diagram of contrasting 'street pictures' (from Unwin 1911, 259). Parker and Unwin advocated for the more visually interesting example on the left.**
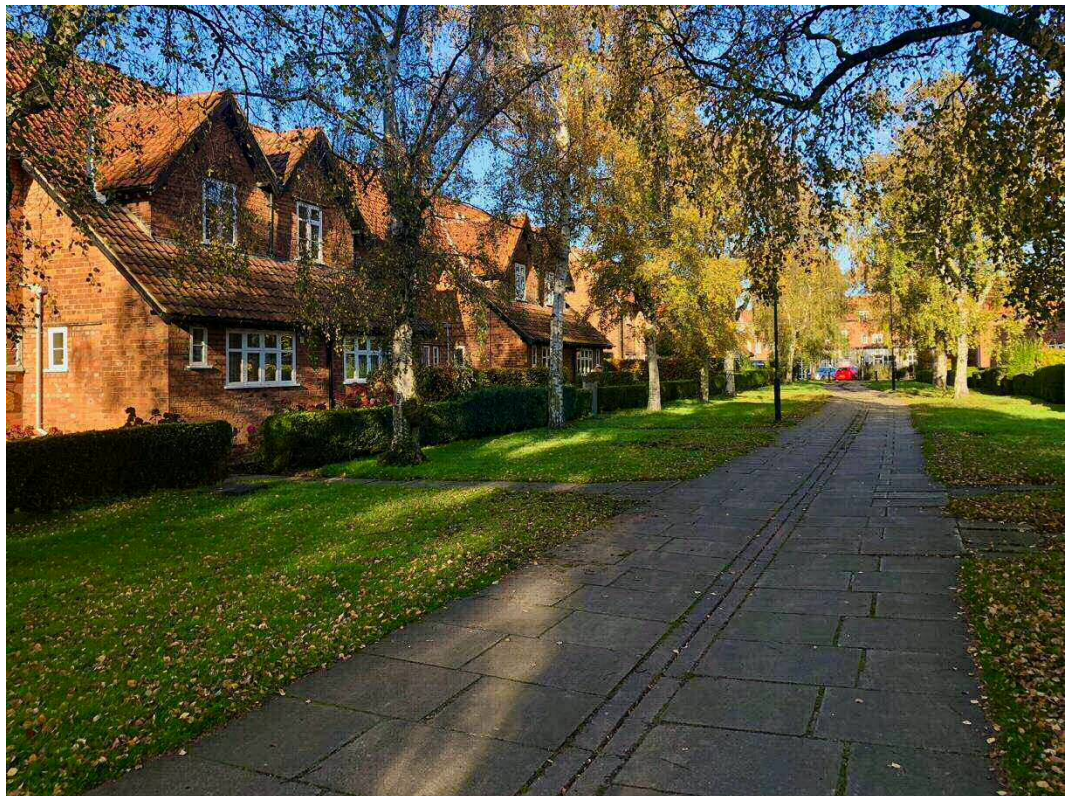
Fig. 68: **Street picture in practice at New Earswick, with projecting bays on the left creating a broken building line. The view terminates in a building, placed to avoid a vanishing point. © Author.**

As their recognition grew, Parker and Unwin's stated design justifications further shifted towards the economic, rather than the social (cf. Parker and Unwin 1901; Unwin 1912). This trend continued under Parker alone after the First World War. Yet, even elements of the early plan that were explicitly justified on economic grounds carried aesthetic and social implications. While Parker and Unwin's more radical political influences were absent from discussions around the planning of New Earswick, they were still tacitly sustained in the rationale for communal spaces. For example, the elimination of 'backland' construction—the filling-in of vacant plots in the centre of the block of land with more housing—was later justified by Parker (1937, 79–83) in purely economic terms. Conversely, designing cottages in blocks of four or more helped to minimise the width of street frontage required for a given number of homes, and thereby minimise road costs in turn. However, these features had additional effects: in the first case, providing communal and cooperative green spaces and, in the second, creating visual and social unity (Unwin 1902, 15).

Following the end of the First World War, Unwin left his work at New Earswick to join the Tudor Walters Committee, established in 1917 to advise the British government on matters of housing design (Miller 1981, 89). This effectively ended the partnership at New Earswick, leaving Parker largely responsible for the planning of the village in the 1920s and 1930s. Plans from this period were therefore attributed solely to Parker, though he occasionally enlisted help from William Swain, a local architect in the employment of Rowntree and Co. (BIA JRF/2/1/1/4).

In terms of the street pattern and plot layouts of later iterations, the New Earswick plans demonstrate a shift from the curving forms of the earliest example (visible in the eastern half of the village) towards a more geometric design. This was chiefly characterised by cul-de-sacs at regular intervals, perpendicular to the main avenue in the west (Fig. 69). This represented an attempt to rationalise the overall plan for the scheme. Aesthetic variation thus gave way to more efficient, but repetitive, planned forms. The visual effect of this was the evolution of a more suburban rather than 'villagey' landscape character. However, the turn away from an informal village setting also represented a turn away from
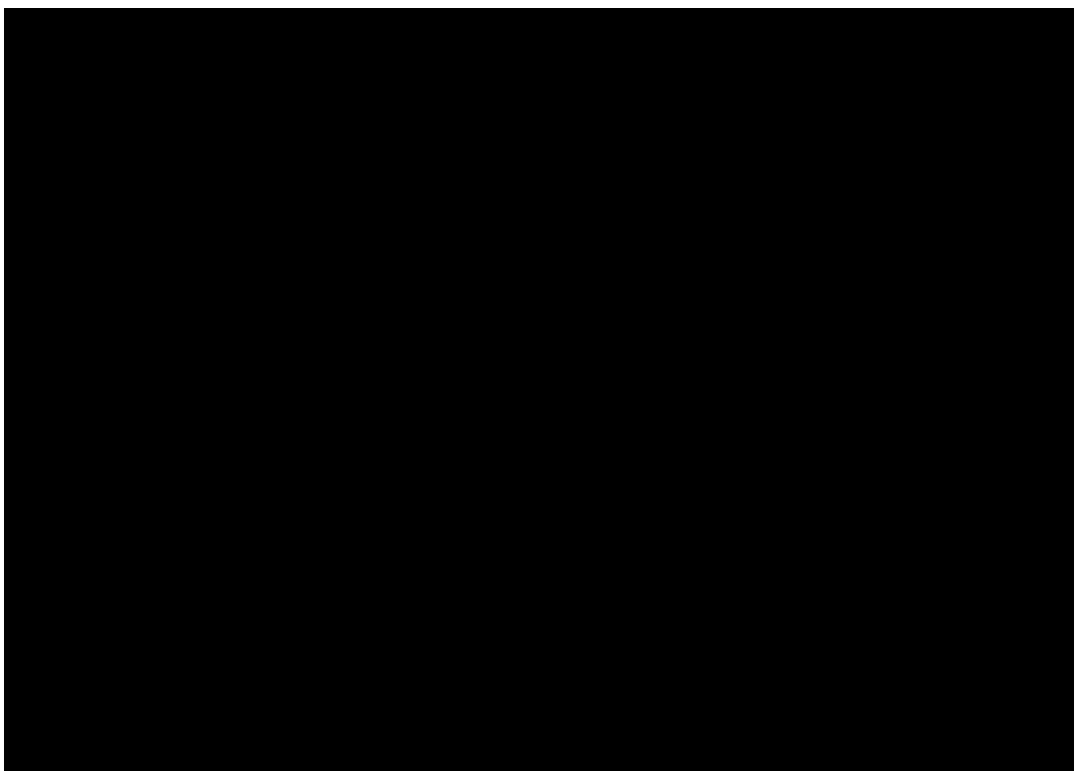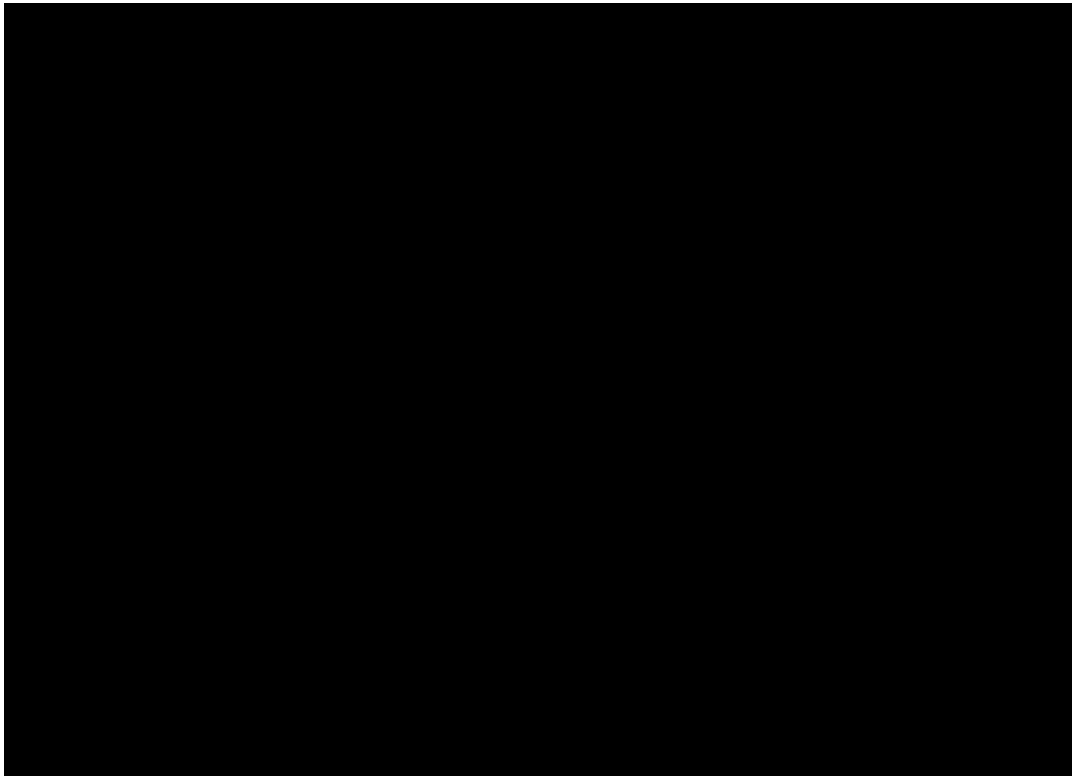
Fig. 69: **Early interwar plans (*c.*1919–1921) for New Earswick's expansion (annotated). Alternating cul-de-sacs of the initial plan (top) were replaced by cul-de-sacs mirrored on both sides of the road in the executed plan (not pictured). The later plan (bottom) shows Rowan Place as built, with some proposed detached bungalows omitted, replaced by another cul-de-sac (BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/82; JRF/4/1/12/2/55). © Borthwick Institute for Archives.**

the kind of organic social mixing originally sought, a trend that began in the interwar period due to increased reliance on housing management and tenant selection (see pp.175–8).

By the interwar period, green space—and, by extension, the rustic aesthetic—no longer appeared to be as highly valued by the trustees as a means of social reform, as it had once been. As late as 1935, the trustees raised the issue of a portion of 'waste land' left in the centre of the village, which was only later turned into an additional village green and playgrounds for the nearby school (BIA JRF/2/1/1/4). Along with this apparent afterthought, the arrangement of housing plots in the interwar supported an increase in housing density, exceeding 11 to the acre (superficially, more efficient use of the land). However, the still adequate private gardens of the interwar village helped to preserve the reformist principle that gardens were integral to a healthy, moral, and 'cheerful' existence. Crucially, the new cul-de-sac arrangement of houses permitted higher housing densities without substantially reducing garden size.

The increasingly suburban appearance of the village was further driven by a reduction in the visual distinctiveness of its houses during the 1920s and 1930s. Most housing types of this era were distinguishable only by window and bay configurations, with fewer unique, site-specific designs than had previously been the case. Before the First World War, Parker and Unwin had built several blocks of cottages in unique forms not repeated elsewhere in the village. Examples are the long rows of housing, in blocks of between four and seven, along Station Avenue (Fig. 70), as are the three larger houses at Western Terrace in the extreme south of the village (Fig. 80, below). It is significant that, in 1911, these houses were occupied mainly by people of professional occupations, as opposed to the artisans and labourers of Poplar Grove and Chestnut Grove—where, conversely, there was greater stylistic repetition. There was thus an association between the visual distinctiveness of the home and the household's social position. However, the direction of this relationship is unclear. Houses of this period were built before the trustees' formal agreement on a limited rent return; hence, it is possible that these houses, presumably built to a more expensive specification, were let at a higher rent affordable only to families with larger incomes.

Fig. 70: **Pre-war housing configuration on Station Avenue, New Earswick, not repeated elsewhere in the village. © Author.**
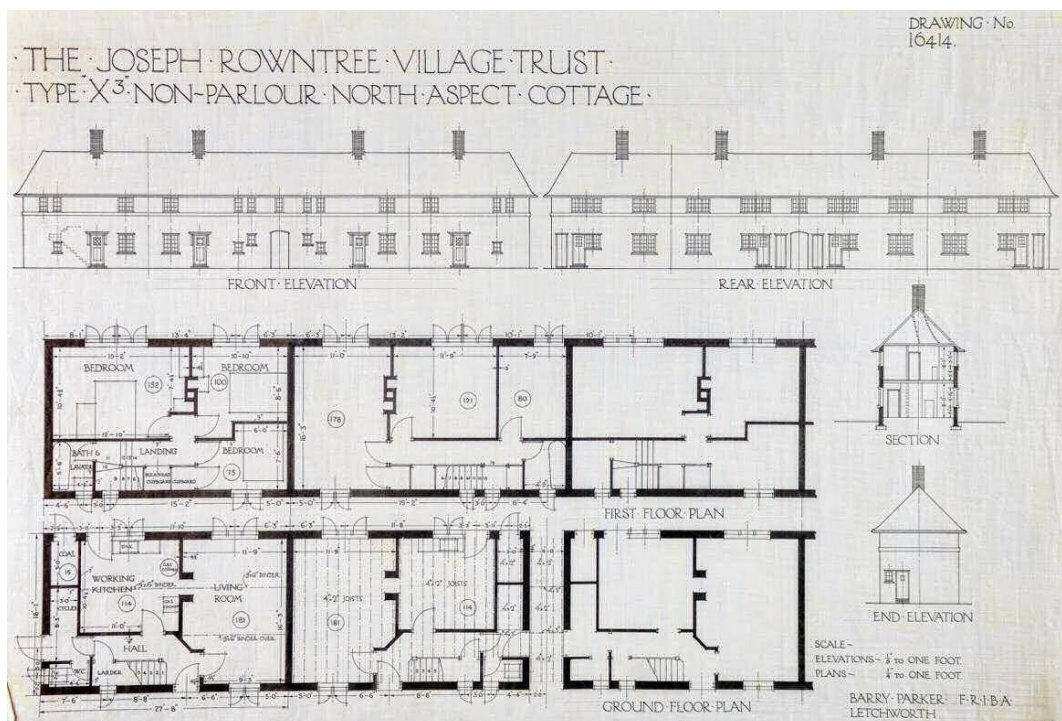
Fig. 71: **Typical interwar housing plan and elevation for New Earswick, characterised by less architectural ornamentation (GCC Plan2796). © Garden City Collection.**

The most pronounced architectural contrast between the older pre-war and the newer interwar homes was the abandonment of gabled roofs and large, decorative front gables, with most post-1918 houses built instead with hipped roofs (Fig. 71). Houses of this era were as such closer to the neo-Georgian aesthetic that came to define the suburban interwar style, in contrast to the earlier arts and crafts for which New Earswick is still generally recognised (Creese 1966, 198; Barrett and Phillips 1987, 127; Hall 1993, 77–8). It is important to note that the repetition of styles and the loss of variation in design can be partly attributed to the need to minimise construction costs. For example, the use of hipped roofs minimised the use of expensive facing bricks required for gable ends (Creese 1966, 108). Economy of construction was especially important for New Earswick during the 1920s due to reliance on government subsidies through successive Housing Acts (TNA HLG 49/693–4). These subsidies typically stipulated a maximum rent, which the trust sometimes struggled to build cheaply enough to satisfy. Moreover, the significance of contrasting designs also has implications for the class-based social objectives of the village, as the visual contrast between pre- and post-First World War housing designs singled out newer residents as tenants of the mostly state-subsidised homes of interwar New Earswick.

The shift away from vernacular inspired designs and towards a more standardised suburban form diluted the informal, rustic aesthetic within the new experimental landscape form of New Earswick. This was despite wider efforts to maintain a functional distinction between the rural and the urban. For example, separate designs for both rural and urban dwellings were included in the government's housing manual, to which Unwin had contributed (LGB 1919). This shift must nevertheless not come as a surprise, given that the garden city movement was a point of continuity between the ideas of the earlier Arts and Crafts Movement and those of the later modernist architectural movement, which prioritised functionalism (Read 1981, 69). Indeed, the functionalist thinking that underscored Parker and Unwin's reluctance to build parlours was at odds with residents, who campaigned to keep them in future house plans (BIA JRF/2/1/1/3). Residents also vocally objected to the construction of concrete houses, although chiefly on account of damp issues (BIA JRF/4/

1/9/2/2; JRF/4/1/9/5/1/3/3). This expressed a tension between modernity and tradition in discussions of what was deemed appropriate for working-class cottages (Buckley 2010, 23), but just as easily expressed a tension over the best means to achieve reform: whether it was desirable to encourage imitation of the middle classes and their characteristic domestic surroundings.

The ordering of Woodlands

In the words of Percy Houfton, the architect of Woodlands, the plan for the village from the outset was 'a more or less organized attempt to co-ordinate the whole village into an ordered community' (Houfton 1912, 39). With design documentation poorly represented in the Woodlands archives, only two full site plans were identified. A complete 1910 plan, reproduced in Scott and Culpin's (1910) *Garden Suburbs, Town Planning and Modern Architecture*, incorporates both built and unbuilt elements of the overall design, including houses in the Park and the Field (Fig. 72). A more detailed plan for the Field area is available as an undated blueprint; despite the Park being the first section to be completed, this appears to be an earlier document, based on the empty blocks reserved for public buildings in the centre of the plan (Fig. 73).

The two distinct phases of the village's construction are exemplified in the contrasting forms of its northern and southern ends (Fig. 72). Although the Park at the southern end is rectilinear in shape, it is considerably less regular, less geometric, and less symmetrical than the radial design of the Crescent and surrounding blocks to the north. The Park's houses surrounded a vast irregular quadrilateral-shaped green, now used as a recreational area. Comparison of OS maps before and after the village was built show that the form of the Park closely reflected the original property boundaries, which delineate the grounds of Woodlands Mansion (Fig. 74). This land itself included a series of woodland plantations at the perimeter; the central green was sparsely populated by mature trees, which were also originally part of the mansion grounds. Houfton reportedly altered the position of housing blocks to retain some of these earlier trees (*Tamworth Herald* 1908; Fordham 2009, 21). This also usefully fulfilled a leasehold stipulation intended to minimise the
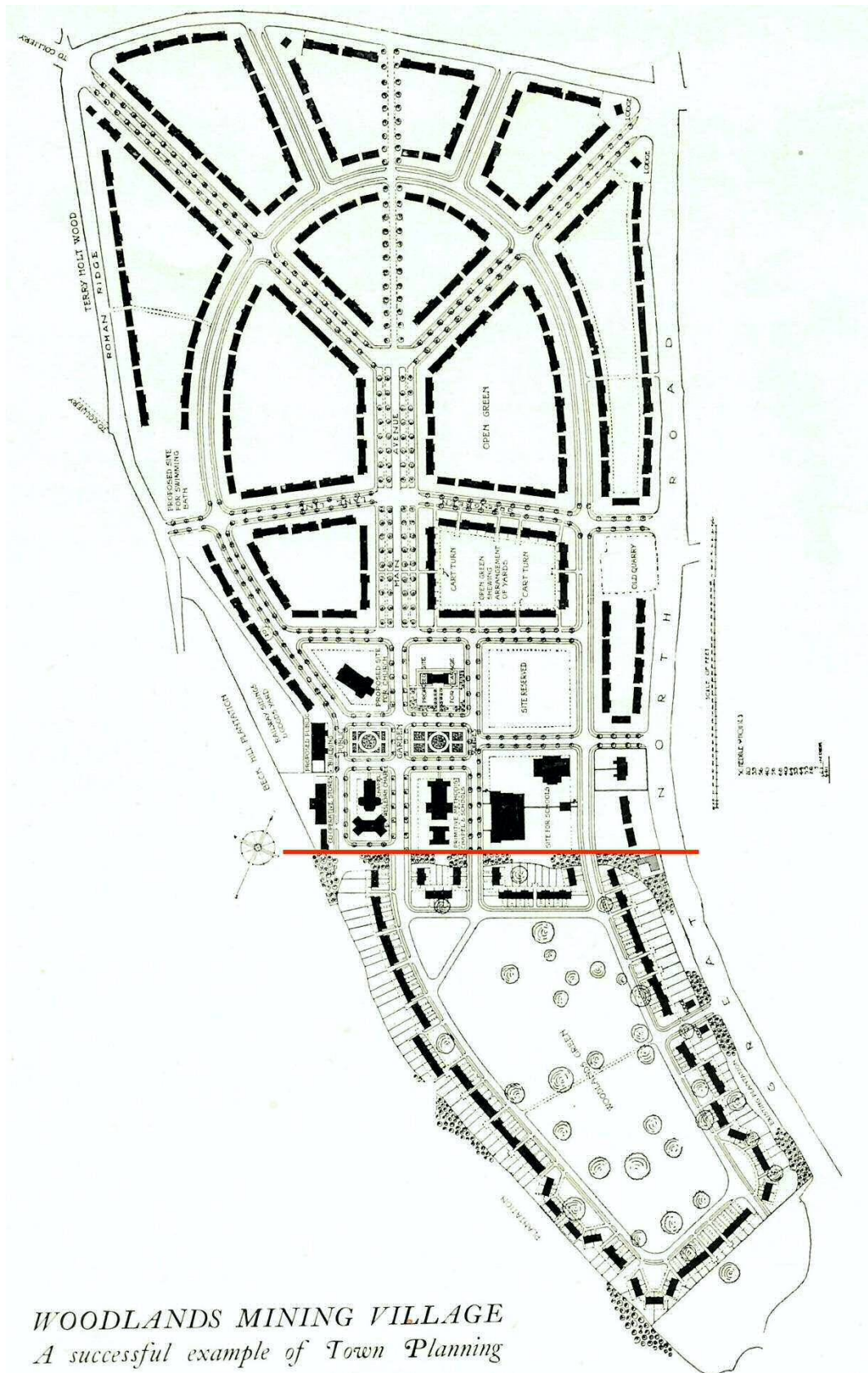
WOODLANDS MINING VILLAGE
A successful example of Town Planning

Fig. 72: **Site plan for Woodlands (reproduction from Scott and Culpin 1910), with line added to distinguish the two main phases of development: the earlier Park (south) and the later Field (north).**

Fig. 73: **Composite copy of blueprint for the Field area of Woodlands (DA DD/BROD/ 20/59). Courtesy of Doncaster Archives.**
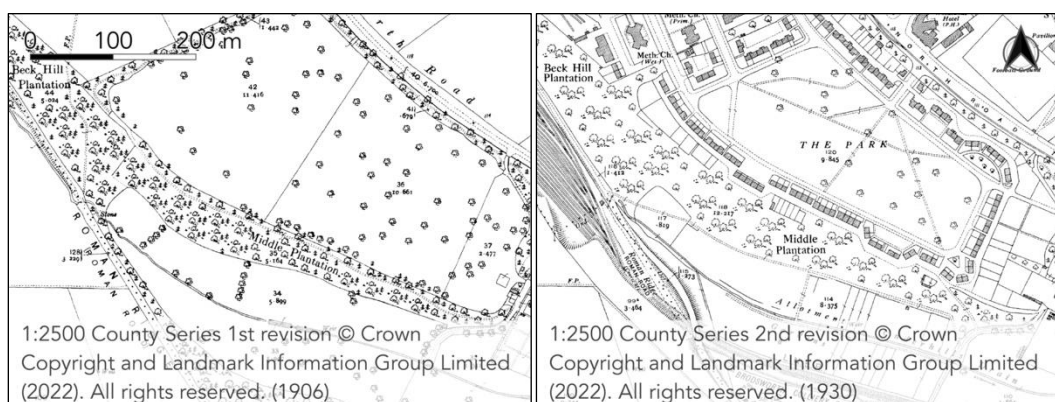
Fig. 74: **OS maps (1906 and 1930) of the Park, before (left) and after (right) the creation of Woodlands, showing the original limits of the parkland approximated in the execution of Houfton's plan. Allotments can be seen south of Middle Plantation (right).**

felling of trees. However, in effect, it contributed to the rustic character of the Park and its picturesque vistas, of the kind that Unwin (1911, 259) had advocated in his emphasis on the 'street picture'.

The relatively naturalistic treatment of the landscape represented the refinement of a landscape associated with heavy industry. Indeed, many of the problems recognised by early town planners were specific to industrial areas, and not necessarily urban districts in general. Perhaps to the colliery company's advantage, the scheme's design presented a semblance of order in an industrial setting that was unfairly characterised as disorderly, by incorporating elements of the former estate landscape as a communal green space. This resonated with the efforts of the founder Arthur Markham to advance the perception of respectability of the industry and its workers.

While the limits of the southern Park area of Woodlands were defined by what was on the land above ground, the plan for the village as a whole was unhindered by the development of the colliery workings beneath it. The geology of the site made it unnecessary to cluster houses closely together above unworked portions of the coal seam or, conversely, within steep-sided valleys, as in south Wales (Abercrombie 1910b, 111; May 1996). This factor may have enabled Houfton to plan the remainder of the village to the north on a more formal, geometric basis with relatively well-spaced plots, wide streets, and regular open spaces.

Aspects of the more formal plan for the northern half of the village bear some resemblance to Houfton's earlier work at Creswell, with the backs of houses looking directly onto communal green spaces. However, there is another striking similarity with an earlier scheme. At Woodlands, a central tree-lined avenue running north to south intersects the horseshoe-shaped Crescent, which is also crossed by radiating avenues. This layout closely resembles Howard's unrealised plan for his garden city (Fig. 7, p.66)—more closely in fact than the actual design of Letchworth, as the first true garden city, under Howard's leadership. Houfton would likely have been familiar with Howard's work at the time Woodlands was designed, although the latter had never intended his schematic designs to be prescriptive (Aalen 1992, 30). Instead, they were a way of clearly

demonstrating his suggested principle of zoning and spatial ordering according to function (for example, housing, industrial, or commercial districts). This was approximated at Woodlands in the designation of the central portion of the village as a space for public buildings, including churches and schools.

While the beautification of the landscape around the colliery was part of Houfton's initial vision for Woodlands, the emphasis rapidly gave way to expedient concerns. The formulaic street layout of the northern Field area was adopted principally because of the company's need to start extraction earlier than anticipated, resulting in an urgent need for workers nearby. Houfton's self-criticism of this second phase of development served to manage expectations for the village; lacking the reputation of Parker or Unwin, there was less incentive to portray it as a success. Citing the pace of development required by the colliery, Houfton (1912, 37) confessed that the northern half of Woodlands 'suffered considerably in workmanship … also in design'. One former resident complained of leaking roofs, many of which have since been replaced with cement tiles, and poor surface drainage leading to homes flooding (Morrell 1995, 44). The wider implication of such criticisms was that Houfton tacitly blamed his client for prioritising the colliery's profitability above improving its workers' domestic conditions. Houfton (1912) also admitted that it was not possible to refine or modify the plans, which were only prepared in a matter of days, or to consider the relationship of housing blocks to one another.

The geometric form of the Crescent did, however, mean that the road could be fitted with a temporary railway track to transport construction materials across the site. This was a rapid construction strategy in later colliery housing schemes (Hay and Fordham 2017, 23–4). Additionally, each development block existed as a discrete unit so that it was easier to assign responsibility for each to a separate building contractor (Fordham 2009, 24). The simplistic geometry of this part of Woodlands might also reflect the fact that there were few historic or natural landscape features suitable to be incorporated into the plan (unlike in the Park).

These practical considerations aside, this did not necessarily preclude the use of planning to serve a social function. The symmetry and geometry of the design arguably reflected reformist ideas about communalism and collectivism. The circular nature of Howard's garden city schematic and similar city plans has sometimes been interpreted as embodying a collective, rather than hierarchical or individualised, social structure (Rockey 1983). Notwithstanding semiotic interpretations such as this, the social value of both Woodlands and New Earswick as reformist projects can be seen more closely in particular aspects of the planned landscape, beginning with its housing.

6.2   Light, space, and housing reform

Light was a major determinant of spatial organisation within garden city housing, attesting to its status as a 'material agent' of health and, by extension, well-being (see Orange 2018, 3). The emphasis on well-lit homes is of course not to undermine the significance of conventions around domestic space, which Parker and Unwin also sought to reform (such as parlours, see p.194). Even so, light remained significant because of its newly established relationship with health, which extended beyond therapeutic settings (Hobday 1997, 455). This association had persisted despite the scientific advances through the germ theory of disease over forty years earlier (Lopez 2017, 369). The early-twentieth-century cultural understanding of light subsequently evolved to incorporate elements of germ theory: for instance, light was understood to inhibit the growth of typhoid and tuberculosis bacteria (Carter 2007, 52–6; BIA JRF/4/1/9/22/7).

The housing designs of New Earswick and Woodlands were intended to maximise sunlight within the main living spaces while minimising it where it was unnecessary or undesirable, such as in coal sheds or larders. Unwin (1902, 3) had particularly insisted that 'no house be built with a sunless living room'. The innovation of the 'through living room' was a key solution. Rather than situating the living room at the front of the house and the scullery to the rear, this design feature placed the scullery to one side with the living room extending through the whole length of the house (Sinclair 2005, 5; Fig. 75). Parker and Unwin pioneered the use
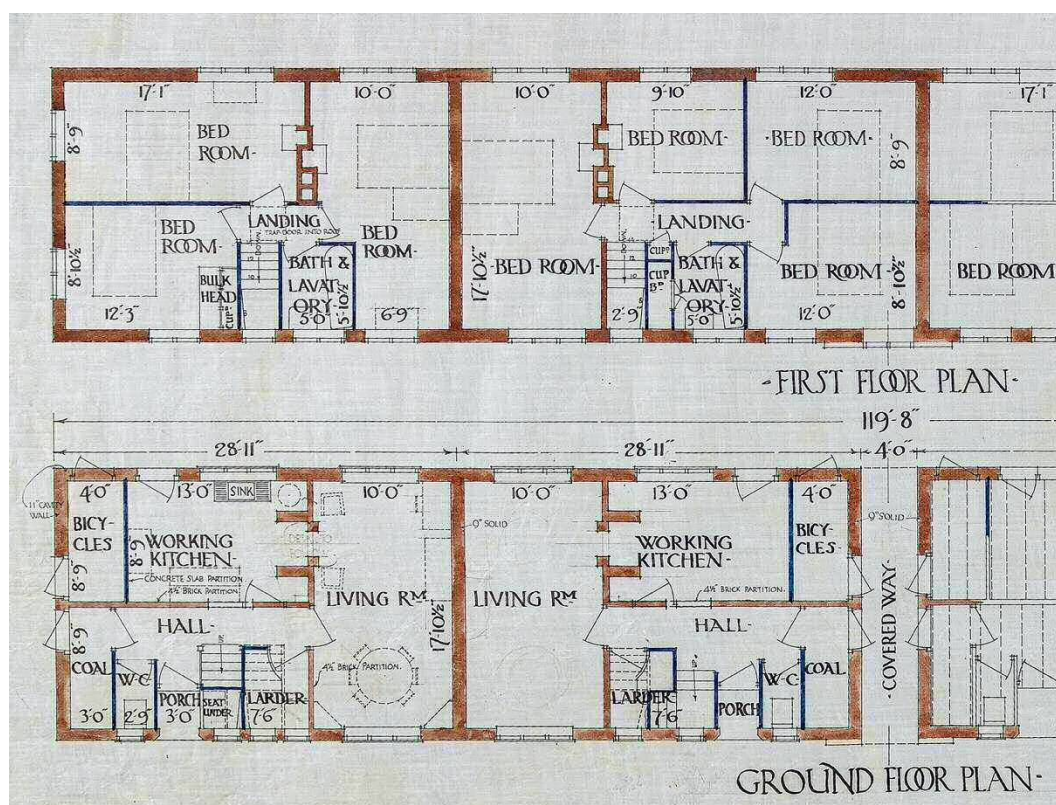
Fig. 75: **Detail of New Earswick house plan by Parker, with a through living room extending from front to back of the house (GCC Plan2799). © Garden City Collection.**

of the through living room at New Earswick—though it was also adopted by Houfton at Woodlands—with windows at both ends, guaranteeing daylight at the front and rear of the house. Externally, this was complemented by orienting houses towards the southern sun wherever possible. At New Earswick and the southern portion of Woodlands, this was visible in the lack of rigid geometries in the street plan. Strict east–west roads were to be avoided (and largely were, New Earswick's Station Avenue being one exception). This was nevertheless compromised to a certain extent in the Field area of Woodlands, which, owing to its more geometrical plan, was unable to avoid some north-facing houses.

An implicit assumption of this new approach to housing design was that the living room was where residents were expected to spend most of their waking time in the home. This potentially undermined the significance of 'wet' domestic work (washing for example), which would typically take place in the scullery. In the Edwardian period, the terms 'living room' and 'kitchen' were still somewhat interchangeable. The separate needs for an

everyday living space and a space for 'dry' domestic work (work requiring heat, especially cooking and baking) were both originally satisfied by the dual-purpose kitchen/living room (Ravetz 2011, 155). The use of a dedicated living room with a separate 'working' kitchen (which also facilitated work formerly carried out in the scullery) was a phenomenon that only became standard in New Earswick after the First World War.

It is also important to note the distinction between living rooms and sitting rooms or parlours; the latter terms were also used interchangeably. In early cottages without parlours, the kitchen/living room traditionally served as the only downstairs living space. Yet, in place of the parlour, Parker and Unwin believed it more desirable to build:

> A little den for quiet reading or writing … or … so plan one of the bedrooms that a portion of it could be made cosy for such a purpose, about the only [purpose] for which a sitting-room would be at all likely to be wanted (Parker and Unwin 1901, 64).

The presence or absence of sunlight was indeed an important matter for reformers, in terms of its physiological as well as moral effects (Rowntree 1908, 153; 1914, 3–5; Allmond 2016). By facilitating respectable activities such as reading, light served as a requisite for education and moral improvement. Houses, thus optimised, acted as tools of public health and social reform simultaneously.

The materiality of housing reform did not merely contribute to the conditions of everyday life inside the home. It also resonated with the wider landscape, in material and social terms. For example, the inclusion of cycle storage in New Earswick's homes further reflected the significance of active forms of recreation, embodied by the village's recreational spaces. However, the architectural decision to choose one design aesthetic over another was as ideologically motivated as questions of housing density or the types of accommodation to be offered. The justification for Parker and Unwin's designs struck a balance between eliminating architectural ostentation and avoiding a visually dull or dreary environment.

Aesthetic and domestic implications

Vernacular building styles were intended to improve upon the monotony, and arguably anonymity, of urban streets. Both case study villages demonstrate considerable external architectural variety. At Woodlands, houses mostly corresponded to one of nineteen visually distinct elevation configurations (excluding houses that predate the construction of the village). These were distinguished through a visual survey of the arrangement of windows, gables, hips, and the number of individual homes contained within each continuous block (see A.2, Table 7, p.353). Houses depicted in early photographs of the village typically had a uniform roughcast and whitewashed appearance (Fig. 76). In contrast, the extant landscape shows extensive customisation—presumably attributable to owner-occupiers—by the removal of bay-window timbers, the addition of porches, subtle variations in paint colour, and the skeuomorphic texturing of render to give the appearance of stone.

Fig. 76: **Early photograph of houses in the Park, Woodlands (from Scott and Culpin 1910, 124). The condition of the painted houses and the gardens implies that they had been recently finished.**

New Earswick meanwhile exhibited a greater degree of variation in its original housing designs; by 1940, there existed 33 repeated elevation types and a further 36 unique arrangements. The greater variability is not surprising given that New Earswick was developed over several decades. The contrast between the villages today, in terms of personalisation, likely results from the continuous stewardship of the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust, which has limited the extent of alterations made to homes. The original subtle variations at Woodlands were nonetheless meaningful since they contributed to the picturesque appearance of the village. This contrasted with the perceived monotony of by-law terraced housing for which mining villages earned a poor reputation (Gaskell 1979, 448–50; Dewhurst 1989, 120; May 1996, 152). This attitude was alluded to in a speech by Frederick Maddison MP, delivered at the opening of the village in 1908, in which he praised the company for relieving 'the deadly monotony … which has characterised too long—and still does—many of our pit villages' with their 'wretched, miserable surroundings' (*Tamworth Herald* 1908).

While the outcome of Woodlands' architectural variety was chiefly aesthetic, it resonated with the emphasis on achieving a visually 'pleasant outlook' through careful garden village design; this was secondary in importance only to sunlight (Parker and Unwin 1901, 113–14; see also Cornes 1905, 81; Unwin 1908b, 477; 1911, 330). Houfton's scheme treated external elevations separately from the interior arrangement of rooms, with each house on the blueprint having a number and a letter code corresponding to each of these components. For example, Type D4 corresponded to a pair of semi-detached cottages, visually separated by paired front gables. According to Houfton (1912, 38–9), Type A cottages were the least common but also the most affordable type, having a living room and three bedrooms with no parlour, working kitchen, or bathroom, and let at 5*s.* 3*d.* per week. Type B was slightly more expensive, at 6*s.* per week, and included a parlour. The remaining Types C and D also included parlours as well as a separate bathroom, rather than the bath-in-scullery arrangement of more basic houses, and were accordingly let at a higher rent.

Comparison with the few available Houfton design drawings shows that the typology he described was not strictly adhered to. For example, his plan drawing of Type D cottages includes no parlour or upstairs bathroom, while the accompanying elevation drawing more closely resembles the built external appearance of houses marked 'A1' on the blueprint. Similarly, his design drawing of Type C houses includes parlours and separate bathrooms only in the outermost houses in the turned-end block (Fig. 77). Nevertheless, it is significant that most Woodlands houses were built with parlours, evident by the 77% (539) of household returns in the 1911 Census recording five or more rooms. This is significant when compared with New Earswick, where the majority were built without parlours primarily because of Parker and Unwin's general opposition to them.
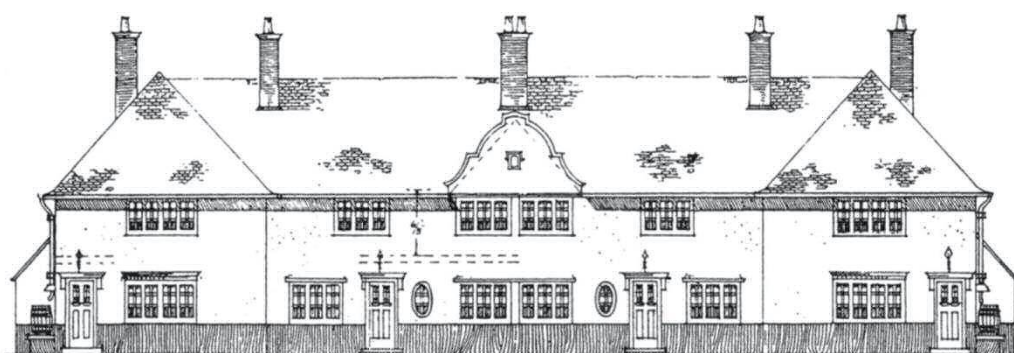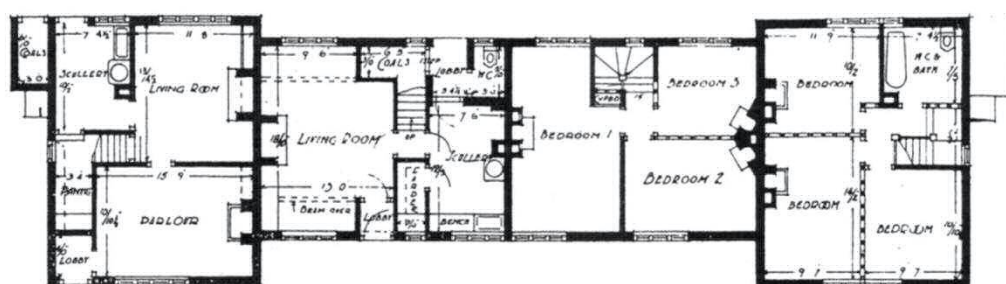
Fig. 77: **Houfton's Type C house plan (from Abercrombie 1910b, pl.49). Although Woodlands is not mentioned on the plan, it conforms to the basic description and external appearance of houses as built at Woodlands. The inner pair with through living rooms, and in the larger, outer pair, parlour entrances.**

Because the mining industry was characterised by dirt and dust, parlours held special significance for mining families. The 'muck' that inevitably infiltrated colliery homes added to the difficulties experienced by household women in keeping a clean home and maintaining a domestic refuge from the outside world (Carr 2001, 55; Hall 2001, 112–13). As such, the addition of a parlour in miners' houses, as well as an everyday living room, guaranteed a room that could be kept clean for special occasions or visitors. During a visit to a colliery village at Brierley (now South Yorkshire) by Christopher Addison, who as Minister for Health had been responsible for the Housing and Town Planning Act (1919), one miner reportedly questioned: 'why shouldn't the miner have a parlour where his daughter can bring her sweetheart for the courting?' (*Hull Daily Mail* 1921). Parlours, where available to working-class families, were thus a mark of respectability (Burnett 1986, 172).

By including parlours in most of the housing designs for Woodlands, Houfton reflected a concern for improving the conditions experienced by mining families, as well as relieving some of the labour of household women: an example of materialistic domestic reform (Spencer-Wood 1991). In turn, this augmented the respectability of domestic life among mining families, by creating a kind of interior refuge from an external
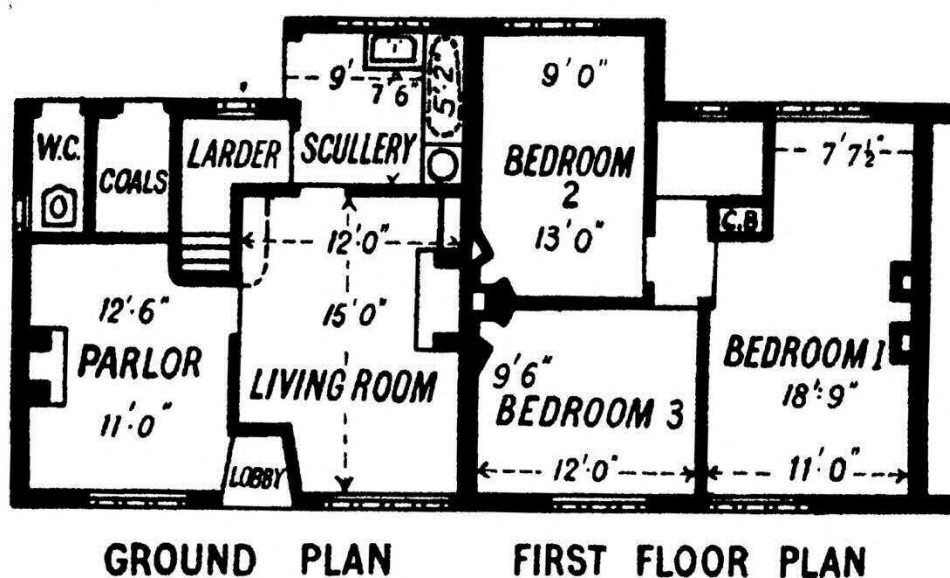
Fig. 78: **Detail of parlour house plan by Houfton, for which entry required passing through the parlour (from Bulman 1920, 276). Note the bath in the scullery at the rear.**

environment stigmatised by dirt. It must be noted, however, that the parlour entrance form (Fig. 78), which required passage through the parlour to reach the rest of the house, may have discouraged the use of the front door by miners returning from work.

The relationship between houses and the landscape around them is thus complex; houses were designed to keep dirt out while allowing adequate ventilation and especially sunlight in. Nevertheless, Houfton's scheme was less effective in optimising the relationship between home interiors and their exterior setting than that of Parker and Unwin at New Earswick. Almost half of the houses (49%, 324) surveyed at Woodlands have a northerly aspect, while at New Earswick, a concerted effort was made to maximise sunlight through the arrangement of houses, as evident through the mere 34% (176) of houses facing north. The street pattern was a constraining factor on the orientation of houses, with most of the housing blocks at both villages positioned parallel to the street. At Woodlands, the strict use of geometry in Houfton's design for the Crescent renders the orientation of houses somewhat arbitrary. This meant that optimal sunlight was maintained only through the configuration of individual homes (such as the through living rooms already discussed) rather than the spatial relationship between them (for instance, orienting houses in loose clusters to ensure the maximum sunlight was available to all).

New Earswick, by contrast, included a higher number of housing blocks that appear to have been designed to suit the site on which they were positioned. For example, although the cul-de-sacs on the western side of Rowan Avenue included some north-facing houses, many housing blocks feature turned-ends, allowing houses on the outside to receive sunlight from the south, east, or west, unimpeded by adjacent buildings (Fig. 79).

Social planning through housing

Nineteenth- and twentieth-century theories of housing reform sometimes centred on assumptions of working-class aspiration and imitation of middle-class norms (Dennis 1989, 41). Given the moral inclinations of many reformers, and their emphasis on the benefits of social mixing, it
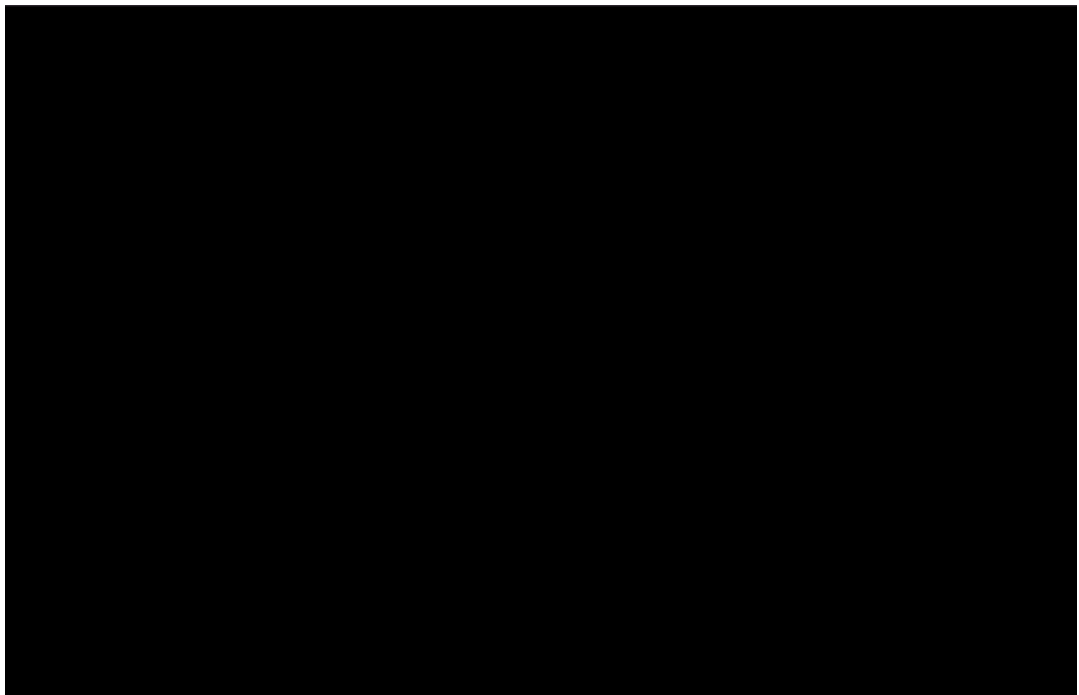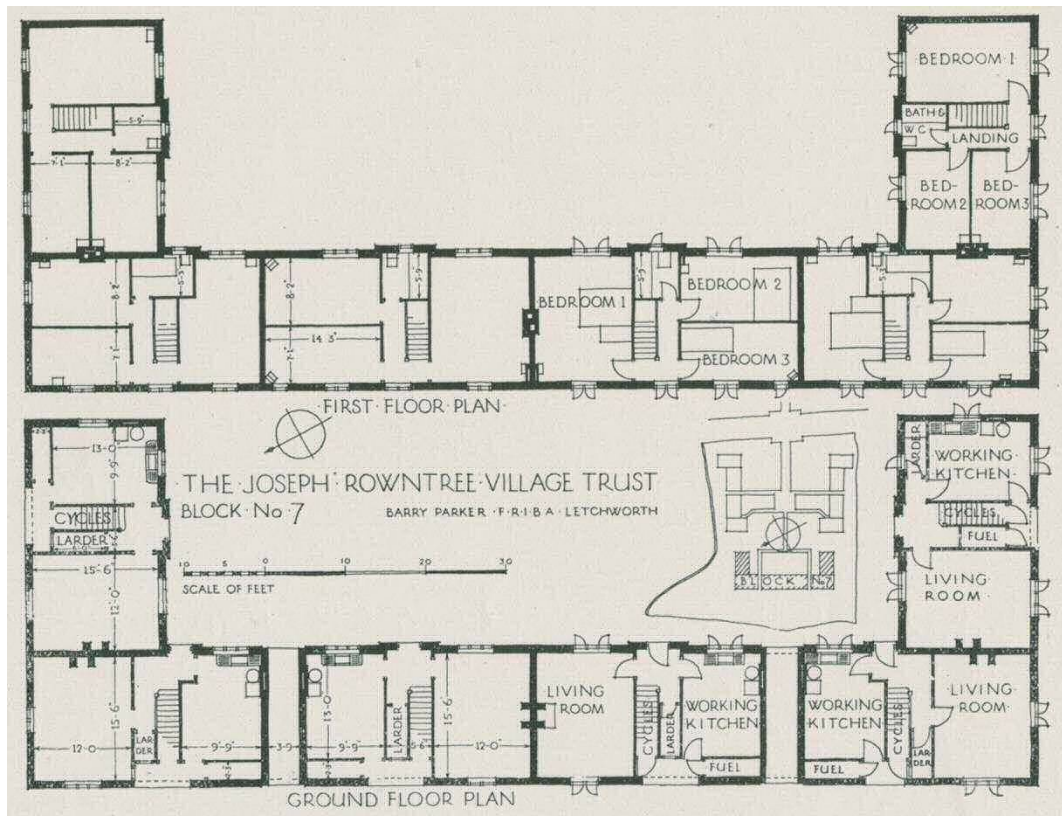
Fig. 79: **Top, Parker's plan for a turned-end block of houses (GCC LBM4010.3). Bottom, detail of block plan showing relation of above houses to others on the cul-de-sac of Rose Tree Grove in the west of New Earswick (BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/5). © Garden City Collection and © Borthwick Institute for Archives.**

might therefore be expected that architects of garden villages and similar settlements were commissioned to provide an even mix of middle- and working-class housing types. This had been the intention for Hampstead Garden Suburb, though it failed largely because few working-class people could afford to move there (Burnett 1986, 207–8). In predominantly working-class contexts, where the integration of middle-class residents was more difficult to achieve, an alternative approach was the adoption of middle-class housing styles that might be more suitable for the most well-off working-class families. As Darley (2007, 144) observes, this was demonstrated in the highly ornate arts and crafts aesthetic of the village of Port Sunlight (see also Rees 2012, 209).

The principle that bright, airy, and 'cheerful' conditions should be accessible to all working-class people was undermined by the fact that rents for houses were determined by the construction cost and therefore also by the kind of accommodation provided. Housing reform, at least in New Earswick, was not an exercise in egalitarianism. This was despite the purported goal of introducing a social mix into the landscape. The homes of middle- and working-class residents were visually distinguished by their location and their architecture. While instilling 'middle-class' values of respectability among working-class residents was a broad theme in the trustees' objectives, the architects specifically addressed their social differences. Superficially this might imply complicity with the status quo in terms of social inequality. However, the contrast between Parker and Unwin's 'cottage' designs and those for middle-class houses was partly an acknowledgement of their different housing needs and cultural tendencies. Since the working classes rarely had access to paid domestic labour, a 'housewife' could more easily maintain a smaller home (Unwin 1902, 11). Indeed, the architects defined 'cottages', as distinct from 'houses', as dwellings without separate accommodation for domestic servants (Parker and Unwin 1901, 128).

The contrasting designs and landscape setting of working-class and middle-class homes at New Earswick thus expressed a form of social planning. This supported a social mix within the village more broadly, as per the trustees' loose underlying definition of the working classes, but without necessarily integrating different classes more closely. The most

affordable houses in New Earswick tended to be of more uniform types, often repeated with only minor variations, and confined to discrete areas. Their greater uniformity, often as part of a longer block of houses, was itself a feature that further distinguished working-class cottages from middle-class houses. In doing so, this physically separated working-class from middle-class residents but crucially permitted those residents to maintain their own space. This enabled the possibility of cooperative interactions without being monitored by those of another class. This represented a departure from the design of company towns like Pullman in the USA or Port Sunlight in England; these relied on the inter-visibility of middle-class managers and working-class labourers to regulate the behaviour of the latter, particularly in communal areas (e.g. Baxter 2012, 568).

Accommodating middle-class families at New Earswick had the advantage of enabling higher rents, thus contributing to the trust's financial sustainability but conflicting with its goal of satisfying working-class housing needs. For example, the 1910 Land Valuation shows that some of

Fig. 80: **Block of three larger houses at the southern end of Western Terrace, of a configuration unique in the village. © Author.**
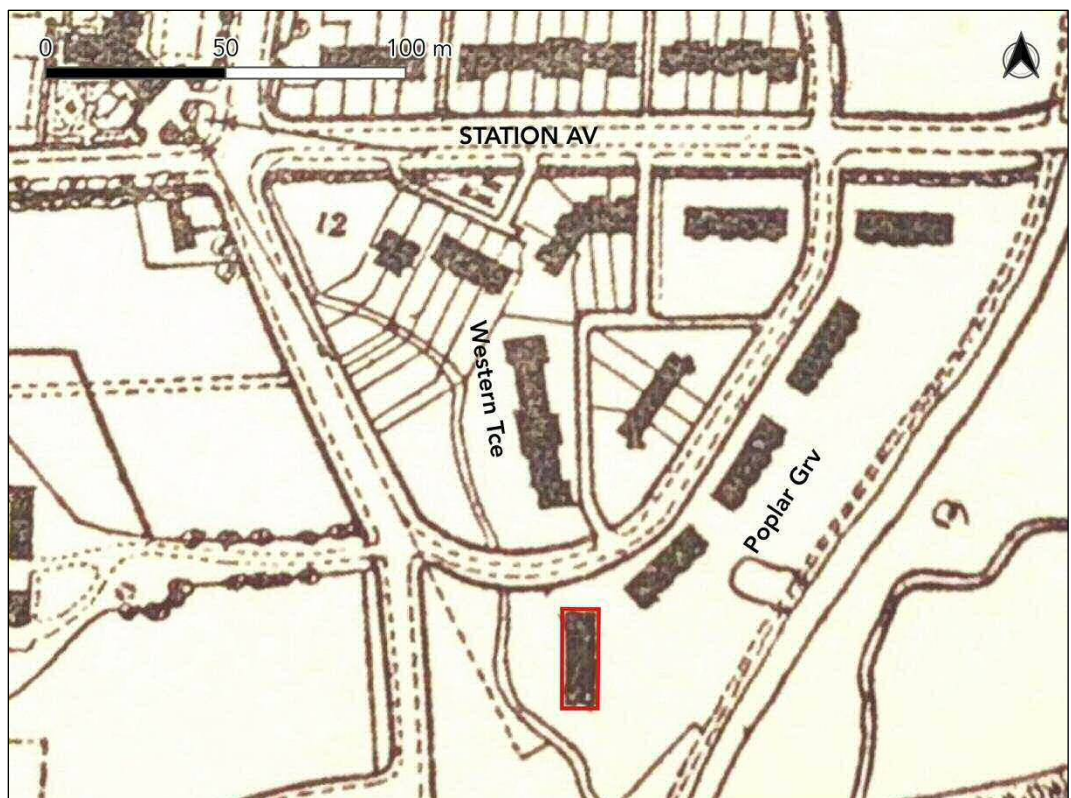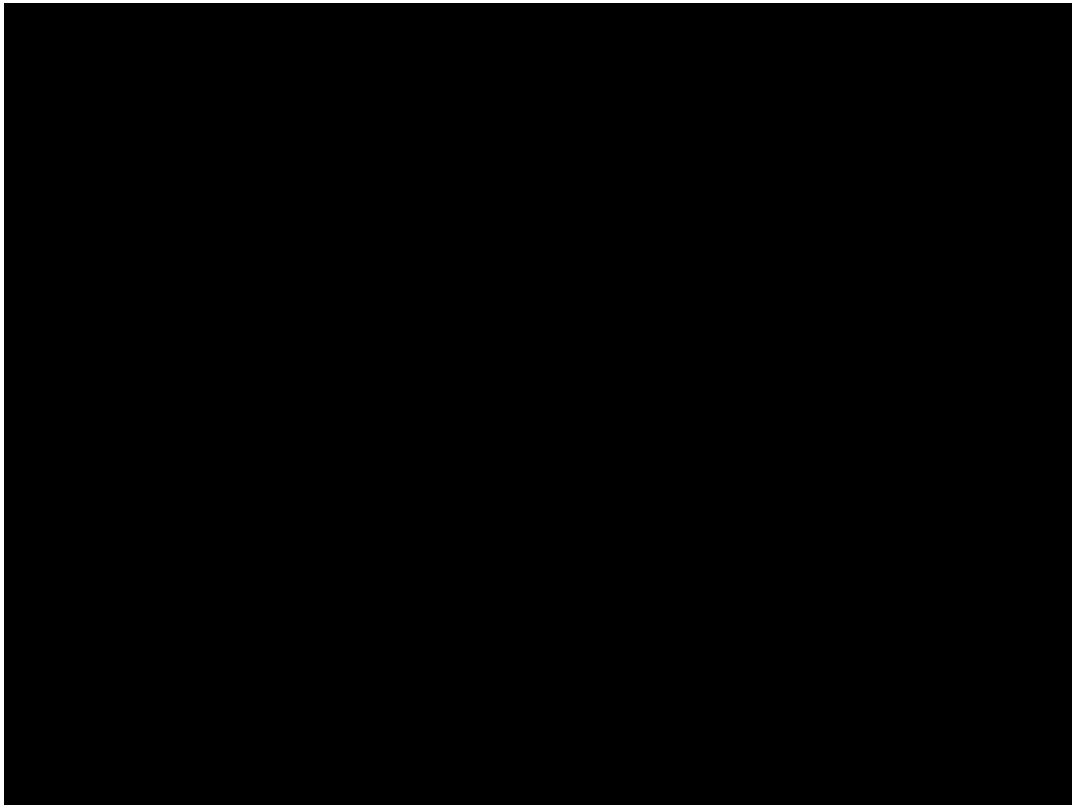
Fig. 81: **Detail of 1904 and 1909 plans for New Earswick, showing the proposed (top) and actual arrangement (bottom) of houses around Western Terrace, running north to south (BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/86; Unwin 1911, 233). © Borthwick Institute for Archives.**

the most expensive properties in New Earswick were at the southern end of Western Terrace (Fig. 80). This block of houses was distinguished not only by the additional rooms inside, but also externally by its unique design, with large, asymmetrical gables, bay windows, and an attic storey. For these properties, an average annual rent of £30 was charged: over twice the average for the rest of the village. The desirability of this part of the site is suggested by the fact that the original plan was modified to accommodate three houses, substantially larger than the four initially proposed (Fig. 81). This revision coincided with the trustees' discussions over village finances and the limitation of rents (BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/1/4). As such, the houses appear to have been added partly as a way of yielding a higher rental income for the same area of land, taking advantage of its pleasant (if impractical) location by the River Foss and its woodland surroundings.

In 1920, a more overt attempt to maximise the income from ground rent was made over the design of gardens at the centre of the 'Octagon', the cluster of houses at the crossroads of Hawthorn Terrace and Rowan Avenue. These were originally planned with a communal open space at their centre. However, on realising that this would generate no rent return, the trustees recommended laying it out as private gardens, for which the corresponding property rents could be increased (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2).

The early residents of the larger, more expensive houses of Western Terrace were of predominantly middle-class status, suggesting some flexibility within the trustees' objective to provide principally for the working classes. Towards the south, a house known as Pyrmont (apparently named after a German spa town, also associated with Quakers) was described in the Land Valuation survey as 'Mrs Rowntree's "Rest House"' (TNA IR58/95003–5). At the time, it was occupied by a Mrs Haddow, who according to the 1911 Census was employed as a domestic servant—presumably by Mrs Rowntree, though she was absent from the census return (TNA RG14/28382). Elsewhere in the village, other large houses were occupied by the owner of the nearby leather works, the village physician, and a research chemist employed by Rowntree and Co. Each of these households employed domestic servants. By Seebohm

Rowntree's definition, they would have therefore been clearly recognised as middle class (Rowntree 1908, 14). Reflecting their occupants' affluence, these houses had distinct architectural arrangements, which were not repeated elsewhere in the village. Each of the larger houses was itemised in the trust's financial statements, along with the corresponding occupier's name, separately from all other housing (BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/1/7). As such, these houses were probably commissioned by special arrangement between the trust and their prospective tenants.

Woodlands, as a community of more traditional working-class families, does not appear to have been subject to the same degree of class separation within the landscape. Nevertheless, social status among miners was complex. Among ordinary miners, supervisory underground workers such as overmen and deputies—still defined by census officials as working class—were sometimes perceived as belonging to the colliery's management class (Dennis et al. 1956, 31–2). The residence of the colliery agent at least was distinguished by its physical separation from the rest of the village. The agent resided at Markham Grange, a purpose-built five-bedroom house designed by Houfton, which was situated west of both the village and the colliery entrance (DA DD/BROD/20/69). This was completed between 1910 and 1911, apparently delayed due to disagreement between Markham and Charles Thellusson over the building of houses beyond the western boundary of the Woodlands estate (TNA IR58/27288–98). This location, though near to the colliery (Fig. 82), was not on the workers' main route to the colliery entrance. The site was therefore probably chosen more for its general proximity to the pit rather than as a vantage point to monitor workers' arrival.

Other housing for colliery officials at Woodlands appears to have been visually rather than spatially distinct. A pair of houses (Woodlands Villas) on the Great North Road, marked on the blueprint plan as 'officials' houses', were occupied by the colliery's mechanical engineer and under-manager in 1911. Similar occupations were recorded at this address in the 1939 Register, confirming that the houses were indeed reserved for those with specific roles in the company. The two houses are visually distinct due to their larger size, timbered gables, and exposed brick exterior, in contrast to the roughcast finish of much of Woodlands'
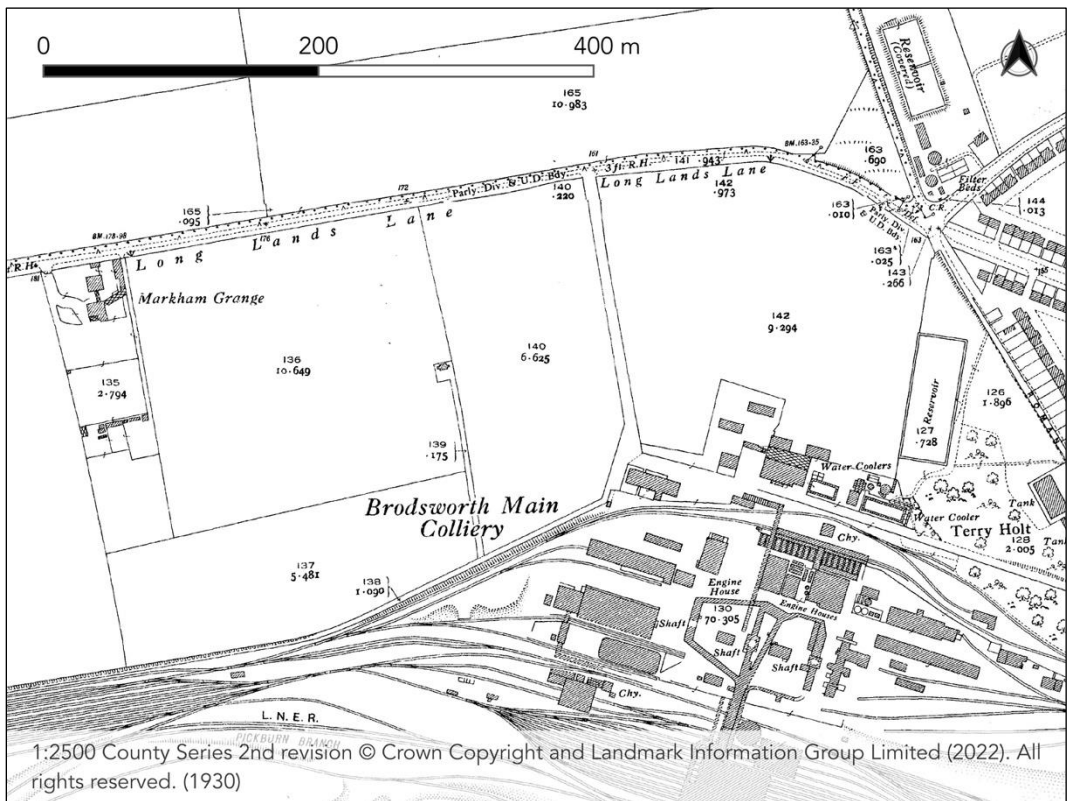
Fig. 82: **OS map (1930) showing the colliery approach south of Long Lands Lane and the colliery agent's house, Markham Grange (both west of Woodlands).**

Fig. 83: **'Woodlands Villas', Great North Road, Woodlands: a pair of larger houses for officials, finished in brick with timbering. © Author.**

housing (Fig. 83). Another pair known as Woodlands Cottages, which were among the only small houses predating the colliery, appear to have been similarly reserved for those with key roles in the village, being occupied by the village doctor and an estate gardener (who, along with a head gardener, was employed by the colliery company) during the 1911 Census.

It has been suggested that a later addition to Houfton's plan, a block of 24 houses between the Crescent and the Great North Road, was also built for colliery officials (Fordham 2009, 27; Fig. 42, p.135). These represent the clearest departure from Houfton's arts and crafts style, more closely resembling the neo-Georgian architecture adopted in later designs for the government's interwar housing programme elsewhere (Barrett and Phillips 1987, 127). The houses were built in blocks of four, with each unit replicating the same architectural configuration. The architectural unity of a single gable positioned over multiple homes—common elsewhere in the village—is lacking as a result. These were not built at the time of the 1911 Census, though the 1939 Register indicates that residents of this part of Woodlands included a marginally higher proportion of occupants working in specialised, skilled occupations, such as shot-firers, machine turners, and deputies. The architecture of these homes might therefore have been designed as an alternative to the labourer's cottage, and instead more suited to socially 'affluent' families.

Whereas the use of individual housing designs for professional and management classes (as at Woodlands Villas) might have undermined the integration of social classes, the formation of a meaningful community was still achievable through the spatial and visual relationship between houses. Conversely, the emphasis on 'moral' well-being could be simultaneously retained in the design of the recreational landscape.

6.3   Recreation and the moral landscape

So-called 'rational recreation' was a key priority for reformers throughout much of the nineteenth century, particularly those concerned with influencing the behaviour of working-class populations (Bailey 1987, 177–8; Chance and Rajguru 2019, 2). The implicit advocacy of moral leisurely

pursuits is captured in Seebohm Rowntree's poverty study, which partly attributed secondary poverty to inappropriate choices of recreational activities: principally drinking and gambling (Rowntree 1908, 295–6). Recreation was thus a means through which people could be reformed. This attitude continued well into the twentieth century, with the evidence from New Earswick and Woodlands demonstrating that recreational spaces were integral to garden village design. These spaces can be interpreted more broadly as constituting an active reform landscape, in which participation was deemed to be central to encouraging social change among garden village residents.

The didactic landscape

Company towns and other company-owned model settlements have typically been framed as exercises in social control, however benevolent. This was often reflected in their design and is seen most clearly at Port Sunlight in England and Pullman in the USA, but this was a longer-term legacy of earlier model villages: for example, New Lanark or Saltaire (Crawford 1995, 40; Baxter 2012; Rees 2012). In such communities, the manager's house was typically situated at a convenient vantage point to monitor workers' arrival time at the workplace, thus constraining the workers' time management, while vices such as smoking and drinking were sometimes wholly prohibited among residents. Such authoritarian restrictions were easier to maintain in a company town operated by an individual employer (Borges and Torres 2012, 13–14).

Instead, garden villages such as New Earswick and Woodlands provided what might be termed social encouragement, facilitated by the appropriate landscape setting. Treib's (1995) concept of the 'didactic landscape' provides a useful model with which to frame how the design of recreational spaces encouraged reform. As Chance and Rajguru (2019, 2) argue, the didactic approach to landscape is not just one that informs users of a space's function but also solicits appropriate behaviours. In this way, the design and planning of the case study villages informed how residents were expected to behave in a given space. This did not preclude residents' disregard for those expectations. Moreover, the meaning of the landscape (didactic or otherwise) can be challenged by users even if it is

understood (cf. Rapoport 1990, 76)—an observation that Chance and Rajguru do not explicitly acknowledge. Equally, some aspects of the garden village landscape remained meaningful to working-class culture (for example, the informal social use of communal spaces) and hence were more positively embraced.

The didactic quality of the garden village landscape can be interpreted in a rather literal sense: in the education and behavioural regulation of children. Other than discussions around school building, and largely unrealised proposals for play spaces, there are few references to children in the documentary evidence for either case study. Children were nonetheless historically seen as important targets for reform due to their perceived social malleability, an idea established as early as Robert Owen around 1800 (Siméon 2017, 70; Springate 2017, 777). Although children are under-represented in terms of material evidence, this is especially significant in the case of Woodlands. In 1911, nearly half (45%) of the population were under the age of 16, compared with 37% at New Earswick.

The prevalence of families with children enables a gendered reading of reform landscapes in a way that reasserts the significance of children (see Spencer-Wood 2003). The relationship between houses and the landscape proves salient in this regard. Along with the communal facilities described by Unwin, the provision of semi-enclosed communal spaces— the quadrangles and cul-de-sacs of New Earswick and the grassy squares of Woodlands (see 6.4, p.244)—would have facilitated supervision of children's play outdoors. This may have extended to children from several households perhaps being monitored by a few parents or guardians from within nearby houses. Despite Spencer-Wood's (2003, 31) argument that such arrangement of green spaces in urban contexts enabled the sharing of child-rearing work, this interpretation is centred on the convenience of the adult rather than the experience of the child.

The wider implication is that both formal and informal play spaces at New Earswick and Woodlands were part of a landscape suitable for constraining and enabling certain behaviour. This interpretation is lent further credence because the houses were oriented towards these kinds

of spaces, enabling clear lines of sight from which to monitor and supervise children. This parallels the design of Edwardian public parks, with the placement of benches and shelters providing convenient vantage points for adult supervision (Colton 2016a, 182; 2016b, 263–4). In this respect, the abundant communal outdoor spaces of garden villages held an advantage over private gardens, particularly where the latter were enclosed by high hedgerows or fencing. At Woodlands, the recent addition of high fences around many of the otherwise low-walled front gardens in the Field reflects changing attitudes towards privacy, particularly where children are concerned. Specifically, this relates to the kinds of spaces deemed safe from both strangers and traffic, as well as the externalisation of the privacy enjoyed by children within the home (Madigan and Munro 1999, 66).

This re-interpretation of the planned landscape of garden villages not only elevates the significance of children, as an under-represented social group. It also allows us to conceptualise those communities as institutional spaces. In this case, however, residents' behaviour was not so much regulated through top-down controls enacted by the village management or their architects. Rather, it was regulated internally on a peer-to-peer basis.

Garden villages can thus be conceptualised as encouraging 'reform of the self', a marked difference from the binary opposition of reformers and the reformed inherent in studies of conventional institutions (cf. Springate 2017, 774). Adult residents, enabled by the landscape design, were able to monitor the behaviour of children, regardless of the family to whom they belonged. Yet, this extended to other social responsibilities. For instance, the encouragement of civic life at New Earswick through participation in the village council was essentially a means for residents to shape the social development of the village without the interference of the trustees. Similarly, the clubs and institutes of Woodlands became venues for political agitation among miners, the most active of whom were perceived as having significant power over the village. The implication is that total social control—in the sense of a middle-class management group exerting control over a predominantly working-class

group of residents—is not an adequate interpretation of the design and planning of garden villages.

Planning for leisure

Only the founding documents of New Earswick explicitly linked the provision of recreational spaces with the welfare of residents (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2). Nevertheless, active participation in the landscape was vital for the application of planning and landscape design for reform purposes. The centrality of leisure and recreational spaces in garden villages, therefore, emphasised their use for healthy, outdoor pursuits. This was an extension of the rational recreation movement's attempt to replace vices such as drinking and gambling with moral (often family-oriented) alternatives (Bailey 1987). Accordingly, the 1904 plan for New
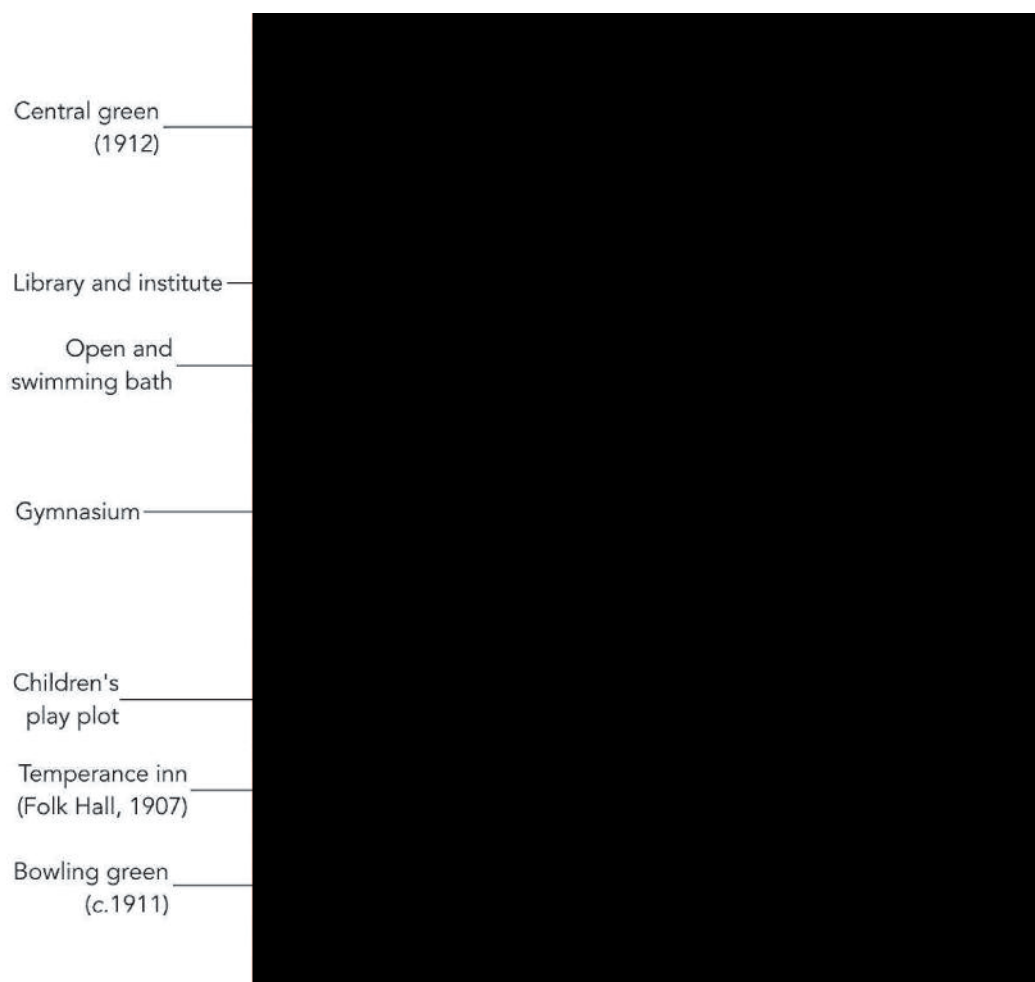
Fig. 84: **Detail of 1904 plan for New Earswick, annotated to show examples of recreational amenities proposed (BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/86). Where applicable, details of amenities actually delivered are given in brackets. © Borthwick Institute for Archives.**

Earswick proposed several facilities for leisure and recreation, including swimming baths, a children's playground, an 'arts and industry institute', and allotments (Fig. 84). The rationalist designation of land for these different purposes implies that it was deemed insufficient to allow residents the freedom to choose how to use the spaces provided for them. This is not necessarily to suggest that the provision of healthy recreational spaces was successful in encouraging participation in moral pursuits but that such spaces served to reinforce this as an expectation of residents.

Given that the proposed locations for a further 13 additional civic or recreational amenities were dispersed throughout the entire village, the early New Earswick plan implies that these facilities were as integral to the village as its housing. It is notable that, while the road layout of this plan encompassed the entire site, it did not include houses located beyond the first two parcels of land to be developed: representing the general layout of the village's housing up until around 1910.

In aspiring to the benefits of 'outdoor village life', as the deed of foundation had described, the plan proposed a range of recreational facilities (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2). However, many of those suggested were slow to be completed. Others, such as recreational ponds and parks, were omitted from subsequent plans and ultimately left undelivered in the scheme. The opportunity to acquire land for recreational purposes was nevertheless pursued by the trustees on behalf of residents throughout the first half of the twentieth century. This initially applied to the village green and the Folk Hall and its grounds, but later included playing fields to the north, purchased in 1923 (BIA JRF/2/1/1/3).

Proposals for the central village green, as featured on the 1904 plan, were discussed from the village's inception. Yet, the trustees' records show that a requisite agreement with the tenant farmer to use some of the remaining agricultural land for the green, which also doubled as a recreation ground, was only confirmed in 1911 (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2). Moreover, the landscaping of the green was not completed until the spring of 1912, under the instruction of the housing manager Gulielma Harlock (BIA JRF/4/1/9/9/21). Thus, despite being central to Parker and

Unwin's initial proposals, the recreational green was perhaps not deemed a high priority for the village, given that it had gone undeveloped for a full eight years. It is questionable whether this indicates a betrayal of the principles of the trust, whose deed of foundation included the provision of recreational spaces. Rather, it demonstrates the architects' latent intentions, as manifested in the village plan, which were impeded by the more immediate, practical concerns of village building.

Meanwhile, the tension between the need for recreational spaces and rental income was implicated in the trustees' discussions over how to allocate land for each use. This reflected apparent contradictions within the trustees' aims, which were embedded in questions about the recreational landscape. For example, in 1913 the trustees agreed not to grant additional recreational grounds to the village unless local sports clubs could guarantee a financial return and make arrangements to compensate for the loss of the tenant farmer's land (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2). The trustees' minutes recorded that New Earswick's clubs routinely struggled to retain their subscription income and were regularly faced with the possibility of their grounds being closed or being allowed to fall into disrepair (BIA JRF/2/1/1/3). Falling sports club membership in the 1920s may itself be evidence of changing attitudes towards recreation, though it is also important to note that economic barriers may have prevented some from participating in village sports and thereby benefiting from one aspect of community life.

Although none of the available documents relating to the founding of Woodlands referred to the specific benefits of recreation for workers, the lease agreement stipulated the provision of generic recreational spaces. As a result, the plan for Woodlands was less exhaustive in the range of recreational amenities proposed. Recreational needs were satisfied chiefly by the grounds of the Brodsworth Club (the former Woodlands Mansion) in the far south-east of the village, as was stipulated in the lease agreement (DA DD/BROD/4/40). As part of the historic mansion grounds, this landscape of leisure represented a degree of historical continuity.

Women appear to have been largely excluded from male-dominated activities such as sports (mainly football), although the Brodsworth Club

was originally intended to provide segregated spaces for men and women, in contrast to many exclusively male workmen's clubs elsewhere (*Tamworth Herald* 1908). There is nonetheless little to suggest that the company specifically provided for women's recreation. This was typical of mining communities during the early-twentieth century (Dennis et al. 1956, 248; Carr 2001, 96; Hall 2013, 63). During the 1920s, the adjacent development of Woodlands Central would nevertheless provide more accessible opportunities for leisure and recreation, including a substantial sports ground as well as a cinema and numerous club buildings. As such, new spaces for recreation within the model village itself were no longer a priority, one exception being the village hall provided in 1919 by Violet Markham after her brother's death (*Hull Daily Mail* 1919). This signified the fact that, as the surrounding population expanded, the model village lost some of its independence and instead became more reliant on later housing developments for communal facilities.

Gardening as a practised domestic ideal

In contrast to collective recreation such as sports, gardens presented a more personal means of social reform. This was nonetheless tempered by a public aspect, through the visibility of front gardens. Hepworth (1999, 28) posits that, in the late-Victorian worldview, weeding, pruning, and otherwise tending to garden plants were symbolic acts of 'disciplining deviance'. This was in turn necessary for an orderly home, secure from the potential dangers of idleness and the moral uncertainty of life outside. However, the provision of gardens at New Earswick and to a lesser extent at Woodlands must be put into context of the recognised benefits of gardening, extolled by contemporary reformers (e.g. Meakin 1905, 245). Accordingly, gardening inculcated both moral responsibility and well-being in individuals—nurturing and cultivating a garden being simultaneously rewarding and productive. The aim was not merely to widen possession of gardens as a visual signifier of a better class of workers, but instead to achieve social reform and improve health through the act of gardening, once again representing participation in the village landscape.

In garden villages, the social value of gardens was interwoven with their aesthetic value. New Earswick was characterised by long, narrow gardens, with some examples on Chestnut Grove extending over twenty metres from the house. These were a prominent feature of Parker and Unwin's plan. This was nonetheless more likely due to the architects' general avoidance of building on 'backland' spaces, rather than a conscious effort to lay out gardens in a particular fashion. However, as described, the standard size for New Earswick's gardens was determined primarily by the trustees, based on what they regarded as workable by residents. Unwin certainly shared the trustees' positive attitude towards gardening, viewing it as a more worthy and enriching leisure activity than sports. At a meeting of Sheffield socialists, Unwin (1897, 45) once claimed that 'games are already pushed to such an extent that they become professions' and that, therefore, 'we must look to hobbies to fill our spare time with happiness'.

It is unclear what role, if any, Parker or Unwin had in the landscaping of gardens, though the planting of hedge borders was certainly a matter for the contractors involved. Nonetheless, the planting of hedges, rather than the use of lower-maintenance hard landscaping, imparted an expectation for residents to contribute towards the upkeep of their green surroundings. Their aesthetic impact therefore encouraged the involvement of residents in an activity that was expected to be in equal parts rewarding and respectable. Similarly, the grass verges created in the development of the village were maintained by the trust to establish a standard of maintenance, which residents were expected to follow in their own private gardens (Waddilove 1954, 22).

Although most of Woodlands' houses were not designed with back gardens, both villages included areas reserved for allotments. At New Earswick, these were located mostly beyond the eastern bank of the River Foss, though an area adjacent to the sewage works at the northern boundary of the village was also used for this purpose. The Rowntree family had pioneered allotment provision in the city of York, which was based on the Liberal view of cultivation of the land as a metaphor for the cultivation of a better society, as well as the self-improvement of working-class people (Wilson 2012, 732–3). Unwin (1911, 171) was

nonetheless scathing of the typically haphazard arrangement of allotments, describing them as 'shanties' that compared unfavourably with 'what a richer man does in his hedged or walled garden'. By associating allotments with the less wealthy, Unwin regarded private, enclosed gardens as a gold standard of affluence and respectability. While the trustees seemingly accepted allotments as a tool of social reform, Unwin was echoing a more general assumption, held by contemporaries, that the state of the land under tenure, whether garden or allotment, reflected the respectability of its tenants. Commenting on Hungate in York, for instance, Seebohm Rowntree lamented the loss of large gardens in the district as evidence that its then-impoverished inhabitants belonged to 'a very different class' from their wealthier predecessors (Rowntree 1908, 5). Rowntree directly contrasted the former gardens with the 'barren wastes' described at the time of his writing.

Allotments at New Earswick were proposed from the village's inception: as well as being referred to in the trust's deed of foundation, they also featured in the first plan for the village (albeit in a different location). This suggests that they were integral to the shared vision for the community. By contrast, there is no reference to allotment provision in the leases or plans for Woodlands. Those that were eventually created may have thus been a response to the perceived needs of residents (or at their request), likely because of inadequate garden provision. Allotments were situated on low-lying land at the south-western boundary of the Woodlands estate (Fig. 74, above). However, this arguably could not compensate for the lack of outdoor privacy around the home, which would normally be offered by rear gardens.

Privacy indeed appears to have been sought by residents at Woodlands, at least in more recent years. Historic photographs of houses around the Crescent depict front gardens separated by low stone walls. These walls have mostly been retained in the contemporary landscape. Yet today, many properties in this area include hedges or high fences immediately beyond these dividing walls, with the effect of limiting visibility into the front garden. The placement of additional physical boundaries is much less pronounced in the Park, where at least a few houses did include rear gardens. This indicates that a limited degree of privacy was retained and

embedded in the design of the landscape. Moreover, the availability of garden space had implications for class-based differences in attitudes towards privacy, which was stereotypically a concern of the middle classes (e.g. Hepworth 1999). Notably, areas of the Park would later be occupied by a higher proportion of middle-class families (see pp.273–6).

Elsewhere in Woodlands, the lack of private outdoor spaces illustrates how one aspect of reform—the moral enrichment of individuals through recreational pursuits—conflicted with another: the formation of an independent community. This provides further critique of the garden village landscape as a straightforward materialisation of a singular reformist ideal. In discussing council estates of the mid-twentieth century, Ravetz (2001, 165) observes that the street remained the dominant focus for leisurely social activity within working-class communities, as well as serving as spaces for children to play. This was despite private gardens partly being provided for such purposes. That being the case, the small number of rear gardens that existed at Woodlands may not have necessarily been used in the manner for which they had been provided, particularly where informal alternative spaces were adopted.

6.4   Communal and cooperative spaces

Open greens were a common feature of garden village design. In functional terms, retaining these spaces ensured that housing density could be kept to a minimum, in line with garden city principles. However, these spaces were also communal by their nature. Ideologically, they represented some of the more radical aspects of the garden city movement, including an emphasis on the collective use of land (if not actual common ownership). At a more basic level, communal open spaces maximised opportunities for social interactions, as well as contributing to a sense of community (see Ravetz 2001, 138). Freedom of association and cooperation at New Earswick and Woodlands, being viewed as necessary for the social improvement of the working classes, were thus encouraged by participation in the landscape.

As Casella (2012, 297) wrote of the working-class landscape of Alderley Edge in Cheshire, community is an 'intrinsically spatial experience'. The creation of communal spaces with apparently no defined purpose has sometimes been adopted as a way of enhancing community ties. However, while there appeared to be an expectation for open greens and similar spaces to be used communally, there was a more ambiguous expectation held by garden village designers as to how exactly they were to be used or maintained. This was particularly the case with houses oriented towards each other in close cul-de-sacs or similar groupings, found in both case studies. Yet, this contributed to regions wherein the didactic intention of the landscape's design and planning could be undermined.

'The squares'

Today, the northern Field area of Woodlands is dominated by its 'squares', the communal green spaces situated behind its houses. These spaces, to some degree, served a social purpose in lieu of private gardens. This was despite a more practical advantage: as Parker demonstrated
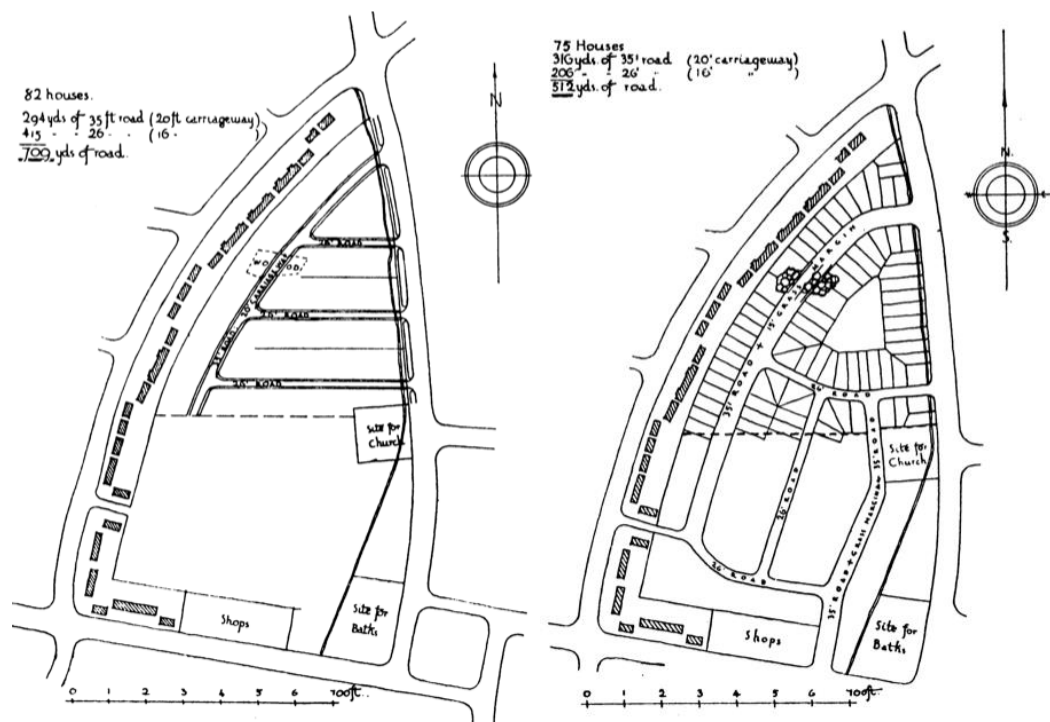
Fig. 85: **Diagrams illustrating alternative approaches to laying out 'backland' spaces (Parker 1937, 82–3). Left, a gridiron plan crossed with streets. Right, fewer houses and traffic streets but with central open space. Parker estimated that the latter arrangement would have saved £20 per house in road costs.**

elsewhere, planners believed it more economical to leave such 'backland' spaces undeveloped rather than to fill them in with housing and costly access roads (Fig. 85). For much of the village's existence, properties on the squares did not feature rear gardens. This had the added benefit of minimising the ground rents that the colliery company were obliged to pay towards the Brodsworth estate as part of the lease, with land for open spaces charged at a lower rate than land for houses and gardens.

The inclusion of open spaces in many garden villages was often recognised as a way of improving the health and well-being of residents. The benefits of sunlight, ventilation, and opportunities for moral recreation were among the effects sought by reformers in both urban and institutional settings (e.g. Allmond 2016; Lopez 2017, 367–8; Chance 2019, 22). Constructing a healthy landscape, which incorporated features such as open spaces, arguably holds a special significance in a community populated by miners, whose work was characterised by dark, unhealthy, and dangerous conditions. In this respect, Houfton's plan for Woodlands aligned with the politics of his client Markham, in accordance with the latter's support of miners' welfare reforms (e.g. Hansard 1905; 1912a; 1912c; 1913). An obvious limitation of this is the assumption that miners, many working night shifts, had adequate leisure time to take advantage of the apparent benefits of outdoor spaces, or that they would not have opted to spend their leisure time engaging in other pursuits.

The health advantages of the landscape's design may not have necessarily been recognised by the miners at Woodlands, but the squares broadly served as focal points for the wider community. Woodlands is characterised today, as in the past, by the width of its streets (Gaskell 1979, 448; Parkhouse 1993, 22). This contributed to a community atmosphere in which, according to one former resident, households across the street 'remained comparative strangers and the front doors were only used for weddings and funerals' (Morrell 1995, 44). Evidence of this persists in the blocked-up front doors of some properties today (see Fig. 45, p.140). This was not unique to Woodlands, since the Adwick-le-Street Urban District inquiry of 1915 reported that miners living nearby frequently used the rear door of their homes (TNA HLG 1/68). Yet, to outsiders, this practice was portrayed as not only irrational, but also

contributing to poor material conditions, as it encouraged traffic into the smaller backstreets. Negative outsider views such as this exemplified a lack of understanding about the social use of space in working-class culture.

By continuing this practice at Woodlands, residents nonetheless strengthened their affinity with others on their square rather than the street on which their house was located. Moreover, the squares served as spaces for communal gatherings, whether informal or organised (Fig. 86). This was alongside their informal use by children, who participated in them through play (Catharine 1992, 22–3; Morrell 1995, 44). Again, the 'playful' informality of this element of the landscape, which was ultimately planned in an industrial context, was ignored in contemporary appraisals. The planner Patrick Abercrombie, who had praised Woodlands ahead of his visit in 1911, subsequently criticised the 'public desert' that its houses were situated in, a result of the insufficient gardens:

> No privacy and no screen for those little untidinesses which are very apt to appear near the back door; there is a tendency for these … to get scattered

Fig. 86: **Historic photograph of a communal (possibly a celebration) gathering in an open 'square' along Central Avenue, Woodlands. Courtesy of WCHA.**

on the whole enclosed green, which presents a certain dirty, squalid appearance (Abercrombie 1911, 232).

This speaks of the high expectations of architects and planners regarding how the landscape ought to be used. Conversely, it may have been hoped that a shared open space to the rear of each property would encourage residents to assume collective responsibility for its tidy appearance. Thus emerges a contradiction between the expectation and the realisation of the landscape. Moreover, the green space inside each square was accessible only via gaps between groups of houses and consequently would not have been recognised as entirely public. Even if access had been obvious to visitors unfamiliar with the village, it is unlikely that many outsiders would have ventured in. Notably, despite the many historic photographs of the Park, there are fewer images of streets in the northern end of Woodlands and no photographs taken from within the squares ever appeared in the contemporary architectural press.

In contrast to many examples of institutional reform (e.g. Allmond 2017, 109–10), the expression of reform in the design of Woodlands thus had more of a collective rather than an individual basis. The challenge of balancing communal enjoyment of the land against moderate individual privacy was nonetheless problematic. In houses without separate bathrooms, the bath was typically located in the scullery towards the rear of properties, looking onto the squares (Fig. 78, above). According to a former resident, these baths were seldom used because they could be overlooked by anyone outside (Morrell 1995, 44). Coupled with the relatively recent addition of high fences enclosing the front gardens of many properties, this critiques the idea of privacy as an exclusively middle-class preoccupation. Even so, the original plan's emphasis on communal open spaces in Woodlands echoes a broader argument. Houfton's overall approach attests to his belief that better conditions for the working classes did not necessarily require the imitation of middle-class ideals, household privacy and individualism among them.

Quadrangles and cul-de-sacs

The concept of semi-enclosed spaces within the village landscape was similarly adopted at New Earswick, primarily in the form of 'quadrangles',

cul-de-sacs, and houses otherwise clustered in informal groups. While the architects' more radical cooperative ideas, such as communal housekeeping and shared reading rooms, were ultimately written out of their plans for New Earswick, this aspect of their designs emphasises the conviction that neighbourly cooperation remained a pathway to better social conditions. Quadrangles were specifically advocated by both Parker and Unwin as a way of encouraging cooperation between households (Parker and Unwin 1901, 103; Unwin 1902 14). In microcosm, this reflected Ebenezer Howard's attitude towards municipal cooperation in garden cities, as an antidote to the unchecked individualism he perceived in ordinary cities (Howard 1902, 111–12).

A form similar to Parker and Unwin's arrangement of quadrangles existed on a smaller scale at Woodlands, in the form of 'bay' lawns created by setting some blocks of houses back from the roadside (see pp.127–9). This design feature was later advocated by John Tudor Walters, chair of the Industrial Housing Association, specifically as a way of ensuring that parents could keep a watchful eye over their children (Tudor Walters 1927, 26–8). Parker and Unwin invoked a similar justification for their

Fig. 87: **Historic photograph showing separate allotment-style gardens at Ivy Place, detached from the building frontage by a footpath (from Murphy 1987, 87).**

quadrangles, as adopted at New Earswick. However, evidence from successive plans indicates that New Earswick's quadrangles in particular were modified throughout the course of the village's development. The earliest example is Ivy Place, a quadrangle surrounded on three sides by blocks of housing, bisected by Chestnut Grove. At the centre of the quadrangle, there is now a communal lawn, but this space was originally subdivided into detached garden plots, visible in an historic photograph of the area (Fig. 87). In physically separating the gardens from their respective houses, the original design of this part of New Earswick disrupted the privacy that normally typified British gardens—particularly middle-class ones (e.g. Bhatti et al. 2014). This mirrors the lack of privacy offered by the squares at Woodlands.

Ivy Place was probably completed by 1909, only seven years after the village was founded, and yet changed substantially from the initial design. The earliest full plan of the village instead featured continual rows of housing at the southern end of Chestnut Grove (Fig. 88). The potential reason for this pre-construction design revision relates to the experimental approaches to planning adopted by Parker and Unwin. The planning of Ivy Place was in part a material response to ideas of public health. The longest elevation of the houses in Ivy Place (as built) faces south towards the sun. This suggests that the orientation of the blocks was adjusted from the initial proposal to maximise the number of occupants who could benefit from the health effects of natural sunlight, an important design principle advocated by the architects (e.g. Parker and Unwin 1901, 112–13; Unwin 1902, 3; 1911, 310). This applied not just to the interior spaces of houses but also to the exterior streetscape, with wide streets and open spaces to maintain the sunlit environment and fresh air necessary to inhibit the development of disease.

This factor might sufficiently provide a practical rationale for modifying the design in this way. Yet, just as social aspects of planning have sometimes been overlooked in the broader history of the discipline (see Cherry 1970, 1–2; Bowie 2017, 208), it is necessary to consider the social implications of the design of Ivy Place. At the time of construction, the houses of Ivy Place had the most affordable rents (JRVT 1913, 13). Their occupants were likely among the poorer residents of the village.
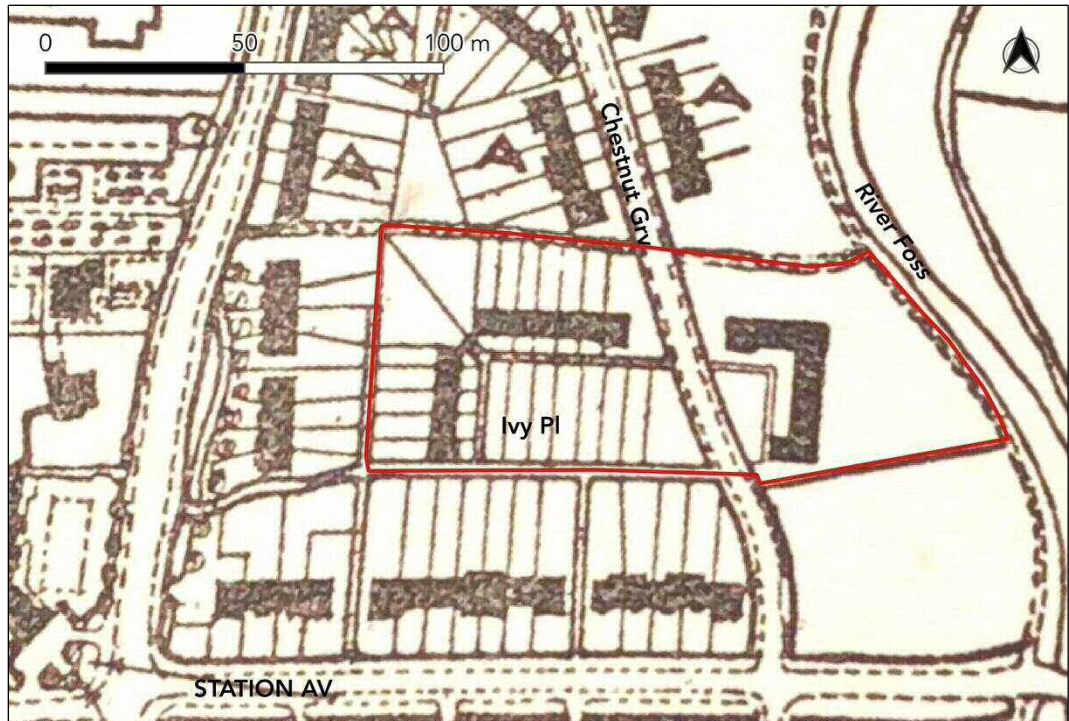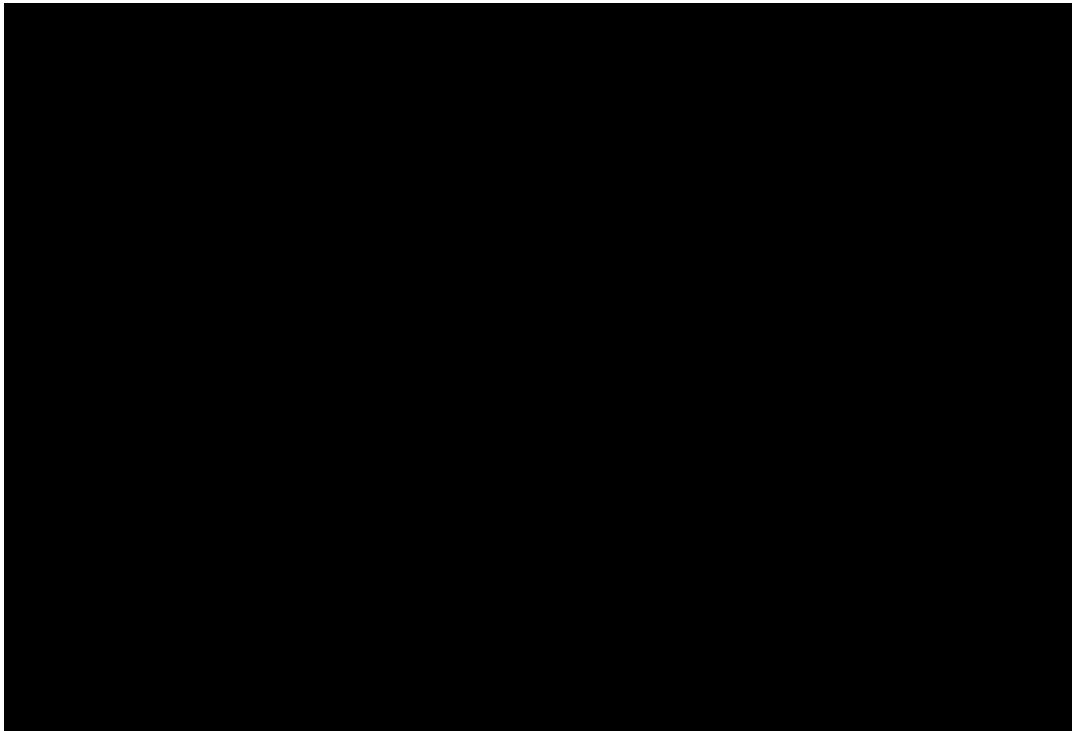
Fig. 88: **Detail of plans (annotated) for Chestnut Grove. The Ivy Place quadrangle and surrounding houses are absent from the 1904 plan (top, BIA JRF/4/1/12/1/86) but appear as built in a later plan, published 1909 (bottom, Unwin 1911, 233). © Borthwick Institute for Archives.**

Certainly, in terms of social class, this part of the village was occupied by a higher proportion of 'working-class' families in 1911.

This raises the possibility of the architects anticipating perceived differences in attitudes towards privacy and household cooperation. In the context of Seebohm Rowntree's familiarity with urban working-class landscapes and the architects' emphasis on communal spaces, New Earswick replicated elements of urban working-class social life in otherwise green, rustic surroundings. Although derided by reformers including Rowntree (1908, 188–9), the communal courtyards associated with 'slum' districts were arguably significant for informal social interactions that might occur within them. Conversely, household privacy was framed as the preserve of better-off families, but it came at the expense of a loss of collective resources. Rowntree (1908, 77) himself conceded that women in districts such as Hungate experienced less monotony than other working-class women, due to a life 'lived more in common'. This was an implied consequence of the communal courtyard setting, which encouraged both cooperation and socialising between households. Such a courtyard may have been reinterpreted for the more refined setting at Ivy Place, with an expectation that it would encourage opportunities for social interactions.

Ivy Place stands as one of the most formally designed areas of the early New Earswick landscape, in contrast to the winding streets of Chestnut Grove and Poplar Grove, which follow the course of the River Foss. However, the interwar development of the village contrasts with the planned informality of the pre-war sections. The area west of Haxby Road is dominated by a series of cul-de-sacs, a form that Parker and Unwin had first pioneered at Hampstead Garden Suburb in 1907 (Miller 2010, 25–8). Designs for interwar New Earswick were similarly revised and modified at times before construction (Fig. 69, above). The number of cul-de-sacs along Rowan Avenue was reduced from ten to eight, with the remaining blocks arranged in a more symmetrical rather than offset fashion.

Parker (1937, 82–7), who was working without Unwin's involvement at this point, justified his use of cul-de-sacs as being more economical than building houses in rows. For example, since cul-de-sacs did not need to

accommodate through-traffic, narrower streets could be permitted, which in turn minimised road construction costs. Moreover, they allowed awkward spaces at the edges of New Earswick's boundaries to be used fully (Creese 1966, 195–6). Rowan Place is one such example, for which the plan was modified several times before construction began (Fig. 69, above). It is important to note that housing in the cul-de-sacs to the west was partly funded through government subsidies under the Housing Acts of 1919, 1923, and 1924 (TNA HLG 49/693–4). Eligibility for building subsidies or loans required house rents to be capped at an amount fixed by the Local Government Board. This further ensured that maximising available resources was a priority for the trustees and Parker himself.

Yet, despite the arrangement of New Earswick's cul-de-sacs being presented as an economical design, their inclusion in the village plan carried other implications. Certainly, providing refuge from traffic is one function of cul-de-sacs, as adopted in more recent examples of planning. By the 1920s, the New Earswick trustees began to acknowledge the impact that cars were beginning to have on the village, noting the 'constant' motor traffic in Chestnut Grove (BIA JRF/2/1/1/3). This presented a challenge to the trustees' desire for a landscape that could offer 'the advantages of outdoor village life', as encapsulated in the deed of foundation (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2).

However, cul-de-sacs may have been adopted because they reflected other aspects of the architects' reformist vision. The clustering of houses in cul-de-sacs, united by a common landscape design and architectural theme, replicated the elements of communalism embedded in the earlier parts of the village. Studies of the contemporary built environment provide some evidence of stronger neighbourhood attachment and communality experienced by cul-de-sac residents (especially children) relative to residents on through roads (e.g. Brown and Werner 1985, 555–6; Charmes 2010, 367; Hochschild 2013, 241). Thus, cul-de-sacs may have been incorporated into the design of New Earswick to serve a similar purpose, in line with the trustees' desire to engender self-organisation among residents (BIA JRF/1/2/8/2). The spaces provided were relatively enclosed and thus amenable to interactions between households sharing the road, much like Ivy Place. The architecture of houses in each cul-de-sac, while

Fig. 89: **Minor streetscape variations in interwar New Earswick, through building ornamentation and orientation and planting (left, Cherry Tree Avenue; right, Crabtree Grove). © Author.**

similar, was subtly different in ornamentation, creating varied sight-lines within the streetscape (Fig. 89). Indeed, the most significant ornamentation was in blocks of housing that were visible from the main road. Moreover, the planting of lime and other flowering trees gave each cul-de-sac a particular visual identity.

The evolution of the planned landscape at New Earswick reflected not an ideological shift from beauty to efficiency, but rather the architects' shift towards justifying, in rational terms, the use of planning to achieve their wider vision of social reform. This vision, ultimately based on reform as a collective process, did not fundamentally change. With Parker and Unwin's growing ambition in the public sphere, it nonetheless made sense to begin to justify their designs as pragmatic rather than idealistic. In this manner, the landscape's design and planning at times concealed more meaningful reform, while at other times it could be used to invoke a public image of social progress where none legitimately existed—or indeed where circumstances prevented it (see Chapter 7).

Conclusions

While the development of garden village-style housing selectively evoked elements of rurality and implied a rejection of existing urban forms, the relationship between houses and the land in New Earswick and Woodlands similarly reflected a modern, non-urban idyll. The high-density housing of urban areas was not just seen as a health risk, creating

dark, damp, and unsanitary conditions that exacerbated the spread of diseases such as cholera and tuberculosis. The 'immoral' consequences of overcrowding within the home, such as bedrooms shared by both male and female children (Ravetz 2011, 163), were compounded by concerns about the social and economic consequences of having too large a population occupying too little land. The low density of garden city-style planning ensured an optimally sized population to enable the fostering of a community spirit while simultaneously enabling the enjoyment of green outdoor spaces. These too, including the cottage-style gardens of New Earswick and parts of Woodlands, referenced the idyllic landscape of traditional villages in a radically modern setting. The lack of access to open space—and therefore to leisure and recreation activities that were seen as morally enriching, such as gardening—in cities was a further problem addressed by the rustic landscape design of garden villages.

Yet, despite each village assuming an increasingly suburban appearance throughout their subsequent development, this did not betray the underlying principle of social improvement through the active deployment of and participation in the landscape, regardless of its precise form. Green spaces, for instance, were significant, not for the conservative values they ostensibly signified (cf. Creese 1966; Meacham 1999), nor necessarily for their aesthetic appeal. Instead, they were significant in terms of how designers expected them to be used: for residents to engage in productive, restorative, and moral pursuits. Communal green spaces in particular referenced an organic, pre-industrial society free from the blight of urban overdevelopment that was fuelled by capitalism.

Nevertheless, the intentions of the designers did not always correspond to the reform ideals of their clients, and nor did the planned landscape always reliably articulate the stated principles of the designers. The plan for New Earswick more directly suggested concerns with preserving individuality within an already aspirational working population: artisans, shop assistants, and clerks. For example, the smaller proportion of communal open spaces was compensated by the provision of private gardens for every home. Their inclusion within the New Earswick plans furthered the trustees' expectations that healthy, moral recreational

activities would sustain individuals' self-improvement and promote their overall 'welfare'. Gardens provided spaces for productive recreation, yet also allowed expressions of individuality where others, such as housing modifications, were prohibited. The 'bodily practice' of gardening and the labour invested in it engenders a feeling of ownership, which is particularly significant for communities such as New Earswick, where houses were almost exclusively rented (see Bhatti et al. 2014, 42–7).

Other aspects of the plans for New Earswick and Woodlands were more at odds with the founders' emphasis on individual responsibility. Houfton's deployment of the semi-enclosed green spaces at Woodlands contributed to the formation of close-knit communities around the village's squares, which may have enabled practices such as the cooperative supervision of the relatively high proportion of children. This was despite the practical advantage that these spaces brought to the founder, given the higher cost of land for private gardens. The clustering of homes around communal lawns, greens, or cul-de-sacs, as well as the frequent inversion of front and back, encouraged organic social interactions. These might not have otherwise taken place if the houses were designed in straight rows, as in urban districts dominated by by-law housing. In this case, however, partially enclosed outdoor spaces were an alternative to the public alleys and communal courtyards of many poorer urban areas such as Hungate (Rowntree 1908, 153).

Nevertheless, the architects introduced more radical elements of cooperation to the design of garden villages, even if these were later concealed by a discourse of efficiency. The inclusion of common open spaces and the clustering of houses to maximise neighbourly interactions can be interpreted as an attempt at actively promoting cooperation and encouraging social mixing. This in turn indicates that communalism itself was an important mechanism for the improvement of social conditions. This is not surprising, given Parker and Unwin's previous interest in socialist politics (Day 1981, 61; Meacham 1999, 76–8), or Howard's (1902, 96–8) recognition of the equal importance of individualism and collectivism.

This can be contrasted with nineteenth-century ideas of reform. Admittedly, the modern concept of the individual may be privileged in recent studies of institutions, which draw increasingly from phenomenological and experiential methodologies (De Cunzo and Ernstein 2006, 269). But while this earlier period of reform was chiefly concerned with distinct groups, such as the poor or the criminal, its institutional mechanisms arguably framed the individual as the object of reform (cf. Tarlow 2007, 125; Springate 2017, 774). For example, the isolationist architecture of prisons and workhouses served to separate individuals and classify them according to a relatively fixed hierarchy, based on criteria such as age or ability (Lucas 1999; Casella 2007, 90). In a different context, Robert Owen's work at the model village of New Lanark, Scotland (commencing in 1800) included an 'Institution for the Formation of Character', which was shaped by the founder's Enlightenment understanding of individualism (Hardy 1979, 24).

The emphasis on communalism to some extent competed with more individualistic concerns. Privacy, as alluded to above, was a lower priority in garden village design, the implications of which were more apparent in Woodlands. Rather than design a landscape in which each household had a private garden space (reflecting middle-class social norms), Houfton's plan downplayed the role of the individual in favour of the community and principles of collective responsibility. In doing so, he appeared somewhat sensitive to the social practices of mining families.

Reform and ideas of middle-class respectability were not totally imposed upon residents through the material design of garden villages; nor were these ideas passively adopted by residents. Instead, residents actively sought to enhance their conditions on their terms and their material surroundings were key to negotiating these; the demand for parlour houses at New Earswick is one such example. In doing so, they participated in a kind of reflexive but negotiable reform of the self. As such, the extent to which the inhabitants of garden villages experienced and engaged with the processes and materialities of reform, and how they experienced their consequences, requires further discussion. This forms the basis of the next chapter.

7   Reform 'on the ground': Social consequences and spatial contradictions

For various reasons, the design of both New Earswick and Woodlands did not necessarily reflect the idealised intentions of those in control, with compromises frequently made throughout the course of their development. Whereas the previous chapter referred to deliberate planning decisions made before construction began, planning itself transformed the landscape and the lives of residents in numerous ways, predictably or otherwise. The 'reform landscape' was not something bestowed upon residents by reform-minded village founders and architects; it was instead something produced and reproduced by a multiplicity of agents. Accordingly, the landscape's material manifestation sometimes amplified the unintended consequences of reform. The first half of this chapter aims to interpret and critique these consequences in material and social terms.

While existing archaeological literature has drawn attention to reform as a negotiated process, there is less attention paid to the material aspects of this process: the production of the reform landscape. Garden villages did not merely enable participation in the landscape. They also enabled inhabitants to negotiate it: for example, through personalisation of the house and garden or in the use of spaces for purposes not intended by the designers. While participation was integral to reform, it opened the opportunity for reformers' intentions to be challenged. As such, a secondary aim, addressed in the latter half of the chapter, is to interpret the manifestation of reform and its social realities as produced by the residents of garden villages. Both aims of this chapter are achieved through a detailed analysis of the relationship between the landscape and

its people, re-integrating census data, historical photography, and visual evidence from the extant landscapes of New Earswick and Woodlands.

7.1 Aesthetic changes and contrasts

New Earswick and Woodlands continued to evolve in ways that were not necessarily within the control of the original planners and architects. These patterns of change are distinct from conscious design revisions made by the designers themselves. In the latter case, modifications were typically borne out of wider discussions over principles of planning, housing, and social reform. It is not necessarily the case that the reform basis for design principles was always explicitly articulated. For example, the decision taken at New Earswick to modify plans with close groupings of houses in cul-de-sacs, instead of experimental detached bungalows, may have related to the dissatisfaction of tenants of already completed experimental homes. This ideologically served to reposition families and the community rather than the individual as the subject of reform. However, it is important to consider later deviations from the designer's original vision as revealing the theoretical contradiction in attempting to encourage social change through a relatively fixed physical environment. The difficulty of sustaining the aesthetic sought by the planners of New Earswick and Woodlands on a long-term basis sometimes undermined the ambitions of village managers—not least the extent to which they were able to position their villages as exemplary communities.

Greenery as amenity

As discussed previously (pp.241–2), gardening was historically recognised as a respectable, healthy, and moral leisure activity (Gaskell 1980, 500–1; Bhatti 1999, 185; Ravetz 2011, 176–8). At New Earswick, the garden was a particularly powerful mechanism for social improvement. Children at the New Earswick school were encouraged to enjoy gardening from an early age, with seeds and roots used to teach arithmetic (BIA JRF/4/1/9/22/8). Discussions concerning the size of gardens laid out at New Earswick framed the garden as a worked space, the size of which had originally been determined by the trustees as being 'enough for a man to work in his spare time' (BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/1/3). This emphasis on gardening in the

New Earswick landscape thus stemmed from a belief in their restorative effect, partly derived through the bodily practice of garden work (Bhatti et al. 2014, 42). The quality of a garden was in this way measured in terms of the value of the work put into it. The individual garden came to signify the respectability of its owner. The same can perhaps be said of the allotment, which was, to a greater extent than the attached garden, a space to be worked rather than passively experienced.

The lack of rear gardens for most of Woodlands' residents (until recently) meant that many were denied the full opportunity to demonstrate their respectability through gardening or to benefit from its perceived effects on well-being. This rendered the green open spaces ('the squares') to the rear of properties in the north of Woodlands even more valuable. However, an indirect consequence of how the village was laid out was that some residents were left without any substantial outdoor spaces, notably those living at the southernmost end of the Crescent and in a later block of houses along the Great North Road (Fig. 90). Historic maps do not indicate land use behind the latter houses, though it is likely to have functioned as a service road. Residents at the southern end of the Crescent meanwhile had to contend with the colliery railway sidings, which lay immediately to the rear of properties. Notwithstanding the presence of the nearby colliery itself, this challenges the notion of Woodlands as a domestic refuge from the perceived blight of industrial conditions—regardless of how it was framed by its contemporary advocates (e.g. *Tamworth Herald* 1908; *GCTP* 1912; Abercrombie and Johnson 1922).

Different landscaping approaches further enhanced the contrast between the Park, the first section to be completed, and the later Field area of Woodlands. Since 'semi-fixed' features (after Rapoport 1990) such as planting were more easily modified by residents, soft landscaping provided people with the freedom to personalise their environment to some extent. The Park was notably characterised by soft landscaping, with front gardens accompanied by hedges, while also preserving some historic trees (Fig. 91). The additional expertise provided by Letchworth's resident gardener, having been consulted over landscaping at Woodlands, speaks of the value that had initially been placed on the naturalistic
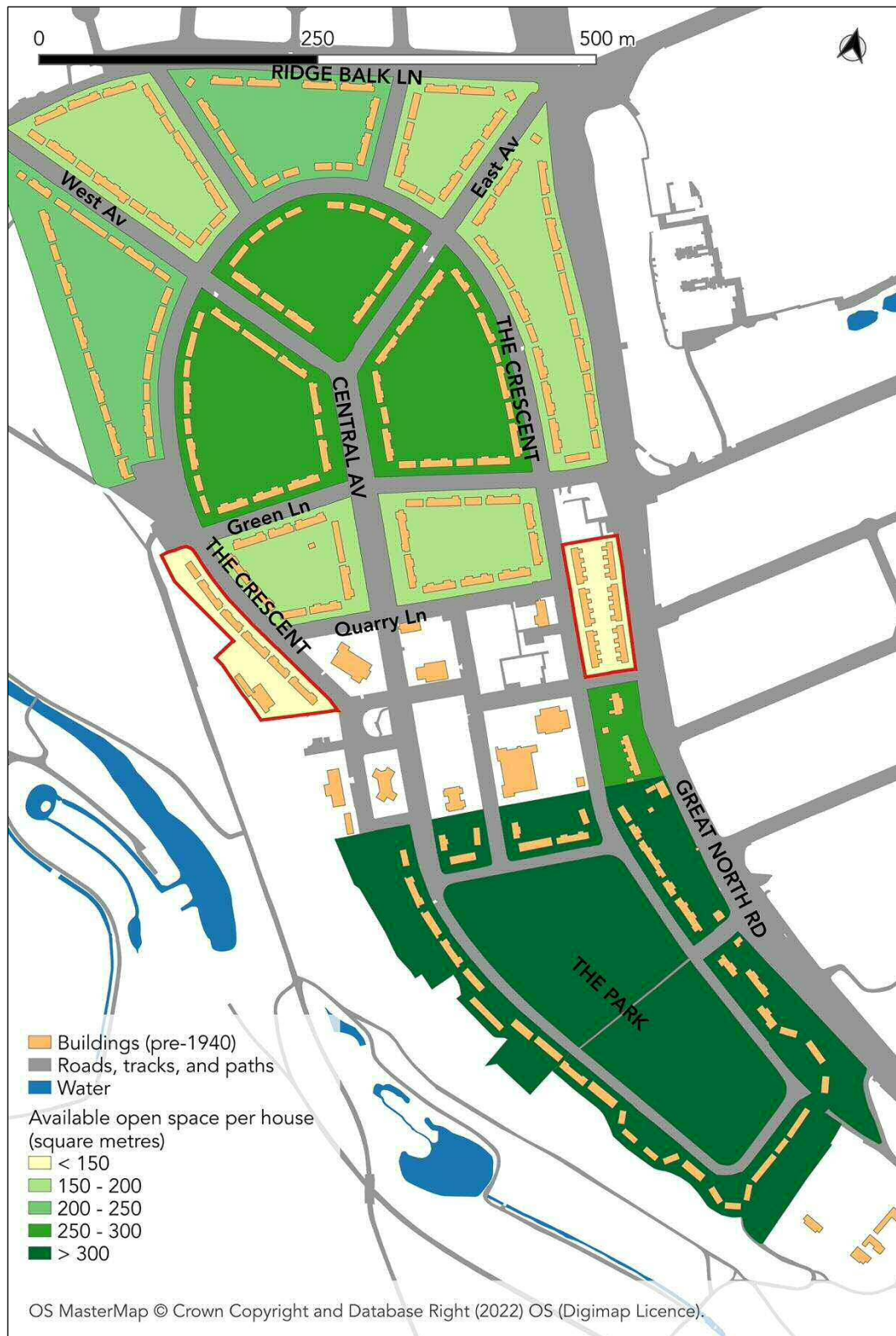
Fig. 90: **Map of Woodlands showing amount of open space relative to the number of houses in each main housing area (those referred to in the text in red outline).**

Fig. 91: **Photograph of housing in the Park, Woodlands, showing hedges between front gardens and the roadside (from *Doncaster Free Press* 2015).**

landscape (*GCTP* 1908, 127). Since residents themselves were responsible for the maintenance of their immediate surroundings, it thereby enabled them to exemplify their moral character.

Soft landscaping was nonetheless an aspect deemed expendable in laying out the Field. This was probably due to the need to complete the village rapidly but may have also reflected concerns about the village's overall appearance: in particular, the suggestion that residents would not adequately maintain their front gardens. The Field area, in contrast to the Park, is characterised by hard landscape materials. Although early photographs depict the front gardens of the Field as being divided by wooden palisades, later images show them replaced with low stone-built walls, which remain today (Figs. 92–3; see also Fig. 42, p.135). While they contributed to the distinctive character of this part of the village, they may have been a remedy for a village judged to be untidy in appearance, as indeed early commentators noted. At the same time, the elimination of soft landscaping limited some individual expression via the personalisation of front garden borders. This contributed to the landscape's aesthetic as the expression of a singular visual identity encouraged by the colliery company (see Rees 2012, 194), rather than something to which residents had contributed.

Fig. 92: **Photograph of a street in the Field area of Woodlands, showing wooden palisade fences used to divide front gardens. Courtesy of WCHA.**

Fig. 93: **Later photograph of the area (from a different angle), showing low stone walls, which have replaced earlier fences. Courtesy of WCHA.**

Despite being characterised today by an abundance of communal green spaces, the extent of such spaces at New Earswick has varied throughout the village's long-term development. This is also despite their significance to the design philosophy of the garden city movement. As already described (pp.103–4), small parcels of land at Ivy Place and Western Terrace were once subdivided into detached garden plots, as recorded through historic photography and the 1910 Land Valuation survey (TNA IR58/95003–5; Fig. 94). Apart from the village green, there is little evidence in the early village for the contiguous parcels of open space that Raymond Unwin regarded as desirable in towns, having sought to avoid 'indefinitely mixing our buildings and our spaces' (Unwin 1911, 164).

More recently, previously subdivided parcels of land in the village, such as those at Ivy Place and Western Terrace, have been consolidated and made publicly accessible. This has enhanced the visibility of some green spaces within the village today, even as recent changes have seen the loss of others. The vulnerability of green spaces to wider processes of
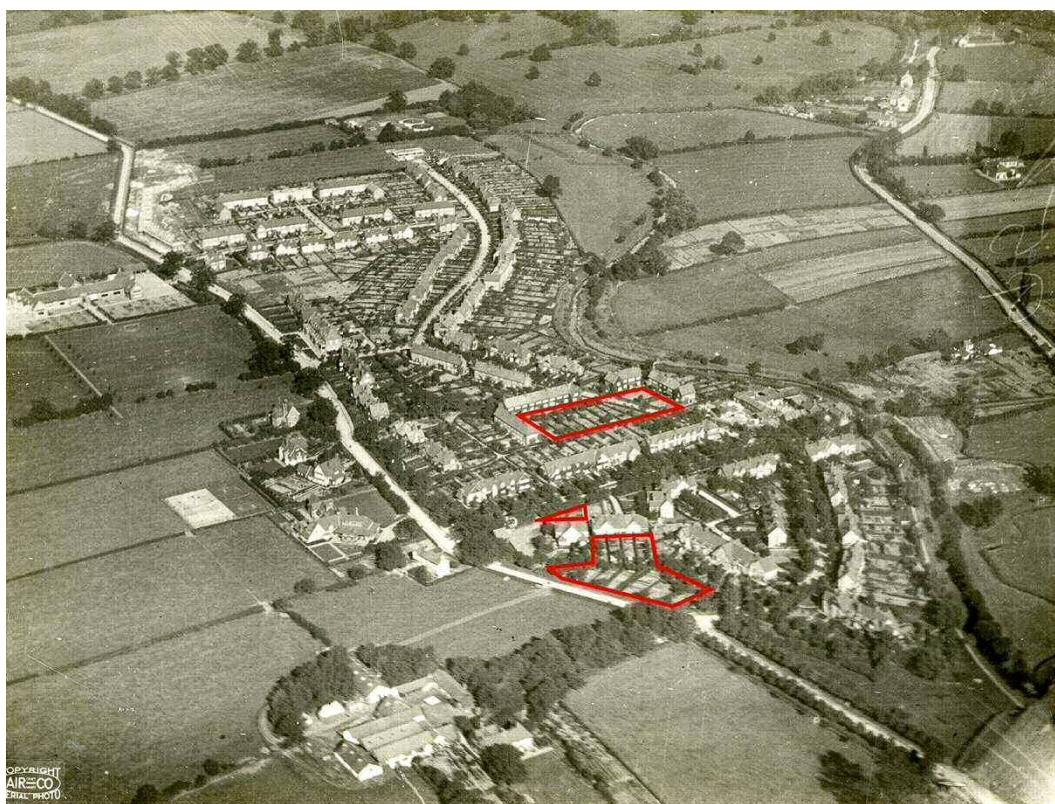
Fig. 94: **Aerial photograph (1920) of New Earswick. Divided plots that have since been consolidated as communal green spaces are outlined in red (GCC LBM4001.49). © Garden City Collection.**
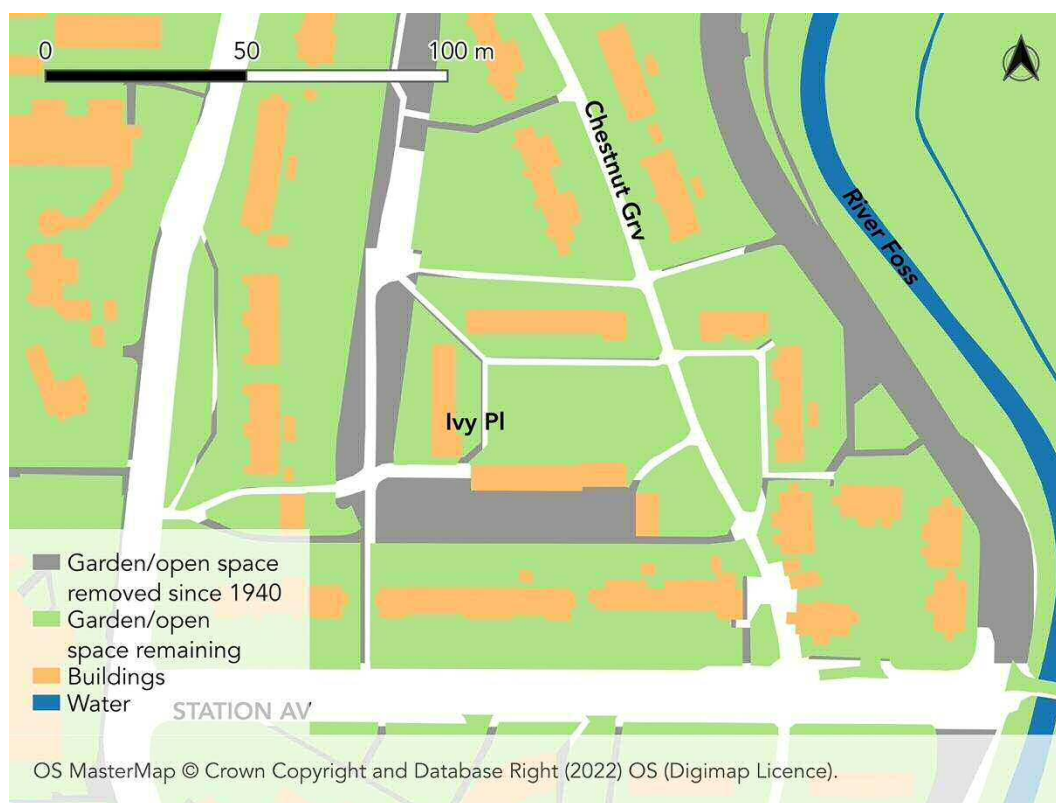
Fig. 95: **Map of garden space and open space at Chestnut Grove, New Earswick, showing areas removed to create new access roads: for example, Willow Bank (*c.*1970) between Chestnut Grove and the River Foss.**

modernisation is exemplified by land formerly used for private gardens, which has been reclaimed, not for the creation of communal spaces, but instead for further development and especially road construction. Between the 1960s and 1970s, the construction of Willow Bank, an access road running alongside the River Foss, necessitated a reduction in the size of gardens along the eastern side of Chestnut Grove (Fig. 95). In this way, a significant proportion of former garden space—originally provided as a means of encouraging healthy outdoor recreation—was appropriated primarily to accommodate increased motor traffic.

The suburbanised village

Although New Earswick gradually adopted a more suburban aesthetic, it officially remained part of the rural district of Flaxton for much of the early-twentieth century and during this time was in a predominantly rural setting. Until the creation of the Burn Estate, a separate development of detached bungalows built on the opposite side of the River Foss in the

late 1920s, it was surrounded almost entirely by agricultural land. Even today, the landscape surroundings retain a rural quality; while the expansion of the nearby village of Huntington has encroached on some of this surrounding land, New Earswick was shielded from encroaching suburbanisation by the banks of the River Foss.

There is an indication that the trustees were aware of the potential threat of nearby suburban expansion. In the late 1930s, Rowntree and Co. offered to sell to the trust portions of its land, which extended from the Rowntree cocoa works up to the southern edge of the village. This would provide a green belt on both sides of the main approach to New Earswick via Haxby Road (BIA JRF/2/1/1/4). It is unclear from the trust's records whether this offer was pursued, but a heavily wooded 'buffer' is evident in the extant landscape (Fig. 96). The former brick- and tile-works, used to manufacture bricks for the construction of the village, has since been transformed into a nature reserve. The eastern side of the main road was, during the same period, furnished with two woodland plantations extending a quarter of a mile away from the village. The preservation of

High Resolution (25cm) Vertical Aerial Imagery (2020) © Getmapping Plc.

Fig. 96: **Aerial photograph showing the heavily wooded approach into New Earswick from the south.**

these naturalistic landscape features beyond the original boundary of the village implies that New Earswick was intended to retain its rustic character. Also implicit in this was the idea of the garden village as a refuge from the urban and the industrial—even from the expanding cocoa works, the industry with which the village and its people were most closely associated.

The physical separation of industrial and domestic life was more problematic in the case of Woodlands, which despite its quasi-rural setting could not be protected from the dust and dirt of the colliery works (e.g. Abercrombie 1911, 231). The colliery itself was causally linked with the urbanisation of what had hitherto been classed as a rural district, in turn contributing to and reflecting a national process of industrialisation. During the early 1900s, those concerned with the development of the coal industry around Doncaster acknowledged that Woodlands would ultimately form part of a new urban landscape. Shortly after the completion of the village, the medical officer of health for Doncaster Rural District commented on the acute housing problems foreseen with the expansion of the region's coalfields and the influx of workers required, estimated to be 25,000 by 1921 (*GCTP* 1912, 190; Dunne 1913). By the 1920s, the Doncaster regional planning scheme, which was co-developed by the planner Patrick Abercrombie, included proposals to incorporate existing colliery villages on the outskirts of Doncaster into a ring of 'satellite towns' (Abercrombie and Johnson 1922, 61). This has direct parallels with Ebenezer Howard's 'social cities', which were to be formed by transport networks linking multiple garden cities (Howard 1902, 128–30).

Woodlands was incorporated into the Adwick-le-Street Urban District at its inception in 1915, a change that enabled the local authority to plan for the expansion of the district. It was around this time that the environment immediately beyond Woodlands underwent a process of suburban in-filling, beginning with a scheme of 278 council houses situated between the historic core of Adwick-le-Street and Woodlands Model Village (Abercrombie and Johnson 1922, 71). This development, known as Woodlands Central, followed a regular gridiron-like plan with semi-detached houses arranged in long rows (Fordham 2009, 35–6). This

plan form is notably reminiscent of the by-law housing that had been criticised by many followers of the garden city movement.

The slightly later development of Woodlands East, this time built by the Industrial Housing Association, was more similar in its physical form to the original model village (Tudor Walters 1927, lxxii; Hay and Fordham 2017, 126). Although lacking the open greens of the latter, it included geometrically planned avenues with houses intermittently set back from the roadside in blocks of two and four. Given the location of these later developments, separated from the model village only by the Great North Road, and despite regional plans to create a network of urban settlements, it was still deemed necessary to extend existing colliery villages. The legacy of this is a much more pronounced urban character in some parts of the landscape surrounding Woodlands, obscuring its original nature as an ambitious reinterpretation of rustic villages.

7.2 Mapping social reality

A key premise of this thesis is that the landscape is not a passive backdrop to social action; the material and social aspects of the landscape are instead formative in the negotiation of everyday life. This is even more vital in discussions of reform since this material–social interaction was firmly embedded within the ideas of reformers. The conditions of daily life in the garden villages of New Earswick and Woodlands are, therefore, inseparable from both planned and unplanned aspects of the landscape. Nevertheless, contradictions sometimes arose: between the idealised landscape and the realised design, or between the social ideal and the reality. More importantly, variations in the landscape's design sometimes contributed to establishing differential social experiences—whether experiences of inequality or access to amenities—that endured over multiple generations. To reiterate, because certain features of the landscape were closely entwined with reformist principles, variable access to them implies that not everyone was equally subject to their perceived benefits; moreover, some benefited at the expense of others.

Social class areas

It has already been acknowledged that New Earswick, despite being intended as a village for the working-class population, was home to individuals from a broad range of occupations and backgrounds. This indicates the presence of a community that was relatively diverse in terms of social class, ranging from manual workers at the Rowntree cocoa works to railway clerks and local business proprietors. Analysis of social class across the early village shows that houses north of Station Avenue were initially occupied predominantly by families of a higher social class (Figs. 97–8). The relative exclusion of working-class households from this area reflects its larger cottages, often with parlours, which were confined to the north side of Station Avenue itself and Hawthorn Terrace. With these exceptions, there was little variation in terms of social class characteristics across the remaining streets built before 1918. Even Ivy Place, in which the village's cheapest houses were situated, was characterised by predominantly skilled artisans, with only a few individuals in 'unskilled' labouring occupations (representing potentially poorer households).

The social landscape of the village was transformed by the introduction of homes built under the post-First World War Housing Acts. As well as using government funds to encourage local authority housebuilding, the 'Addison Act' (Housing and Town Planning Act 1919) also provided support for public utility societies: specifically, those involved in working-class housing. Around the same time, the village trust acquired recognition as a public utility society in order to take advantage of these government subsidies (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2). By 1939 however, a lower proportion of households in the post-1918 sections of the village were of working-class status than those in the older half (53% of classifiable households in post-1918 housing versus 62% pre-1918). This drop is somewhat surprising. It may be expected that state-subsidised housing would have been occupied by families of a lower social class: those who by implication could particularly benefit from reduced rents. This of course overlooks the concern with respectability and working-class aspiration that partly motivated the provision of council housing. It was

Fig. 97: **Map of New Earswick showing percentage of working-class (Classes 3–8) households in 1911 (TNA RG14/28382), based on the Registrar General (1913) classification. Note that only the areas around Western Terrace and Ivy Place were fully developed during this time.**
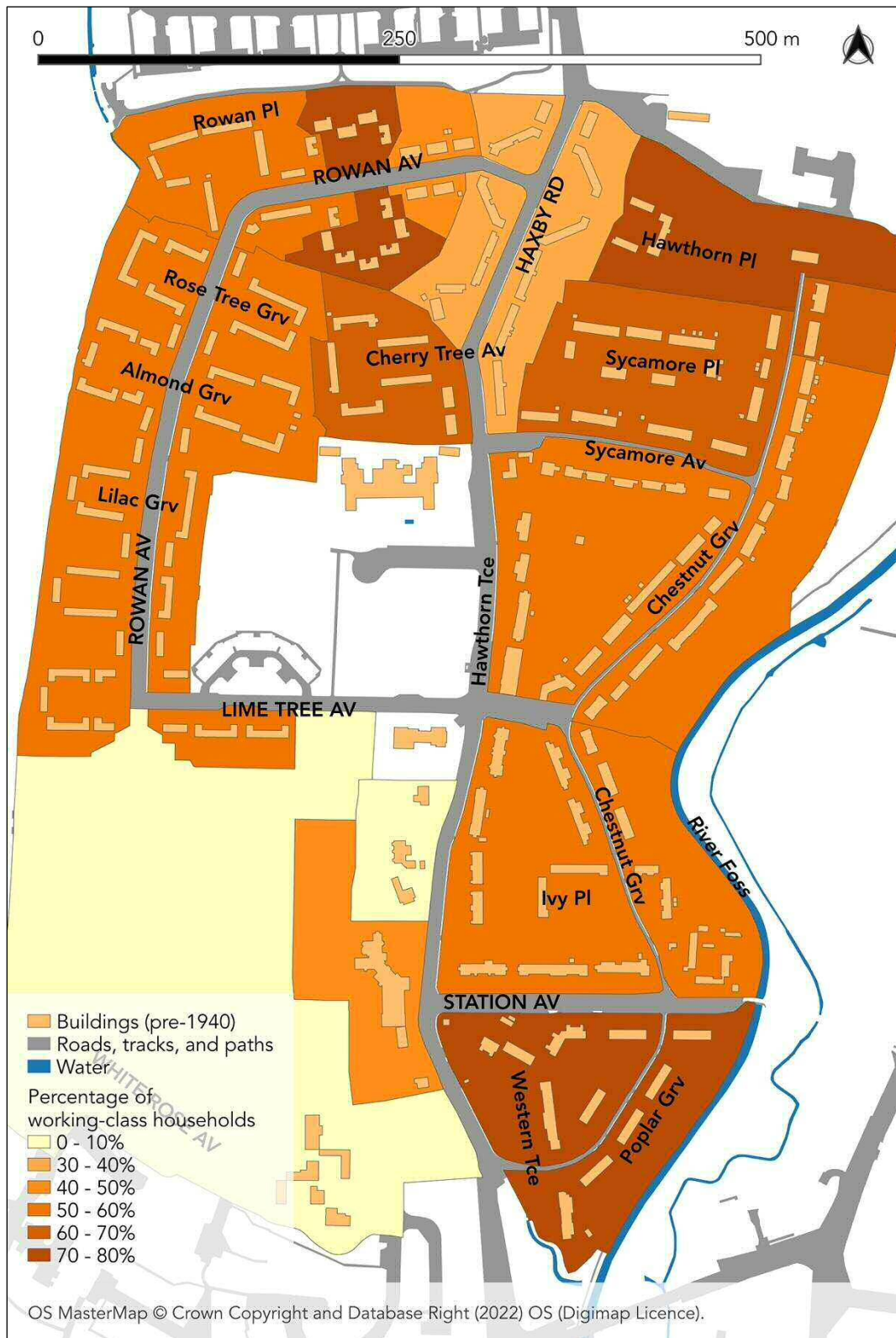
Fig. 98: **As above (Fig. 97) but for 1939 (TNA RG101/3274–5).**

not purely an exercise in accommodating the poorest, a point acknowledged by both Burnett (1986, 238) and Ravetz (2001, 172).

Even so, the evidence at New Earswick exemplifies the trust's difficulties in satisfying the housing needs of the poorer members of the working classes, leading to their relative exclusion. In the pre-war period, this had been due to a perceived lack of demand. In the interwar period, it was linked with a broader range of factors: the trustees' insistence on high housing standards, such as the provision of separate bathrooms; an increase in the cost of building nationally; and the provision of services such as refuse disposal, which were not typically covered by other public utility societies (Waddilove 1954, 44; BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/2). This meant that, despite their reliance on government support, houses could not be built cheaply enough to be let at affordable rents.

As many as 110 houses were built at New Earswick under the 1919 Addison Act, which represented the most rapid period of housebuilding (an increase of 43% on houses built between 1902 and 1918 in as little as four years). The figure was closely matched under the 1924 'Wheatley Act' (104 houses) but not the intermediary 'Chamberlain Act' of 1923 (11 houses; Waddilove 1954, 36). This mostly echoed the national trend, although nationally local authority housing built under the Wheatley Act surpassed that under the Addison Act nearly threefold (Stratton and Trinder 2000, 126). Nevertheless, the Wheatley Act placed somewhat significant constraints on housebuilding at New Earswick. The text of the Act provided an increased exchequer contribution compared with its predecessor, the Chamberlain Act (Clarke 1924, 122). New Earswick's trustees thus perceived its terms as more favourable and successfully applied to transfer houses planned under the provisions of the previous Act to those of the new one. However, the 1924 Act also stipulated a restriction on the maximum rent chargeable to tenants. Ministry of Health records show that the New Earswick's trustees had to negotiate for a higher maximum rent than would normally be permissible (TNA HLG 49/693). Again, this was due to rents contributing towards services normally provided by the local authority.

By the 1930s, the government began to question whether the agreed maximum rents were excessive. The trustees unsuccessfully tried to convince the ministry that, since their houses were built to a higher standard—and therefore at greater cost—than those provided by the local authority, a higher rent ought to be permissible (TNA HLG 49/694). But rather than relax building standards accordingly, the trustees gradually phased out their reliance on the Act (Waddilove 1954, 37). In doing so, they chose to prioritise improved housing quality over increased affordability: two supposedly conflicting goals rooted in the same reformist agenda. Variation in social class composition between east and west New Earswick reflected this ideological shift. The aesthetic dimension of housing and the landscape played a key part in structuring this pattern, perhaps because of the associations between the neo-Georgian architecture used in western New Earswick and the aspirational suburbs that relied on this style elsewhere (see Hall 1993, 77–8).

Because much of Woodlands was built and occupied in only three years, it was less exposed to changing housing policy. It is therefore unsurprising that its social landscape varied little between 1911 and 1939 when compared with New Earswick. This can also be attributed to the dominance of mining at Woodlands: a single industry as opposed to the multiple industries served by New Earswick. Status differences among miners nevertheless existed. These were later recognised in the General Registry Office (GRO 1956) 1951 Census classification, with hewers (Class 3, 'skilled') ranked more highly than other colliery labourers. This not only reflected the skill involved but also the heightened risk of working directly at the coalface, which often enabled them to negotiate for better pay than other colliery labourers (Dennis et al. 1956, 69).

The trend observed at Woodlands between 1911 and 1939 was a minor increase in skilled and 'semi-skilled' workers (Classes 3 and 4, which included colliery machinists, engine drivers, and other operators of specialist equipment) and a decrease in more traditional, manual mining roles (generally Class 7). A small area adjacent to the Great North Road continued to accommodate some of the colliery's officials, including under-managers, deputies, and engineers. However, when analysed spatially, a significant decrease in the proportion of working-class
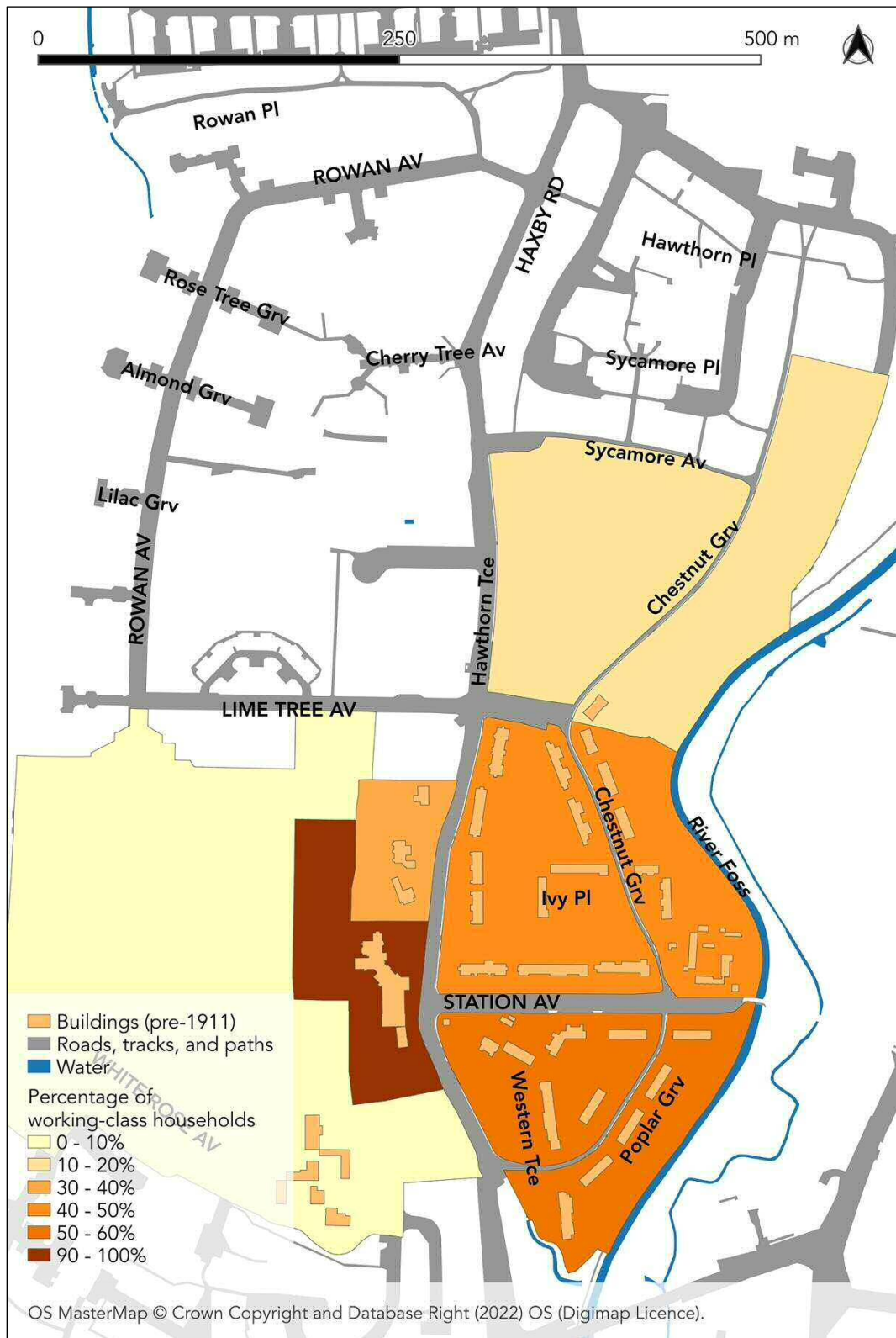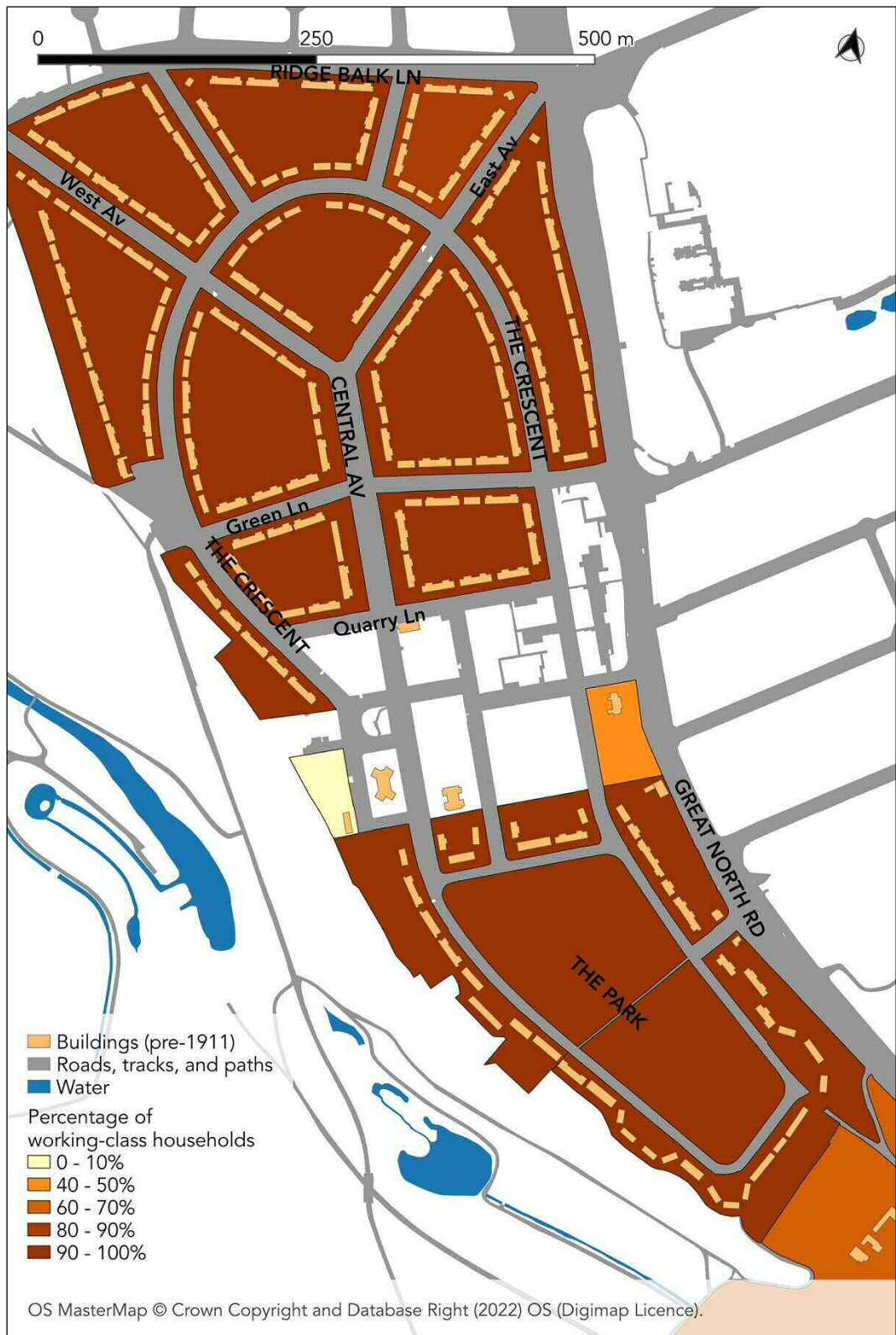
Fig. 99: **Map of Woodlands showing percentage of working-class (Classes 3–8) households in 1911 (TNA RG14/28221–2), based on the Registrar General (1913) classification.**
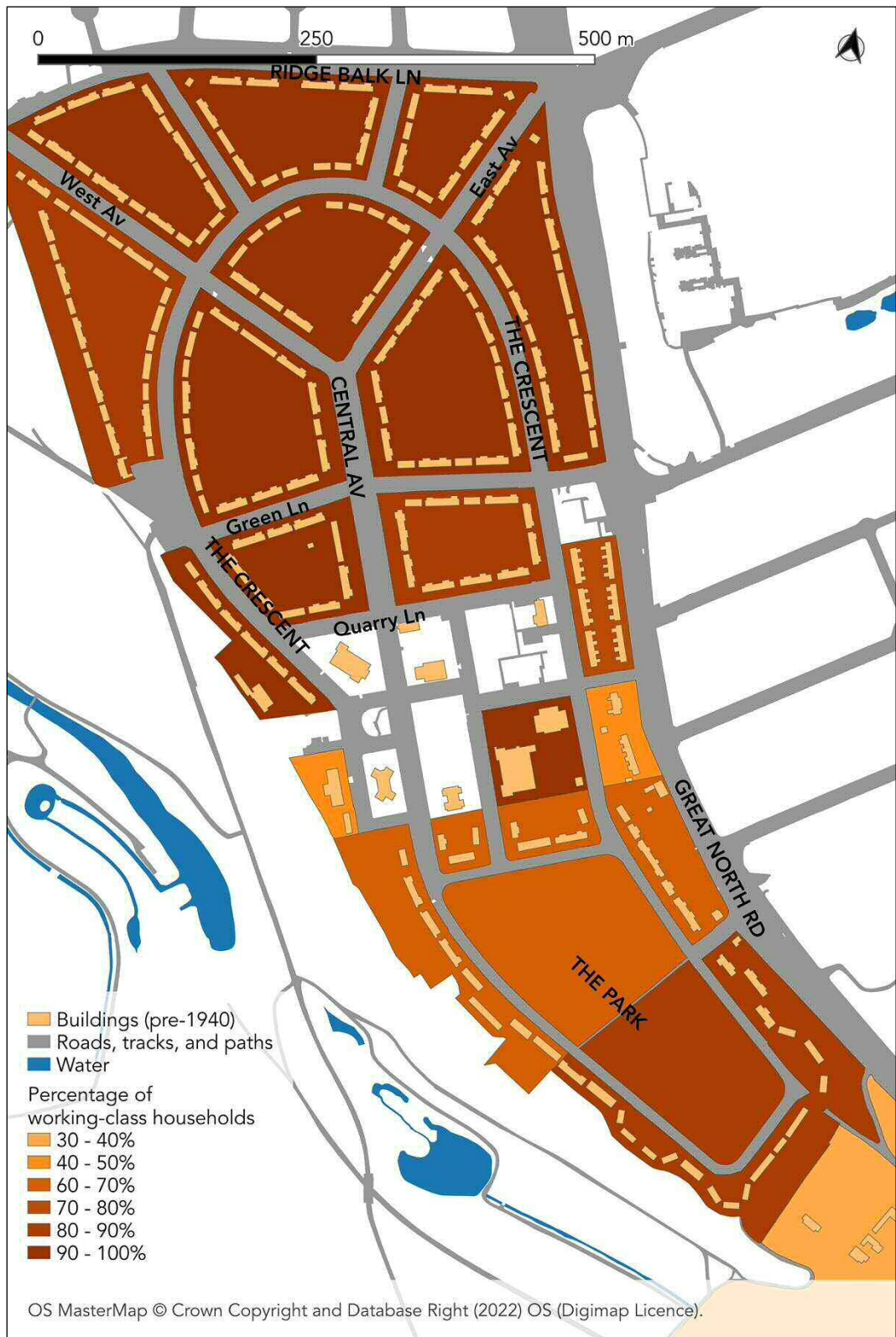
Fig. 100: **As above (Fig. 99) but for 1939 (TNA RG101/3596).**

households was detectable in the Park, from 93% in 1911 to 74% in 1939 (Figs. 99–100). This area was characterised by an increased number of workers in professional or technical occupations, shop assistants (largely in the village's cooperative department store), and clerical staff at the colliery (many associated with the middle or intermediate classes). It is unclear whether the apparent desirability of the Park's green surroundings and better-finished houses was accompanied by an increase in the rents charged, which might otherwise explain the partial exclusion of lower-working-class households.

Recent data on poverty and housing for Woodlands continues to show a north–south divide within it. The 2019 'multiple deprivation' index for England shows the southern end of the village to be in the second most deprived decile in the country, accounting for income, employment, housing, and other factors (Fig. 101); the northern end was in the most deprived decile, along with Highfields (CDRC 2019). Interestingly, none of the surrounding parts of Adwick-le-Street or expansion schemes such as Woodlands East was in this most deprived decile. The contrast between the northern and southern ends of the village is similarly reflected in the 2011 Census data, which shows a greater incidence of owner-occupation and lower levels of crowding for the southern Park area (DataShine Census 2016).

Although social class and other socio-economic categories are valid as interpretative themes in the spatial development of garden villages, they are insufficient in addressing the complex entanglement of social and material conditions engendered by the landscape and its housing. For example, Ravetz (2001, 167) observes that although council housing tenants in the mid-twentieth century sometimes earned more than working-class people housed elsewhere, they were often materially poorer due to having a larger number of dependents. The large household size associated with mining communities, as evident at Woodlands (23% above the national average, see p.144), implies that this paradox was not confined to council estates. The resulting levels of crowding at Woodlands also undermined the aim of pioneering higher housing standards for miners.

Fig. 101: **Map of multiple deprivation index for contemporary Woodlands (by decile, D), with D_1 here corresponding to the top 4% nationally, D_2 the top 15% (redrawn from CDRC 2019; see O'Brien and Cheshire 2016).**

Crowding

The relatively high crowding rates in early Woodlands have already been discussed (pp.154–6). It has not yet been considered how this crowding was materially sustained while simultaneously being obscured by its rhetorical context. The garden city principles as applied at Woodlands certainly included the provision of low-density housing, in terms of limiting the number of houses built per acre. This naturally created an impression of improved conditions inside homes as well. However, reformist anxieties about the moral dangers of crowding within the home were left unresolved by any material solution. Indeed, no proactive solution to the high crowding at Woodlands seems to have been proposed and, as such, it attests to the greater priority given to the most external visible products of reform. Furthermore, it is reasonable to infer that, against the reality within the home, the garden village landscape outside it was in some respects more significant to the village's management and its proponents than to its residents.

For workers in the village, this is even more relevant. Given the shift patterns of miners, few of them at Woodlands would have had abundant leisure time to enjoy the garden village surroundings in daylight hours. This aspect of miners' lives might explain why many were more generally portrayed as being inclined to spend their leisure time in local clubs or other drinking establishments (Dennis et al. 1956, 204). Such portrayals carried with them an admittedly moralistic tone. Nevertheless, this pattern of shift-working was a structuring aspect of miners' domestic life (Orwell 1937 [1986], 2). This was especially the case given the 40% of houses at Woodlands that were occupied by multiple miners (whether boarding or living in a multi-occupancy house), who might have worked different shifts and thus may have rarely crossed paths. The effects of high levels of crowding may have somewhat been mitigated by this; in such cases, the home would not necessarily be occupied by the entire household at once.

The underlying political tension between Arthur Markham and Charles Thellusson, essentially borne of the debate around land reform, had direct consequences for the conditions experienced by residents of the

village. Markham had blamed Thellusson, as the majority landowner in Adwick-le-Street, for not leasing or selling land, even to speculative housebuilders; consequently, there was insufficient housing for colliery workers elsewhere in the district (DA DD/BROD/4/17). This put increasing strain on the housing stock at Woodlands, with large numbers of households keeping boarders: one of the main contributors of crowding at Woodlands, alongside the larger-than-average family size and high fertility rates, which were typical of mining families (Davies 2003, 126).

In terms of overcrowding, the most striking disparity in early Woodlands was again between the north and south of the village (Fig. 102). Of the 14 housing areas in the village, the 9 with the highest proportion of overcrowded homes in 1911 were all in the northern Field area. Between 17% and 33% of houses in these areas were overcrowded, with an aggregate weighted crowding rate across the nine areas between 0.84 and 1.11 people per habitable room. Crucially, this was the part of the village built during the second phase of development. This demonstrates that, because of the rapid development of the colliery workings during this phase, housebuilding could not keep up with demand, with a greater number of colliery workers needed than could be accommodated.

It is unclear, however, why the practice of boarder-keeping (along with overcrowding to which it contributed) was largely confined to houses in the north of the village and was not more apparent in the south. Assuming that increased demand for housing was anticipated, residents of the Park might also have been encouraged to keep boarders, yet this does not appear to have been the case. Accommodating boarders may have potentially represented less of a disruption for incoming residents in the north of the village, compared with already settled-in families in the earlier part of the village: those who had presumably already had one or two years living in the comfort and familial privacy of their new home. Those families might have regarded the notion of keeping boarders as a step backwards.

In any case, the data suggests a trade-off in terms of the cost versus benefit of boarder-keeping (which could potentially supplement a
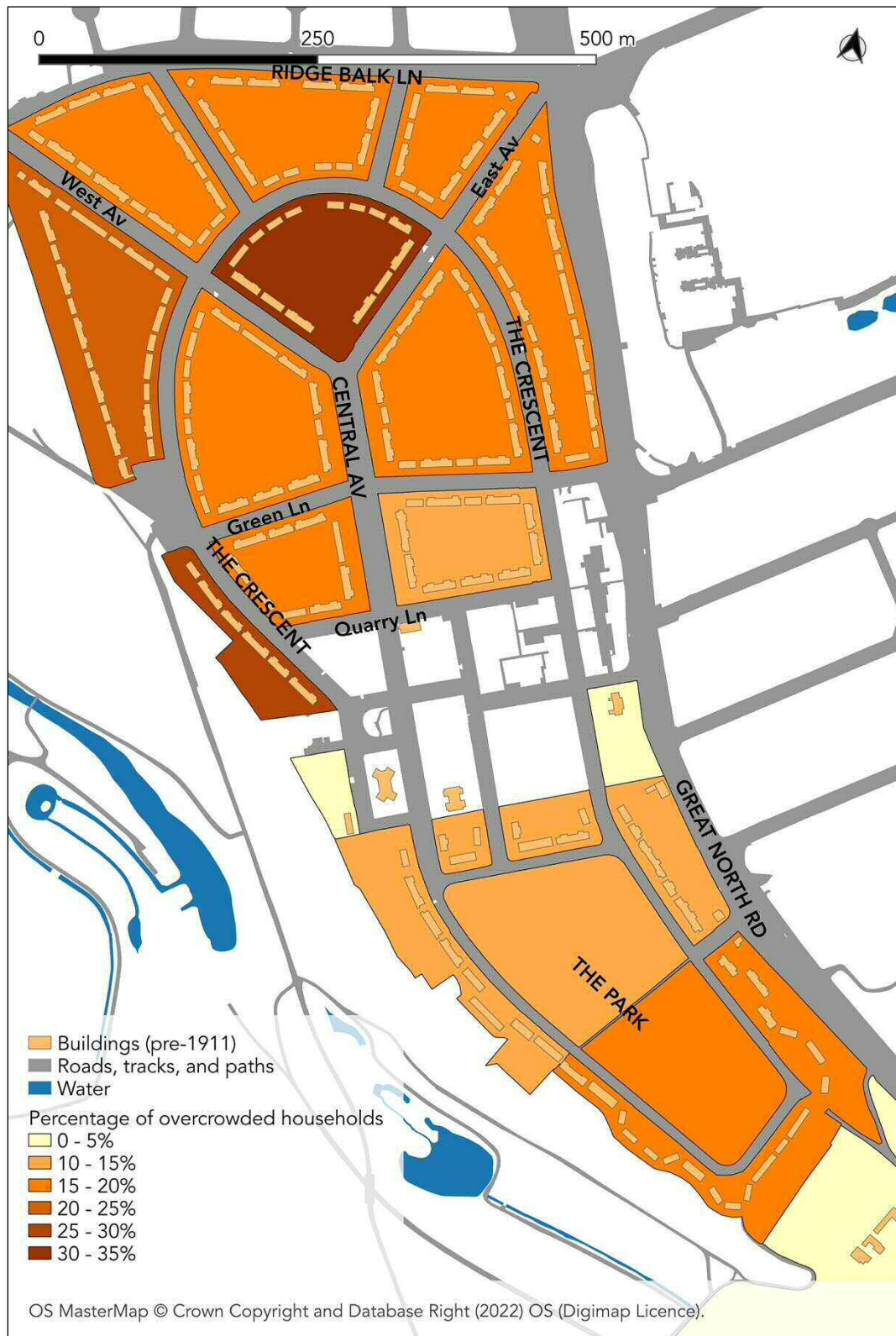
Fig. 102: **Map of Woodlands showing the proportion (per area) of overcrowded homes in 1911 (TNA RG14/28221–2; see A.1, Table 5 for overcrowding definitions, p.349).**

household's income). Space was a compounding issue. The smaller four-room houses, of which there were proportionately more in the south of the village, tended to accommodate fewer boarders on average. The implication is that a minimum amount of space was deemed necessary to accept boarders. However, the number of boarders accommodated was slightly higher for houses with five rooms, compared with those with six (Fig. 103). Since rents were higher for larger houses, some of the comparatively better-off families that could afford these might have avoided keeping boarders as a matter of personal pride.

Beyond the complication posed by boarder-keeping, it might be inferred that the variability in terms of crowding was a result of immediate social factors: for instance, the conflict between Thellusson and Markham, which had a material component in so far as it related to housing supply, or variation in the size of Woodlands families at the time of their relocation. However, the 1939 Register data reveals that some disparity in levels of crowding persisted over time. By 1939, the most severe
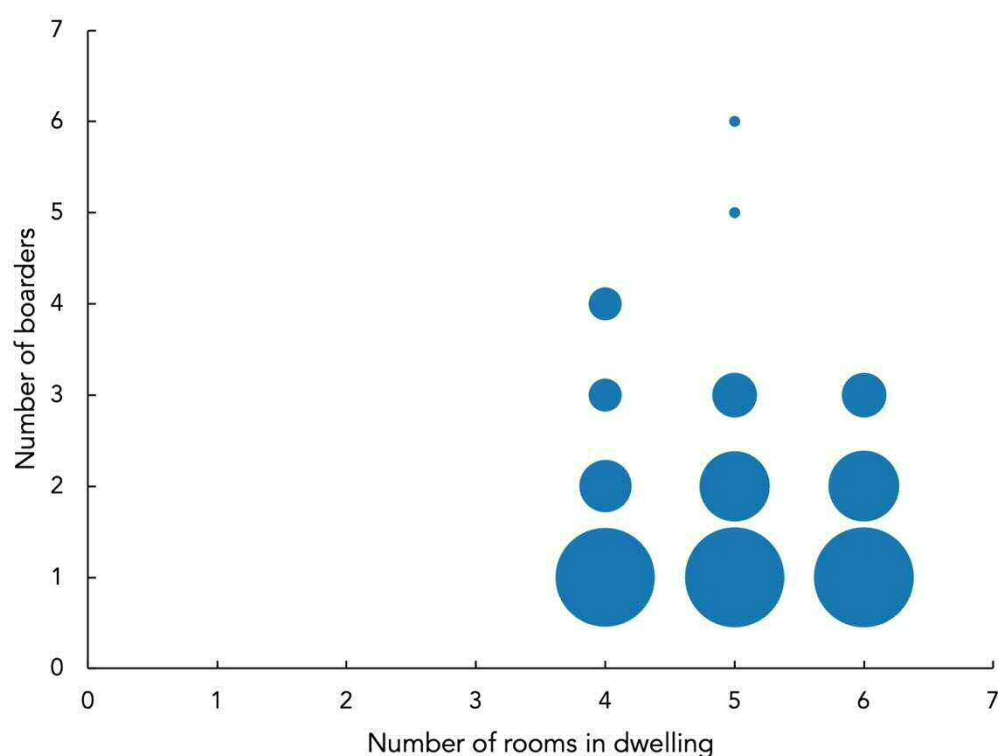
Fig. 103: **Bubble chart showing the relationship between the number of rooms for Woodlands dwellings and the number of boarders accommodated in 1911 (TNA RG14/28221–2).**
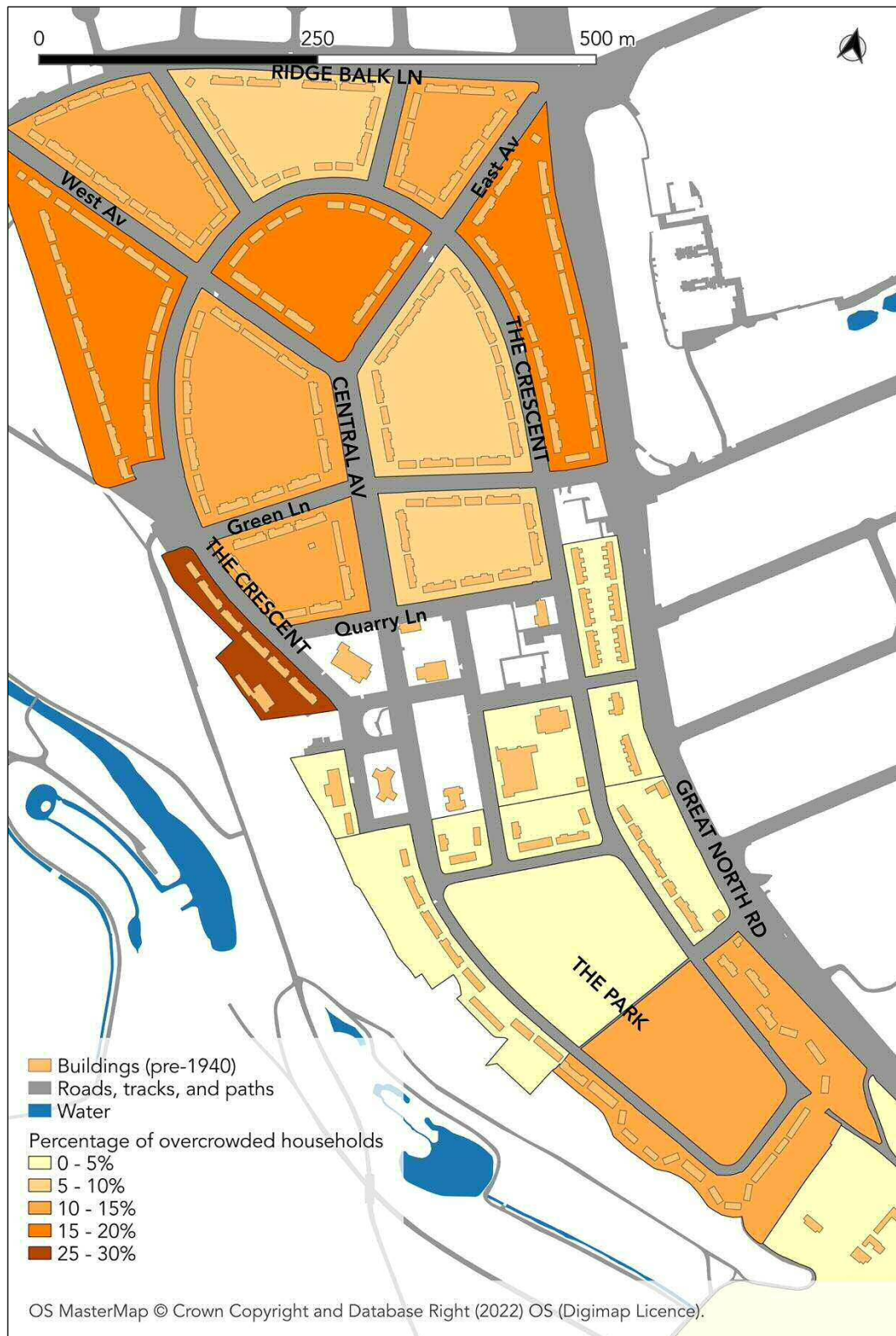
Fig. 104: **As above (Fig. 102) but for 1939, showing persistently high crowding in the area west of Quarry Lane (TNA RG101/3596).**

overcrowding had largely been abated. Aggregate crowding rates had also been reduced in many areas. Yet, one area showed little change since 1911, with around 30% of homes remaining overcrowded (Fig. 104). This was the row of houses at the southern end of the Crescent, which is notable for lacking open space in the immediate vicinity, as in the Park. These are also of a relatively high density, exceeding the gold standard, as adopted by garden city proponents, of ten houses to the acre (although the opposite eastern end of the Crescent reached as high as 16). Thus, less than ideal external conditions in these areas—in terms of higher housing density and less immediate access to open spaces—were further compounded by a greater degree of crowding.

This strongly suggests that the circumstances surrounding the planning and delivery of this part of the village landscape contributed towards inhibiting otherwise attainable improvements to conditions for parts of Woodlands. In this case, the southern Crescent's location and absence of any adjacent amenity space may have rendered it less desirable. Its houses were certainly among the smallest (and cheapest to rent) but no smaller than areas of the Park that did not sustain such high levels of overcrowding. Documents relating to housing rents beyond the Land Valuation survey could not be located, but this might indicate that the colliery company later modified rents to reflect the desirability of certain housing areas. A parallel can be found at New Earswick, whereby the trustees and architects had privately discussed charging rents proportional to the quality and situation of each plot (BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/1/4). If such a policy had been applied to Woodlands, larger and therefore more economically precarious families would have only been able to afford to live in cheaper, less desirable accommodation: as such, contributing to a sustained spatial form of inequality (e.g. Dorling 2003; Bartling 2007, 353–4).

7.3   Agents of reform

Thus far, we have considered the tensions inherent in the garden village landscape itself, their consequences, and their implications for the reality of social reform. The agency of individuals in shaping the ideology and materiality of reform has not hitherto been discussed. This is significant

because individuals were not mere 'subjects' of reform, the enforced passivity of which has been emphasised in Foucauldian analyses of institutional spaces (Lucas 1999; Casella 2007, 77; cf. Springate 2017, 778). As such, the following section considers how individuals and especially the residents of New Earswick and Woodlands actively contributed to the production of a reform landscape through everyday practice.

Negotiating the landscape

To reiterate, the garden village landscape was not simply a product of the social negotiations surrounding its planning. Woodlands, for instance, was not merely the outcome of tensions between the Brodsworth estate and the colliery company. To suggest otherwise is to undermine the role of the design and ongoing management of the landscape. Nor is it the case that negotiation was limited to responses to the landscape, in terms of resistance to perceived attempts at social control or challenges to the meaning of spaces intended for a specific use. Of greater significance for an archaeological understanding of reform is negotiation through the landscape. This subtle distinction is best understood using Spencer-Wood and Baugher's (2010) concept of powered cultural landscapes. A powered cultural landscape is an expression of the differential power of multiple groups played out through the landscape. Power relations, they imply, do not fit neatly into the categories of the dominant and the subaltern; moreover, power struggles sometimes take place between rival parties within the same class (Spencer-Wood and Baugher 2010, 465–7). The landscape is thus a product of multidirectional power relations but not necessarily an expression of dominance or resistance.

This mode of interpretation does not consider how conflicting ideologies were actively reproduced by the landscape and those who inhabited it. It is nonetheless helpful to conceptualise New Earswick and Woodlands as powered cultural landscapes to understand how reform was negotiated by the many groups involved: landowners, leaseholders, housing managers, local authorities, and resident groups. At Woodlands, the design and planning of the landscape were particularly complicated by the conflict between the landowner and leaseholder. It is difficult to

assess whether this might have undermined some of Markham's more paternalistic, controlling tendencies or whether he used such challenges to his authority to justify them further. Regardless, the landscape that developed in the context of these interactions continued to reify them. Woodlands was as much a product of Markham's reputation as a liberal reformer as it was a product of Thellusson's competing status as a benevolent 'squire'.

From the perspective of garden village landowners, a key objective was the guarantee of income in the form of ground rent, whether directly from tenants at New Earswick or indirectly via the lessee at Woodlands. In the case of New Earswick, the role of the trust as landowner sometimes conflicted with its charitable obligation to improve the lives of its residents and contribute towards solving the housing problem. An example of the former taking precedence is in the conversion of open spaces, originally designated as public, into private gardens for which a ground rent could be charged to tenants. This undermined one of the objectives of the trust: the provision of plentiful open spaces. In turn, this suggests that the priorities of the landowner often conflicted with the wider reform agenda. Much of the conflict between Markham and Thellusson at Woodlands related to the debate around land reform. In this respect, Thellusson as a powerful landowner would not have wished to see the value of his land diminished. However, the Land Valuation survey documents do not indicate that Thellusson overtly challenged the valuation process, which was central to the taxation of land values—and therefore to land reform—under Lloyd George's 'People's Budget' of 1910.

As with the founders, the architects and planners of garden villages also had reputations to uphold. This itself might explain why some of Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin's bolder designs intended to engender social reform, such as the provision of cooperative spaces, were not more greatly emphasised at New Earswick. While New Earswick is often framed as a 'testing ground' for ideas later developed at Letchworth (Miller 1981, 78), for much of the village's existence Parker and Unwin were already recognised for their work on England's first garden city. The prominence of Letchworth, on which the pair began work only a year after New

Earswick was founded, may have encouraged the architects to eschew some of their radical principles. Conversely, Percy Houfton does not appear to have been as socially radical as an architect, despite his connection with the garden city movement. Coupled with his work at Woodlands, his previous work at Bolsover colliery and Creswell Model Village suggest that he largely retained a niche as an architect for practical, industrial projects. Any attempt to advance an overtly reformist agenda through his designs might therefore have alienated his potential clients.

The relationship between village management and nearby industry was more overt in the case of Woodlands since it was intended to house only employees of Brodsworth colliery and those deemed essential to community life. The exact mechanism for village management is unclear: whether the company managed it directly or through an intermediary body, or whether Markham took most of the responsibility. Considering Markham's prominence in village matters (his co-directors were scarcely mentioned in relation to their company's housing operations), the latter was more probable. The colliery company nonetheless had a direct interest in avoiding industrial unrest and ensuring workers had access to accommodation.

At New Earswick, the legal separation of the Rowntree company and the village trust minimised any direct influence. However, the company was still able to sponsor the construction of houses in and around the village reserved exclusively for Rowntree's workers, thus breaking with the trust's decree that housing was open to workers of all industries. In both cases, company concern for workers appears to have extended to the introduction of welfare reforms and the strengthening of workers' rights. Garden villages complemented and served as an extension of this concern, which was reflected more widely in contemporary Liberal politics. New Earswick and Woodlands placed a strong emphasis on leisure and the recreational landscape, but these were only meaningful in the context of the Liberal reforms that guaranteed workers time in which to engage in recreational pursuits: for miners, as one example, the advent of the eight-hour working day through the 1908 Coal Mines Regulation Act (Metcalfe 2006, 20).

Local authorities continued to play a role in the development of garden villages nationally, albeit scarcely as the landowner. Local authorities had a mandate for the execution of relevant legal powers, especially those provided under the 1875 Public Health Act and the 1909 and 1919 Housing and Town Planning Acts (Ashworth 1954, 90). These in turn enabled the maintenance of district-wide sanitation and the development of a local plan. This role was essentially a product of the wider sanitary reform movement. However, local authorities also needed to maintain their income through rates. Village management at both New Earswick and Woodlands came into conflict with the respective local authorities because, as the trustees and Markham separately argued, services normally provided by the local authority were provided more cheaply by their own means. This also meant that tenants in both villages were theoretically chargeable by the local authority for expenses incurred across the whole district. In the case of Woodlands, Markham's response was to object to the inclusion of Woodlands in a new urban district; at New Earswick, the trustees argued for the village to be established as a separate parish to gain control over issues such as rates.

More importantly, the residents of garden villages had an incentive to maintain their independence, irrespective of any burdens placed upon them by other agents involved. They also had a direct interest in the improvement of their surroundings according to their needs. It is erroneous to assume that reform was imposed upon and uncritically adopted by residents. Instead, they actively contributed to it. At New Earswick, this can be seen in discussions between resident groups and architects over the design of houses. Such negotiations had a gendered component. It was often women residents who campaigned for improvements to housing design and the provision of cooperative housekeeping facilities, through groups such as the Women Voters Association and the Earswick Women's Guild (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2; JRF/4/1/9/5/1/3/3).

With little historical evidence, it is difficult to ascertain what role women played at Woodlands; regardless, the more general role of residents in questions of accommodation would have been severely restricted by the speed of construction, leaving little opportunity for design adjustments.

Because of the reliance of Woodlands on the colliery for employment, the local mining union branch was perhaps one of the most dominant resident groups. However, even dedicated residents' groups such as the New Earswick Village Council did not necessarily reflect the full range of interests among tenants. Because of this, it is necessary to qualify the agency and representation of residents in shaping the landscape, its people, and perceptions thereof.

Critiquing representations of 'the reformed'

The residents of New Earswick and Woodlands became, for their respective founders and others, a measure of the grand reformist project's success. This was at least as significant as the realisation of the landscape aesthetic. As we have already established, Seebohm Rowntree exemplified the cultural link between the morality of urban residents and their immediate environment in his 1901 poverty survey (Rowntree 1908). People's engagement with their new environment, at New Earswick or Woodlands, was thus culturally framed as evidence of their improved social condition, and therefore of the founders' contribution to reform. It is important to note, however, that success was viewed through the lens of the founder and not necessarily that of residents themselves.

A recurring theme in appraisals of garden village communities was aspiration. If aspiration was fostered, so reformers believed, working-class people would be able to elevate themselves above the poor conditions that they had historically endured. This perception was not necessarily limited to those with a direct interest in the community. For example, the *Tamworth Herald* published a flattering account of early Woodlands, which made an explicit link between the pleasant landscape surroundings and the enlightenment of its residents:

> Their interest is becoming more and more absorbed in the preservation of the natural charms around them and in the cultivation of others. It says much for the influence of the new surroundings when the writer came into contact with a young collier there who was adding volumes of Ruskin to his diminutive library, and who talked ardently of the need of solving many vexed social problems (*Tamworth Herald* 1908).

The reference to the author by name is not incidental. The 'volumes of Ruskin' described allude to the growing class consciousness of miners at Woodlands. This is especially relevant as John Ruskin was acknowledged as an inspiration for the garden city movement, although was perhaps more recognised for his utopian brand of socialism (Howard 1902, 20; Barrett and Phillips 1987, 93–4; Darley 2007, 185; but see Bowie 2017, 166).

Moreover, the mention of a small personal 'library' in the miner's home suggests the presence of a family committed to self-improvement and the cultivation of working-class respectability. This was reflected in the design of garden city-style houses, echoing Unwin's (1902, 12) call for working-class cottages to be built with a 'corner between fire and window, where a quiet hour with book or pen can be spent'. It may be inferred that the design of the miner's cottage described in the above anecdote was similarly intended. In this case, it is the male figure in the household who is credited with improving the home. By contrast, in a later account of a royal visit to Woodlands by King George V and Queen Mary, the writer credits the housewife for the domestic orderliness of the cottage. This image was juxtaposed with the 'unloveliness of the Yorkshire miner's surroundings' (*The Times* 1912). The *Times* reporter recounted that a housewife at one Woodlands cottage received a visit by the Queen, which prompted positive remarks on the general tidiness and homeliness of the rooms.

While these representations of Woodlands centred on the home, at New Earswick the achievements of the trust can be read through residents' engagement with aspects of the landscape beyond the home or even beyond life in the village. In 1933, with construction winding down, New Earswick's trustees agreed that more should be done to publicise their existing work and accordingly commissioned Parker, as the architect most closely involved with the village, to write a pamphlet (BIA JRF/2/1/1/3). However, deeming Parker's writing too technical, they instead chose to adopt an already published article as their promotional pamphlet, ordering several reprints of it (BIA JRF/4/1/9/22/9). This independent appraisal, therefore, closely reflected the image of success that the founders wished to portray. Originally published in *Town and*

Country Planning, the article's author William Hare explicitly referenced not only the architectural significance of New Earswick but also its social impact.

In discussing the innovative 'open-air' design of New Earswick school, Hare remarked on the destinations of its former pupils, highlighting that many subsequently attended university, with some earning a living in professional occupations such as medicine or accountancy. The implication was that the pleasant material surroundings, alongside the trustees' investment in education, inspired a sense of ambition among the village's nominally working-class residents. The former pupils were thus model citizens and products of a model community. The educational theme continued with Hare's description of New Earswick's village council. The council, comprising representatives of the village's residents, in practical terms was responsible for recreational provision but had additional input on housing design, civic amenities, and welfare. Hare regarded the village council as a wider exercise in 'civic training': to facilitate civic responsibility among residents. Indeed, participation in village life was a measure of the community's independence to which Joseph Rowntree had originally aspired. Lewis Waddilove, a later secretary of the trust, proudly reported that in 1952 at least a third of New Earswick's residents were members of a village society or club (Waddilove 1954, 95–6).

As with Woodlands, how village life in New Earswick was represented by outsiders sometimes accorded with the ambitions of its founders. Compared with Woodlands, however, New Earswick was much more prominently represented in photographs. It is possible to infer intent from some of these images. For example, a substantial collection of New Earswick photographs in the 1920s appears in Parker's archives; this was likely intended to document the post-First World War development of the village, to be used by the architect for the dissemination of his housing and planning ideas. Notwithstanding the limited emphasis on marketing and advertising for the corporate success of their company (Fitzgerald 1989, 47), the Rowntrees used publicity to augment interest in New Earswick. In 1920 for example, they commissioned several aerial photographs of York and the cocoa works, as well as New Earswick. The

publication of these images was reported nationally (e.g. *Western Times* 1920). Images of village life may have similarly served to promote the work of the village trust. Such images invited associations to be made between the community and its landscape, by explicitly situating villagers in it.

An interesting example conveys the respectable but independent community spirit sought by New Earswick's trustees (Fig. 105). The image depicts the row of shops on Hawthorn Terrace, which along with the green opposite (beyond the left frame of the photograph) was situated in the physical and social core of the village. Children appear to skip towards the camera. Walking on the right-hand side of the photograph is a well-dressed figure in a suit and boater hat. In the middle distance are two cyclists, who appear to be taking advantage of the network of relatively safe streets provided, at this time largely free from traffic.

The image thus captures many of the themes in Rowntree's reform agenda. Above all, the gathering of the photograph's subjects in the centre of the village implies that it was an important hub of social

Fig. 105: **Photograph (*c.*1920) of a row of shops at Hawthorn Terrace, New Earswick, depicting several residents (GCC LBM4001.53). © Garden City Collection.**

activity. The children suggest both playfulness as well as independence, with the connotation of New Earswick as a suitable environment in which to raise children. This is indeed reflected in the proportion of relatively young families in the early village (see p.107). Although cycling was a convenient mode of transport, the presence of cyclists alludes to the benefits of outdoor life, which was reflected in the original plan's emphasis on gardens and other green spaces. Meanwhile, the suited man suggests a level of respectability among the residents. Although the intended audience is not clear in this case, the photograph portrays New Earswick as a prosperous community.

There remained a tension between the village's status as an established independent community and its position as a 'stepping-stone' to better conditions elsewhere: whether New Earswick was a practical pathway out of urban poverty or a permanent utopian solution to be replicated more widely. The fate of New Earswick's better-off residents, including the destination of its school-leavers, was presented as evidence of the community's success. It is necessary, however, to reiterate that around half of New Earswick's early residents had not been from traditional working-class backgrounds and a significant proportion were firmly middle class. As such, their engagement with the reform landscape would have been fundamentally different from that of less well-off families.

7.4 Appropriated space

While some residents independently contributed towards their self-improvement, others responded more directly to the materiality of the landscape. In the process, the intentions of the designers were challenged by the appropriation of spaces designated for a specific purpose. This aspect of planned working-class communities has sometimes been interpreted in terms of collective resistance (Beaudry and Mrozowski 2001, 121; Ford 2011, 725; see also Branton 2009, 56). However, such interpretations tend to conflate the intentions of the community founder with those of the designer. The latter is not necessarily an agent of the former, as stressed by Crawford (1995, 5). New Earswick and Woodlands nevertheless demonstrate that, where these intentions overlap, residents'

appropriation of spaces must be considered as challenges—but not necessarily outward resistance—to the reform agenda.

Responses to gardening

The condition of houses and gardens broadly represented the respectability of the individual occupants, but for garden villages such as New Earswick, they also symbolised the success of the whole community. New Earswick's gardens served as visual indicators of the level of social order. This was disrupted through occasional acts of vandalism to gardens, to which the trustees responded with the increasing support of the village's police constable (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2). The trustees' interest in well-maintained gardens further implied their attitude towards gardens as evidence of participation in reform. As described in Chapter 5 (p.186–7), the trustees of New Earswick took an active interest in garden prizes organised by the village council, which further attests to their significance for social reform.

One prize-winning garden demonstrates how its owner contributed to the landscape aesthetic sought by the trustees. Tom Wardell, a resident of Western Terrace in the older south-eastern section of the village, was awarded a garden prize twice, in 1905 and 1906 (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2). Wardell himself was employed in 1911 as a railway clerk and was thus among the village's middle-class residents. Other recipients of garden prizes appear to have been of a similar social position, working in skilled or semi-professional occupations. A photograph, thought to be taken around this time and probably depicting a member of the Wardell household, shows the overall condition of the garden in question (Fig. 106). A range of shrubs is visible in it, with a dividing hedge at the edge of the adjacent garden and a rose bush in the foreground. The photograph also shows a footbridge over the Westfield Beck, which runs left to right across the image; the garden at the time extended beyond this, as shown on historic maps. Keeping a garden of this size in the pristine condition depicted would have been a substantial undertaking, requiring time invested in planting and trimming hedges. The inclusion in the photograph of a cold frame (miniature greenhouse) in the adjacent garden in the right of the image, implies that Wardell's neighbours were

Fig. 106: **Photograph (date unknown) of the prize-winning garden of Western Terrace, New Earswick (AAEL LS006817). University of Michigan Library Digital Collections.**

similarly enthusiastic gardeners; nevertheless, the cold frame was perhaps deemed to be too aesthetically detrimental to merit a prize.

Regardless of the economic investment, the labour invested in gardens was related to the value of gardening as a means for reform. This can be seen as an outward expression of the self-improvement sought by those who engaged with societies sympathetic to reform. Furthermore, individual pursuits such as gardening reflected an ingrained attitude to hard work as a virtue and above all a route out of poverty and other social problems, whereby individuals were still partly implicated.

Against the example of the Western Terrace garden, the prevailing aesthetic (whether inspired by rural, urban, or suburban settings) and its ideological baggage could sometimes be circumvented by residents. A later photograph depicts a short row of houses with gardens towards the northern end of Hawthorn Terrace (Fig. 107). The photograph was taken once construction had resumed after the First World War. The garden included in the foreground, belonging to a house on Hawthorn Terrace, is sparsely planted with bare shrubs, which suggests that the photograph

Fig. 107: **Photograph (post-1918) of houses and gardens on the eastern side of Hawthorn Terrace, showing a (presumably newly laid) rockery feature in the foreground (GCC LBM4001.23). © Garden City Collection.**

was taken in the winter months. It incorporates a small rockery with several angular rocks protruding from a raised earth bed. This use of ornamentation contrasts with the earlier garden image and signals the shift away from the more productive 'cottage' garden tradition towards a more decorative style (Ravetz 2011, 181). Rock gardens and rockeries were popularised during the early-twentieth century, with popular guides often encouraging the use of hardy plants for lower maintenance (e.g. Crofts 1908, 146; Schnare 1994, 153; Seifalian 2011, 226). Paradoxically, 'rock-work' became increasingly popular in suburban areas during this time, despite being regarded by horticultural writers of the preceding century as inappropriately rustic for suburban homes (Preston 1999, 163).

Rockeries are a moderately low-effort garden form (see Stimart and Martin 2004, 520). The creation of this particular rockery at New Earswick may have eschewed the ideals of reformers, who wished to encourage

Fig. 108: **Photographs showing the uniformity of front gardens provided in areas with state-subsidised housing (GCC LBM4001.18.2; LBM4001.30), broadly contemporary with the Hawthorn Terrace garden above (Fig. 107). © Garden City Collection.**

active gardening—with an emphasis on the ongoing labour invested—as a moral pastime. If the labour invested in gardens and other means of 'self-improvement' signified working-class respectability, then a garden requiring less long-term maintenance poses a critique of this cultural belief. However, within the suburban setting of much of the village's interwar housing, the Hawthorn Terrace garden stood as a way of reintroducing wilder elements into an increasingly formalised landscape. As alluded to in the previous chapter (p.213), there was an association between efficiency in the design of New Earswick's housing (and its landscape) on the one hand and the provision of state-subsidised homes on the other. Because of this, the personalisation evident in the Hawthorn Terrace garden helped to conceal the gardener's tenant status (compared with the uniformity of gardens elsewhere in New Earswick during this time, Fig. 108).

Movement through the landscape

At the most basic level, the inhabitants of a landscape can physically negotiate it in different ways. This is particularly significant in the context of planned environments, in which intentional 'misuse' can be seen as a transgressive act (e.g. Graves-Brown 2007, 78–9). In other contexts, such acts imply a failure of the planner to anticipate how people will move through a given space. Moreover, a one-off act of transgression may be repeated by others, becoming an embedded practice. 'Desire paths' are one example: visible paths typically worn into

grass or dirt through repeated walking, usually in a more convenient route than that provided by designated paved footpaths (Smith and Walters 2018, 2986–7).

Such paths were a feature of the historic landscape of Woodlands, as shown by early photographs. They are most visible in a photograph taken from the top of All Saints Church, looking south-east towards the Park, with the Primitive Methodist chapel, Wesleyan chapel, and cooperative store visible in the foreground (Fig. 109). Each of these public buildings occupied a rectangular block, with roads running in between. The regularity of the grid-like plan for this part of the village is implied in the parallel roads extending northwards towards the foreground. Grass verges provide a buffer between the street and what appear to be designated footpaths; their formality is suggested by their linear appearance and consistent width. However, the grid is broken by desire paths cutting diagonally across each visible corner of the blocks. These imply several alternative routes through the village landscape, as opposed to the footpaths originally planned, with their width denoting the frequency with which they were used.

Fig. 109: **Photograph taken from the tower of All Saints Church, Woodlands, looking south-east and showing the Primitive Methodist chapel (extreme left), Wesleyan chapel (centre), and cooperative store (extreme right). Several desire paths are visible. Courtesy of WCHA.**

Some of the wider lines around the Wesleyan chapel in the centre may indicate that this was a more popular place of worship. Certainly, the demand for Primitive Methodist worship may have been less than what was originally anticipated, since the plan originally included both a Primitive Methodist school and chapel; only the former was built but in practice served as the chapel, implying that two buildings were no longer deemed necessary (DA DD/BROD/20/63). Even so, many of the wider paths bypass the Wesleyan chapel, suggesting that they may have formed part of a more general route through the village. The widest of these aligns with the southern section of the Crescent, which would have been the quickest route for workers walking to and from the colliery north-west of the village.

Further desire paths are identifiable in a later aerial photograph of the colliery, with an intersecting pattern of paths across some of the open squares at the rear of houses in the northern part of the village (Fig. 110). A small number of these were designated paths, which were included on
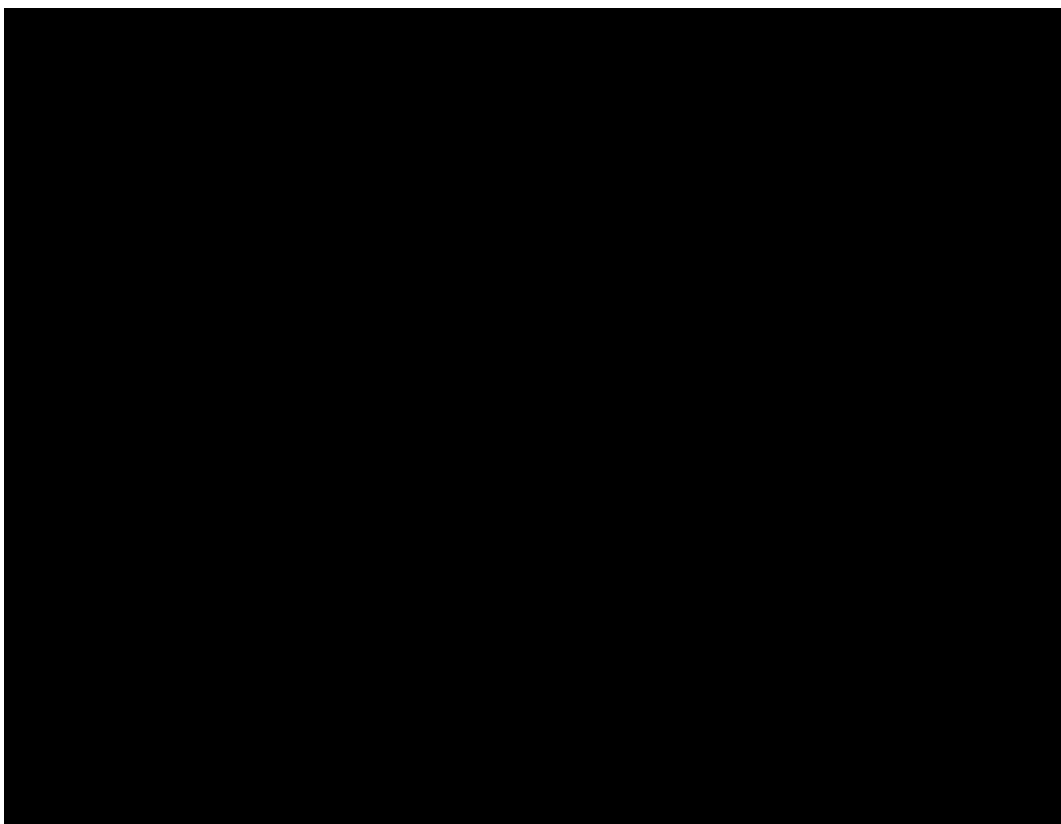
Fig. 110: **Aerial photograph (*c.*1920s) of Brodsworth Main Colliery looking eastwards towards northern Woodlands (HEA EPW012843). An open space exhibiting desire paths is outlined in red. © Historic England.**

OS maps. However, the majority appear to be informal paths that again reflect frequently used routes through the village. The open spaces of the squares, which served as recreational amenities for residents instead of rear gardens, were thus appropriated by some users of the landscape for a different purpose. This is not to say that desire paths represented conscious acts of transgression; rather, that the practice of daily life sometimes contradicted the intentions of the designer manifested in the landscape. Not only did this compromise the design intention behind the inclusion of these spaces, but it carried with it implications for territoriality. Residents living in the houses around each square may have regarded it as their space, and as such might have perceived 'outsiders' from adjacent squares in the village as trespassing. Were this the case, it would have detracted from the development of the village as a single cohesive community. Yet, as discussed below, the collective power of Woodlands' residents was mutually strengthened through the shared landscape experience.

Dissent

Like many industrial communities, the landscape of Woodlands served an important role in the case of labour disputes. In such cases, the landscape was more than a passive arena for the negotiation of class conflict (e.g. Baxter 2012, 652). The interdependence of people and place actively facilitated industrial action. This held significance for a village conceived to improve the conditions experienced by mining families, even more so because the founder of Woodlands had been a vocal champion of miners' rights. During the 1912 national coal strike, Markham expressed public sympathy towards strikers in Parliament, blaming it on (a minority of) profiteering coal owners. Of the strikers themselves, he boldly declared that he would 'so far as [he] can afford it … support these men, no matter how long the strike lasts' (Hansard 1912c). He also supported, at least in principle, a state-funded strike pay scheme for workers locked out by industrial action (*Financial Times* 1914). Nevertheless, progress in securing working rights did not stop future industrial action at Brodsworth Main Colliery after Markham's death in 1916.

The role of the village landscape during disputes is exemplified in a more recent event, referred to by *The Times* as the 'Battle of Brodsworth Colliery' (Routledge 1984, 2). The incident took place on the morning of 19 October 1984 during the height of the national miners' strike. Police blocked entry into the village from Long Lands Lane (the road leading to the main colliery entrance), enabling strike-breakers to enter from the west (Fig. 111). Faced by around 2,000 strikers, some of whom reportedly threw stones, the police drove at the picket line, pursuing the strikers through the north end of the village. Documentary photographs show that the open spaces in this area served as escape routes for the strikers, with some seeking refuge from the police in the surrounding houses.

The familiarity of the built environment of Woodlands, which would have not been intuitively known to outsiders, thus afforded a degree of security. Moreover, the ability for strikers to use these spaces to shelter from or at least evade their pursuers indicates the presence of a neighbourly community with a shared sense of responsibility for its
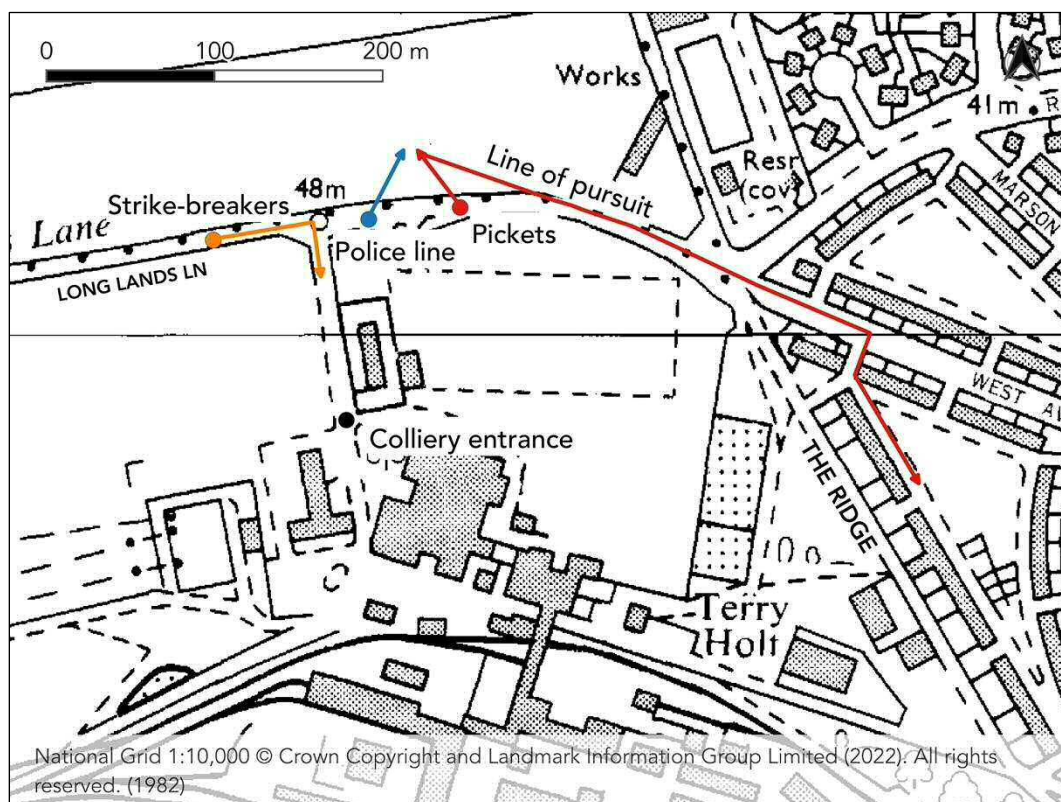
Fig. 111: **OS map (1982) showing part of Brodsworth colliery and north-west Woodlands, highlighting locations described in the *Times* account of the conflict between police and strikers (including reconstructed routes).**

members. This was partly a matter of necessity. Even so, the 'isolated mass' of many coal communities, irrespective of their built form or planned character, was a contributing factor in establishing a collective identity (Burrell 2017). In the case of Woodlands, this not only had a social basis, but also a material basis through the distinct garden village landscape, with its communal spaces actively implicated in the formation of social ties. This counters the argument that reform, imposed from the top down, served as a distraction from more meaningful social and political change. Notwithstanding the pretences of social control, the delivery of planned settlements with an explicit reform agenda did not discourage residents from taking more radical action.

Taking the 1984 strike as a point of departure, it is possible to interpret how past social action, brought about by the residents of Woodlands, was facilitated by material surroundings that were ostensibly intended to make such action unnecessary. Despite Markham's support for miners during the early years of the village, many of its residents disagreed with the mechanisms of reform and the perceived control to which they were subjected. The 1915 inquiry into the proposed formation of the Adwick-le-Street Urban District yields insight into tensions between Markham and miners in the village, some of whom had become increasingly politically active. Markham had objected to the formation of the urban district partly since it required a new democratically elected council; its members would have inevitably included Markham's employees (TNA HLG 1/68). As an urban district, it was to be represented by six councillors from Woodlands, four from Carcroft, and three from the Adwick-le-Street ward. The inquiry report's author surmised that the council would likely be chaired by J. W. Lane, an employee of Brodsworth Main who had served on Adwick-le-Street parish council and acted as local secretary of the Yorkshire Miners Association. Lane himself had given evidence in support of the proposed urban district. Markham feared that miners would have a working majority on the new council, which could therefore challenge his power over the management of Woodlands.

Markham's authority was further challenged by the fact that the proposal was supported unanimously by a meeting of over 200 ratepayers from the district, who had assembled at the Woodlands pavilion (TNA HLG

1/68). The pavilion was situated on a sports ground in Woodlands Central (outside the model village). It was nonetheless part of a wider recreational movement, which was originally conceived as a means of encouraging moral reform and discouraging political dissent among working-class people (Bailey 1987, 48). Within this context, the pavilion was appropriated for political purposes, contradicting the notion that miners showed little interest in 'intellectual' pursuits such as politics (cf. Dennis et al. 1956, 150). Considering Markham's disagreements with others in the district, and his self-confessed autocratic management of the village, community independence was sometimes more highly regarded than his promise of continued reforms. For example, the meeting's leader claimed that residents of Woodlands were aware their rates would increase if the urban district was established as they wished. This was deemed a price worth paying for challenging Markham's power in the village and retaining their community independence.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the social life of Woodlands was intermittently embroiled in class conflict between miners and the colliery management, with strikes and legal claims against the company being increasingly reported in the mid-twentieth century. The mechanisation of mining, health and safety concerns, and reductions in output were often contributing factors (*The Times* 1927; *Hull Daily Mail* 1931; *The Times* 1935; 1936). The village residents depended on the colliery for their existence, yet they equally depended on the community to which they contributed, and which had been reciprocally shaped by the landscape and its buildings. The impact of the colliery's closure in 1990 is a testament to this. Even so, the rhetoric of reform—specifically the improvement of the conditions associated with mining families—around which Markham had founded the village was tested: not by its eventual outcome, which was always contingent upon the existence of the colliery, but by the mechanism with which change was enabled by active participants. In essence, 'the reformed' became agents of their own improved social conditions.

Conclusions

Negotiation and adaptation are recurring themes within the archaeologies of both reform and planned communities (Van Wormer 2006, 54; McKerr et al. 2017; Spencer-Wood and Blackburn 2017, 946; Springate 2017, 778). Whereas previous research has framed the landscape as a manifestation or product of negotiation over underlying ideals, the cases presented in this thesis exemplify how reform was actively negotiated through the landscape itself: part agent and part effect. To some degree, this reflects the fact that reform, when applied to the creation of entire communities, was a longer-term project than that embodied by prisons, for instance, and other institutions: those primarily intended to protect wider society from 'problem' citizens (e.g. Allmond 2017, 102). In the case of the latter, the societal function of the institution was satisfied largely by its construction, notwithstanding the isolationist technologies for regulating behaviour and reforming the character of individuals once inside (Casella 2007, 90; Tarlow 2007, 137).

The long-term potential of the reform project was particularly pronounced in the case of New Earswick, which developed much more slowly. Thus, there was time for the negotiation of ideals to be played out in changing approaches to the design of the village. Nevertheless, Woodlands also demonstrates contrasts and temporal changes to its underlying principles, which were realised through its landscape form. Not only were tensions around reform inevitable in the face of various interests and shifting politics, but they were arguably central to it. As Meakin (1905, 31–2) advised reform-minded employers at the start of the twentieth century, industrialists who were too eager to take an interest in the needs of workers were often treated with suspicion. Negotiation, compromise, and the gradual introduction of reform ideas were therefore important for their acceptance. This marks a key distinction with institutional reform, where negotiation and compromise in terms of social ideals were to be expected but not necessarily desirable.

This chapter has illustrated how the people and the landscape together produced a particular set of material and social conditions in the villages of New Earswick and Woodlands. Reform was not simply an immaterial

ideology used to mask the social reality of planned settlements. It was instead a material and social process—relating to the sometimes competing priorities of residents, company managers, architects, and local government—that was reproduced through the landscape form of the garden village. For instance, the tension between Markham and Thellusson over the price of land was resolved by the provision of open spaces (rather than rear gardens), but ultimately contributed to spatial inequalities between those residents with access to gardens and open spaces and those without. The reformist spirit in which communal spaces were offered was thus unintentionally undermined in practice.

As another example, the presence of subtle but temporally consistent patterns of spatial inequality between the northern and southern sections of Woodlands is reminiscent of the sustained patterns of poverty in the East End of London since the nineteenth century (Dorling et al. 2000). But whether due to the influence of the landscape's development in the past or its perception in the present, the capacity of the landscape to reproduce inequalities remained. Where reform or positive social change is concerned, this itself suggests how the built environment may constrain as much as enable social change. However, as the following discussion chapter suggests, none of this is to negate the profound legacy that garden villages otherwise had as reformist projects on a national level.

8 Discussion: The legacy of the garden village landscape

The coalescence of the new technology of modern planning and reformist ideas of improving social conditions stemmed from a growing, shared appreciation of the landscape's potential influence on people. Garden villages were at the forefront of productively applying this new understanding, encouraging better material and social conditions by design, and thereby effecting social reform. Their relevance to contemporary issues around financially sustainable and affordable housing, community-building, and environmental justice (including access to green spaces) partly reflects how they were originally conceived, but also their enduring relevance and adaptability to new circumstances. This is despite the scant attention they have received when compared with council housing, garden cities proper, or the 'new towns' of post-war Britain, for example. Without the emergence of garden villages to demonstrate the transferability of garden city and town planning principles to a broad variety of settings, it is questionable whether these more substantial projects (all ultimately part of a reformist vision) would have ever materialised.

While garden city principles remain important to planning (Table 2), and despite some limited emphasis on reintroducing garden towns for the twenty-first century, garden villages ought to be more closely integrated into such discussions. This is particularly the case in the context of the UK's current housing crisis and the separate issue of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has disrupted the geographic patterns of home and working life. In the spirit of archaeology as reform, as opposed to the archaeology of reform (see Springate 2017), this penultimate chapter outlines three key legacies that emerge from the case studies:

environmental improvement, social infrastructure, and the legacy of the garden village form as an alternative model of housing provision.

Table 2: **Selection of current garden city principles championed by the TCPA, along with corresponding evidence from the case studies.**

	Case study evidence	
Garden city principle*	**New Earswick, 1902–1940**	**Woodlands, 1907–1940**
Strong vision, leadership and community engagement	Strong: foundation of Village Trust, 1904 and Village Council, 1907	Partial: village closely managed by Markham until his death in 1916, after which unclear who took responsibility; little active local engagement
Mixed-tenure homes and housing types that are genuinely affordable	Strong: mixed housing types with rents intended to be affordable to working-class people, offered in various terms (weekly, monthly, etc.); no evidence of owner-occupation	Partial. Mixed housing types at different rents; no evidence of owner-occupation
Beautifully and imaginatively designed homes with gardens, combining the best of town and country to create healthy communities, and including opportunities to grow food	Strong: gardens with all houses, allotments; houses in a range of arts and crafts-inspired (later neo-Georgian) designs, interiors optimised for sunlight	Strong: allotments, rear gardens with some houses; houses in a range of arts and crafts-inspired designs, interiors optimised for sunlight
Strong cultural, recreational and shopping facilities in walkable, vibrant, sociable neighbourhoods	Strong: Folk Hall as a recreation hall, venue, and place of worship; multiple recreation grounds, Wesleyan chapel, two rows of shops	Strong: provision of church, chapels, cooperative department store, and multiple recreation grounds

*Source: TCPA 2018.

8.1 Environmental improvement, health, and well-being

The development of garden villages was driven by a specific set of environmental concerns, with reformers championing a landscape aesthetic that was both socially acceptable and more ideally suited to social improvement than towns and cities. Reformers sought to use the landscape to fundamentally overhaul the voluntary model of welfare provision for industrial workers, long before the arrival of the welfare state proper. The objective for garden village founders was thus to mitigate the decline in living conditions brought by rampant industrial capitalism, by proposing an alternative environment suitable for sustaining and improving the health and well-being of the workforce. While it stopped short of addressing the capitalist system itself, it was primarily realised through reforming the environment in which people lived and worked.

This functioned alongside transforming people's relationship with the land. But while land reform was an important principle held by many within the garden city movement (including garden village founders), this thesis has not found significant evidence of it being put into practice in garden villages. Joseph Rowntree had expressed an interest in land nationalisation in the draft memoranda he wrote for his three trusts, but it was omitted from both the published memoranda and the deed of foundation for New Earswick's village trust (BIA JRF/1/1/2). The trustees likely deemed land nationalisation to be too radical an idea to support publicly (especially considering founding trustee Arnold Rowntree's political ambitions, later becoming an MP). Conversely, Arthur Markham's criticism of wealthy mineral owners and landowners such as Charles Thellusson of the Brodsworth estate was that they contributed little to local rates while unfairly profiting from mining companies' work. Increasing taxes on the mining royalties accrued by landowners was accordingly adopted as a tool of land reform among its supporters. Yet, in the case of Markham's support for this measure, he was seemingly more preoccupied with shifting economic power from elite landowners to his own class of industrialists, rather than to the workers he employed.

However, Woodlands indirectly contributed to the wider debate around land reform in the early-twentieth century through Markham's vitriolic exchanges with the Brodsworth estate (Oakley 2005). The landowner's reluctance to sell land at agricultural value for housing beyond the model village was blamed for exacerbating household crowding, not only in Woodlands but also in the adjacent village of Adwick-le-Street (as confirmed by the census data). In turn, knowledge of the conditions in the district supported the argument of garden city proponents and like-minded reformers that poor housing was sustained by wider issues of landownership, rather than merely being the fault of a few unscrupulous builders and slum landlords (e.g. Howard 1902, 123–4; Kaufman 1907, 138–40).

Despite the few meaningful attempts at land reform, which would have been a more radical challenge to the system, garden villages achieved far greater success in mitigating the worst excesses of industrial capitalism. The land colonies established by the garden city movement's antecedents, including Edward Carpenter and John Ruskin, contributed much intellectually (e.g. Hardy 2000, 22–23). Yet, these utopian experiments did little in practice to engender wider improvements in social conditions. More pragmatic settlements such as garden villages were instead the much-needed agents of these broader reforms. This provides a counterpoint to the interpretation of model villages and garden villages as merely a way of sustaining capitalism itself (Hardy 1979, 10–12; Baxter 2012; Hurley 2019, 21). The turn of the twentieth century, the principal era of garden village building, was a time in which radical and progressive Liberal reformers not only openly challenged laissez-faire capitalism but were beginning to explore interventionist approaches to welfare (Hall 1984, 20). Garden villages must therefore be read as serious efforts to attain better health and well-being among working-class people, which attest to the (often-underappreciated) impact of reform.

Disease and public health

The early town planning movement was initially concerned with sanitation and stemming the spread of contagion. This concern often assumed a nationalistic tone: forewarning of the 'deterioration of the
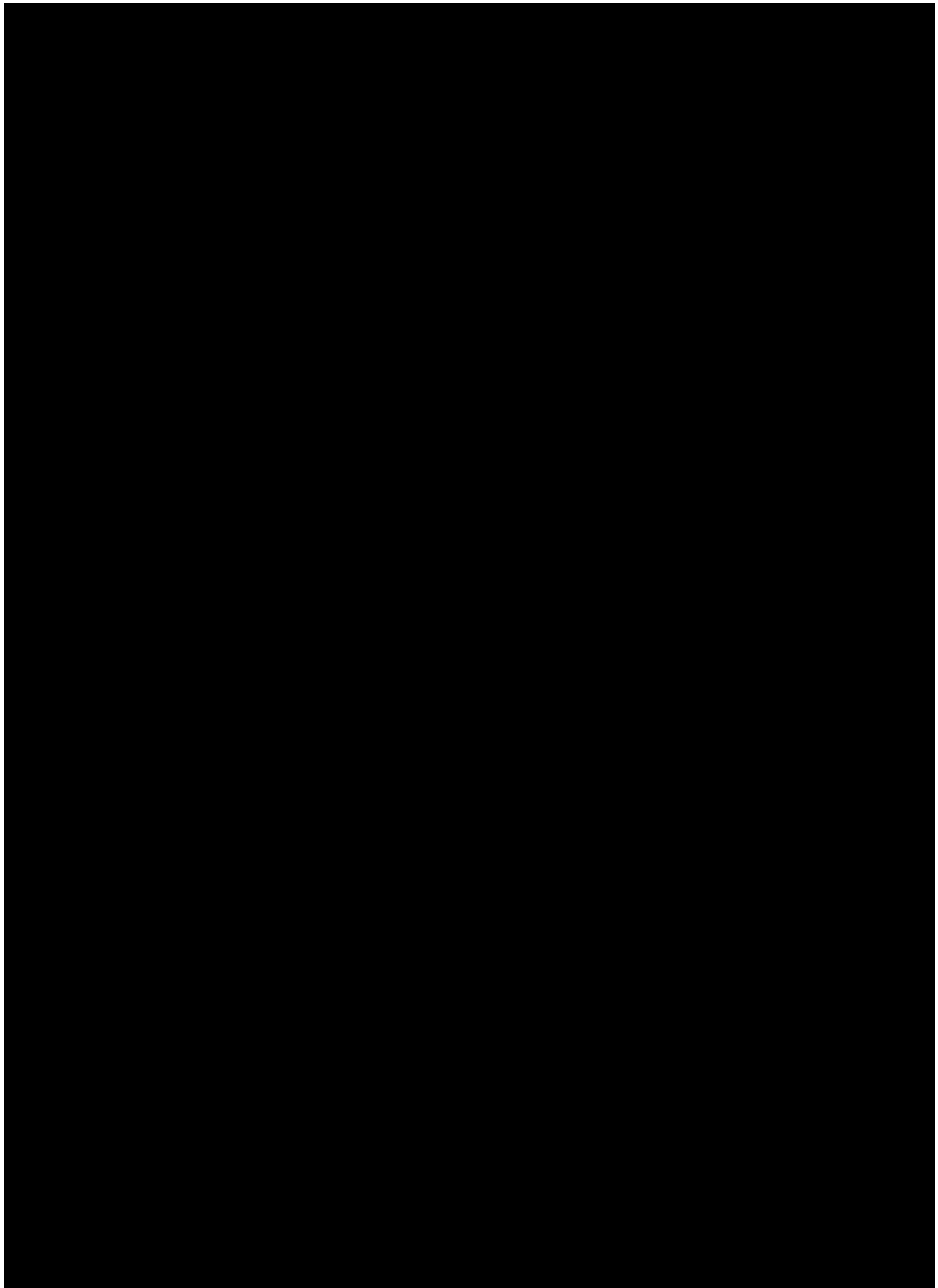
Fig. 112: **Cover image from** *The Home I Want* **by Richard Reiss, Liberal (later Labour) politician and GCTPA chairman. This implies that the rhetoric of a healthy nation was entwined with the garden city movement. © Town and Country Planning Collection/ Mary Evans Picture Library.**

nation' due to inadequate housing (Kaufman 1907, 3). A focus on the health of the nation is amply illustrated in the academic literature by reference to the poor fitness of Boer War recruits (Ashworth 1954, 167–8; Cherry 1979, 313). This persisted after the First World War and into the 'Homes Fit for Heroes' campaign, as proclaimed on the cover of *The Home I Want* (by Richard Reiss, published 1919): 'You cannot expect to get an A.1. population out of C.3. homes' (Rodger 1989, 67; Fig. 112). Even within garden villages, improved housing designs appear to have been intended for families, while unmarried women were given lower priority on the waiting list for houses at New Earswick. This alludes to a perception of unmarried women as not conducive to the sense of domesticity, which originated in the design of the village's houses and the young families with children that inhabited them. Their exclusion also implies a tacit concern with maintaining the population, and an undercurrent of eugenicist thinking (Voigt 1989, 296; Currell 2010, 270).

The science of public health that first developed in the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries had a profound and lasting effect on the planning of new communities, despite being an emerging field. Some have therefore suggested that the garden city movement was partly a eugenicist experiment to eliminate both heritable diseases and the 'contagion' of partly social conditions such as alcoholism (Voigt 1989, 301; Currell 2010, 273). While it is reasonable to suggest that town planning was co-opted by eugenicists, evidence of the garden city movement being fundamentally eugenicist is limited to a single diagram featured in Ebenezer Howard's original publication, which depicts spaces reserved at the fringes of the garden city (within the agricultural belt) for 'the blind and the deaf, drunkards, lunatics, and epileptics' (Voigt 1989, 298). This interpretation emphasises isolation, common as a eugenicist tactic to avoid biological reproduction of groups deemed undesirable.

However, the design of New Earswick and Woodlands responded to an increasingly holistic cultural view of health, entwined with the spiritual and moral welfare of residents (e.g. Ford 1994, 49; Allmond 2017, 106). This pre-empted a relatively recent shift in which planned places (particularly those with green spaces) are valued for their positive effects on psychological, social, and physiological well-being (Lopez 2017, 372–

3). The notion of the 'eugenic' garden city also overlooks the contemporary understanding of the restorative, reformative effects of the open countryside that surrounded the garden city, as well as the historic use of open-air sanatoria and similar therapies to promote good health (Hobday 1997, 467). This is explicitly demonstrated, albeit on a smaller scale, in the open-air design of New Earswick's primary school, a system of school design that allowed one wall of a classroom to be left entirely open to the air (see Fesler 2000, 20–1).

Nevertheless, the association between health and moral well-being in discussions around the development of New Earswick and Woodlands reflected a strong belief in social contagion: the idea that conditions such as mental illness, poverty, vices, and crime were liable to spread. Indeed, physiological diseases were just one aspect of this, which according to the attitudes of the time necessitated institutions in which to contain them. The garden city movement was part of a concerted effort to prevent such contagions from developing in the first place. The idea of social mixing was also implicated; the integration of middle-class 'model' citizens could provide a buffer to inhibit the spread of social contagion.

Garden villages were represented in the town planning literature as antidotes to urban slums and their social effects: crime, destitution, intemperance, gambling, and disease. In the first instance, they achieved this by providing adequate sanitation at their own expense, including the provision of water closets for all homes in Woodlands and all except the earliest at New Earswick. Yet, the landscape design of both villages also symbolically reflected a concern with protecting their residents from the social contagion beyond them. For example, Woodlands was ring-fenced by boundary walls around much of the village. Conversely, a protective green belt at the southern boundary of New Earswick reinforced the need to insulate the village from outside influence, such as the encroachment of substandard housing which might have attracted undesirable neighbours. Limiting overall housing density was also a measure to minimise the spread of contagion and simultaneously prevent the anonymity of high-density areas, which might facilitate immoral behaviour. This was a belief shared by one of the garden city movement's antecedents, James Silk Buckingham (Ashworth 1954, 125). However, it

also enabled the provision of adequate-sized gardens, which provided further social benefits.

While the association between town planning and public health remains today, there has been a shift towards a more individualist view of health. The focus on designing healthy places to stem modern 'epidemics' such as obesity acknowledges that the design of places is a public health issue. Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemic has prompted questions about the spread of the disease in high- versus low-density areas, and the relationship between disease and settlement connectivity (cf. Hamidi et al. 2020, 496; Khavarian-Garmsir et al. 2021). Yet, the dominant mechanism for the creation of healthy places is the encouragement of 'healthy choices', for example by providing walking routes as alternatives to car usage (TCPA 2017a, 9). Language such as this frames the idea of health as a matter of personal responsibility, although the Royal Town Planning Institute has at least acknowledged that choice alone cannot produce healthier places (RTPI 2014, 38). In stark contrast, the design of New Earswick and Woodlands articulated the idea that health and well-being were priorities to be maintained and enjoyed by the whole community through a shared environment.

Sunlight, green space, and psychological well-being

The healthy landscape of New Earswick and Woodlands, as in many other garden villages, was defined by both light and green space. Direct sunlight was seen as an important bactericide, with New Earswick's architect Barry Parker remarking that 'a tuberculosis germ will live for two years out of the direct rays of the sun and not more than ten minutes in the sunlight' (BIA JRF/4/1/9/22/7). Claims such as this were based on a nascent scientific understanding of the microbial origins of disease. They were nonetheless augmented by the socially constructed discourse surrounding light (Carter 2007, 59). The design of homes and the planning of settlements to maximise light was to this extent a revolutionary moment in the development of modern domestic environments. Despite advances in germ theory and the cause of disease made in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, light and ventilation remained recognised as agents of disease prevention well into the

twentieth century, becoming embedded as a principle of planning (Lopez 2017, 369).

The material effects of this emphasis were seen primarily in the internal architecture of the homes of New Earswick and Woodlands, along with their relationship with the surrounding landscape. In mining villages such as Woodlands, light was particularly significant, not least for hundreds of underground labourers who would have worked for much of the working day (or indeed night) in near darkness. For household women in mining communities, who were expected to have little time to enjoy outdoor life, a well-lit and well-ventilated house with ample windows maintained an air of cleanliness but also symbolically brought the outside into the home.

Light within the home has been a dominant theme in wider architectural histories of the garden city and Arts and Crafts movements (Creese 1963, 162; Barrett and Phillips 1987, 82; Sinclair 2005, 3). However, without considering the landscape, such research has overlooked the wider implication of the emphasis on light: that bringing sunlight into the home articulated the idea of the outdoors as the pinnacle of healthy environments. As such, the emphasis on light within the home must be examined in tandem with the green spaces to be enjoyed outside.

Garden villages were generally dominated by a rustic, green aesthetic. However, rather than replicating traditional rural villages, the architects of New Earswick and Woodlands deployed more idealised rural elements on a selective basis. Village greens, cottage-style architecture, and historic woodlands were combined with new domestic facilities and the rationalised layout of streets to pioneer a distinctly non-urban settlement form that was nonetheless ultimately modern. Green space at New Earswick and Woodlands included dedicated recreation grounds, playing fields, and parks, but also encompassed spaces with apparently no specific purpose other than their enjoyment; residents to a certain extent invented their own communal uses. It was thus not the passive receipt of light indoors but active participation in outdoor life that was recognised as a means of reforming the lives of residents. Since these recreational spaces were also imbued with moralising intent, under the guise of

rational recreation (Bailey 1987), light and green spaces were by extension also viewed as morally and spiritually enriching.

Yet, in common with other garden city developments, garden villages also served to preserve elements of the non-urban landscape for their own aesthetic and social value, at a time when the countryside was threatened by urban and suburban overspill. Garden village proponents not only acknowledged the faults of polluted, dense urban settlements but also promoted the idea that the alternatives—the low-density housing estates and the open, green spaces they enabled—were essential for well-being. Moreover, it meant that elements of rurality were worth preserving for the benefit of the people, by integrating them into new settlement types. This contrasts directly with critiques of the rural elements of the garden city movement as backward-looking and embodying conservative values, ostensibly because they implied a hierarchical, pre-industrial society (Meacham 1999, 5). Irrespective of this attitude, contemporary problems such as the environmental impact of built-up areas ought to prompt a renewed interest in the significance of green spaces: not only as large-scale green infrastructure in major cities but also as smaller-scale settings for landscape interactions, as they manifested in garden villages.

Further to this, recent literature indicates that green spaces are as heavily implicated in social and mental well-being (in terms of stress reduction, positive emotions, and shared interactions) as they are in physiological health (Abraham et al. 2010, 62–3; Bell et al. 2018, 11–12). While this realisation is the product of a slow shift in the discourse of planning, it was long championed in early garden villages. To reiterate, the green spaces of garden villages were conceived not simply as scenery—which can still positively influence mental health (e.g. Ulrich 1979, 21)—but also as active spaces. The garden village model, therefore, offers much in response to the new agenda for well-being. The COVID-19 pandemic has prompted a renewed emphasis on the value of well-designed homes, light, and green space, with lockdowns limiting access to nature and exercise in urban areas. This adds weight to the argument that access to healthy outdoor spaces is an environmental justice issue (see Wolch et al. 2014). This was in fact a founding principle of the garden city movement. It synthesised the perceived benefits of green space with the idea of

health as justice for the poorer sections of society, a notion that germinated in the earliest debates over public health in the mid-nineteenth century (Hamlin and Sheard 1998, 591).

8.2 Social infrastructure

Integral to garden city principles is a long-standing acknowledgement that places can contribute to facilitating social interaction (e.g. TCPA 2017a, 7). The fact that interaction is seen as a component of 'healthy communities' demonstrates an increasing emphasis on social well-being as a dimension of health (e.g. Abraham et al. 2010, 63). Yet, despite there being only a passing reference to 'sociable neighbourhoods' in modern garden city principles (TCPA 2018), sociability was a key aim of the movement's original leaders. Many of the design features that characterised New Earswick and Woodlands were instrumental in fostering interactions and community ties. At New Earswick, this reinforced the founder's stated objective of promoting civic responsibility. To foster community independence, social interactions were to originate organically within the village setting rather than being imposed top-down. Moreover, the village was designed to provide residents with not just the houses but also the necessary infrastructure and the social capital needed to sustain improved conditions.

The social mix

Social mixing within the garden city movement was originally conceptualised as a way of reforming the lives of the poorer sections of society, by reintegrating them with the 'respectable' higher classes. This was in the belief that social imitation and higher aspirations would follow. Typical patterns of suburbanisation, by contrast, have historically been accompanied by predominantly middle-class flight from the cities, (Thompson 1982, 12; Burnett 1986, 191). Until the COVID-19 pandemic, the tide of this broad pattern had for a long time been reversed, with the gentrification of urban centres effectively pushing out the poorest (Angelo and Vormann 2018, 792; Hochstenbach and Musterd 2018, 30). Conversely, recent post-pandemic flight to rural areas with accessible open spaces has been the preserve of the most economically well-off,

including second home owners, furthering housing inequality (Gallent and Hamiduddin 2021). Yet historically, even garden city schemes were not immune from the dominance of particular social groups. For example, Hampstead Garden Suburb was intended as a socially mixed community but acquired a reputation for attracting mainly middle-class 'cranks', with rising property prices effectively excluding the poor from its suburban setting (Miller and Gray 1992, 24; Darley 2007, 191; Miller 2010, 30).

Compared with contemporary schemes, New Earswick was more successful at integrating people of socially mixed backgrounds, this being implicated in its design. While the trustees' expansive definition of the 'working classes' opened tenure up to parts of the lower-middle classes, potentially to the exclusion of working-class households, its housing and landscape design did at least serve the perceived needs of both. Working-class people did not necessarily favour terraced houses, but they were deemed more likely to tolerate the use of shared spaces (necessitated by the terraced design) than middle classes. Moreover, the principle of placing a percentage limit on the returns from rental income meant that rents could be fixed lower than market rates regardless of the economic means of tenants. In this respect, however, the mixing of social classes in the same village probably benefited higher class households. A significant proportion of residents in professional or middle-class occupations was sustained for nearly 30 years (see pp.114–16). Even by the trustees' admission, the poorest were all but excluded.

Because of the nature of the coal industry, with few middle-class managers, Woodlands achieved a lesser degree of social mixing throughout the village. Although the census classification system defined miners as a unified class, a social hierarchy nonetheless existed, ranging from supervising deputies to casual by-workers, while wages typically varied with a person's age and physical fitness (cf. Registrar General 1913; Dennis et al. 1956, 47–54). Workers of different classes were mostly dispersed throughout the village rather than confined to discrete areas. However, a subtle contrast in socio-economic indicators later emerged between the north and south of the village (see Figs. 99–100, pp.274–5). The origin of this can be traced back to the difficult circumstances under which the later northern section was built and populated: the urgent need

for housing, driven by the early opening of the coal seam, was exacerbated by the landowner's reluctance to sell or lease additional land for housebuilding. In this part of Woodlands, the apparent pressure to keep boarders (who could not be accommodated elsewhere) in greater numbers, as well as lower-quality construction, set in motion a legacy of poorer conditions relative to those in the southern Park area.

Today, social mixing in New Earswick and Woodlands is enabled by a range of tenures. Since 1997, the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust (JRHT) has practised an ownership scheme, offering half of New Earswick's vacant housing for sale (Martin and Watkinson 2003, 1). More problematically, Woodlands seems to have fallen prey to the impact of the 'Right to Buy', whereby increased home ownership, enabled by the policy, has limited the overall availability of socially rented housing. This in fact further illustrates the significance of social mixing, as a key part of modern garden city principles, in the creation of sustainable new communities. A major barrier nonetheless exists in the translation of the original garden village concept to today's housing crisis: the national trend towards ownership rather than renting. In 1914, it was estimated that 85 to 90% of households were rented (Harris 2004, 243); by 2011, only around 36% were rented (ONS 2013). Moreover, just as in the past, it is important to ensure that social mixing does not disproportionately advantage wealthier people—for instance, through gentrification associated with the popularity of 'trendy', mixed tenure places (NHBC Foundation 2015, 9).

Home and work

Unlike garden suburbs, most garden villages did not strongly embrace the spatial separation of domestic from work life. Garden villages, as already discussed, were usually dependent on nearby industries. However, garden villages contributed to an enhanced cultural distinction between domestic and work life. The family-oriented nature of much of their housing (in turn, reflected in the social groups that inhabited them) articulated the idea that a domestic village setting was the most appropriate place to raise a family. The work/domestic life distinction was also essential for

the formation of a community that could function independently of the villages' main employers.

This was a facet absent in traditional company towns and in more paternalistic model villages such as Port Sunlight, where social institutions were often sponsored by the main employer (Porteous 1970, 132; Jeremy 1991, 63). Such was the emphasis on company-sanctioned social activity that independent communal gatherings organised by residents were sometimes actively discouraged, as in the case of Pullman in the USA (Baxter 2012, 659). This contrasts entirely with the approach to governance that Rowntree applied to New Earswick, with the gift of the Folk Hall to the village as a space for events run by residents themselves. Conversely, the design of Woodlands' communal greens encouraged formal communal gatherings such as May Day celebrations, as well as less formal interactions between households (see pp.246–7). Similarly, the Brodsworth Club served as a space for indoor gatherings, drinking, and other leisure pursuits, though certain activities including alcohol consumption were somewhat controlled.

The founders of New Earswick and Woodlands drew a metaphorical distinction between social life (both communal and domestic) and work life. Although Markham appears to have been more reluctant to champion community independence at Woodlands, site planning in both cases contributed to it in various ways. Community buildings were centrally located, thus securing ideological separation from the workplace, unlike in model villages. At Saltaire (West Yorkshire) for instance, the principal church was directly opposite the factory. Alternatively, Port Sunlight used ornate forms for its institutional buildings, including its company-sponsored art gallery, as a symbol of enlightened corporate capitalism (Rees 2012, 210). This asserted the employer's philanthropy and dominant presence in cultural life. By contrast, most community buildings in Woodlands, other than the Anglican church, were in a vernacular architectural style that complemented its houses. The effect of this similarity was that the village's public buildings were more closely associated with the domestic rather than with working life. The otherwise rural setting of Woodlands, with its tree belts and parklands, insulated its houses and their occupants from some of the dirt and noise from the

colliery. The design expressed the ideal that the workplace ought to be a separate sphere from the home, since the blight of industry, whether rural or urban, was recognised as a corrupting influence.

For New Earswick, such efforts were less important because the village was further away from its dominant place of work. This was further supported by the trust's detachment from the Rowntree company (though its first trustees were all Rowntrees), as well as Joseph Rowntree's apparent ability to uncouple his dual identities as a business owner and a Quaker philanthropist. Nevertheless, the residents' desire to maintain the two spheres separately is evident in New Earswick replicating many of the clubs and educational classes already offered at the Rowntree cocoa works (Briggs 1961, 102; Titley 2013, 36). This manifested in the village's many recreational grounds, allotments, and sports facilities, supplementing the Folk Hall as an all-purpose venue for club meetings, events, and religious worship. This also carried an implication for gender: most of Rowntree's employees in the village were men. Hence, amenities at New Earswick allowed women who were not employed there to participate in a similar social life to that provided at the factory. Perhaps more importantly, by separating work from social life, the founders of New Earswick and Woodlands avoided much of the corporate paternalism associated with earlier model villages. In turn, it created space for self-organisation.

This is not to suggest that garden village residents did not share a distinct identity that was intimately linked with their majority employers. There could naturally be a heavy price to pay for the close relationship between industry and community. The devastating impact of the closure of Brodsworth colliery is clearly felt in the case of Woodlands, with parts of the village being among the most deprived areas in England (CDRC 2019). Since the colliery's closure, residents have found it necessary to travel significantly further afield to work (Sables 2017, 997). Entwined with this is the potential application of social mixing as a way of encouraging resilient communities that can weather such economic circumstances. In the same way that reliance on a single employer makes communities vulnerable to industrial or economic decline, relying upon

and planning for a single class of residents undermines community sustainability in the face of wider social changes.

Community

The community encouraged by the founder of New Earswick, including the village council as a formal body, enabled residents to influence their environment and, by extension, to challenge some of the conditions that had been imposed upon them. For instance, residents expressed a preference for a particular kind of home, built in traditional materials rather than concrete, with a separate bathroom and a parlour (BIA JRF/2/ 1/1/3; JRF/4/1/9/2/2; JRF/4/1/9/5/1/3/3). As discussed (p.213), this conflicted with the architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin's occasional functionalism (especially where parlours were concerned). It is not clear that residents were given the opportunity to influence the overall planning or landscape design of the village, though they were successful in requesting specific recreation facilities (including new sports grounds for football, cricket, and hockey, and an extension to the Folk Hall) through the village council (BIA JRF/2/1/1/2; JRF/4/1/9/2/2).

The role of religion in community formation in garden villages deserves special mention. While it is true that the impetus for New Earswick partly stemmed from the founder's Quaker faith, the potential for religion to be a unifying factor within the early village community was checked by its founder's otherwise non-sectarian principles. This permitted religious worship under a range of denominations (mostly Quakers, Wesleyans, and Anglicans) accommodated at the secular Folk Hall, which itself reflected a democratic, pluralist stance on religion (JRVT 1913, 10–11). While religious expectations at Woodlands are more difficult to fathom, it too demonstrated a religious plurality by providing places of worship for Anglicans, Wesleyans, and Primitive Methodists. These buildings were prominently positioned within the centre of the village; their presence indicated that Woodlands had successfully established itself as a community rather than simply an assemblage of miners' houses. Nevertheless, in both cases, religion and a range of other institutions (for example, adult schools or sports, gardening, amateur dramatics, and other clubs) helped to establish smaller networks of residents, rather

than being implicated in social cohesion across the whole village. This contrasts with communities of a more egalitarian or utopian nature: Transcendentalist or Perfectionist communities for example, which required unity at the level of the whole community (cf. Preucel and Pendery 2006, 11; Van Wormer 2006, 54). Additionally, it is questionable that Rowntree would have wanted a consciously unified collective if it had the potential to undermine his vision of an autonomous, mixed community.

The landscape was also implicated in the formation of community, principally through the kinds of communal spaces represented by open greens or quadrangles. Today, these spaces continue to be framed as focal points for local identity, as well as being distinctive to the garden village form. A pronounced intergenerational gap has emerged at New Earswick in recent years, with large numbers of new homes built for older people. This is linked with tensions between older tenants and the adolescent children of younger families (The Independent 1997). However, social research indicates that older and younger residents share a common appreciation for the village's communal green spaces (Cinderby et al. 2016, 1258). This provides a clear opportunity to use the landscape to integrate the community more closely. Similarly, efforts to regenerate Woodlands have included renovating the open spaces at the centre of each of the village's 'squares', with each being given a nature-inspired name, such as Evergreens, the Cedars, and Sycamores. This form of regeneration is not without criticism; paved areas have been converted into wider access roads, which has reduced the total amount of green space. However, the point remains that the landscape was employed to facilitate a hyperlocal identity.

The communities that developed in garden villages to some extent mitigated some of the instability associated with precarious work: for instance, the impact of strikes at Brodsworth colliery on Woodlands. In post-industrial mining villages such as this, the loss of community, as well as the physical deterioration of houses, gardens, and public spaces, has been exacerbated by gradually reducing the management role of the local authority with the introduction of fragmented (and often absentee) private landlordism (Hay and Fordham 2017, 53–9). For this reason,

ongoing stewardship is vital to the longevity of planned settlements and their surrounding communities, something which is actively practised at New Earswick, and which is a criterion of modern garden city principles (TCPA 2017b, 4).

A shift from paternalism to stewardship, defined as long-term leadership with democratic management, is perceptible throughout New Earswick's historical development. As one example, after the early protests of the residents' village council that they had not been consulted on housing plans, the trustees later instigated an open meeting of the whole village to discuss future plans after the introduction of the interwar Housing Acts (BIA JRF/4/1/9/2/2). This marked the emergence of a more consultative approach, but it was arguably only a result of the dissatisfaction originally expressed by residents. Even at Woodlands, where unlike New Earswick there was no formal village body through which to shape conditions, union activity around the colliery provided a network of collective power to challenge the village's management. Again, this was strongly implicated in the residents' early support for an urban district council. Residents were thus not passive subjects of reform but were actively involved in negotiating the conditions they saw as necessary to improve their own lives and place of residence.

A key contrast, however, results from the relatively slow pace of development at New Earswick—averaging less than seventeen houses per year. This enabled the architects to learn from failed experiments (based on consultation with residents) and to modify their designs accordingly. This had been the intention for Woodlands too, with the company offering to provide more of one type of housing if that type was especially favoured by mining families (*GCTP* 1908, 128). Ultimately, the rapid speed of development prohibited this from happening. With all houses having been designed and built in only three years, there was no opportunity to improve plans for later houses based on the input of early residents. Had New Earswick been built at the same speed as Woodlands, there would have been little opportunity to modify housing designs to suit their occupants' perceived needs or to adjust the site plan.

The negotiation of social reform was in this way entwined with the ongoing development of the landscape rather than the landscape being a mere outcome of this negotiation. There is an argument that the long-term vision implied by stewardship must not be undermined by the rush to build new homes as quickly as possible, which could run the risk of them not being adaptable to their residents' needs. This is scarcely compatible with the urgency of alleviating the current housing crisis. Nevertheless, encouraging some 'slow' community-led or charitable developments could be beneficial in the long-term, given the success of this approach at New Earswick.

8.3   Legacies of housing provision

The wider effect of garden villages was to create an alternative model of housing provision. Like Bournville, both New Earswick and Woodlands were situated in a unique historical and political context. This was the tail-end of a period in which charitable or philanthropic housing for working-class people was the dominant alternative to private, speculative developments. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the increasing role of the state in housing provision, as another alternative, left a visible imprint on the landscape and demographic character of once privately managed garden villages. In the 1920s, the development of a local authority housing scheme near Woodlands relieved some of the excess demand for housing in the village, resulting in a drop in crowding rates. At New Earswick, changes in housing and site planning were due to the need to demonstrate economic use of government subsidies, on which the trustees were increasingly reliant in the interwar period. This manifested in new, plainer styles of housing and the more efficient use of land.

Because of the trust's later designation as a public utility society, which made it eligible to receive government subsidies in the first place, the case of New Earswick adds to our understanding of the role of the state in interwar housing provision. In particular, the housing recommendations for council developments that accompanied the 1919 Housing and Town Planning Act have historically been seen as a watershed in improving living standards (Harris 2004, 259). There is

nonetheless a tendency to treat housing that was part-funded by the state—but built by charitable public utility societies—as entirely separate from local authority-led housing (Malpass 2000, 389). Viewed in isolation, the provision of housing directly by the state, when very little had been provided before, appeared as a politically progressive policy. This remains true, but an important caveat is that because of the constraints on existing housebuilders that sought to benefit from public funding, such as the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust, it did not necessarily lead to improved standards in those cases. Nor did it open access to those communities for those with greater need. For example, in the 1930s, with no recourse to government subsidies for building bungalows, the New Earswick trust was forced to discontinue building them, thereby limiting housing options for older people in the village (TNA HLG 49/694).

The transition from a visionary approach to a more economically expedient one was the outcome of debate over the quality of houses versus quantity. This paralleled the government's 1919–21 'Homes Fit for Heroes' campaign. In the latter case, the government's efforts to provide high standards of housing at affordable rents were all but abandoned, in favour of supplying housing on a purely economic basis (Swenarton 1981, 161). The New Earswick trustees believed their public utility society housing to be superior to council estates, such as York's Tang Hall. Yet, they were ultimately unable to keep up with local authorities' ability to accommodate poorer members of the working classes who were excluded from housing elsewhere, including those displaced by York's slum clearance programmes.

An early source of conflict within the town planning and garden city movements was a parallel discussion over the need to build entirely new settlements, such as garden cities, or whether the planned expansion of existing settlements was sufficient. Whereas garden suburbs essentially sought to mitigate suburban expansion by providing a higher standard of design and planning, garden villages were a compromise between the two sides of this debate (Tarn 1973, 173). Owing to their landscape situation, neither New Earswick nor Woodlands adhered to the typical suburbanisation model. Both were originally situated in rural areas but were later subsumed by suburban expansion, particularly at Woodlands.

They were thus new settlements in their own right but ones that relied in part on surrounding infrastructure. Even at New Earswick, most workers were employed in nearby industries (including Rowntree and Co.), which had relocated from the centre of York.

These tensions are echoed in the contemporary creation of new settlements. Notably, recent UK government proposals to support new settlements have branded some as 'garden towns'. This term is a recent invention that was never part of the language of the original garden city movement. But although this is certainly a positive step for organisations like the TCPA who have campaigned for garden city principles to be adopted in new planning policy, it is questionable how true new garden towns (or indeed villages) will be to the original spirit of the movement. Recent efforts to integrate green spaces, hitherto a defining feature of garden villages, in new schemes have been met with varying degrees of success (Fig. 113). Superficially adopting the language, and not necessarily the core principles, of the garden city movement has thus been described by one contemporary architect as:

> A lazy, unthreatening way to evoke places like Letchworth minus the radical model of communal land ownership that was an essential part of Ebeneezer [*sic*] Howard's original vision (Holland, quoted in Stott 2017).

Fig. 113: **Two twenty-first-century planned villages. Lightmoor (left), Shropshire, built by the Bournville Village Trust and Derwenthorpe (right), York, built by JRHT. Despite both being praised as garden villages, Lightmoor's green spaces are less central to the plan than those of Derwenthorpe. © Author.**

Others have criticised the new proposals for not being ambitious enough, with one urbanist group remarking: 'We've gone from garden cities to garden villages … make no small plans' (Future Cities Salon, quoted in Stott 2017).

Yet, while acknowledging the specific influence that garden cities had on the growth of 'new towns' in the mid-twentieth century, the latter criticism ignores the fact that smaller garden village and garden suburb schemes of the original movement were expected to make a contribution at least as ambitious in terms of housing, with a profound landscape impact, as true garden cities. Yet, even if their success cannot be measured quantitatively, it can be measured in the diffusion of utopian aspirations of improving society through the provision of better places to live. The following final chapter concludes by providing some answers to the research questions and proposing directions for future research at the intersection of planning history and the archaeology of the modern world.

9 Research conclusions

Garden villages did not manifest only as a product of reformist ideas; rather, their planned landscape form was actively involved in negotiating the meaning of reform among different groups. The specific contribution of this thesis towards the broader archaeological understanding of reform reaches beyond the simplistic dominance and resistance model of reformers versus the reformed. Instead, it is situated in evaluating the landscape's integral role, here in terms of three key groups: garden village founders and managers, their architects and planners, and residents. The garden village landscape produced as a result had a particular aesthetic, based on green surroundings and incorporating informal elements of housing and landscape design. It reinforced the idea that social conditions were a partial product of the environment, and that since poor conditions were more visible in urban areas, a more rustic setting for everyday life was a logical solution.

Most importantly, garden villages were about extending the potential benefits of a 'traditional' village—in terms of health, well-being, and a sense of community—to sections of the population for whom they were previously excluded. They did so by providing for them a new kind of landscape in which they were actively able to contribute and participate as self-organising citizens. This final chapter concludes by repositioning garden villages as material solutions within a wider reform movement, articulating the environmental basis of reformist ideals; the radical solutions provided by village planning, emphasising well-being and cooperation; and their divergent social consequences as evidence of each community's collective agency.

In his countercultural account of twentieth-century housing, Colin Ward relays the words of a Newcastle councillor: 'planning … is in essence the attempt to inject a radical technology into a conservative and highly

inegalitarian economy' (cited in Ward 1976, 129). For this reason, the historical thread of radical thought that prefigured the idea of garden villages, and their potential for meaningful social change, must be put into context. The central idea that social improvement would require a transformation in working-class people's living environments underpinned garden village building. This originated at least as early as Robert Owen's New Lanark a century earlier. But as an idea, it was initially derided as too aspirational, too utopian to contribute anything meaningful to society.

Radical movements of the mid-nineteenth century, such as the Chartists, 'emphasized the effect of environment on the formation of character' (Bronstein 1999, 6). They recognised that rural life was an antidote to the alienation of the factory system but struggled to secure support for their goal of recolonising the land through smallholdings. Marx and Engels (1848, 112) famously described attempts to create utopian communities as creating mere 'duodecimo editions of the new Jerusalem', while regarding social revolution as a prerequisite for improved material conditions (Armytage 1961, 430). At the turn of the twentieth century, even the more moderate Fabian socialists saw the housing problem as a question of wages: with better earnings, workers would simply be able to afford better-quality housing (Bowie 2017, 170).

What garden villages contributed, which utopian communities arguably could not, was a tangible benefit—improvements to housing and its surrounding environment—rather than only the more abstract promise of a better society. In doing so, they popularised the idea of social and material improvements engendered by the planned landscape. Not only this but advances in public health towards the end of the nineteenth century positioned well-being in its broadest sense as an attainable objective of an improved society. Garden villages first demonstrated that this could be realised by material means.

Without the rampant social control of earlier company towns and paternalistic model villages, a landscape designed to facilitate cooperation and social interaction was integral to sustaining reform. Reform was not confined to institutions or institutional spaces within the

village. Instead, it was diffused among the community through a shared landscape. Moreover, the specific reform provisions put into place within garden villages reflected those of wider society. For example, the abundant recreational spaces of Woodlands were made more meaningful with a limit on miners' working hours (guaranteed by the 1906–1914 Liberal reforms), thus enabling increased leisure time. Regardless of the range of agents involved, it must be acknowledged that reform was not the only ideology that underpinned the building of garden villages. Their function as an extension of early-twentieth-century scientific management principles—to attract, produce, and retain a better workforce—was still important. Elements of social control persisted, despite being antithetical to the moderate, progressive approach to reform. However, the reformist approach took precedence and as a result created space for the intentions of village founders to be challenged or negotiated.

Garden villages did not fundamentally pose a threat to the industrial, capitalist relations from which they emerged but they remained part of a broader utopian exercise in reimagining how people might live in modern society (particularly for the working classes). In a real sense, the success of later attempts at social reform—through early council housing, for example—relied on earlier planned garden villages, such as New Earswick and Woodlands, as proof of concept. The small, incremental contributions of reform-minded model or garden village founders ultimately had an immediate, enduring legacy compared with those of more utopian experimentalists. Nonetheless, the adoption of reformist interventions of the garden city movement by the welfare state complicates our understanding of their specific contribution. Successful examples of radical reform tend to become absorbed by the political mainstream, obscuring what made them radical in the first place (e.g. Tomaso et al. 2006, 20–1). Therein lies the problem of distinguishing radical from progressive reform. It is equally important to acknowledge that, as Kruczek-Aaron (2014, 312) writes, 'reinforcing feel-good narratives that glorify reformers will not foster a critical awareness' of social change. As such, illuminating the unintended social consequences of reformist projects, as this thesis has done, remains invaluable.

9.1 Reform discourse and social ideals

The reform ideals underlying the development of garden villages varied in their exact expression but centred on two key themes. The first of these, respectability, served to enhance the status of workers, partly by encouraging desirable pursuits and discouraging undesirable ones. As patronising as this reformist attitude may have been perceived, the second theme concerned more earnest material improvements in conditions. From these themes emerged the potential for social improvement among residents, through both participation in their new environment and the stewardship of the village management. Respectability was chiefly expressed in terms of moral behaviour, which promoted temperance and 'family values' while discouraging illicit activities such as gambling. There was thus an implied belief that working-class people were not entirely absolved of responsibility for the poor conditions experienced elsewhere in many towns and cities. In both communities, there was an expectation that residents would independently contribute to their own social improvement, while being protected from the temptations offered by the anonymity of towns. Indeed, residents appear to have recognised the significance of a respectable home, expressed through their preference for particular kinds of accommodation or by maintaining private gardens to high standards.

This was entwined with the perception of the industries associated with each village. Mining districts and miners' housing were especially maligned in the popular consciousness for their perceived 'ugliness'—by writers, politicians, and architects, including Percy Houfton (e.g. Hansard 1912d; Houfton 1912; *The Times* 1926; Orwell 1937 [1986], 97–8). Miners themselves were stigmatised by the dirt and coal dust they were typically marked with after work, a visual indicator of their perceived low status (Dennis et al. 1956, 82). The village aesthetic accordingly imposed a veneer of respectability on its workers and companies alike. This was despite mining families developing their own culture of respectability, whether through engagement with politics and literature or keeping an orderly home (see pp.288–9). The particular significance of Woodlands as a model for housing the expanding population of the Doncaster coalfield

is attested by the growth of similar villages in the district (e.g. Gaskell 1979). This suggests that the garden village settlement form was integral to the development of the Doncaster's coalfields; mineral owners, for instance, might have been more inclined to risk leasing their land for mining if they were assured that any housing developments would be of a tried and tested form.

Even so, coal was an essential commodity and individual colliery companies did not benefit from the prestige associated with household consumer brands such as Rowntree and Co., the Lever Brothers, or Reckitt and Sons: all manufacturers that built model or garden villages. For this reason, a meaningful attempt at improving conditions was still an important motivator at Woodlands, and likely at other mining villages planned on garden city lines. Meanwhile, the Rowntrees at New Earswick did not necessarily need to use the village to present a veneer of respectability over the company or York's chocolate industry in general, though it may have certainly supported their brand image. The success of both the Rowntree and Cadbury companies may have been partly attributed to the brands' visibility through schemes such as New Earswick and Bournville. By contrast, Fry and Sons (another Quaker chocolate manufacturer) was not connected with village building and arguably did not achieve the same prominence as a brand. This at least meant that the Frys were not accused of acting out of self-interest, an accusation that had been levelled at the Cadburys and the Rowntrees for their housing work (Wagner 1987, 6).

Respectability was not in and of itself a goal of reform but was a pathway to it. Village founders defined social improvement according to their own agenda but both case studies examined here shared the elimination of poor conditions, rather than poverty per se, as an overall goal. Health objectives were especially important and manifested in improved housing designs, restricted housing densities, and the provision of open spaces suitable for healthy outdoor recreation. However, since poverty was increasingly acknowledged as a material, environmental condition, the goal of providing an improved environment was seen as preventing poverty from developing in the first place. By providing alternatives to vices such as gambling and drinking—activities that were once

interpreted as evidence of individual moral failings—the landscape also contributed to the elimination of poverty, by discouraging 'wasteful' recreational spending of working-class people. In doing so, garden villages were an expression of a wider ideology that collective social responsibility could replace or at least supplement individual responsibility for curbing poverty.

9.2   Landscape manifestation

In terms of the deployment of planning and landscape design, both villages exemplified a minor shift from what Angelo and Vormann (2018) describe as a discourse of beauty to a discourse of efficiency. For example, there was a progressive tendency to minimise construction costs while maximising the use of land and rents extracted from it, albeit without completely compromising the principle of low-density housing that otherwise characterised garden villages. In the case of Woodlands, this was a very rapid shift driven by the expansion of the colliery workings, taking place between the initial construction of the Park and the subsequent Field area just two years later.

By contrast, an increasing emphasis on efficiency at New Earswick grew more slowly, over the first twenty years of its development. This was brought about largely because of the growing reliance on government subsidies, initially under the 1919 Addison Act. However, this shift cannot be explained only in economic terms. At New Earswick, it was also symptomatic of the fact that once garden city planning principles had been adopted in mainstream political discourse—culminating in government legislation—it was no longer necessary for garden villages to serve as aesthetic exemplars. Because of the prestige associated with garden village building, it may have instead been an advantage to be visibly seen to respond to the housing problem on an equal footing with the state.

Regardless of what kind of discourse prevailed, the application of planning, landscape design, and housing design to social reform was driven by the common understanding of reformers, architects, and planners that social problems had an environmental basis. Reference to

rural forms further supported the idea that poor conditions could be avoided by minimising the influence of the urbanised industrial landscape in domestic settings. This was enshrined in the principles of the garden city movement. However, the notion of the movement as inherently anti-urban arises from conflating the specific aims of the more numerous garden villages with the aims of the overall movement, which of course concerned the integration of town and country (cf. Girouard 1985, 379). The context for most garden villages was largely industrial—rather than urban per se—and, therefore, a semi-rural village form was more appropriate to offset the perceived blight of industry. This was especially important for mining settlements. The environmental influence on social conditions also manifested in landscape features to symbolically protect New Earswick and Woodlands from potentially corrupting external influences, for instance through hard or soft landscaping at the village boundaries.

The evidence from the case studies demonstrates alignment of the social goals of designers with those of village founders in one further aspect: encouraging both moral behaviour and well-being in individuals. As well as the widely acknowledged emphasis on the health benefits of allowing sunlight into the home, the founders of both New Earswick and Woodlands were strong advocates of temperance, in part because they recognised the relationship between intemperance and the development of poverty (e.g. Rowntree and Sherwell 1900, 23). Both founders encouraged the replacement of vices with healthier, moral alternatives. Replacement activities were reflected in both housing design, which was to include spaces for respectable pastimes such as reading, and in the wider landscape through the provision of religious buildings, recreational spaces, and gardens. The 'green' aesthetic of garden villages might have provided the setting for reform, but it was not sufficient for working-class people merely to live in an improved environment. The production of a reformative landscape required the active and indeed willing cooperation of its inhabitants in a way that the institutional settings of asylums, prisons, or workhouses did not. Whether it had a collective or individual basis, the architecture and planning of garden villages

equipped residents with a foundation for self-improvement, partly
eroding the distinction between reformers and the reformed.

9.3 Social consequences

While acknowledging the social implications of garden villages as reform
landscapes, it is not the intention of this thesis to evaluate how
successful founders were in achieving their aims. Reform is in essence a
process rather than a product, meaning such questions cannot fully
develop our historical and archaeological understanding of the
experience of reform. Yet, in terms of where reformers appear to have
been more successful in furthering their aims, garden village founders
were more readily able to control the material improvement of the
landscape compared with their social objectives.

Notably, New Earswick's success in attracting working-class tenants was
not unqualified. It was in many ways a victim of its founders' and
architects' high aesthetic standards, which limited the affordability of
homes to the poorest. The trustees' frequent discussions about how to
minimise rents at New Earswick are an important caveat to Hall's (1993,
100) general observation about the garden city movement's apparent lack
of concern with accommodating the poorest. Nevertheless, a tension
existed within the core needs of New Earswick's founders: between
accommodating those least well-off and being an exemplar of housing
and planning standards. The latter need compromised the trustees'
ability to build cheaply enough to be within the means of many working-
class people, which was reified in the social composition of the village. Its
status as an exemplar, a model of housing provision to be encouraged
more widely in society, often took precedence above its social purpose,
important though this was. It was for this reason that the trustees'
aesthetic goals were more precisely defined than their social goals;
contrast, for instance, the specificity of the proportion of land to be left
as open space with the broad definition of 'the working classes' (BIA
JRF/1/2/8/2). A key point is that actual attempts to redefine or negotiate
the founder's overall objectives were relatively minor. It was their
interpretation and application to the landscape that was negotiable.

The implication that residents possessed some degree of agency over the direction that reform took is supported by divergent responses to the garden village landscape. Residents contributed to the material expression of reform, sometimes in ways that aligned with the intentions of its founders and architects and sometimes in ways that challenged them or attempted to improve their shortcomings. Such interventions by residents were more profound at Woodlands where, unlike New Earswick, there were fewer formal mechanisms for residents' concerns to be heard by village management. For example, the omission of back gardens constrained privacy, to which residents responded by adding fences in order to reclaim some private outdoor space.

In other instances, residents challenged how the villages were governed: Woodlands residents' opposition to Arthur Markham's autocratic tendencies in their support of a democratic district council (TNA HLG 1/68) or New Earswick residents' repeated requests to be consulted over new housing plans proposed by the trustees (BIA JRF/4/1/9/5/1/3/2). These were not always direct responses to the material form of the landscape, yet the landscape was implicated in the formation of a collective identity that allowed criticisms to be jointly raised. Workers and residents thus contributed to social improvement on their own terms and the idea that this merely represented internalised social *control*—in the Foucauldian sense—is limited by such challenges to village management.

As much as the landscape was intended to encourage social improvement, in several instances it inhibited it. Pockets of less well-off families were confined to some discrete areas of both villages, rather than integrated throughout as the ideal of social mixing would suggest. In other instances, residents experienced the landscape's supposed benefits on an unequal basis: for example, some areas with pronounced overcrowding or lacking in outdoor space relative to others. These were effectively locked in through the permanence of the built environment. Even at New Earswick, wealthier tenants appear to have found it easier to gain access to newer houses with improved accommodation. This suggests that an improved environment did not necessarily contribute to the experience of better conditions on an equal basis. Furthermore, even

where rents were partly restricted, better-off tenants remained at a significant advantage. Thus, the physical landscape of reform was a necessary but insufficient criterion for eliminating relative inequalities.

9.4 Future research directions

The approach of this thesis, rooted in the 'ethnography of place' (Mayne and Lawrence 1999), has proven useful in establishing the cultural context of both case study communities and in accounting for the diversity of past experiences. In terms of empirical methodologies, developing a material understanding of the landscape was a more complex undertaking. There is a need to develop approaches more suited to the archaeological study of suburban or peri-urban landscapes. Applying historic area assessment, including the use of smaller landscape areas as units of analysis, has confirmed that characterisation techniques can be adapted for research purposes if on a sufficiently small scale (Newman 2009, 197). However, frameworks for landscape research within historical archaeology are still typically based on a rural/urban distinction (Newman 2005; Smith 2014; Bezant and Grant 2016; Nevell 2017). Post-medieval archaeology has recently begun to expand into the twentieth century, including the archaeology of the contemporary past, where the conventional distinction between the rural and urban landscape begins to break down (e.g. McAtackney and Penrose 2016). This temporal context therefore warrants future consideration as to which methodologies are better suited to these new landscape forms.

This thesis has also demonstrated the potential of integrating historic social surveys into the archaeological investigation of the early-twentieth century, namely the 1911 Census, 1939 Register, and the 1910 Land Valuation survey. The latter remains an underused but valuable resource for landscape archaeologists of this period. It has proven especially useful in the case of New Earswick, though the fragmentary structure of its records for Woodlands was complicated by the village's complex pattern of land tenure. With careful case study selection, the Land Valuation field books could nonetheless serve as a principal source of data for landscape archaeology in the Edwardian period, complementing the few existing historical geographies currently based on this data

(Ayres 2004; Grover 2008). Where drawings are provided, the resource can be integrated with census data to determine the exact location of census households and can therefore contribute to mapping traits such as historic poverty.

As Hardy (1991, 314) emphasises, there was no 'unbroken path' between the garden city movement and the introduction of better planning enabled by government legislation. However, the broader contribution of this thesis is to illustrate that the 'path' to reform was neither laid by abstract intellectual movements nor by national policy but by tangible contributions at a local level. Garden village founders made a substantial and conscious attempt to advance social reform, but they were constrained as much by local factors as by the wider political context.

This serves as a useful reminder for planning historians of the need for a more contextual approach that moves between macro and micro scales of analysis. The improvement in conditions enabled by planning legislation was not a foregone conclusion and its perceived inevitability must be critiqued. Future research in this vein may therefore examine the dissemination of the key lessons obtained from specific planning schemes and seek to understand how their proponents adopted them as part of their rhetoric. Because of the reliance of reformers on visual evidence, which helped to emphasise the need for reforms, the role of visual culture ought to prove insightful in terms of the dissemination of their proposed solutions.

As much as reform was intended to improve the conditions of the poorest, the subaltern voice was all but absent from the kinds of communities discussed in this thesis. For historical archaeologists, the most significant implication is that understanding the material processes of reform does not in itself elucidate these subaltern voices. Rather, it situates their exclusion, by their very absence, in the complex entanglement of the ideologies sustained by reformers and the social groups at which they were targeted.

Finally, there is a need for greater recognition of the fact that reform was an integral aspect of the development of the late modern world and it is

woven into its materiality. In some ways, it superseded the ideology of improvement from the mid-eighteenth century onwards (cf. Tarlow 2007). In practical terms, both concepts served a similar function of ameliorating the current political system: addressing its flaws, inefficiencies, and contradictions. In an etymological sense 'to *re*-form' implied a retrospective movement, looking back to a past uncorrupted by modern industrial influences, in contrast to forward-looking improvement. However, rather than obscuring them with new technologies and supposedly rational economics, reformers explicitly acknowledged the shortcomings of the prevailing political system. More importantly, reform offered practicable solutions. Unlike its sister movement in revolution, its ultimate effect was not to overthrow the system but to begin eroding aspects of it, in the process creating space for the formation of the modern welfare state.

Appendices

A.1   Census research methodology

The following describes the methodology used to transcribe, clean, and analyse data from both the 1911 Census for England and Wales and the 1939 Register. The general approach to data collection and cleaning is described first, followed by detailed explanations of specific analyses of occupations and household overcrowding.

Transcription and data cleaning

Where possible, existing transcriptions published on Findmypast (2021) were used, with some additional transcriptions undertaken by the author. For each case study and in both the 1911 Census and the 1939 Register, two separate spreadsheet tables were created: 'Individuals' and 'Households'. The data fields transcribed for each set of records are listed in Table 3. Each household recorded in the 'Households' sheet was given a unique six-digit code, based on the census enumeration district number and the census schedule number, which also served as a key field. For example, '8001' corresponds to Schedule 001 in Enumeration District 8. Records relating to named individuals, appearing in the 'Individuals' sheet, were similarly given a unique code based on that of their corresponding household plus the individual entry number recorded on the census return. Thus, '800101' refers to the first person recorded on Schedule 001 in Enumeration District 8. This system allowed households and individuals to be easily cross-referenced.

The 'Individuals' sheet includes data transcribed from each individual record on the census return, as well as other interpretative or contextual data: for example, the class associated with each occupation listed, the calculated survival rate for an individual's children, and the population

Table 3: **List of data collected from the 1911 Census and 1939 Register (*data not recorded on but determinable from the 1939 Register; † data not determinable from the 1939 Register).**

Household summary data	
Schedule number	Number of household members*
Head surname*	Number of rooms occupied (excluding
House number/name	sculleries, bathrooms, lobbies,
	or closets) †
Address	

Individual data	
Entry (sub-schedule) number	Occupation
First name(s)	Industry*
Surname	Whether employer/worker/
Relation to head of household †	own account †
Sex	Whether working at home †
Age*	Birthplace †
Marital status	Nationality †
Years married †	Infirmity †
Children born/living/died †	

status of their birthplace (whether above or below 50,000). The 'Households' sheet includes household information recorded on the census return, such as the address, number of occupants, and number of rooms. Where the number of household members stated differed from the sum total of its occupants, the latter was used. This sheet also includes aggregate data derived from the 'Individuals' sheet, such as the number of servants recorded, the highest occupational class identified, and levels of crowding for each household.

Addresses were transcribed as recorded on the household return (or on the enumerator's form if not available). The data cleaning included splitting house numbers, house names, and street names into three separate columns. Each address was also given a code to represent a

modern-day address (accounting for the fact that street numbers, particularly in the case of New Earswick, have changed). These codes were also used in the GIS in order to geolocate census records. Finding corresponding modern-day addresses was a complex task requiring the integration of sources including the 1910 Land Valuation survey (which occasionally included sketch plans alongside the original addresses listed, allowing the house to be identified on a map). In other instances, it was necessary to interpret modern-day addresses based on the sequence of schedule numbers and the likely walking route of the census enumerator. This also enabled the data to be aggregated not only by household, but also by dwelling (since in some instances multiple households were recorded as residing at the same dwelling).

Transcriptions for occupations were standardised where possible (including the use of consistent spelling or expanding common abbreviations such as 'manf.' to 'manufacturer'). The data cleaning process also involved splitting town, county, and country of birthplace into three separate columns. Place names were standardised and disambiguated using data from the Great Britain Historical GIS Project (GBHG 2017c). This resource was also used to determine the historic (pre-1974) county of origin in cases where this was not listed on the census return. Other aspects of data cleaning included ensuring that quantitative marital and fertility data (number of years married and children born, living, and died) only appeared once for each married couple to avoid calculation errors. Where an individual's relationship to the head of the household was not stated, this was inferred from other available information. For example, where only one person occupied a house or where a house was occupied only by boarders, the first person listed was treated as the head of the household.

Records from the 1911 Census and 1939 Register were cross-referenced in order to identify individuals appearing in both. This was achieved by combining all individual data from both sets of records into a single spreadsheet and identifying matches based on the individual's first name (allowing for minor changes such as a reordering of middle names), surname, and year of birth (± 2 years). A limitation of this approach is that women who married between 1911 and 1939 would be extremely

difficult to identify in the 1911 Census without corresponding maiden names. To aid with cross-referencing of individuals based on age, upper and lower limits of individuals' birth years were calculated based on their age as listed in the 1911 Census. Their corresponding reference numbers were added to each record. For each individual appearing in both sets of records, their status was recorded as being (*a*) at the same address, (*b*) living in a different dwelling on the same street, or (*c*) living in the same settlement but on a different street

The 1939 Register presents particular methodological problems arising from the fact that not all records are publicly available ('open records'). These include the under-representation of children living in 1939 (who may have still been alive in 1991, when records of deceased individuals were first opened) and the difficulty in detecting duplicate entries. Where a given address had two separate register entries, closed records appearing on both were regarded as duplicates unless the address entries were also given separate schedule numbers. Conversely, where one closed record was found to have the same address, enumeration district code, and sub-schedule number as an open record, the closed record was regarded as the duplicate and deleted accordingly.

Classification of occupations and social class

Determining social class from census returns is problematic in many respects and warrants further discussion. Social class is a fluid construct, which is as likely to change in material terms throughout an individual's lifetime as it is in terms of the social meaning attached to different status categories. Early census-based studies seem to have rarely acknowledged this facet (e.g. Armstrong 1966; but see Mills and Mills 1989, 63; Higgs 2005, 40). Even if these constructs are valid, there are other limitations resulting from how the information was collected from household members. Since the household schedule provided space only for one occupation per individual, those engaged in casual employment or working multiple jobs are likely to be underrepresented in the census. On a national scale, this seems to have limited the representation of working women in the census (Higgs 2005, 101–3).

Nevertheless, occupation remains a valuable indicator of relative status obtainable from the census. It is generally accepted that a contextual system of classification can best capture the contemporary meaning of occupational classes (Royle 1977, 216; Cowlard 1979, 241). Indeed, Armstrong's use of the 1951 General Register Office's (GRO) occupational classifications has been considered 'anachronistic' when applied to census returns of the mid- to late-nineteenth century (Royle 1977, 218). Alternative methods have been proposed, which have sought to incorporate additional variables, besides occupation. For instance, Royle's (1977) classification system grouped households keeping a servant into a higher social class than their occupants' occupations alone would otherwise warrant (see also Cowlard 1979). Methodological adjustments such as these have tended to exaggerate the range of social classes in a given segment of the population (Royle 1977, 218). Owing to the relatively small populations of New Earswick and Woodlands, in which intra-population variation is less likely, this methodology may prove unreliable.

As part of the research project, two classification systems were tested: one originally developed by the Registrar General for tabulating the 1911 Census (Registrar General 1913; GRO 1915) and the equivalent as developed for the 1951 Census (GRO 1956). In the case of the 1911 system, an occupations index was consulted (GRO 1915). This comprehensive index was produced as a guide to census clerks involved in tabulating data and listed approximately 15,000 recognised occupation titles with instructions provided as to which of the 481 official occupation headings used for census classification they were to be assigned. Each heading was listed under an occupational suborder, which in turn appeared in an occupational order. For example, the index instructed that the occupation 'analytical chemist' (as might be listed on a census return) was to be assigned to the occupation heading of 'persons engaged in scientific pursuits', in the suborder 'literary, scientific, and political', and in the order 'persons engaged in professional occupations and their subordinate services' (GRO 1915, 28–31).

The 'occupational classes' to which each heading was to be assigned were listed in a separate publication (Registrar General 1913); in this case, the

heading 'persons engaged in scientific pursuits' was assigned to Class 1 (see Table 4). Each class of workers, ranging from 1 to 8, was equated with a social class. Professional and semi-professional or commercial

Table 4: **Examples of occupations listed in the 1911 Census and 1939 Register for New Earswick and Woodlands, along with the occupation heading to which they were assigned (under each system) and the corresponding occupational or social class.**

	1911 system*		1951 system †	
Title listed in census	**Occupation heading**	**Occupational class**	**Occupation heading**	**Social class**
Shorthand typist	Commercial or business clerk	1 (upper/ middle class)	Shorthand typists, secretaries	3
Carter and coal merchant	Coal, coke – merchant, dealer	2 (intermediate)	Coal carmen, coal hawkers	4
Foreman optical glass worker	Scientific instrument maker; optician	3 ('skilled' labour)	Glass, glassware – foremen, overlookers	3
Cocoa and confectionery store keeper	Chocolate, cocoa – maker	4 ('semi-skilled')	Storekeepers	3
Goods carter LNER	Railway porter	5 ('unskilled')	Porters	5
Sock stitch machinist	Hosiery manufacture	6 (textile workers)	Machinists (garment workers)	4
Colliery official deputy	Coal and shale mine – other workers below ground	7 (miners)	Subordinate superintending staff	3
Hind on dairy farm	Agricultural labourer, farm servant … in charge of cattle	8 (agricultural labourers)	Other agricultural workers	4

*Registrar General 1913; † GRO 1956.

occupations (Classes 1 and 2 respectively) broadly equated to middle-class individuals. The remainder were defined as working class, ranging from 'skilled' (Class 3) to 'unskilled' labourers (Class 5). The intermediate Class 4 corresponded to 'semi-skilled' labourers; the remaining three categories corresponded to specialised occupations.

In the case of the 1951 classification system, only a list of occupation headings, their orders and suborders, and their assigned social classes was available (GRO 1956). It should be noted that, despite the 1951 system referring to 'social class', this term was broadly synonymous with 'occupational class'. Unlike the 1911 system, there was no comprehensive index of occupational titles available to aid with correctly assigning those listed on the census returns to the correct occupation heading. It was therefore necessary to interpret listed occupations according to the closest match. For this reason, the 1911 system is deemed to be more consistent. However, one disadvantage of this earlier system is in the treatment of specialist occupations, including miners, who were categorised as neither skilled nor unskilled. Under the 1911 system, three classes of specialised workers (those in textile production, mining, and agriculture: Classes 6, 7, and 8 respectively) were recognised. These were later reclassified, under the 1951 system, to one of the principal five classes depending on the level of skill involved in their work. For example, supervisors in mines were assigned to Class 3 ('skilled'), while above-ground workers were assigned to Class 4 ('semi-skilled').

Applying the earlier 1911 system was found to generate a broader range of classes, whereas the 1951 system tended to downplay differences, with the majority of workers appearing in Class 3 ('skilled'). This overall effect was due to some key differences in the assignment of occupations and their corresponding classes. The 1911 system generally prioritised the industry served over the nature of the work involved. Thus, a storekeeper working in a cocoa works was assigned to 'chocolate, cocoa – maker'. By contrast, the 1951 system classified such workers as a separate category of 'storekeepers' regardless of the industry in which they worked. Similarly, a shop assistant working for a draper, for instance, was assigned to the category 'draper, linen draper, mercer' under the

1911 system rather than to the generic category of salespeople specialising in non-food goods, as in the later system. The 1911 system also tended to mask differences between business owners and workers, whereas the 1951 system distinguished proprietors from shop assistants or salespeople. A further difference concerns the reclassification of most clerks (Class 1 under the 1911 system) to Class 3 for the 1951 system (exceptions were clerks employed by the civil service and those in accounting, costing, or estimating). This increased the proportion of workers appearing in Class 3 and restricted the number of Class 1 occupations to professionals and higher-level administrators or company directors.

For the purposes of this thesis, it was deemed most appropriate to group occupations according to the 1911 system (Registrar General 1913). Even so, the classifications used in this system are not necessarily unproblematic or even internally consistent. 'Clerks' were mostly assigned to the professional class (Class 1) regardless of the relevant industry. However, occupations without terminology to indicate position might be placed in a labouring class, depending on the relevant industry: 'the draper or iron puddler [as returned] may be the head of a large establishment or his lowest paid assistant' (Registrar General 1913, xli).

The occupational analysis, as described here, was applied only to employed individuals. In some cases, women undertaking unpaid domestic duties in the home were listed as 'domestic service' or similar. Occupational classes were therefore only assigned to apparent domestic servants who were either (*a*) described as a 'servant' of the head of the household, or (*b*) described as working in domestic service and listed as 'employed' or 'worker'. Any individuals described as working in domestic service and working 'at home' were assumed to be engaged in unpaid domestic labour and therefore excluded from the analysis.

The first stage of conducting the occupational analysis was to aggregate the individual data from New Earswick and Woodlands (including the 1911 Census and 1939 Register). All irrelevant fields were removed, leaving only the transcriptions for 'occupation' and 'industry' along with each record's unique reference number. This ensured that the process of

interpreting class was not influenced by an individual's place of residence or gender, for example. Because the range of occupations transcribed in the census records is far greater than any single classification system can account for (notwithstanding the comprehensive GRO (1915) index), in many cases the closest matching occupation was used. Miners were classified chiefly according to where they worked: above or below ground. In instances where the occupation listed on the census corresponded to a role that could be above or below ground (for example, by-workers) it was assigned to 'coal and shale mine – other workers below ground', while generic terms such as 'coal miner' or 'collier' were assigned to 'coal and shale mine – workers at the face'.

Once complete, the assigned occupations and corresponding occupational and social classes were appended to the original record for each individual. A further component of the analysis concerned social differences at the household level, rather than individual level. For this reason, household occupational and social classes were derived from the highest-ranking (lowest number) class within that household. For example, a household occupied by two workers, one classified as Class 2 and the other Class 4, would be assigned to Class 2.

Definitions of overcrowding

Reliably identifying cases of overcrowding in early-twentieth-century households is a complex undertaking, given the rate of progress made in housing standards during this time. A household deemed to be overcrowded according to the standards of the 1940s might not necessarily have been regarded as overcrowded in earlier decades. For this reason, this thesis applies a scale, ranging from 'none' to 'severe'. The definition used in the 1935 Housing Act provides a useful starting point (see Harris 2004, 252–253). As Seebohm Rowntree commented in his follow-up social survey of York, the Housing Act defined overcrowding as proportional to the number of rooms and the number of persons occupying the house (Rowntree 1941, 265).

To allow for the fact that young children theoretically occupied less space, the original definition counted only adults as whole persons. Using

this standard definition, the total number of persons (hereby referred to as 'person units') was therefore calculated for the purposes of this analysis by counting adults and children over the age of ten as one. Conversely, children up to the age of ten but over one were counted as 0.5 while children under the age of one were counted as zero. For example, a family of two adults and three children aged between one and ten years would be counted as 3.5 person units. A relative measure of crowding (referred to in this thesis as 'weighted crowding rate', weighted according to the age of household occupants) was obtained for each household identified in the 1911 Census and 1939 Register by dividing the number of person units by the number of rooms. Where applicable, aggregate crowding rates (for a whole street, for example) were calculated from the total number of person units and the total number of rooms, rather than a mean being calculated from multiple household rates.

To determine overcrowding (an absolute indicator), the threshold ratio of persons per room was adjusted according to the number of rooms, as shown in Table 5 (Criterion 3). Thus, a house of four rooms with a total of more than 7.5 person units would be defined as overcrowded. This is referred to as the Housing Act definition and in this thesis denotes 'moderate' overcrowding. To accommodate changing housing standards, Rowntree (1941, 265–7) proposed a modification (referred to here as the Rowntree definition), which accounted for the fact that at least one room in each house was typically reserved as a living (rather than sleeping) space. For example, it is assumed that, in a house of four rooms, only three sleeping rooms would be available. As such, the threshold for overcrowding was reduced. This stricter definition is used in this thesis to define 'minor' overcrowding (see Table 5, Criterion 5).

However, overcrowding was compounded by and associated with other living circumstances. The traditional definition, first used in the late-nineteenth century, regarded a house with a basic crowding rate (people per room, all individuals counting as one) exceeding two as overcrowded (Hole and Pountney 1971, 5–6). This additional criterion is accounted for in the definition of 'severe' overcrowding. A secondary criterion for overcrowding in this thesis is the presence of multiple families or households sharing a single dwelling, which was seen as a compounding

factor in crowded housing conditions (e.g. Edwards 1913, 152). Such households were identified when a family shared a house address with another household (with a different family name) listed on a separate census schedule. The alternative definitions provided in Table 5 (Criteria 2, 4, and 6) mean that, for example, a house of five rooms with more than 7.5 person units would meet the criteria for minor overcrowding (using the Rowntree definition), but if that same house was also occupied by multiple families, it was placed into the next category (moderate overcrowding).

Table 5: **Definitions for overcrowding used in this thesis (based on Rowntree 1941, 265–7). The criteria were tested in numerical order.**

	Severe overcrowding	**Moderate overcrowding**	**Minor overcrowding**
	Either	Either	Either
	Criterion 1	*Criterion 3 (Housing Act definition)*	*Criterion 5 (Rowntree definition)*
Number of rooms	**Total people**	**Person units**	**Person units**
1	> 2	> 2	—
2	> 4	> 3	> 2
3	> 6	> 5	> 3
4	> 8	> 7.5	> 5
5	> 10	> 10	> 7.5
6	> 12	> 12	> 10
7	> 14	> 14	> 12
8	> 16	> 16	> 14
9	> 18	> 18	> 16
	Or	Or	Or
	Criterion 2	*Criterion 4*	*Criterion 6*
	Household meets Criteria 3 and 4	Household meets Criteria 5 and 6	House occupied by multiple families or households

A.2 Landscape assessment

The methodology used to assess the extant landscape is adapted from Historic England's (2017) historic area assessment (HAA). This methodology has been adapted to account for the inclusion of elements specific to planned suburban landscapes. It chiefly records the extant condition of the landscapes investigated in this thesis. However, rather than develop a series of character areas, it has instead devised a series of contextual, interpretative units of land for assessment purposes. These areas are spatially defined according to identifiable phases in the landscape's development or, where chronological sequencing is not possible, according to historically defined units as documented on the original site plans.

At New Earswick, where the longer period of development provides a clearer chronology, the majority of areas are defined by identifiable phases of planning, in turn interpreted by sequencing original site plans. For example, an area depicting houses 'already completed' on a 1904 survey plan of New Earswick constitutes a well-defined area of broadly contemporaneous development, making it appropriate to treat this as a contextual unit. In the north end of the village, a series of bungalows defines a later area, the chronology of which can be determined by sequencing successive plans. By contrast, the rapid development of Woodlands complicates this approach. Instead, areas of development are defined on an analogous basis through reference to the original (and only full) site plan. Nevertheless, in both cases, the areas proposed as units of landscape assessment are not entirely arbitrary but are in fact meaningful to the planned nature of the communities.

Each unit was described using quantitative and category data (Table 6). Quantitative data included street widths, land area, and housing density; each variable was calculated using GIS. The categories used for description were derived from the Forum on Information Standards in Heritage (FISH; see Heritage Data n.d.) thesauri. These include both Historic England's standard time periods and the historic characterisation thesaurus, the latter of which was used to classify land use. The basic information for each unit was grouped under several headings: for

example, land use, site planning, landscape design, and buildings.
Although the extant landscape served as the primary source of
archaeological data, desk-based historical research was used to

Table 6: **A non-exhaustive list of criteria used to describe and assess each area of the landscape (*supplementary data determined through OS MasterMap).**

Location	Description of location
	Topography (whether flat, inclined, etc.)
Extent	Area*
	Mean garden size
	Percentage left as open space
Land use	Land use prior to planning
	Historic land use after planning
	Current land use*
Site planning	Number of buildings (extant* and pre-1940)
	Housing density (extant* and pre-1940)
	Overall street pattern
Landscape design	Paving
	Planting
	Open space types
Buildings	Dominant building use (contemporary and pre-1940)
	Dominant architectural style
	Dominant finish material
Dating	Earliest and latest date of main development
	Time period of development
	Form of evidence used for dating
Interpretation	Perceived density (e.g. high, medium, or low)
	'Semi-fixed' landscape elements (after Rapoport 1990, 87–92)
	Summary of present condition
	Interpretation of landscape development

supplement the data with variables that describe each unit as it would have appeared during the study period (1902–1940). The combined data for each unit was then used to generate a narrative description and interpretation, again drawing on additional desk-based research.

For example, Unit 101 in New Earswick can be summarised as follows:

> An area, originally with 44 cottages (38 extant houses), located at the south-east corner of the village, west of the River Foss and bisected by Poplar Grove. Includes frontages onto Station Avenue, Poplar Grove, and Western Terrace.
>
> Houses here are the earliest in the village and the first to feature on the site plans, built around 1904. Almost all are of whitewashed brick, which is unique to this part of the village. Includes numbers 14–16 Western Terrace, which are substantially larger houses of 2 ½ storeys. Poplar Grove was once a functioning road, but this has since been pedestrianised with the main service road built to the rear (east) of properties on this street, on Willow Bank. Some trees were removed in 1938.

Similarly, Unit 213 at Woodlands can be summarised as:

> An area of 67 houses (all surviving) surrounding a central green, with frontages onto the Ridge, the Crescent, and West Avenue. Accessed only via the Crescent and West Avenue.
>
> Part of the second phase of early development (c.1908–10) as depicted in the blueprint plan. Includes a single detached house at the north-west corner of the block. Also includes a pair of houses in a non-standard type, possibly a slightly later addition, at the southern end of the Ridge; a plan exists for this pair. One of the more heavily planted areas in Woodlands, including numerous large trees along West Avenue. Some high wooden fences just beyond low stone walls in front of houses and between properties. Bordered to the west by tree plantations beyond the Roman Ridge, possibly once a screen around the former colliery site.

Buildings assessment

Pre-1940 buildings in New Earswick and Woodlands were investigated using a Level 1 survey (after Historic England 2016, 25) accompanied by photography. Each building was described using quantitative and category data, the latter of which was based on the FISH (Heritage Data

n.d.) thesauri (covering monument types, building materials, building components, and time periods; see Table 7). Connected buildings such as rows of housing were described as a single building, with the number of units within recorded. Data obtained from the visual survey was supplemented by desk-based historical research, incorporating building plans, site plans, OS map regression, and archival research to determine

Table 7: **List of criteria used to describe and assess buildings within the case study areas (*supplementary data determined through OS MasterMap (Topography Layer); † supplementary data determined through OS MasterMap Building Heights).**

Location	Location description or street address
	Main aspect (whether facing north, north-east, etc.)
Areas and spaces	Footprint area*
	Building height †
Plans and divisions	Number of subdivisions (e.g. for a block of houses divided into separate units)
	Number of bays and storeys
	Window groupings (e.g. 1:2:1)
Structural components	Roof shape and additional roof components (e.g. gables and their position)
	Window type (casement or sash)
	Other structural components (e.g. archways)
Building components	Exterior finish material
	Roof material
	Non-structural building components (e.g. doorway canopies)
Dating and interpretation	Earliest and latest date of construction and other significant events
	Building use (contemporary and pre-1940)
	Form of evidence used for dating

building use, construction dates, and any other relevant events (such as demolition or building modifications).

Each building was given a reference, which in the case of rows of housing corresponded to a house address within it. The buildings were described based on their exterior, typically the front or main elevation, and their plan. The survey recorded data including the number of storeys, bays, window groupings, roof shape, additional components, window types, and materials. Buildings conforming to the basic configuration were cross-referenced by assigning a type number, broadly sorted by complexity. For example, Type 102 corresponds to one of the simplest house types at New Earswick, a detached bungalow three bays wide, with a hipped roof and casement windows in a 1:1 configuration. By contrast, Type 132 corresponds to an asymmetrical block of five two-storey houses arranged in a rectangular plan and 11 bays wide, with a hipped roof, a crossed gable to one end, sash windows in a more complex configuration (1:2:1:1:3:1:2), an arched passageway to the rear, and open porches.

A.3 GIS methodology

Buildings

Results of the buildings survey undertaken as part of the landscape assessment were recorded using GIS, with a dedicated 'Buildings' layer set up for this purpose. Spatial data for buildings was derived from the modern OS (MasterMap) dataset (full process described below). Where significant post-1940 alterations were identified, the pre-1940 geometries were approximated using the relevant historic OS map. Geometries for buildings that were built by 1940 but later demolished were similarly approximated and manually digitised by tracing the relevant map. While demolished houses and other substantial buildings were easily identifiable using this method, potential buildings depicted on historic maps cannot be reliably distinguished from lesser structures or enclosures. The GIS therefore excluded structures with no clearly identifiable purpose. For potential buildings completed before 1910, the 1910 Land Valuation survey data provided a useful source of information as to their spatial arrangement and function. Extant buildings that were built after 1940 were excluded.

The full process (using QGIS 3.10):

1. Using OS MasterMap data, select all features on the layer Topographic Area where "Theme" IS 'Buildings' and copy and paste them as a new vector layer named 'Buildings'.
2. On the new layer, manually select and delete (*a*) all features beyond the spatial limit of study, (*b*) all known post-1940 features, and (*c*) all features not appearing on the latest available pre-1940 OS map.
3. For each contiguous block of polygon features (i.e. those representing either a single building or a block of terraced or semi-detached houses) or for single features consisting of multiple connected parts, manually select and merge into a single-part polygon feature.

4. For each feature, modify the vertices (adding, deleting, or moving as necessary) to approximate the geometries represented on the latest available pre-1940 OS map.

Dwellings

In order to integrate household-level data derived from the census research, a separate layer named 'Dwellings' was created. For this purpose, a 'dwelling' included buildings designed for single or multiple occupancy, as well as commercial or civic buildings with live-in accommodation. This also enables analysis of additional data relating to individual properties: the footprint area of the property, the number of rooms (either recorded in the census or appearing on architectural plans where available), and the property type (for instance, whether exclusively a dwelling or a mixed-use property). The layer consists of a separate feature for each dwelling completed by 1940. As above, the majority of the features were created by modifying the existing OS (MasterMap) dataset, with any since demolished dwellings digitised manually by tracing the relevant historic OS map.

The full process:

1. Using OS MasterMap data, select all features on the layer Topographic Area where "Theme" IS 'Buildings' and copy and paste them as a new vector layer named 'Dwellings'.
2. On the new layer, manually select and delete (*a*) all features beyond the spatial limit of study, (*b*) all known post-1940 features, (*c*) all features not appearing on the latest available pre-1940 OS map, and (*d*) all non-dwelling features.
3. For each feature, modify the vertices (adding, deleting, or moving as necessary) to approximate the geometries represented on the latest available pre-1940 OS map. These should snap to and respect the edges and vertices of features in the Buildings layer.

Plots

Plot boundaries for houses and other substantial buildings were identified using modern OS (MasterMap) data in the first instance,

excluding plots for buildings built after 1940. Where significant changes had taken place since 1940, plot geometries were manually edited to approximate the boundaries as they existed either close to or at the end of the study period. The intention was to obtain, as far as possible, plot geometries that would yield an estimate of the original plot sizes. This was achieved using historic OS maps as a reference. Where historic maps were ambiguous as to which building a plot belonged to or as to the precise extent, the modern OS geometries were preserved.

Where changes to plot boundaries occurred within the study period of 1902 to 1940, preference was given to the most recent change within this period, except in cases when an earlier plot was entirely abolished by the enlargement of another. This was nonetheless exceptional, with only two instances of this occurring, both at New Earswick: the enlargement of gardens at Western Terrace, which abolished a detached garden along Station Avenue, and the enlargement of the Folk Hall, which required the demolition of an older property that existed on its own plot, which was thus abolished. In both of these instances, the geometries of the abolished plots were retained.

The full process:

1. Using OS MasterMap data, manually select all features on the layer Topographic Area that correspond to building plots or other parcels of land with historically identifiable ownership and copy and paste them as a new vector layer named 'Plots'.
2. For each contiguous block of polygon features that corresponds to an identifiable plot, manually select and merge into a single-part polygon feature.
3. For each feature, modify the vertices (adding, deleting, or moving as necessary) to approximate the geometries represented on the latest available pre-1940 OS map. These should respect the edges and vertices of features in both the Buildings and Dwellings layers.

Land

For analytical and interpretative purposes, the land lying within each case study site was divided into several interpretative units, based on the total

area of building land available before 1940. Each unit comprised a single polygon feature, which was drawn manually but respecting geometries recorded in the modern OS MasterMap data where possible. The area covered by each polygon excludes through-roads and substantial water bodies in existence by this date but includes road surfaces that were only developed after. The area value of each polygon is thus an approximation of the net area rather than the gross area of the land.

At Woodlands, where most of the development occurred within a short timeframe, and owing to a need to keep units of analysis to a manageable size, the number of interpretative units was suggested by reference to the original site plan. For instance, each of the ten 'squares' in the Field area was clearly delineated in the site plan and despite most of them being developed within a span of two years, these units were replicated in the GIS. Because of the longer-term development of New Earswick, it was possible to define each unit according to regions of synchronic development. For instance, the south-eastern portion of the village is treated as a discrete unit because its houses were broadly built within a similar timeframe.

While this was the justification for the total number of units and the approximate spatial definition of each, in all cases their geometries were adjusted to respect lines of historic legibility within the extant landscape, based on an urban characterisation methodology developed by Dobson (2012). Thus, the limits of each unit represented a degree of continuity between the historic landscape, at the time it was originally developed, and the extant landscape. This supported contextually meaningful comparisons between the early developed landscape and the villages today.

Abbreviations

AAEL	Art, Architecture and Engineering Library (University of Michigan)
BIA	Borthwick Institute for Archives (University of York)
CDRC	Consumer Data Research Centre
DA	Doncaster Archives
DTM	digital terrain model
EA	Environment Agency
FISH	Forum on Information Standards in Heritage
GBHG	Great Britain Historical GIS Project (University of Portsmouth)
GCC	Garden City Collection
GCTP	*Garden Cities and Town Planning* (journal of the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association)
GCTPA	Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (former name of the Town and Country Planning Association, 1909–1941)
GIS	geographical information system
GRO	General Register Office
HAA	historic area assessment
HEA	Historic England Archive
IHA	Industrial Housing Association
JRHT	Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust (current name of the Joseph Rowntree Village Trust)
JRVT	Joseph Rowntree Village Trust

LGB   Local Government Board

NCB   National Coal Board

NHBC   National House Building Council

ONS   Office for National Statistics

OS   Ordnance Survey

RCSLT   Royal Commission on the State of Large Towns

RDC   rural district council

RTPI   Royal Town Planning Institute

SCA   Sheffield City Archives

TCPA   Town and Country Planning Association (1941 to present)

TNA   The National Archives

WCHA   Woodlands Model Village Community Heritage Archive

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